

PROLETARIAN BULLETIN

J U N E . 1933.

COMRADES:

We have just received a donation of \$10 to the Bulletin Fund from Local Flint, making this issue possible. We omitted from last issue the reports on the various Funds, but the reports here now bring the details of these funds up-to-date.

Locals are urged to make greater efforts in relation to National Office Funds. Our work has been greatly handicapped lately owing to insufficient receipts.

The income on Proletarian News has barely permitted its publication, in fact it has slipped behind a little on the last three issues.

Now, with the fine weather and street meetings going it should be possible to considerably increase circulation. Let us redouble our efforts Comrades.

PENNY-A-DAY FUND.

Total received to April 13th			\$26.95
April	18th	Local Los Angeles	1.00
"	26th	" Chicago	1.78
May	1st	" Detroit	2.00
"	4th	" Grand Rapids	.60
"	"	" San Francisco	1.73
"	10th	" Chicago	.60
"	15th	" San Francisco	1.02
"	"	" Jackson	.85
"	"	" Detroit	1.00
"	17th	" Rochester	5.00
"	19th	" Boston	1.00
"	22nd	" Chicago	1.17
"	23rd	" Los Angeles	.85
"	26th	" Detroit	2.00
June	6th	" Chicago	1.62
Total Received			\$49.17

NATIONAL OFFICE WEEKLY FUND.

Total Received to April 15th			\$51.58
April 26th	Local	Chicago	2.15
" 29th	"	Elkhart	2.00
May 3rd	"	Chicago	1.20
" 9th	"	Elkhart	1.00
" 10th	"	Chicago	1.80
" 16th	"	Chicago	1.10
" 23rd	"	Chicago	1.70
" 24th	"	Rochester	2.00
June 5th	"	Elkhart	2.00
" 6th		O.W. Bergquist	1.00
" "	"	Chicago	.70
Total Received			<u>\$ 68.23</u>

PROLETARIAN NEWS GUARD FUND.

Total Received to April 13th			\$59.90
April 24	Local	Jackson	2.00
May 24	#	Rochester H. Wollenhaupt	1.00
"	"	B. Feld	1.00
"	"	E. Korchein	1.00
"	"	B. Tishler	1.00
"	"	J. Conta	1.00
June 3rd	"	Milwaukee H. Olquitz	2.00
Total Received			<u>\$ 68.90</u>
June 8th	Local	Flint	10.00
			<u>\$ 78.90</u>

CONVENTION FUND

Boston	Quota	\$30	\$14.50
Rochester	"	40	
Buffalo	"	30	
Detroit	"	100	
Flint	"	30	30.00
Grand Rapids	"	20	
Niles	"	10	
Benton Harbor	"	10	
Mishawaka	"	10	
Elkhart	"	10	4.50
Chicago	"	60	24.90
New York	"	10	
Jackson	"	10	3.50
Hanover	#	10	
Danville	"	10	
Milwaukee	"	10	
Los Angeles	"	30	
San Francisco	"	50	5.00
Mecosta County	"	10	

\$500.00Received \$ 82.40-----
BULLETIN FUND

May 29th	Local	Boston	\$2.00
June 8th	"	Flint	10.00
Total Received			<u>12.00</u>

DAY'S WAGE FUND		
Received to March 28th		\$8.00
A. Wysocki	Chicago	2.00
R. Kobesco	"	1.00
J. Keracher	"	2.00
T. Anderson	"	4.00
A. Sanger	"	1.00
Total Received.		<u>\$ 18.00</u>

PARTY EXPANSION FUND

April 11th	Local	Flint	\$10.00
" 22	"	"	10.00
			<u>\$ 20.00</u>

PRE- CONVENTION DISCUSSION.

Our Problems
(by Leo Sherwood, Local Buffalo)

Let us analyze the situation of today. First, what is confronting the working class as a whole? Second, what is confronting the Party?

What method are we to apply so that we can find out how the mass of workers think and what to expect of them under certain conditions. The method we are to use is close and constant connection with workers and their organizations. This gives us an opportunity to understand and analyze the workers. With this contact we will be more able to use correct slogans and appeals in our effort to win them over.

This method brings two results; First, it popularizes the Party, chance to sell the paper, distribute leaflets, get members for the Party and win the respect of the workers. Second; It is the proving ground for us as to whether we are using our theoretical knowledge in a practical way.

Members who have failed should look themselves over and see what is the matter. Might it be their personal approach to the worker or are they simply too lazy to make an effort?

I think the conditions in Buffalo are about the same as in other industrial centers. In Buffalo one-third are unemployed one-third working part time. Wages have been going down 20% from one year to another since 1929. In the meantime the welfare has been working 100%. Relief is given to the extent of \$3.50 to \$8.00, depending on the size of the family, per week. Their rent is paid too. They also receive enough coke.

Taking the situation as it is, on its downward trend, we would expect mass awakening, but such is not the case. Economically speaking, the workers are in a bad shape, but their ideas are still in the past, "prosperity period." The "new deal" by Roosevelt and return of beer gives them new hopes. Until the bubbles fade and the contradictions within the system become

greater, we cannot expect mass awakening. In the meantime, we must get recruits from the workers for our meetings and Party.

II How Are We Managing The Party?

We have many shortcomings and faults that we can remedy. First, our paper. We got to have a paper and therefore must support it. It is our means of education and united action for the Party. The Locals should order the amount they can sell and pay for their quota. In this way the paper will come out on time. A fund should also be set aside for use in support of the paper only. If the local is getting the paper and not paying for it, there is something wrong with that local. The members should be able to sell at least 5 copies of each issue.

We should have more system in the matter of routing our Party speakers. Keracher, Renner, Novak, S. Loewe, Anderson, Larson, Gardner by all means should make more speaking trips, if we expect the Party to grow. Comrades, let all of us pull together for a self-disciplined, militant, Proletarian organization.

Need For Change (by R.J.Landgraf, Local Detroit)

The Proletarian Party has reached a stage in the revolutionary labor movement of America to seriously take stock of our Party structure. While it may have well filled the bill in the past, the rapidly changing objective conditions makes it absolutely necessary to plan well for the future. In order to have a membership informed and disciplined on Marxism, the Party machinery must be so geared as to take care of the inevitable influx of new members, with little or no knowledge of what it is all about.

At present many new members attend one or two windy business meetings and leave in disgust, and quite naturally so, as the average American worker with no previous organization experience cannot locate himself. Every issue that comes up on the floor of a business meeting and is thrashed out, reflects in the mind of the new comer a personal conflict. He leaves the meeting confused and demoralized. Remarks, such as "What's the use, they are all fighting among themselves" is common, and rightly so. He does not understand the issue nor the persons involved. That the Party machinery needs overhauling and a planned program on organization put into effect is obvious. This is the work of the coming Convention.

How is this to be accomplished?

The need for an auxiliary organization is here, a training camp for prospective members of the Proletarian Party. The writer, at the last Convention, sponsored the organization known as the Marxian Labor College. It was adopted. You may find it in the minutes, of last Convention, but no place else. Detroit made a feeble attempt to carry out this Convention decision. It is true that Local Detroit has popularized the name Marxian Labor College, with good results, but this does not alter the fact that

the Marxian Labor College has not functioned as a real organization. Why? The organization is incompetent and needs overhauling. I would propose to the next Convention the organizing of the Marxian Labor College on a dues-paying basis, with dues stamps placed in book, 15 or 20 cents a month.

Any person interested in the Labor movement, and wishing support the Marxian Labor College, could become a member of this organization. Wherever a Local of the Proletarian Party exists, a dues collecting Secretary could be appointed either by the N E C or the Local Executive Committee. Instructors for the classes could be supplied by the Local Executive Committee, with the approval of National Executive Committee.

The Marxian Labor College, as an auxiliary organization of the Proletarian Party, must be controlled from the top down, while the parent organization is based on democratic centralization and built from the bottom up.

Study classes must be conducted every week, twelve months of the year. Applicants for membership in the Party must show study class work in the Marxian Labor College for at least six months, for persons with no previous experience in the labor movement before being admitted to membership in the Party. Exceptions could be made by the Local Executive Committee, where conditions warranted. The Marxian Labor College will serve as the logical recruiting ground for the Party, and a financial aid to the Party as a whole. Comrades, let us not fall asleep on the job. This can and must be accomplished,

 The Negro Question
 (by C.M.O'Brien, Local Los Angeles)

In Europe where some of the states had within their borders several definite nationals (Russia, Austria, etc) the socialists were obliged to define their position on the national question. The distorters of Marxism wrote books and theses on this subject. Of course the Bolsheviks did not agree with their conclusions. Stalin was assigned to write a Marxian thesis on this subject, which he did in 1912. This correct Marxian position on such an important problem was of great service to the Bolshevik party, especially during the war, and more particularly since the seizure of power.

The old Marxists used their distorted views to defend the fatherland of the imperialist states, under the pretense of the Marxian defense of nationalism.

The movement in America never gave serious attention to the national question. Though there has been plenty of need for it, especially since the American-Spanish war. Even the Proletarian Party has scarcely gone beyond taunting the American section of the C.I for their distortion of this question.

Krupskaya, in her article about the 50th anniversary of the death of Marx, calls our attention to the fact that Lenin emphasized the importance of the national question. The national question like everything has a history. It varies according to time and circumstances.

The Negro Problem In America.

About 1923- and 24, the C.I. began to seek for a Marxian approach to the Negro Problem in America. They have the great advantage of having at their disposal in the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute the writings of those great thinkers, much of which is not yet in English. In 1923 the C.I. adopted a resolution, which was further elaborated in 1930, that the national question furnishes the key for the most correct Marxian understanding of the American Negro problem.

Some of our members who were very ill-informed on the national question and the history of the Negroes in America, jumped at a number of very ridiculous conclusions? I admitted my ignorance about both of these questions. But, I argued that our Party from its inception, and even before when we were the Proletarian University, had endorsed the theory of the C.I., that when we became informed on the national and Negro questions we would surely find the position of the C.I., to be correct .

It takes me a long time to understand anything that is new. I have purposely refrained from speaking in public on the Negro question, and I have advised other Comrades to do likewise, until our Party has made a decision. Recently I am convinced that the position of the C.I. on the Negro question is a real Marxian position.

Some of our members make the mistake of judging the C.P. distortion to be the C.I. position. From the C.P. the Comrades can get Stalin's 1912 thesis on the National Question, which he further elaborated in 1924. You can also get from the C.P. the pamphlet with the resolution by the C.I. in 1928, and the further elaboration in 1930, on the Negro problem. You do not need to pay much attention to what Browder and Hathaway has to say, but I would advise a careful study of the articles by Harry Haywood and James Allen, in the C.P. magazine, the Communist.

Our Party cannot any longer ignore these questions. Every member should immediately inform themselves so they can intelligently instruct their delegates to the next Convention.

Engels, when chastising the social-democrats for their abstract conclusions on important political questions, said "****
** What other result might be expected under the circumstances except that at the decisive moment the Party will suddenly find itself helpless, that lack of unity and clarity will prevail on questions of decisive importance for the very reason that such questions have never been discussed."

Regarding The Party Press

(by Isidor Tishler, Local Rochester)

It is regrettable that John Schachinger could not discuss the question of the Party Press without the spirit of carping which he allows to penetrate his otherwise good article in the March bulletin. If we are to improve the Press or the Party as a whole, we shall have to recognize one proposition, i.e. that we can not consider one certain cause or one certain individual as

being responsible for our shortcomings; we are all equally at fault. If our paper lacks ingood current articles it is most likely due to the fact that Schachinger and Tishler and the rest of us are either incapable as writers or are too lazy to write. If the paper does not come out ontime it is only because of insufficient funds and this in turn is only because some Party members evidently think that the N.C can raise money by some sort of magic. (Apropos of this the Feb. and March bulletins disclose the fact that during these two months only \$6.00 came in from Detroit).

Some of Com. Schachinger's criticism is well placed but most of it is in the nature of fault finding and picking; while the slur at Com. Keracher is entirely uncalled for and unjustifiable. Good constructive criticism is always in order but mere unfounded grumbling can accomplish nothing. Com. Schachinger may not know it, but the question of the Party press receives a great deal of attention at the last meeting of the N.E.C held in Detroit a short time ago. There are four Detroiters on the N.E.C and I hope Schachinger has enough confidence in our executive body to realize that we did not sit there and tweedle our thumbs. Practically all the "solutions" he advises were proposed by various members of the N.E.C (and this not for the first time), were thoroughly considered and the conclusions reached were calculated to correct as many of the existing shortcomings as possible. We found the question of "money" which he so blithely waves aside, as one of our greatest obstacles; and the stuff is harder and harder to get as the depression deepens.

To compare our Party to the S.P or the C.P is not only unfair but highly misleading. Both of them have access to funds which we do not have, and their press is heavily subsidised as Schachinger certainly should know. As far as the reading matter contained in the S.P or C.P, press, is Schachinger thinks it is superior to ours he is very much mistaken, unless he is looking at it from a reporters point of view. The S.P stuff is nothing but rotten reformism while the C.P material is a conglomeration of confusion expressed in sensational slogans. If the Proletarian News is not perfect in every way our writers at least make a serious attempt to write from a Marxist viewpoint and our Editorial Board is always careful to maintain a high level of Marxian analysis.

The N.E.C is working on the proposition that while it would be most desirable to have two papers, a popular current weekly and a theoretical magazine appearing quarterly (I proposed the very thing to the N.E.C some six or seven months ago), until such a time as this wish becomes a reality, our next best bet is a periodical containing material of both sorts, current and theoretical.

And what does Schachinger mean by implying in his "solution" that "all work on the press must be voluntary, etc" ? Doesnt he know that all work on our paper has always been voluntary except for a short period when Jelset was supposed to be getting \$10 a week? And doesnt he know that even the National Secretary's job, in practice is almost "voluntary", since he does not always get his munificent salary of \$20.00?

Without going into a detailed discussion of all of Schachingers suggestions, which as I said above, are not new, it seems to me that basically his dissatisfaction is the result of a disjointed, right wing, localistic attitude. The Comrade should try to realize

three things ;first the business of the Proletarian Party is not merely to grow, but to GROW AS A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION based on democratic centralism###, perfecting itself as an instrument of revolution; secondly, while we certainly should do everything in our power to improve both the Party press and the Party as a whole, we need not necessarily ape either the S P or the C P; thirdly the Party and the National Office do not exist for the convenience of Local Detroit or some other one Local but on the contrary, all Locals of the Party must learn to subordinate their autonomous considerations, which crop out from time to time, for the good of the Party as a whole---and this must be done even if it hurts the ego of this or that individual or this or that committee.

By all means let us improve the Party and our Press, but let us do it as Marxists and realists, not as sentimental evangelists.

 Some Of The Problems For The
 Coming Convention.
 (by Stanley Novak, Local Detroit)

A revolutionary Party must review its work in the past and present, pointing out the errors and accomplishments. It must very carefully and critically examine the changes in the objective conditions, party tactics in relation to the new conditions, party structure and the facilities in carrying out its work. Such frank and open critical examination of the entire work of the party is absolutely necessary to the success of the revolutionary movement. Without it the party cannot become the vanguard of the revolutionary working class.

The coming Convention should be a landmark in the development of our party. It is confronted with a much greater task than any of the previous conventions. This Convention will demonstrate as to whether our party is capable of making rapid changes to adapt itself to new conditions, and whether it is flexible enough to make rapid changes, to analyse correctly the objective conditions, work out concrete slogans and methods of approach to every major problem, to build machinery for carrying propaganda on a much larger scale than in the past.

The Proletarian Party, like the entire Communist movement, is a result principally of two factors, namely the Russian Revolution and the complete collapse of the Second International. These two events helped greatly to expose the shallow and very reformist character of the Socialist Party of America and to demonstrate its inability to become the leader of the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle for power.

The capitalist economy in Europe had reached the peak of its development on the eve of the World War. Since 1914 capitalism in Europe has been definitely on the decline. The post-war stabilization of capitalism, which took place beginning with 1923 and ended in 1929, was only partial and of short duration. It had never fully recovered from the injury inflicted by the World War. In the United States capitalism made the greatest expansion in the history of this country since 1923. During this period of expansion conditions were unfavorable to a large revolutionary movement among the native American proletariat. It was extremely

difficult to work out specific revolutionary tactics applicable to the peculiarities of the American situation, due to the relative security of the American workers during this expansion period.

The Communist Party, lacking in understanding of Marxism and Leninism, imported slogans and specific tactics from the Communist Parties in Europe, overlooking the difference in the stage of economic and political conditions of capitalism in Europe and America. The Communist International, influenced chiefly by conditions in Europe, was greatly handicapped in comprehending the peculiar problems confronting the revolutionary movement in America. The Proletarian Party, due to considerable understanding of Marxism, avoided the error of transplanting tactics from abroad. Our Party made more effort to work out tactics adapted to the American conditions than any other Communist group. However, our achievement was far from being satisfactory.

Our propaganda in the press and meetings was extremely general. We made too little effort in analysing definite and concrete problems as they came from day to day. We spoke and wrote of the capitalist society in general. Theoretically we were a political party. However, the limitations of our activities placed us in the category of a propaganda organization. During the period of prosperity this was, to some extent, inevitable since the objective conditions were unfavorable for a large revolutionary movement, the movement being in the propaganda stage.

This condition was more of a shortcoming than an error in the past; but were we to lose sight of the great change which has taken place, and not mould our activities to be applicable to this new condition, it would then become a serious and unpardonable error.

The revolutionary movement is confronted with several important problems, to which it must give a correct, detailed explanation and work out a method of approach and concrete slogans. Following are some of these problems.

1. Unemployment:

In addition to a general explanation, we must point out the degree of unemployment from time to time, and analyse charity and the capacity of the ruling class for maintaining this charity. We must point out the nature of the unemployed councils and their struggle against unemployment, and work out a definite plan for our participation in the unemployed councils.

2. The Farmer Problem:

We must review the general development in agriculture. In this field we must answer the following question: "What revolutionary possibility do the farmers possess?" We must connect up the struggle for the revolution with the immediate and concrete demands of the farmers. A method of approach to the farmer has to be worked out, as well as the building up of the necessary machinery to carry our propaganda among the farmers.

3. The Negro Problem:

We must examine the conditions in the South and particularly the so called "Black Belt." In this field we must answer the question of whether the negro in the Black Belt constitutes a national

question of a class suffering from a pre-capitalistic form of oppression. The conditions of the Negro workers in the North must be examined. We must work out slogans applicable to the Black Belt and to the negro workers in the North,

4. The Communist International and its American Section:

We must make an analysis of the tactics of the C.I. throughout the world. Also, we must critically examine the Communist Party of America. In the past we have been too mild in our criticism. In the future a more militant policy should be adopted in exposing their stupid tactics. We should constantly bear in mind, however, that criticisms, to be effective, must be fundamental in character and honestly directed.

5. The Proletarian Youth League:

We have made several attempts to establish a youth organization in different locals without success. At the coming convention there will be, for the first time, several locals of the youth organizations represented. The convention must work out a national structure for the Proletarian Youth League, and work out a plan for building up a national organization. Never before has the insecurity of the youth ~~#####~~ been as apparent to the youth itself. The convention should spend considerable time on the problem of youth organization.

6. The Proletarian News:

In building up the Party we must have a better paper. The Proletarian News is not a theoretical periodical, as it was not intended to be one; and its appearance but once a month renders it a very inadequate propaganda paper. While the articles deal with current problems, yet they fail to serve the purpose because they reach the reader long after the particular event is well known. The Party must have a paper appearing weekly. Some provision should be made for a permanent editor; a committee giving their spare time cannot produce the kind of a paper we need. Our propaganda paper should deal more with current and concrete problems. For theoretical purposes we should have a bulletin coming out once a month to supply the necessary theoretical and tactical information to the membership. The writer realizes the limited facilities in the National Office. Such a Party bulletin does not necessarily have to be mimeographed in the National Office. As Local Detroit is in possession of considerable office facilities such a bulletin could be mimeographed in Detroit under the jurisdiction of the National Secretary, through the N.E.C members located in Detroit.

7. The National Office :

The Party is suffering from too great concentration of the Party's work in the hands of one man, the National Secretary, who is expected to be the Party's theoretical spokesman, writer to the paper, speaker, organizer, and a stenographer. It is impossible to find a man with all these qualifications. We need a greater division of the work in the National Office among the members of the N.E.C. Until our Party systematically divides its work among a larger number of its members it will not become a large organization.

We have worked in the past on the theory that centralization necessitates concentration of work in the hands of a few people, chiefly the National Secretary. We must remember that democratic centralization presupposes a division of work.

The N E C should make political statements on events of importance from time to time. The Locals should be supplied from the National Office with detailed plans of the Party's tactics in various fields of activity. The theory prevalent, that the members themselves should know the Party's position on all matters, should be definitely abandoned.

The Executive Council should appoint a committee to write a draft of the Party Manifesto. This should be printed in the Party "Bulletin" for a general discussion. Through this method the Party as a whole would participate in the production of the Manifesto. To write such a Manifesto on short notice between the sessions of the Convention is a very difficult task. We should give a great deal of time to this most important document of the Party.

8. Utilizing Ability Within The Party.

We have never made decisive effort to make use of the ability among the Party membership. We have comrades with considerable speaking and organizational ability, who are practically inactive through no fault of their own. The Party must assume responsibility for their inability, due to the fact that we have made insufficient effort and had no organized plan for utilizing such ability.

We have in the Party a number of women comrades who have considerable knowledge of the movement and some speaking ability of which the Party has made very little use. Plans should be worked out for using the capabilities of these women comrades as well as the men.

COMRADES: - There is quite a few more articles for the Bulletin. It takes time and cash to get it out, especially the latter. Locals are urged to send cash so that paper and postage can be covered. It has simply been the absence of cash that has delayed the prompter appearance of the Bulletin. Comrade Sanger has given much assistance on Bulletin work and on this issue Comrade Finch from San Francisco has been busy at the mimeograph machine.

PROLETARIAN BULLETIN

JUNE 1933.

(SECOND SECTION)

On Article Of Comrade Wass
(by G.M.O'Brien, Local Los Angeles)

In order to give vent to his feelings Comrade Wass, in the April Bulletin, grossly exaggerates the shortcomings of the P.P. and the C.I. This indicates that there is another cause for his dissatisfaction and somewhat panicky outlook. The make-up of his article suggests that he has just entered the process of co-ordinating the knowledge acquired in the revolutionary movement. My personal experience causes me at this time to think that much depends on influence from association and a careful re-reading of Lenin's explanation of the fundamentals of Marxism.

If the few instances he cites are all that is wrong with the C.I. and the P.P., then they are both better than I think they are. He complains about too much "abstract", and yet his article is evidence that in this respect he is very guilty. His rather covert remarks about "self-styled theoreticians" *** "who insist" *** "on directing the movement of active Comrades ----" That is very similar to what the Proudhonists, the Blanguists, Bakuninists and the Weitlingists said about Marx, and also similar to what the enemies of Bolshevism said about Lenin.

The weakness of our Party is that those who have theoretical ability have to do so much of the "concrete" work of the Party that they have not sufficient time for theoretical study. The list of what Comrade Wass says we "must have in our program" is one evidence of how much "active comrades" need theoretical "directing."

- (1) History of Capitalism in U.S.A, since 1776.
- (2) Brief review of the cause of all previous panics and prosperous periods.
- (3) Explain difference between periods of free competition with open large frontier and imperialism with international trusts that divide the world's territory.
- (4) The difference between crisis in free competition and those in the period of imperialism.
- (5) Deal with the various opposition parties, their splits and their respective programs, utopian and reformer schemes, contrasted with revolutionary Marxism.
- (6) Clear view of craft and industrial unions and how not to be caught in the cross-fire during strikes.
- (7) A guide for future movements that are bound to arise.
- (8) How to work in unemployed organizations.
- (9) How to organize party nuclei and rally advanced non-party elements, etc.

- (10) How to prevent self-styled theoreticians from insisting on directing the movement of active comrades.
- (11) To remedy the obvious contradiction in our party position to the C.I.
- (12) Adopt a more critical position toward the C.I.
- (13) To cease to remain in the position of reverent idolizers and religious worshipers of the C.I., and with revolutionary courage stay with Marxian path, etc.

These thirteen points when fully elaborated would certainly make an imposing volume. It would certainly be an excellent means of advertising our small party. If we could get the money to print it and if we could find workers, especially among the unemployed, with money enough to buy it.

No (1) itself would make a large volume, but there is great need for it. Here I would quote what Lenin said at the April, 1917 Bolshevik Conference, with delegates representing 70,000 members:

"...it would be desirable to create a scientific organ and develop literature dealing with this subject, but for this we have neither the men nor the means---"

2 and 4 would make a much needed booklet. There is nothing like that in existence as far as I know. 3 is very important. It would make a lengthy thesis or small pamphlet. 5 would make a good sized pamphlet. It is also necessary. 6, 7, 8 and 9 should each be in the form of a thesis and should be written by the Detroit Comrades. The program should be a summary of our position on all important issues.

Engels, somewhere, taunts the metaphysicians about their horror of contradictions. In this respect Comrade Wass should re-read what Dietzgen has to say. Wass says; "It is a well known fact by this time, that the entire C.I., after its Fourth Congress, has swamped itself in profusion of reforms, that would put the Second International to shame..." This is an irresponsible statement. The great majority of the members of the C.I. and its theoreticians are in the U S S R. Even "the entire" 2nd International, before and during the war, had the Bolsheviks and smaller groups in most every country, including the Proletarian University group that became the P.P.

To whom is it "a well known fact?" Does he mean Trotsky and those who are influenced by his writings? It certainly is not "a well known fact" to me and I have read most of the C.I. and Trotsky literature during that period. It is safe to say that there are millions of workers, many of whom are better informed than Comrade Wass or myself on this subject, who do not consider it "a well known fact." Wass complains about too much "abstract" but merely mentions only three concretes, for this very large abstract. (1) "Chinese fiasco" (2) "Mexican order for proletarian insurrection" (3) German losses of Communist votes."

He assumes that the members of the P.P are well informed on these three concretes. I do not know enough about the affair in China to take Trotsky's statement that it was a "fiasco"

3 Is Comrade Wass so well informed on this subject that he is warranted in making the abstraction "fiasco"? If so how come that he has not informed the members of the P.P., and the readers of its official organ, on this highly complicated question? I know nothing about (2).

As for 3 "it is a well known fact" that some workers will vote for one party at this election and for another at the next. It is possible that some of those who voted for the P.P. in Michigan at the last election might not vote for the P.P. in the next election. Then there is such a thing as ballots being destroyed or not counted. Does Comrade Wass know that the Fascists did not do that thing with the Communist vote ?

Since its inception the P.P. has endorsed the theory and policy of the C.I. Comrade Wass sees "an obvious contradiction" because we point to the "worthlessness of its American section". According to that anti-dialectic method of reasoning, to condemn a part is to condemn the whole.

The "revolutionary courage" of Comrade Wass is expressed by his sneers "reverent idolizers"--"religious worshipers" against those members of our party who adhere to the party policy regarding the J.I. The same metaphysical method could be used regarding his loyalty to Marxism.

Further Criticism Of Bergstrom's Article
In the March Bulletin.
(by C.M.O'Brien, Local Los Angeles)

My criticism of Comrade Bergstrom's article in the March Bulletin omitted his quotation from Lenin's speech at the April 1917 Conference, because it was some years since I had read that material. Since then I have reread the large pamphlet containing Lenin's thesis and speeches at that Conference and I find that Bergstrom used that quotation in a way that completely distorts what Lenin meant.

On page 22 Lenin says: "The Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, spreading the network of their organization over all of Russia, are at this time the central force of the revolution;---" On page 24 he says: "What then are the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat? ... "What we shall discuss are concrete steps and measures. Some of these are ripe and some are not ripe."

On page 25 Lenin says: "The first thing the Soviets must accomplish is the nationalization of the land", then he goes on and includes the banks and the big ~~#####~~ syndicates."

On page 28 we find what Comrade Bergstrom quoted: "If we suffer defeat, we shall have partial success. We shall have reforms. Reforms are an auxiliary means in the class struggle."

Surely Comrade Bergstrom must have noticed that two lines above where he started to quote, Lenin said: "We must not degenerate into reformism."

Why didn't Bergstrom quote that statement? Was it because

it does not fit in with his opportunist tendencies? Less than three pages from where Bergstrom quotes, Lenin says: "All the measures just indicated, as well as others of the same nature, could and should be not merely discussed and prepared so that they might be carried out on a national scale in case the proletariat gained power, but, wherever opportunity presents itself, should be carried into life immediately by local revolutionary organs of people's power."

On the same page Lenin says: "When all such measures are carried out, Russia will stand with one foot in Socialism." And, on page 41, "This is all that we can promise and must do now." Again, on page 45, "If you will wait until the law is written, and do not in the meantime take revolutionary action, you will have neither the law nor the land." On page 46, "You propose that the peasants enter into agreements with the landlords. We say that the land should be taken right now."

Surely it is apparent that the reforms Lenin advocated were, like those of Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, to be after the workers took power, or "by local revolutionary organs of people's power," in defiance of the capitalist "government."

Nowhere, from the beginning to the end of this document does Lenin recommend that the capitalist government be asked for a solitary reform. Under other circumstances even such reforms might be "auxiliary means in the class struggle."

Lenin accused the social-chauvinists of trying to "turn Marx into a hackneyed liberal." Comrade Bergstrom is trying to turn Lenin into a hacknaded reformer. It is worthy of note that Comrade Bergstrom's article began with a lofty apparent revolutionary attitude, and concluded by recommending reform "teeth."

If the social storm arising from the present crisis already causes a bright young student like Comrade Bergstrom to so glaringly misunderstand Lenin's intent, then what is to become of such members in our party when the storm really breaks?

Anyhow, it is evident that Comrade Bergstrom is not yet competent to recommend "teeth" for our Party program.

 Criticism of Comrade Larson's Article
 In the February Bulletin.

(by C.M.O'Brien, Local Los Angeles)

Comrade Larson's article in the February Bulletin reminds us that we "happily ejected sometime ago a number of erratic theoreticians who" thought that the falling rate of profit was the cause of panics. However, that is not why they were ejected. They were ejected because they violated party discipline.

Comrade Larson continues: "And there were others who, giving no evidence of having investigated the complex formations of modern economic life, or the background of it, declared that the

crisis was merely due to overproduction; that panics come and go in their cycles-- and let the Party's position on the depression stand with little more than such a wholly inadequate statement."

I agree that the Party's position on the crisis, as outlined at its Convention a year ago last June, was inadequate. But not wholly inadequate. There were two main causes for this. An inadequate theoretical level of our leaders, and the disruptive policy of the "erratic theoreticians" mentioned by Comrade Larson. However the shortcomings of our Party on the crisis in general are not erratic statements, and if I mistake not, also theories, such as I think are to be found in Larson's article.

It is unfortunately true that the wording of our program implies the narrow view mentioned by Comrade Larson. But on our special theses on Objective Conditions (which Larson must be familiar with) the difference between this crisis and former panics is emphasized. Also, that capitalism has definitely entered its period of decline. Comrade Larson, who has joined us since that time, says: "The depression is due, not to industrial overproduction, but to basic overproductivity, which is an entirely different matter."

I am aware that there is a difference between commodities produced and the means of production. But that they are in this respect so ~~#####~~ "entirely different" I am not so sure. I wish he had referred us to where we could find authoritative evidence. Comrade Larson admits that there is overproduction of raw materials but he contends that the warehouses stand practically empty of finished manufactured articles. The latest figures I have seen shows that the stock of manufactured is slightly less than in 1929 and that there has been an increase in the supply of raw materials, but the total in October 1932 was about the same as in October 1929

Comrade Larson says: "To declare, for example, as so many elements in the general labor movement have done, that the depression has merely redivisioned, but not seriously reduced, the income of the bourgeoisie, is to be guilty of extreme absurdity." Well, The Journal of Commerce published "Interests and Dividends for 1929, amounting to \$7,854,000,000, for 1930 \$8,572,000,000, for 1931 \$8,200,000,000 and for the first 10 months of 1932 \$6,050,000,000.

I cannot vouch for the accuracy of these figures. But it should be remembered that there is probably twenty millions of workers still on the job, using the most efficient means of production, speeding to the limit, receiving wages that are little more than half of what they received before the crisis.

Comrade Larson gives figures to show that from 1866 to the latter part of the 90's there was an increase in the nominal and the real wages. "Then both the price index and the nominal wage began to flutter, but on the whole went up equally until 1914." I am not much on figures, but I am sure that the figures he quotes and the conclusions he draws do not fit the facts.

If real and nominal wages were increasing, how are we to account for hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers spontaneously going on strike in 1877, their motto being "It is better to starve idle than working". Then, from the latter part of the 80's

until about 1903, the conditions were so bad, most of the time, unemployment so great, Coxie's Army marching on Washington, that there grew up in the labor movement a philosophy of despair. It was then that the theory arose of a "return to industrial feudalism." Even Karl Kautsky, one of the greatest Marxian theoreticians of that time, admitted later that he thought capitalism was at an end and the workers unprepared to take power.

The American-Spanish, British-Boer and the Russian-Japanese wars, and the gold rush to the Klondyke, gave capitalism a new lease on life. Then there was the panic of 1907-1908. Then from the latter part of 1912 until the war of 1914, the conditions were so bad that a wave of textile, coal, metal and other strikes swept the country. The government became alarmed and appointed the Industrial Relations Commission to investigate. Their report showed that the cost of living was considerably more than the average wage.

New Methods To Meet Changed Conditions
(by Al. Renner, Local Detroit)

The Pre-Convention discussion in the Party Bulletin has clearly shown the great need for meeting the issue that is so extremely current, that is, the development of our Party to meet the objective conditions of the day. In the entire discussion, both in the Party Bulletin and in the Locals, I have not heard expressed any feeling to the contrary. Our general statement, whereas correct, should be more specifically developed in detail, thus providing a guide not only to the rank and file, but also to the members upon whose shoulders falls the interpretation of the Party position. The great need is for the development of professional revolutionaries, specialists in a particular field, and this work must be the task of our next Convention.

Comrade O'Brien has referred to the object of increasing the number of members to the Executive Committee from seven to fifteen. He has also stated that it did not produce the desired result, and has recommended the reduction again to seven. With this I heartily agree, and would suggest the following procedure for the next Convention:

(1) That a committee of seven constitute the N.E.C., of which the National Secretary would be a member.

2. That only Comrades who can give the major portion of their time accept as members of the N.E.C.

3. That they be in a position to meet at least every second month, and be so located as to make such meetings possible without travelling several thousand miles. The question may arise that this would not provide representation for the Pacific Coast and possibly for New York City. However, in this important work, Comrades in the districts that would add strength to the N.E.C, should be brought in close proximity to the National Office.

4. That their work be divided in the following manner; One member of the N.E.C. be assigned the study and specialization on the farm question. It will be his duty to prepare a thesis dealing with the farm question, to be endorsed by the N.E.C., and he then

to be in charge of all work dealing with the farm question concerning the Party. Also, that he appoint a Comrade in each district, to work under his supervision, who shall be an ex-officio member of any committee in said district dealing with the question of work among the farmers. Also, that the district members and the N.E.C members be footloose, that they may go wherever important developments among the farmers are taking place.

5. That the same plan be followed regarding other work to which each member of the N.E.C. will be assigned, such as Unemployed Councils, United Front Issues, International Affairs, Education Research, Work, Finance and Party Press.

6. It shall be the duty of the N.E.C members and the District Organizers to adjust any irregularities which may arise in any local pertaining to the department of which they are in charge.

With this plan developed, we will have an active organization able cope with any emergency that may arise, and in this manner effect the necessary stimuli to the development of a mass Party.

 Communist International
 (by Mary Wright, Local Boston)

The Proletarian Party should discuss very seriously the question of the Third International, taking into consideration all the events of the past few years.

The position taken at the last Convention, and expressed in the Platform, is that the C.I. is the best international working-class organization, but that its American section is worthless. To say that the C.I. is the best International does not necessarily mean that we accept everything it does without criticism. The very fact of our opposition to the C.P. of A. is in itself very severe criticism of the C.I. And, in addition, many of the policies for which we criticize the Communist Party are the directions of the Communist International.

For example, the C.I. and the C.P. are in perfect harmony on the negro question; the C.I. has repeatedly instructed the C.P. to continue its policy of dual unionism, and on the question of the united front we find the C.P. of A. acting exactly as directed by the C.I. The C.I. has repeatedly urged a united front below. Even in its May 1st manifesto that is what it urged. In other words, the continued attempt to control or smash all united fronts is not peculiar to the American movement, but is rather part of the instructions of the International. We should take cognizance of these facts, and criticize the C.I. in exactly the same way that we criticize the C.P. of A. To do otherwise is to either convert the C.I. into a Vatican, above criticism, or else to stoop to petty political tricks in an effort, a vain effort in all probability, to win recognition from the C.I.

A real Communist does not worship, he attempts to understand, He does not condemn one organization while uncritically praising another which is the same. If the C.P. of A. is rotten, then the C.I. is no more sound, for the errors which we find in the C.P. of A. are carried out under the guidance of the C.I..