

Facts for Speakers

(Clip for your note book)

ECONOMY DRIVES HIDE GOVT. EXPENDITURES

FOR POLICE TERROR

Chambers of Commerce and trade associations sometimes speak for "government economy in order to reduce taxes." The "economy" always affects educational and child-welfare activities. But at the same time capitalism increases its armed forces, especially those directed against workers and poor farmers.

This is clear from a few figures buried in a recent report to the U. S. Senate made by the Department of Commerce:

	1929	1932	%
Civil employees FEEL from	465,334	398,240	-14.4
Policemen INCREASED from	104,661	110,541	+6.2
Firemen INCREASED from	80,763	82,724	+2.4

HOW ABOUT CITY PAY-ROLLS?

Between 1929 and 1932:	
Payrolls for Civil employees were reduced by	16.7%
Payrolls for policemen were increased by	7.2%
Payrolls for firemen were increased by	3.7%

AND WAGES — SALARIES?

The average wage and salary of civil employees (which actually is lower because this figure includes all the high salaried officials such as mayors, city managers, judges, etc.) fell from \$1284 a year in 1929 to \$1249 in 1932, a decline of 2.7%.

For firemen it increased from the higher average figure of \$1976 to \$2002.

For policemen it increased from the still higher average figure of \$2,084 to \$2,103.

(Foregoing figures from Senate Document No. 124, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session). (The above was based on material sent in by Comrade D. Lee).

N. R. A. - WAR MEASURES.

Since 1932 (the New Deal), capitalism has been increasing its machinery for increased terror against the masses and preparations for war.

This is shown by the following statement made by Reuben Soderstrom, head of the State Federation of Labor of Illinois, to a group of delegates of the Illinois, the Chicago and the American Federations of Labor, in Chicago, on April 29:

"General Johnson told me that the C. C. C. the forest camps, formed an excellent nucleus for an army if it should become necessary to use military force to carry out the N. R. A. The whole N. R. A. set-up, General Johnson also told me, is admirably adapted for military purposes."

(Quotations from Labor Research Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 5). (Sent in by Comrade D. Lee).

N. R. A. SLASHES WAGES.

Of reply to a questionnaire sent out to employers by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, reports the "Daily News Record" (May 2, 1934).

"About one half . . . said that the minimum wages in the N. R. A. codes had become maximum wages."

(Quoted from the L. R. A. Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 5).

FASCIST THIEVES — 16 TIMES OVER.

The Fascist Silver Shirts have been caught lining their pockets with other people's silver. William Dudley Pelly, chief of the organization was indicted last week by a grand jury in North Carolina on 16 counts of fraud and conspiracy, etc., under the blue-sky laws.

Two of Pelly's lieutenants have been arrested but Pelly is in hiding in California, to avoid facing the charges of selling worthless stock of the Galahad Press, Inc., publishers of Liberation, official organ of the Silver Shirts.

STEAMSHIP COMPANY PROFITS.

Here are a few figures which speak louder than all the shrieks of the shipping companies that "they cannot afford to meet the demands of the striking longshoremen and marine workers":

	1932	1933
Matson Navigation Company	\$1,597,659	\$1,397,920
American Hawaiian S. S. Co.	629,437	481,325

Thus Matson's profits in 1933 were 10% over 1932, while American-Hawaiian S. S. Co.'s profits were over \$600,000 for 1933 in addition to making up the loss of 1932 which amounted to almost \$500,000.

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CLASSES

Economics and Politics of the New Deal	Geo. Morris — Wed., 9:00 p. m.
World News	James Branch — Fri., 7:30 p. m.
Economics, Politics of Fascism	C. Gordon — Mon., 7:30 p. m.
Why Communism?	M. Ryder, E. Roberts, A. Girard, Mon. Wed., 9 to 10:30; Tues., 7:30 p. m.
Trade Union Organization	F. Bernard — Tues., 7:30 p. m.
Short Wave Radio	J. Johnson — Tues., 7:30 p. m.
The Pacific—Next Theater of War	Geo. Maurer — Tues., 9:00 p. m.

and many others.

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Fundamentals of a Communist

Political Education

Lesson 12

Cause of Post War Defeats — The Great Betrayal — The Theories of Betrayers — Why they are Social-Fascists — On Majorities, Violence, Ballot Box, and Soviets —

CAUSE OF POST-WAR DEFEATS.

The defeats suffered by the workingclass in the period immediately following the world war (1918-1923) were due (1) to the treacherous tactics of the Social Democratic and reformist trade union leaders (2) to the fact that the majority of the workingclass had not yet accepted the leadership of the Communists, and (3) in a number of important countries, Communist Parties had not yet been established at all.

There are now Communist Parties in practically every country in the world. In many places, these Parties are very weak. In other words, their main task, is to win the majority of the workingclass.

Let us consider the first factor: the activities of the "Socialist" Party leaders and the reactionary reformist trade union officials—

HOW THE GREAT BETRAYALS WERE BEGUN AND CARRIED THROUGH.

At the outbreak of the last war of 1914 the Second International (which at that time included the overwhelming part of the workingclass political organizations throughout the entire world) completely collapsed. This was caused by the actions of the leaders. They disregarded the entire tradition and policy of the revolutionary workingclass and deserted the interests of the workers and poor farmers and went over to the side of the ruling classes, each supporting the capitalist class of its own country in trying to achieve its imperialist designs in the war. They acted in complete violation of the thesis of the Communist Manifesto that the proletariat has no fatherland under capitalism and in place of this Marxist position, they put forth the theory that they must defend their "own" capitalist fatherlands.

The decade prior to the world war was marked by two important international congresses at which the question of what the workingclass would do in case of war was taken up. The first was held at Stuttgart, Germany, in 1907, the second at Basel, Switzerland, in 1912. In both these congresses, due to the influence of a group led by Lenin, and supported by Liebknecht, Luxemburg and others, resolutions were adopted reaffirming the position of Marx and Engels, that the workingclass must be opposed to all war, and must utilize the occasion of a world imperialist slaughter, (during which the ruling classes are in a critical and vulnerable position) to begin an onslaught upon their ruling classes, and overthrow them from power, and establish instead, revolutionary workers' governments. Instead of combatting imperialist war, the Social Democrat leaders became, and urged their followers to become, loyal soldiers, and propagandists for their imperialist fatherlands.

They did this either openly, (as the group led by Ebert and Scheidemann in Germany, Vandervelde in Belgium, Kerensky in Russia, and Morris Hillquit and Upton Sinclair in the United States) or they took exactly the same position but under "centrist" theories of Kautsky which were to the effect that this was an imperialist war, and therefore did not concern the workers at all. This phrase-mongering left the workers disorganized, without leadership, and driven individually into the ranks of the imperialist armies to serve their capitalist masters, or, in the case of a few more courageous, to fight war alone, as best they could.

WHAT WERE THE POST-WAR BETRAYALS OF SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERS.

In the subsequent and post-

war period, Social Democracy supported the worst robber treaties, such as the Versailles, and Brest-Litovsk. It actively supported the militarists in the bloody suppression of the proletarian uprisings, as in Germany, it conducted armed warfare against the first proletarian Republic, in the armed intervention against the Soviet Union. It betrayed the proletariat (as in Hungary) who were then engaged in what was clearly becoming a victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie. It joined the imperialist League of Nations, as did the British Social Democratic leaders in the Labor Party, Boncour in France, and Vandervelde in Belgium. It openly supported and directed the suppression of the imperialist slave owners against the colonial slaves, as did the British Labor Party. It actively supported the most reactionary executioners of the workingclass in Bulgaria and Poland. It initiated and carried through the most severe set of militarist laws (in France) yet adopted in an advanced country. It betrayed the general strike of the British workingclass. It has become the leader of the struggle against the Soviet Union, as in the case of Hillquit and Thomas in the United States.

In its systematic conducting of this counter-revolutionary policy the Socialist Party leadership operates with two flanks: a right wing, or Social-Democracy, openly counter-revolutionary (represented by such as Hoan in Milwaukee, King in California, and McLevy in Bridgeport, Conn) which has as its function the negotiation and maintaining of direct contact with the bourgeoisie; and a "left" wing, led by the so-called militants, which has as its function, subtle deception of the workers. The Socialist Party, beginning with the last world war, has continually operated through these two flanks to betray the workers. While playing with pacifist phrases, and at times, even the revolutionary phrases, the left wing of Social Democracy in practice, acts against the workers. We have the example of the L. L. P. and the left leaders of the General Council during the British general strike in 1926; Otto Bauer and Co. at the time of the Vienna uprising in Austria; Norman Thomas and his continual efforts to split up the workers and defeat the strike movement. Precisely because of this deception, this flank of Social Democracy, being the most difficult to expose before the masses, becomes the most dangerous group in the Socialist Party.

While serving the interests of the capitalists within the ranks of the workingclass, the Socialist Party leadership at certain periods is compelled to play the part of an opposition Party, and even to pretend that it is defending the class interests of the proletariat in its industrial struggle. They do this in order to win the confidence of a section of the workingclass, and to begin a better position to betray both the immediate and larger interests of the workingclass. Especially in the midst of decisive struggle, the principal function of Social Democracy is to disrupt the essential militant unity of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialism.

THE THEORY OF THE BETRAYERS.

How do they do this? "Socialist" Party leaders, especially Norman Thomas, and left groups in the Socialist Party, say there is no difference so far as the ultimate aims are concerned, between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. They say that the only differences are the tactics to be employed in reaching these aims.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The Socialist Party in the United States has made few programmatic statements of its position. Norman Thomas, the leader of the left Social Democracy in this country, however, has written on the subject. In June, 1929, issue of the New Leader, the official organ of the Socialist Party, Thomas wrote an article called "Is Marxian Socialism Ahead of the Times?" The article clearly represents the opinion of the leadership of the Socialist Party, because in an editorial introduction to this article, Mr. Thomas is called "the leader of the American Socialist movement." At that time Thomas had already been "presidential" candidate for the Socialist Party. We will briefly quote the most significant passages of this article:

"Marxian Socialism, or perhaps I should say the effort to put Socialism in a Marxian straight-jacket, is inadequate because of the steady march of life and events. The things that have happened and are happening in field of human history, and in the development of scientific and philosophical thought impel us to RE-EXAMINE AND RE-STATE OUR FUNDAMENTAL THEORY."

"MARXISM IS AN OUT-MODED PHILOSOPHY (Because of)

"1.—The change in philosophy and science since the Victorian era in which Marx wrote. Here certain things are fairly obvious:

"a.—The philosophic temper of the Victorian era on the whole was far less pessimistic than the same temper of the time in Western Europe and even in America since the World War. Men today have less faith in their own destiny.

"b.—THE MARCH OF SCIENCE.—More important than the philosophic aspect of the case, and underlying it, is the profound change that is taking place in scientific theory—Einstein has played havoc with the absolute Already, theists and atheists mystics and skeptics are rushing in to prove their pot theory I shall not follow their example Great ideas like the materialist conception of history in their deeper or philosophic sense require new examination.

"2.—The change in our knowledge of psychology since the Victorian era.

"3.—The clash of Nations and Races.—The strength and persistence of both national and racial consciousness. It would hardly have been possible for the earlier scientific socialist to dream that nationalism and racialism would have been so stupendous an obstacle to a realization of class solidarity, as they are in fact.

"4.—Recent Economic Developments.—The Marxian forecast did not take account or sufficient account of certain things which are becoming familiar to our generation:

"a.—The almost miraculous achievements of applied science in the increase of productivity.

"b.—The arrest in the processes which Marx logically thought would lead to recurring crises and increasing misery partly by remedial action in labor in the industrial field, and more largely by the appearance from time to time of new industries like the automobile industry in America to take up the slack and put profits

back into new lines of productive work. These things compel us to make a fresh examination from one angle or another of our theory of value of increasing misery.

"5.—The complexity of life require us to pay far more attention to questions of program and policy than was necessary for the earlier Socialists It explains the hesitation of Socialists when faced with power.

"6.—The Solidarity of Labor.—Geo. Bernard Shaw has recently shown what a fine case can be made for Socialism from a consumer's standpoint almost without reference to the class struggle. The appeal to the consumer is something Socialists must remember and emphasize. But I do not believe we can fall to reckon with the class struggle. There are classes within classes, and the solidarity of the workers is not something instinctively realized but rather a great organizing social idea or 'myth'.

"Yet I do not want to come before our generation talking Marxism, but Socialism, which is bigger than Marxism and has room in it for effective cooperation in practical achievements for all of us."

From this quotation, it can be seen that the chief philosophic tenets of Thomas' socialist program are:

1.—That Marxian Socialism is an out-moded philosophy.

2.—That Marxism has been proven false, by modern science and invention.

3.—That Marxism is contrary to the psychological condition of the people.

4.—That Marxian Socialism is false because of its international character, and its failure to take account of the strength of national consciousness.

5.—That Marxian economics is wrong because it predicts recurring crises, and increased misery under capitalism.

6.—That the hesitation of the Socialist leaders in taking power is due to the fact that they have not frankly discarded the Marxian Socialist program, and have not adopted a new one.

WHY THEY ARE SOCIAL-FASCISTS.

It is precisely because of this program that the 6th World Congress of the C. I. labelled the leadership "theories of International Social Democracy as social-fascist. A close study of these points clearly shows that it paves the way for a fascist program. This article, he it remembered was written just prior to the great stock market crash in the fall of 1929. The years that have intervened since have proven how false Norman Thomas' thesis is. But it is a mark of this left Social Democracy, that it is very cowardly and opportunistic. Hardly had the crash begun to destroy the illusions of the masses of workers throughout the country concerning capitalism, when this same Norman Thomas changed his tune, and with loving sentimentality, began to speak about how great Marxism is, how noble the class struggle. But with the excuse that the Socialist program will bring in socialism gradually, they have paved the way for Hitler in Germany, they have gradually, and are gradually paving the way to fascism in a whole series of countries. In Germany, they suppressed the workers revolution with bullets, only to make way for the Centrist government, the Hindenburg government, and finally, the Hitler government. This same story is repeated in various forms, everywhere the Socialist Party has succeeded in taking power.

The aims of the Socialist and Communist parties are not identical. They are opposite. The Socialist Party leadership and their theories has been, and is, and will continue defending capitalism, whereas, the Communist Party is dedicated to the unflinching struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism and eventually, a Communist society. The "Socialist" charlatan leaders always say that the difference lies in the fact that the Socialist Party wants to bring about a change

Literature Book Reviews

LARGE NEW SHIPMENT OF BOOKS IN SAN FRANCISCO BOOKSHOP—

Here at last is the chance for every worker and every unit and mass organization to build a library. We have discussed the necessity of a political education and how our work as leaders of the masses in struggle is retarded by our lack of Marxist-Leninist theory. We can never be real leaders until we study and are able to know revolutionary theory and then put it into practice. In order to make study easier we are holding a special sale of books and pamphlets for a period of one week, Monday, June 4 to June 11. New York Publishers have sent us \$1,000.00 worth of books on Leninism, Trade Union Work, Economics, Proletarian Novels and Pamphlets, dealing with all current phases of the World Revolutionary movement. All books will be sold at a reduction of 15%. Listed below are some of the titles we have in stock.

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SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS—

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by peaceful means, and with a majority, whereas the Communist Party believes in a small determined minority, and the use of violence.

We have already shown how it is precisely the socialist government that has used force— but force against the workers, the same as the capitalist governments have. The workers government also uses force, as in the Soviet Union. The essential difference, however, lies in this: that the government of the Soviet Union has always used, and consistently uses, its force against the capitalist class, and its counter-revolutionary agents, and to protect the building of socialism. The mis-named "socialist" governments have always used their force to defend capitalism and destroy the workers' and other liberation movements. This is the essential secret of the difference between the two parties: the "socialist" Party is allied with capitalism, and is not socialist. The Communist Party is allied with the workingclass, and the construction of socialism.

The C. I. Program says:

"In order to fulfill its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all win A MAJORITY OF MEMBERS OF ITS OWN CLASS including working women and working youth must extend its influence over the masses of the city and country

poor, over the lowest strata of the professionals, and over the so-called small man that is the petty-bourgeois strata generally."

This, the Communist program clearly is based upon winning a majority of the toilers of the country. But this must be a real majority, as indicated thru the "truly democratic rule, namely, worker, farmers, and soldiers councils (soviets). As we have shown in a previous lesson these are truly democratic because the voters have the power at all times and without qualification or limitation, to elect their representatives, or to recall them, and every useful toiler, without limitations, has the right to a vote. Or, if such a form of real democratic elections is denied by the terror of the capitalist class, then the majority must be won through organization, participation in action and moral support. It is clear that the ballot-box "majority" as proposed by the "Socialist" Party misleads, and the capitalist class, is only a deception. We have already shown in previous lessons, how false, and un-democratic and unrepresentative of the great majority of toilers of the country, the present form of capitalist "democracy" is.

What other groups and ideological tendencies besides social-democracy must the Communist movement overcome in its struggle to win the majority of the working class?

(END OF LESSON 12)

NOTE — We are omitting the editorials and questions and answers, because of the unusually large space given to the lesson. The lesson could not be broken up without breaking up the unity of thought.