

A Beacon Light for the Revolutionary Movement

THE membership of the Communist Party of the United States of America must with the greatest possible rapidity and thoroughness be familiarized with the theses and decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—and this is the very best means of insuring that our Party will be able to meet with revolutionary energy and understanding the tremendous demands which are now being pressed upon it from all sides by the rising level of class struggle in the United States, and the menace of imminent imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

Never were more important decisions made by any political body than were made by this latest Plenum of our Communist International. The analysis and decisions previously made by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International had already been proven with startling clarity to be correct. The Tenth Plenum, following ten months after the World Congress, had the task of dealing with exceedingly significant events of the period since the World Congress and to answer questions arising therefrom.

Has capitalist stabilization become more solid? Has capitalism overcome its contradictions, internal or external? Has the situation of the working class improved? Is the wave of the proletarian revolutionary movement now ebbing? Has the war danger decreased (!!!)?

Certainly there are those who have succumbed to the influence of the ideology of the capitalist class to such an extent as to answer "yes" to each of these questions!

And there are others who, in confusion or cowardice, are unwilling to give an outright answer, as every Bolshevik must, to these questions, but who attempt to conciliate the irreconcilable differences between the Communist Party and the right wing opportunist exponents of the capitalist ideology inside or outside of the Communist Party. We have both varieties in this country, as in all other countries.

The Tenth Plenum showed unmistakably that the capitalist system throughout the world is not only not more solidified, but has been and is being brought to a more precarious condition. The increasing shakiness of capitalist stabilization, the sharpening of the inner contradictions, as well as the outer contradictions of capitalism—is proven by an overwhelming array of evidence, including many phenomena which are judged by the social democrats and by the renegades from Communism to be evidences of the strengthening of capitalist stabilization.

The constant convening and disruption of the various sorts of international conferences of the imperialist states, the calling into office of the MacDonald government—and the Young Plan (whether adopted or rejected)—are themselves facts showing the extreme sharpening of contradictions and the rapid development of imperialist relations between capitalist states and particularly between the world imperialist system and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. At the moment these lines are written, the bloodthirsty provocation of the world imperialists on the Chinese front of the Soviet Union, threatens the immediate precipitation of a world imperialist assault upon the working class in the form of war against the workers' and peasants' republic. It can now be seen more clearly than ever that the Kellogg Pact was correctly characterized by the Communist International as being intended by the imperialists as a part of their preparations for imperialist war.

All developments in world economy and politics in every crucial point have proceeded along the lines foreseen and marked out by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. There have certainly been changes since the Sixth Congress. What character have these changes had?

The Sixth Congress marked the leftward movement of the working class in all capitalist countries, and the Tenth Plenum showed that this leftward movement is now the oncoming of a rising tide of the revolutionary movement. This is especially shown in such countries as Germany, France, and Poland, but the phenomenon is a general one on a world scale. The Ruhr lockout, the Lodz strike, the strikes in France, the tremendous event of the Berlin May Day, the bloody clash in the Rumanian coal strike, the German Communist victories in the factory committee elections, the agrarian strike in Poland,—all of these European events merge with the events now actually taking place in the United States which show the heavy revolutionary drift in the biggest capitalist countries. Against this drift not only the social-fascist Zoergiebel's, but also the hypocritical "left socialist" counter-revolutionary methods cannot prevail.

It is in such a situation as this that the greatest danger becomes the danger that the Communist Parties may drift in the wake of the growing revolutionary upward movement. This has happened before, as in the case of the German Communist Party under the opportunist leadership of Brandler and Thalheimer six years ago.

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International pointed out that the greatest danger was the right danger—at a time when the leftward movement of the working class was to be noted. And now, when the general leftward movement has accelerated and widened into the oncoming rising tide of the revolutionary movement—certainly the center of the whole attention of the Communist International must be fixed upon overcoming all right deviations and all conciliation with the right deviations which can only mean a series of catastrophic defeats if allowed to prevail in the leadership of the Communist Party during the decisive conflicts toward which we are developing. Those who develop "theories" which are only ideological preparations for throwing down arms before capitalism and its "socialist" flunkies must be cleaned out from the leadership of all Communist Parties and the leadership of these parties consolidated firmly on the line of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.

The Communist Party of the United States was far from obscure in the considerations of the Tenth Plenum of the Comintern. Together with the German, the French, the Czechoslovakian, and the Polish Communist Parties, our American Party had just gone through a deep experience in this connection, where the Communist Parties of other countries had only just begun or in some cases had not yet begun to live through the experience of testing and strengthening its Bolshevik integrity.

The service which the Communist International rendered to the American Party at the Tenth Plenum (and just preceding it) was to help the American Party more quickly to expose the opportunist line and factional intrigues against the Communist Party and the International by Lovestone, Pepper, etc., than would have been possible without the aid of the Comintern.

The subsequent open attacks of Lovestone and his followers upon the Communist International in the true style of a Ludwig Lore, a Salutsky or a Cannon, will open the eyes of all honest Communist workers to the enormous service which the Comintern has rendered in exposing these renegades. The Lovestone political platform, placed sharply in contrast to the analysis and tactics of the Comintern as adopted by the Sixth World Congress, and confirmed and strengthened by the Tenth Plenum, has developed into the inevitable stage of an effort of Lovestone, Wolfe, Gitlow and Co. at a revision of Marxism-Leninism. The Lovestone-Pepper theory of an "exceptional" condition in the United States which somehow weakens the applicability of the fundamental laws of capitalist development, is inevitably related to the imperialist ideology propagated, for instance, by Matthew Woll who says that "Russian" Bolshevik theories of proletarian revolution can have no effect on the United States. In building their anti-Communist movement in defense of their theory "exceptionalism" and other opportunist conceptions against the attacks upon these theories by the



Fight Long Hours, Speedup by Organizing

By PHILIP A. RAYMOND

The automobile industry, has long been held up at home and abroad as having solved the secret of high wages, mass production and open-shop prosperity. During the time that auto manufacturers had difficulty in keeping with the demand, thousands of low-paid and unemployed workers in the mine fields, textile and other industries flocked into the automobile centres to enjoy the comparatively high wages.

For this reason what is now happening in the auto industry is of interest to all workers. This industry directly employs over 650,000 workers while indirectly over 4,000,000 persons are employed in some capacity connected with motor transportation. In 1928, it consumed 6,700,000 tons of steel or 18 per cent of steel production. It furnished a market for 85 per cent of rubber, 74 per cent of plate glass, 27 per cent of aluminum and 18 per cent of hardwood lumber. It is the third largest user of the railroads, at the same time it is now an important factor in transportation itself.

The growing competition is best exemplified in the rivalry of Ford and Chevrolet for control of the cheap car field. First, Chevrolet drove the Ford model T off the market. Next, Chevrolet introduced a six cylinder car in the same price-class as the four. Now, it appears that Ford is more than holding his own in the competitive struggle. Taking eleven states at random, we find that in the month of June, 18,576 new Ford cars were registered to 10,736 new Chevrolets. The 2,000,000th Model A car rolled off the line towards the end of July. It is Chevrolet's next move; either a drastic price cut or essential improvements, accompanied by further wage-cuts and an intensified speed-up program.

This competition is not confined to the cheap car field. Recently, a \$200 reduction was announced for the Studebaker-Dictator Six. At the same time, A. R. Erskine, president of this corporation made the statement that price reductions would not mean reduced profits. "Economics of operation and manufacture permits the company to share the savings with the public."

This growing competition is bringing about one merger after another.

Communist International, Lovestone and Co. are building a road direct to bourgeois patriotism. And it is no accident that this movement comes precisely in the Third Period when the capitalist ideological influence so heavily presses upon the working class through social democratic, "left"-social democratic, and through corrupt renegadism on the fringe of the Communist Party for the generation of new forms of social patriotism.

The "tactical" disagreement of the entire right wing internationally (including Lovestone and Pepper who are now shown to have been for some time affiliated with the international right wing elements) is being transformed into the disagreement of two violently opposed political programs. This was as inevitable with them as it was with the Trotskyites. Thus the political line of the rights in a whole series of countries has begun to be incompatible with their continued presence in the Communist International.

The present is the time of rapid political development and as the right opportunists move further upon the road of opportunism, taking their place outside of the Communist International and openly opposed to the proletarian revolution, a similar process is being gone through by the conciliatory and wavering elements who have not as yet made up their minds poenly to oppose the line of the Sixth World Congress. When the open right wingers are expelled, these conciliators themselves take the position which was occupied by the open rights. Underhandedly obscuring their differences with the Comintern, refusing to defend the line of the Comintern but not hesitating to find cowardly excuses for the open opportunists and renegades, the conciliators make themselves in fact the spokesmen of the renegades.

The success of construction of socialism in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is playing a vastly increasing role in consolidating the revolutionary forces within the capitalist countries. But just as the sound revolutionary elements of the Communist Parties of all capitalist countries are drawn by the powerful magnet of the correct policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, so also are the rotten, unstable elements in all Communist Parties (or those expelled from them)

Affiliate with the T.U.E.L. and Elect Delegates to the Conference

It is also resulting in American manufacturers buying up European plants building factories of their own abroad. It is at this time that we hear of auto manufacturers demanding that the tariff be removed on automobiles.

All of these factors combined with the introduction of labor saving devices is resulting in the growth of a permanent army of unemployment in the auto industry. Just a few figures will illustrate what is happening. 1928 production of cars and trucks was 4,600,000. The first six months of 1929 shows a production of 3,223,000 vehicles. The most optimistic predictions for the full 1929 production is not more than 5,200,000 cars, leaving about 2,000,000 cars to be produced in the last six months of the year. While the average automobile factory employment was 22 per cent in excess of the average for the first six months of last year, automobile production was 42 per cent in excess for the same period. Production and employment is falling fast. Chevrolet is reducing production by 30 per cent. Chrysler and other plants are doing the same. Department of Labor figures for July shows a fall of 7.2 per cent in automobile factory employment.

Praying for Rain.

A recent bulletin of the Guarantee Trust Co. of N. Y. says, "It is obvious that the present rate of industrial activity can not be maintained indefinitely. On the other hand curtailment of production may be deferred for some time." Automobile manufacturers realize this, but each is out for the hog's share of the market and as far as possible leaves it to the other fellow to do the curtailing.

Auto Workers are Fighting Back.

Drastic wage-cuts from 15 to 33 per cent are taking place throughout the industry. Thousands of automobile workers in Detroit, Pontiac, Flint, Oakland, Cal., and other cities are fighting back. The last strike took place against the Murray Body Corporation in Detroit against a wage-cut of 20 per cent. It was

the biggest strike in the auto industry of Detroit since the Fisher Body strike of 1921. Under the leadership of the Auto Workers Union, 1500 men and women marched on the picket line, resisting every attempt on the part of the police to break their line. Before the strike was over, Murray body was forced to rescind the 20 per cent wage cut.

The Role of the A. F. of L.

At a time when automobile workers are carrying on militant struggles against wage-cuts, what is the A. F. of L. doing? After its bombastic declaration to organize the auto industry in 1926, what has been accomplished in three years? Chester M. Culver, general-manager of the Employers Association of Detroit gives the answer. He says, "The A. F. of L. can't even obtain the ear of industrial workers and leaves the field to the Reds." Naturally, the thousands of former miners and other workers now employed in the auto industry do not mean to give the A. F. of L. an opportunity to again betray them. Since the employers turned down with contempt the offer of A. F. of L. organizers to help them exploit labor more efficiently, they have skulked back into their holes. But, nevertheless, auto workers must be on their guard against any A. F. of L. efforts to stab them in the back during a time of struggle.

In the same article the head of the Employers Association says of the Auto Workers Union: "The only union that is still actively attempting to secure control of the automobile industry is the Auto Workers Union. This organization is directed by the Communists. It has met with little success in its attempt to gather in all workers in the industry, but its agents are always on the job. Never do they lose an opportunity to enlarge upon fancied grievances or to misinterpret the policy of management and to promise utopian results if the union secures control. They gain a certain following and if they succeed in causing a strike in one department, a strenuous effort is made to ex-

tend the disaffection to other parts of the plant. The lack of success in the use of this method does not seem to dampen their ardor. The persistence with which they return to the attack after each failure is worthy of a better cause."

While automobile manufacturers hate and fear the Auto Workers Union, they have nothing but contempt for the A. F. of L. It seems to them that the A. F. of L. could not deliver the goods even if given an opportunity. They are too much discredited to wield much influence over the workers. In this situation the workers must be on their guard against any so-called progressive group within the A. F. of L., which would betray the workers after winning their confidence by progressive slogans. Such a group is the "Muste Brookwood Progressive Group." They have already betrayed the rayon workers in Tennessee, the silk workers in Paterson and the hosiery workers in Kenosha, Wis.

Support the T.U.E.L.

The Trade Union Educational League has given vigorous support to the Auto Workers Union in its efforts to organize the automobile industry. Just as it has supported the struggles of the textile workers of Passaic, New Bedford and Gastonia, the needle trades, miners and shoe workers, it has given every possible aid to the automobile workers.

The time has come to build a new trade union center to replace the effete A. F. of L. which is now nothing else than an instrument of the bosses.

The new militant industrial unions in the mining, textile, needle, automobile and other industries must combine their strength. Only in that way will it be possible effectively to resist new onslaughts on the workers livelihood, fight back police attacks and Gastonia frame-ups, resist preparations for a new war and thus build a trade union center which will in the interests of the workers. The TUUC convention takes place August 31st in Cleveland where the new Trade Union Center will be inaugurated. Militant workers in all industries, Elect delegates to the TUUC!

Build a fighting trade union center!

On to Cleveland on August 31st!

inevitably orientating themselves toward the right elements and conciliators within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

By the ruthless exposure of the weaknesses within the Communist Parties of all countries, the Tenth Plenum has already performed an enormous part of the preparation for the coming revolutionary struggles. In direct proportion to the exposure of weaknesses has been the positive consolidation of the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Parties. An intense Bolshevization process, accompanying the active application of revolutionary line of the Sixth World Congress and the Tenth Plenum to the important class battles now in progress, is the order of the day.

The correct application of the line of the Comintern is the only means of success in tearing the masses of the workers away from the trade union bureaucracy, agents of the bourgeoisie, and in uniting wide masses of both the organized and the unorganized proletarians, not only for economic struggle but also for revolutionary political struggle.

Enormous attention was given at the Tenth Plenum to theoretical and tactical questions of the struggle on the economic field and in the matter of transforming the struggles into the revolutionary political struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Never have more important directives been given than those which were decided upon by the Tenth Plenum in respect to trade union tactics for the independent leadership of strike struggles, for building up organs of leadership in the struggle, for uniting not only the organized but also the unorganized masses, and for strengthening the work inside of the reformist trade unions in accord with the line of the Sixth World Congress. These must be the subject of more extensive treatment and popularization throughout the entire Communist and left wing press.

The Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International marks an epoch in revolutionary history. A full understanding and application of its findings will bring new strength and unity to the Communist Party of the United States, carrying it forward to the conquest of a majority of the American working class.