RUD.RAUBE 4018 N-PAULINA.ST CHICAGO.ILL.U.S, A Mr . Anton Pannekoeck Vossinstr. 22. Amsterdam Holland

Chicago, Jan. 15. 1933.

Dear Comrades:

The United Workers Party has established itself in Chicago, U.S.A. and is going to be an national organisationin America. We have felt an urgent need for a party like ours and have adopted a program , of which several copies will accompany this letter. We are very anxious to get in contact with similar organisations through out the world and we are asking you for exchange of publications and correspondence. We also would appreciate if you could give our new party some publicity by reprinting our program in your press.

Yours for the sake of Communism

United Workers Party

ud Alf Janke Correspond. Secr.

4.—The International Movement.

The international revolutionary labor movement, as well as the third international, cannot be analyzed without a consideration of Soviet Russia.

The revolution precipitated by the World War found Russia a backward country just maturing out of feudalism. The historic process called for an intensive national industrial development to be performed by the capitalist class thru the means of exploitation of wage labor. The revolution, however, found the capitalist class of Russia too weak to hold political power and to perform this historic task. The revolutionary condition continued and the proletariat and peasants took power. A new situation now existed, wherein the communists held political power, but obligated to perform the historic mission of the capitalist class, namely, to industrialize a very backward country. Despite the criticism that by adopting the five year plan and adhereing closely to its performance, the third international has forsaken the world revolution, the fact remains that they had no choice in the matter. Russia had to be developed. The Soviet government, under the direction of the third international, is doing just that—building up the industries of Russia by the means of exploiting wage labor.

Russia today is not controlled by the third international or the communist party, but by the industrialization process. True also is it that the third international itself and its policies are motivated by the expediences which arise out of this economic development. This condition reflects itself in the various sections of the third international. It explains the activities of its many sections. Unfortunately the revolutionary movement of the world is in this sense subjugated to the industrialization process going on in Russia. The third international is but a temporary Russianized director over a world proletarian revolutionary movement, and has strong tendencies to limit that world movement by Russian Nationalist expediency. Only by a revolution in a major industrial country which will free the third international from this influence by a change of locale or superseding it by a new international will clear up the international movement.

The U. W. P. appreciated the progress made by the Russian revolution, and the subsequent industrial development, but it remains critical of the third international thrown lopsided by these special conditions. We look upon the working class movement as being international in substance but national in form. We are committed to the policy of forming the national movement to a position which will conform with what the international movement should be.

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UNITED
WORKER'S
PARTY

RUD.RAUBE 4018 N-PAULINA.ST ⇒CHICAGO.ILL.U.S,A, ←

UNITED WORKER'S PARTY

1896 Milwaukee Avenue
CHICAGO, ILL.

Chicago, Illinois

PROGRAM OF THE UNITED WORKER'S PARTY

THE U. W. P. TAKES THE STAND THAT:

The Crisis Is Permanent.

The present crisis definitely establishes that capitalism has passed its zenith, and from now on is in the stages of decline. We are living in a period of permanent crisis; capitalism thruout the world is collapsing. The present "depression" has the same causes as all other preceding cyclical depressions, but unlike all previous ones, no factors are operating to help capitalism overcome its present crisis. Industry will now be compelled to operate at a new low level of "normalcy." The only change that can be looked for may be a change to a still lower level. There is no way out of this crisis by the capitalists. It is a permanent crisis for the working class.

The Only Revolutionary Class is the Proletariat

In distinction to the other working class parties and organizations who, in their anxiety for numerical strength and prestige, make concessions to the agrarian classes and petty bourgeoisie, the U. W. P. maintains that the only real revolutionary class in society is the proletarait. All demands of the party are those which are in the interests of the proletariat as a class, although we will cooperate with any group or organization for the purpose of sharpening and deepening the class struggle.

OUR ANALYSIS OF PREVAILING CONDITIONS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

I. The Economic Field .- (a. Industry)

Profit is the motivating factor in industry. When the accumulation process reaches the stage where further expansion of capitalism becomes unprofitable, industrial crisis results. The crisis deepens as its effects precipitates crisis in the agrarian and financial spheres. The fabric of capitalist society is shaken in all its departments. With its commencement, the crisis sets in motion many factors for overcoming the depression. All the factors that operated to overcome previous crises have proved of no avail in the present depression. In its desperate struggle to restore an average rate of profit in industry, the capitalist class are left but one choice for the future; that is an increasing pauperization of the working class. Industry will operate at a limited capacity which will become only possible and profitable thru the means of continuous wage-cuts and speedup. This presents the problem with which the worker on the job will be confronted. The large industrial reserve army (unemployed) clammering for work will make these wage cuts relatively easy for the master class to enact.

(b. Unions.)

The basis of the trade unions lies in the fact that concessions can be gotten from the master class thru organized effort. Their function is to better the conditions on the job—shorter hours, better wages, better working conditions.

In the period of the ascendancy of capitalism these organizations could succeed in obtaining results; but in the period of decline, no concessions

can possibly be gotten. The union movement is rapidly receding. More of the workers are now off the job than there are on. The tendency in the trade union movement is to become reactionary and ineffective.

The traditional trade unions will not be able to cope with this situation. Organizations of workers who are class-conscious and who are organized on a class basis are the only ones who can successfully combat the ever recurring encroachments on the living standards of the proletariat.

(c. Unemployment)

It is estimated that one-half of the workers of the world are unemployed. In America about 15 million workers are idle and unemployment is certain to continue and increase. Capitalism has developed the productive forces to their utmost under the system, and we find a situation confronting us where millions of workers must starve amid plenty while the machines and tools of production stand idle.

The struggle of the unemployed for social insurance and relief becomes a struggle between the master classes and the working class to determine who will bear the burden of the crisis. Every gain made by the unemployed workers fighting for relief must come out of the profits of the capitalist class. Every saving in relief by the capitalists spells increasing misery and suffering for the workers.

The class struggle will concenter more and more around this struggle of the unemployed for existence. The communists can function in this struggle most effectively in setting masses of workers in motion, in pointing out the need for struggle and the effectiveness of organization.

2.—The Agrarian Question

In America, the agrarian population can be divided for our purpose into the farm proletariat on the one hand, and tenant farmers and land owners on the other hand. The demands and interests of the proletariat as a whole pertain to the farm proletariat the same as to the workers in industry. With the tenant farmers and land owners, the proletariat has nothing in common. Large numbers of farmers are being thrown into the ranks of the proletariat. They then become a part of the working class, and sooner or later will be forced to adopt the views of the working class. Although the farmers may at times become rebellious, due to the aggravated conditions brought about by the agrarian crisis, their outlook and objectives are always reactionary.

3 .- Parliamentary Activity.

In the period of the ascendency of capitalism, the working class could occasionally win concessions thru parliamentary activity. The working class organizations, too, helped to educate the working class politically through the means of parliamentary participation. In the main, however, it was a negative method of education, insofar as the net result gained was usually a realization of the futility of hoping for emancipation of the workers through this means, or even gaining any worthwhile concessions.

In this period of permanent crisis in America, the tempo of the collapse of capitalism does not permit the working class to waste time or

energy in parliamentary participation.

It is true that the subjective condition of the working class is one which favors parliamentary proceedure. They are still, and will be for years to come, hopeful of making gains in this manner. The objective conditions, however, are moving so fast that a rapid realization of the futility of parliamentary politics will become more and more obvious.