# For the 6-Hour Day, 5-Day Week

itical backward class in the advanced objected to "government charity". "La- problem. They have established a na- the reduction of hours. The capitalist capitalist nations. Now this class is con- bor" wanted work. fronted with permanent mass unemploy- The shorter work day propaganda of of the Standard Oil, who is now devoting greater speed-up. The workers side, ment. One reaction of the working class the bosses is a means of reducing the his full time to this "emergency" for to the crisis has been the motion in op- standard of living of the workers, is a (I suppose) a "dollar" a year, just like posite directions of this physical and means of furthering the wage cut drive he devoted his time to the "emergency" will determine to what degree it can drive mental condition of speed-up and back- by the "Stagger Plan" against the work- of the last world war. They know what the movement in the opposite direction. wardness. The speed-up has been inten- ers. The blind and ignorant Stalinists emergencies are and act accordingly. The role of the party will determine sified while the political consciousness of saw the capitalist side of this class pro- committee functions throughout the coun- much of this. Stalinism has already ansthe class is being awakened and is moving blem confused it with our side and dis- try, covering every avenue of activity us- wered. We Communist workers should into class channels.

and the lowering of the standard of liv- problem has its working class side into sections. In each locality a chairing of the American workers has set in motion class forces, that if properly dir- all simple problems Stalinism makes enlists the heads of the large business ected by the party, can become the force, them complicated and all complicated and industries. All the firms n the same which will be able to move the class far problems Stalinism tries to simplify, line are grouped together and a vice ilize these men for an attack on what along the road toward the solution. This is true, in so far as the revolutionists direct this class force by a correct program of action.

Once more history is proving the correctness of a Marxian analysis and its class program for the problem. The analysis of the Left Opposition is being confirmed, but due to the revisionists, the Stalinists, it is being confirmed in a negative way.

When the process of capitalist accumulation reaches its advanced stage: when accumulation is counterposed by overpopulation and mass unemployment; the Stalinists, has put a damper on even had not done so 3,500,000 more workers of the problem is found in the revoluwhen the productive forces reach a point the thought about this problem. where the relative decrease of the number of industrial workers is transformed into an absolute decrease, expressed by increased production and by a decrease in labor power; when "Accumulation of wealth at one pole, is therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole" -then the period of proletaran revolutions has been entered and unless the capitalists take drastic steps, or are faced with a proletariat without a Marxian leadership-the favorable objective conditions will be developed and transformed into revolutionary uprisings of the proletariat against the capitalists.

One of the most fundamental economic problems confronting the American capitalists, which they recognize, but which the party under Stalinist leadership does not recognize—is the adjustment of this surplus labor power to the tremendous productive forces which constantly calls for less labor power per unit.

There is no solution of this problem for the capitalist class, because it is only a surface indication and an expression in the decay stage of capitalism of the contradiction between socialized production tion on the united front: we will even ist masses. It enabled further an exposand capitalist appropriation. However, make a united front with the devil. Be- ure of the Socialists as splitters and beif our class through the inability of its tween Goldman's speech and that of trayers, who kept the threat of withvanguard does not take advantage of the favorable class relationship, the capitalist class will, by this means, not only steal a march on us, but will also strengthen their position against the coming with a reality that contradicted the posi- because the struggle of the unemployed tire present campaign of the Stalinists class battles.

Either of the immediate temporary "solutions" of the problem of the reorganization of labor power to productive forces, the capitalist road or the proletarian road, is negative for the capitalist class from the standpoint of economics, but negative to an entirely different degree. However, from a political standpoint, the capitalists victory far less harmful, if we allow the capitalist to decide how to recognize which means to allow them to "solve" the problem confronting them. The capitalist's aim in obtaining the lever of the problem is to find the capitalist way out of permanent that the party would not and could not mass unemployment, and to slow up the tempo of class consciousness development of the American workers and to further reduce the standard of living to enable them to obtain a breathing spell from the contradiction of the accumulation and the falling rate of profit, by the reduction of the necessary labor through speedup and lower wages.

The aim of the working class must be to utilize this contradiction to widen the gap between these economic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, accelerate the process of class consciousness and force a reorganization of or is there a new line in the offing), for But this change is only a beginning and manner-damning to the authors of the posal." labor power to productive power-by the reduction of hours with NO REDUCTION OF PAY. Only class pressure properly organized and directed by the Communist party can accomplish this task.

Up to the present our constant and consistent criticism and activity against the Stalinist course in the unemployment field and their failure to mobilize a struggle, or at least to prepare the ground for it, around the slogan of the six-hourday and five\_day-week and no reduction in pay, has, as we have pointed out more than once in the columns of the Multant, resulted in allowing the capitalists to nations and exposes the utterly hopeless ing eleven sailors for every eight needed way to the South Manchurian in Shant- anese controlling 26.4 percent. Japan's Party, the socialist party, trade unions class, without a directive to the class sent to Manchuria, reported: "Manchuria shrewdest "catch-as-catch-can" methods 1919. However, in every case Japan has against the strengthening of Japan's in- order to expose the social-reformers. Any as though we were automatons to be is a very important market for American in this conflict. Despite all its disad- outmaneuvered the U. S. imperialists in fluence in China is reflected politically in other so-called united front is only a handled and remolded to the capitalist's flour, oil, tobacco, etc., and especially for vantages (older and fewer ships) the this sphere.

have been steadily, and without too piece goods practically monopolize the much bragging, working on this problem. market.... The trade of Manchuria is of They have floundered, they have made more importance to the U. S. than to any mistakes, but being left alone by the other nation, with the possible exception vanguard of the proletariat, they were of Japan." It was the successful Japanable to at least takes some steps "in ese methods of closing this trade to the ican business from Manchuria raised a of Yap to Japan as a "mandate". Am- between Japan and the U. S.? The ans- the Communist party to officially send the right direction" toward strengthen U. S. that led to the Hays formulation storm of obloquy in the press here against erican militarism saw with dismay the wer lies in the immense distances involv- delegates and give Communist directives. ing their class position against the in of the Open Door policy, a policy consist- all things Japanese. In San Francisco, handing over to Japan of the strategic ed. So long as Japan controls her inevitable coming head-on struggles.

called a conference of business leaders, rebates to Japanese business, by the tend special schools for Orientals. The building of naval bases in these islands. with its nearest naval base 5,000 miles, surance, must be added the demand for ness recovery", the most capable technic methods taught by capitalism. The for- of the world (1908). Continued friction treat temporarily. At this conference the can revolutonize the situation remains a out preliminary steps to release some of Manchuria, the Japs evade these duties. Agreement of 1912, the Japs withholding Jap alliance of 1902 which formed a of the Caroline and Marshall Islands should adopt these demands and measures surance or immediate relief, but through Japs in the U. S. more fundamental class steps for their own class interest, because as yet, the class was not resisting in an effective waged for control of Pacific shipping. of 1924.

A deadly conflict is constantly being citizenship led up to the exclusion law Manchukuo. Here is Tanaka's view of emerge from an impasse in case of war recent developments: "The Nine Powers with Japan.

For years the American worker has being sanctioned by "labor". "Labor", the capitalist class, is the establishment been the most highly exploited and pol. also was opposed to the dole. "Labor" of the "legal" apparatus to "solve" this of the workers side of the question of

missed it as reactionary, as "social Fasc- ing labor power. The condition of mass unemployment ist", etc., not once realizing that every

tle progress they have made is far great- cases". (New York Times, Oct. 30" er progress than we have made with our | Teagle says, "more than 3000 firms,

tional organization, with Walter Teagle, method brings with it lower wages and

"The entire country has been divided "also". This should be A B C, but like man has been appointed who in turn which has resulted in simplifying matters group or chairman as appointed who in for the capitalist enemies. The Stalin- turn enlists the heads of large business ists forgot or ignored the struggle for and industries. General meetings are held the shorter work day and bitterly fought throughout the country, as well as group Teagle uses with the real essence of the the slogan of, 'The six hour day, the meetings, and representatives visit infive day week, and no reduction in pay." dividual firms to explain the advantages Up to the present, the capitalists have of the plan." "Moreover, much literanot made much progress with their side ture is distributed and plans are worked of this problem. Nevertheless, what lit- out for adopting the scheme to special

side of the same problem, because the mostly in the manufacturing and indus- it with the other pressing immediate demost powerful organized political force trial field have already adopted similar mands for the struggle against unemof our class, the party, controlled by plans and it is estimated that if they ployment and point out that the solution would have been added to the list of un-tionary overthrow of capitalism. As Some of the preliminary steps taken employed." One can read almost daily Stalinism "grows" in America so grow the oppressed nationalities within the ism as well as in acclamation, dispasnow, after three years of the crisis, by accounts of the "practical plan" and its the mistakes of Stalinism. -OEHLER.

through the class struggle drives in the opposite direction. The class pressure answer them by removing such leaders will go on to a program of socialism. and replacing them with Marxists. By

recalling the Left Opposition to the party. Speaking of "Job sharing", Teagle says, The help of the ablest business executives is required. We are trying to mob-I consider the principle obstacle to the return of prosperity: unemployment." One should not confuse the terminology problem. The minority exploiters must always cloak their "attack" against the workers in class collaboration drapes when the class relations are so favorable for them.

The Left Opposition will continue its propaganda in this field and coordinate

## Stalinist Zig-zags on the Chicago Conference

(Concluded from last issue)

policy. It continued to preach "united the united policy as practised in Chicago. where. In Germany, the Berlin organifront from below". It failed to educate its membership about this change with the result that there is naturally confusion in the party ranks. That is why it necessary for Gebert to discuss the lessons of the conference.

Party Confusion

front quite correctly. He stated that it one, permitting the Communists to gain the "united front from below!" Then united in common struggle on an issue ity of the position of the Communists so far as to restate Trotsky's declara- thereby winning support of non-Communtense discussion revolved around the a policy was adopted. But we raised Falsification of history! In this con- present program of the Communist Inand that the united front in Chicago tion. This is a great error and a crime marked a departure from the official Stalinist position on the united front.

Under the training of the theory of social Fascism, and having been taught sit around one table with social Fascists, nor for that matter in one conference.

Gebert's article. After correctly critic- a united front of all workers and their of Communism" (published by the Comizing the conference for its failure to organizations, as took place in Chicago. munist party). Unfortunately, a serious time to develop according to whether attempt to draw employed workers into The party must declare itself. It cannot the movement, for having failed to appeal face two ways on this question.

lits failure to draw into the executive; because it is not a complete and thorough The Party changed its position on the committee other delegates besides those change, it is incorrect. The party gained united front in the Chicago affair. But from the Workers League, the Unemploy- in Chicago. The policy of the united it changed it in usual fashion. It re- ed Councils and the Socialist groups, he front as advocated by the Opposition was mained silent about this reversal of makes a final plea for the extension of vadicated there as it is vindicated every-

Our View

In the leaflet distributed to the demon stration (See Militant, No. 144) the Op position, declared its approval of the united front and ponted out that this united front was precisely what the Opposition had been calling for at all times. We In his appeal for funds, Goldman, the welcomed the change in the line of the I. L. D. lawyer, characterized the united party, because the change was a correct was a unity of workers of various pol- contact with wider masses of workers, the party will be in a position to make tical parties and other organizations, to demonstrate before them the superiorthat effected all workers. Goldman went over other political movements, and Williamson lay a great abyss. In the drawal from the conference over the District Committee of the party an in- head of its participants, if too militant united front, it found itself face to face the slogan of: 'Maintain the United Front' cise phrase can be summed up the ention of the party. That is why comrade did not end with the demonstrations. It in attempting to give to their false M, whom Gebert takes to task, could not remains just as acute today as ever and theories a heredity dating back to the understand why the leaders of the So- the party must continue the correct be- days of Marx and Engels. But what cialist party and other Right wing or- ginning. But from all appearances the they can do with the as yet unpublished ganizations were seated at the conference. united front has disbanded not only be- works of Lenin, they are unable to do to Comrade M. we must declare, correctly cause the Socialists welcomed the end of those writings of the founders of scieninterpreted the party policy. And while the demonstration and thereby their par- tific socialism that saw the light of Gebert is essentially in the right in his ticipation, but also, because the party day long before the era of the present criticism of M.'s position, he should de- likewise was prepared to end the united epigones. clare that the policy of the party is wrong front with the close of the demonstraagainst the unemployed workers who need leadership and united action.

But Gebert's humor is too tragic. He calls for an extension of the united front policy applied in Chicago, but does not raise the cry of maintaining the present united front and extending the struggle comrade M. drew his logical conclusions it began. He does not declare that the The draft was used by Marx in the crea that it was wrong to have seated Borders official policy of the party must be disand Schneid, of the Socialist party, carded because it is false and contra-McVeigh of the Farmer-Labor Party, and dicts the entire event in Chicago. Which shall it be? "United front from below", What is more amusing is the close of which means no united front at all-or,

not sound strange coming from Gebert situation brought about this "new line". it has appeared, in an understandable of the forces of production at its dis- tion).

zation carried out a similar policy and locked horns with the Central Committee. In the United States, the Central Committee remained silent. Why?

The party has as its task to bring about clarity. It must not hedge, and make half changes while maintaining the theoretical base for a false position. Away with the theory of social Fascism and greater progress.

An excellent and concise presentation

of the view of Engels on the question

of 'socialism in one country', is obtained

from the pamphlet entitled "Principles

of Communism." This writing composed

of a series of questions and answers, was

a draft of a program submitted by En-

gels to the Communist League in 1847.

tion of that masterpiece of programmatic

The work appeared in America as one

of the series of pamphlets in 'The Little

Red Library", under the title "Principles

typographical error crept in, making un-

literature, "The Communist Manifesto."

-ALBERT GLOTZER

Archives of the Left Opposition

Engels on the International Revolution

### Trotsky Speaks to American Audiences on Significance of Russian Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

from 1905. In accordance with its im- head. The democratic parties wasted mediate task, the Russian revolution was the remains of the confidence of the a bourgeois revolution but the Russian masses. The Russian army no longer bourgeoisie was already entirely reac- wanted to fight for the foreign aims tionary. The victory of the Russian of imperialism... The oppressed nationalrevolution was, therefore, possible only ists rose up against the bureaucracy of as the victory of the proletariat. But Petrograd; in the most important secthe victorious proletariat will not stop tions of Soviet Russia the Bolsheviki at the program of the bourgeoisie; it

This was the theory of the permanent revolution formulated by me in 1905, and since then exposed to severest criticism under the name of "Trotskyism". It is clear, therefore, that the general causes of the revolution were visible to the Marxists long before it occurred.

The first and most general explanation is that Russia was a backward country, but only a part of world economy, only an element of the capitalist world sys-

Russian revolution; it occurred because the chain broke at its weakest link. The of general well-being. What did the revdeplorable condition of the futile monarchic system, aggravated by capitalism's justify themselves? exploitation, created a terrific force which found its realization in the proletariat.

A fundamental factor was the existence of great revolutionary resources in borders of the empire, constituting 57 sion is needed. Fifteen years! Fifteen ed the dress rehearsal of the revolution of 1917 and which witnessed the first creation of the Soviets, and the imperialist war....

Last, but far from least, was the existence of a powerful Boishevist party, the most revolutionary party in the history of mankind. It was the living condensation of the modern history of Russia . . . . It learned to recognize the weaknesses of society as typified in the great events of the twelve years from 1905 to 1917. It educated cadres equally capable of initative and subordination to discipline. Its revolutionary activities were based on the unity of its doctrines, on the tradition of the common struggles, and confidence in its trusted leadership. Thus stood the party in the year 1917. In September Lenin, who was compelled to keep in hiding, gave the signal-"The crisis is ripe: the hour of the in-

munist Manifesto". (page 332). To the

to establish a socialist society in one

"Answer: No. Large-scale industry,

by creating a world-market, has so link-

ed up the peoples of the earth, and es-

happens in other lands. Further, the so-

cial development of all civilized coun

tries has become so similar that every-

and proletariat, the two classes of society

Communist revolution will, therefore, not

be a national revolution alone; it will

and the same time. In each of these

surrection has approached." He was Let me sum up the events which date right. The bourgeoisie finally lost its were dominant. The Soviets demanded action. The time was ripe to strike ....

> Only under suc social and political conditions was the insurrection possible, and thus it also became inevitable The party carried through the October insurrection with cold calculation .... For

Bolsheviki in a country occupying onesixth of the surface of the globe, The question now comes up: What was achieved at the high cost of the revolution? Many critics take malicious joy In this lies the real reason for the over the fact that the land of the Soviets bears but little resemblance to a realm

olution do and why did the sacrifices

this reason, it brought to victory the

Permit me to think that the difficulties and the mistakes, as well as the achievements of the Soviets, are no less familiar to me than to any one else But in criticper cent of the total population. To years is a long period in the life of these must be added the experiences of a man. But fifteen years in the life of the revolution of 1905, which Lenin call- a people is just a minute on the clock of history. In the course of the Civil War in the United States, 50,000 men

were killed. Can such sacrifices be justified from the standpoint of the progressive forces of American society....Absolutely! And from the standpoint of the development of humanity as a whole, there can be no doubt whatever.

Out of the Civil War came the present United States, with its unbounded practical initiative, its technology and its economic life...The deepest, the most objective and most indisputable criterion of social progress is the growth of the Russian revolution from this point of view is already gained by experience. The principle of planned economy has for the first time in history shown its ability in recording unheard-of results in production in a short space of time . . . .

Thus we have an explanation of the extraordinary persistence of the masses of the people as shown through all the years of the revolution... The Russian masses of today endure privations, but not passively. With their own hands they are creating a better future, let any enemy attempt to impose its will from the outside on the patient masses, and you will see whether they are pas-We shall quite from Ryazaonff's "Com- sive or not.

I am sure that the great American peoquestion of whether it will be possible ple have the highest interest, moral as well as material, and are in sympathy country alone, Engels has the following with the effort of the great Russian people to reorganize their social life on a higher level.

If my short talk can help a few thousand, or even a hundred, Americans to understand the internal inevitability in pecially the civilized peoples of the earth, the development of the Russian revoluthat each of them is dependent on what tion, my efforts will have been well rewarded.

#### where the struggle between bourgeoisie League Resolution For New York Hunger March upon which the issue depends, has become the dominating struggle of the day. The Conference

The following resolution of the Left take place in all civilized countries, or Opposition was presented to the New at least in Great Britain, the United York Ratification meeting of the Unem-States, France, and Germany at one ployment Conference in the selection of delegates for the Hunger March:

Resolution

countries it wil take a longer or shorter The National Hunger March called by industrial life has attained a high de- the Unemployment Councils has the enintelligible the answer to the question gree of evolution, has amassed great dorsement and active support of the to the A. F. of L. for support (does this We have no doubt the pressure of the that we are concerned with. Since then, wealth, and has a considerable quantity Communist League of America (Opposi-

> While we are actively participating in the day to day struggle for imediate relief and consider this a most pressing in China present a Gordian knot in the the spirit of trade rivalry, England and problem of our class, we nevertheless, do economic battle for supremacy in the America wanted, by means of their great not lose sight of, and continually point Far East. Harriman tried to purchase wealth, to smash our influence in China. out, that the solution of unemployment the South Manchurian railway in 1905. The proposal for the limitation of arma- and our other class problems can only This attempt being futile, Knox then ments is merely a means of curtailing be had by the overthrow of the capital-

The struggle for immediate relief and the mobilizing of broad layers of our class to support the Hunger March on The share of the U.S. in Chinese trade Washington can only be accomplished to grant an international loan to China is on the increase. It controlled 17 per- upon the basis of the United Front, as China forms the battleground of the is at the peculiar disadvantge of requir- for the purpose of building a rival rail- cent of Chinese imports in 1928, the Jap- the latest united front of the Communist the alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek. The caricature and a denial of the Leninist United Front.

> The Communist League (Opposition) fraction of the Communist Party ask the delegates assembled at the New York ratification meeting to call upon the Communist party to officially send delegates Why has not war resulted long since to the Hunger March. It is the duty of

The Hunger March must not limit its viet Union.

The New York Ratification meeting

-NEW YORK BRANCH. Communist League of America (Opposition)

### JAPAN

#### Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat By Jack Weber

Commercial Rivalries

proceed with this gigantic problem un- contradictions of imperialism. Even on U. S. ships due to the lower stature ung. The State Department approved share is also increasing at the expense and other worker organizations of the hampered, without a warning to the back in 1906 U. S. Special Agent Clark, of the Japs. Both countries use the the "consortium" for loans to China in of England. The struggle of the U. S. Chicago Unemployment Conference. In American piece goods. It is the only Japs control the shipping of 80 percent

Pacific Shipping

give Japan an advantage although she exports).

Controversies with the U.S.

manner the onslaughts. Wage cuts were Here the low wages of Japanese seamen The conflict over loans and railways Agreement is exclusively the reflection of

whose only fruit was the secret partition- territory of China". ing of Manchuria between Czarist Russia and Japan. In 1913 came the attempt

The capitalists and their government section of China in which American of their own freightage (imports and for mastery. The U. S. opposed the 21 would be the growth of a unified Chinese demands and the attempt of Japan to bourgeoisie. Aerial developments, radio seize the Siberian Maritime Provinces in communication, transport are being fur-The period from the Russo-Jap War the 1918-1920 intervention. Owing to thered rapidly by U. S. capitalism. to the present is sown with innumerable American cable and wireless interests, seeds of conflict. The ousting of Amer- the U. S. opposed the ceding of the Island ently accepted in words by Japan and Japanese children were excluded from the Caroline and Marshall Islands and there land sea and the open routes to China, demands to immediate relief: To the de-Long before last summer when Hoover broken in deed by the methods of railway ordinary schools and were forced to at- has been constant friction over the secret she has nothing to fear from the U. S. mand, for Social and Unemployment Infinanciers, industrialists, labor fakers, prompt delivery of Japanese goods and Japanese agitation about this matter Finally the United States called Japan away. The effective battle radius of mo- the Six Hour Day, the Five Day Week etc., to consider the "reduction of the holding up of foreign goods, by the caused President Roosevelt to send the to order at the Washington Conference dern fleets from their bases is considered and no reduction in pay. Also the dehours" and means of "speeding up busi- forgery of trade marks, in fact all the U. S. fleet into the Pacific for a "tour" in 1921 where Japan was forced to re- to be only 500 miles. Whether aircraft mand for Long Term Credits to the Socians and capitalist leaders had worked eigners pay full duties on goods entering over immigration led to the Gentlemen's U. S. forecd the abrogation of the Anglo- problem of the future. Japanese control the pressure of permament mass unem. It was fundamentally this conflict that passports from laborers if no exclusion threat to the U. S., but which had also means a threat to the flank of any in- to increase the class pressure, to expose ployment, not through unemployment in led to the "political" outcry against the law were passed. But the California become embarassing to England. At the vading navy over 2,000 miles of its route the enemy and to mobilize greater numalien land law of 1920 and the Supreme present time Stimson continues the pol- by submarines. Only with the help of a bers of our class for the activity of the Court decision shutting the Japs out of icy of opposition, by refu-ing to recognize capitalist Russia could the U. S. hope to class struggle.

tried to "neutralize" Manchuria by mak- our military power and depriving us of ist system. ing the railways "international", a move the possibility of conquering the huge Chinese Trade

The World War intensified the struggle Americans feel that their strongest ally

The Strategy of War

(To Be Continued)