WORKERS OF THE

WORLD **UNITE!** 

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<u>HEMILITANT</u>

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### The Revolver at the Head of France The Hoover Reparations-Debts Scheme

The multi-millionaire representative of the back delivered by Hoover's agent the American government, Mellon, has Captain Gregory, to the Hungarian rev arrived in Paris and is holding the revolver to the head of the French bourgeoisie: Swallow the Hoover plan for a war debt-reparations holiday or-prepare to engage in combat with us, your . . "generous".

superiors in every field! As these notes are being written, no final accord has yet been reached between France and the United States. Driven by the pressure of the trans-Atlantic colossus the than that involved if Germany is forced Frenchmen have already yielded to the to go into bankruptcy and perhaps yield point of discussing only whether the suspended reparations payments are to be tion. The United States according to made up by Germany in five years or, the Department of Commerce, has more as Hoover proposes, in twenty-five years. Whether the compromise is reached on a ten or a twelve year period will not radically effect the essence of the whole the figure of the total American investscheme.

What is the nature of this proposal which has been acclaimed almost universally by the bourgeoisie of most countries, hailed by the social democrats of Germany, England and Belgium, and given the accolade of approval by such lesser socialist and liberal "statesmen" as Morris Hillquit and Oswald Garrison Villard? In two words: Germany is allowed to suspend all reparation payments for a year; the European debtors are allowed to suspend all war debts to the United States for the same period. What has necessitated this proposal,

made so suddenly by Hoover, pressed with such impatience and intolerance of discussion or revision?

Germany is being wracked by one of its severest crises, acutely accentuated by treaty of Versailles. Its individual life, which must be maintained in order to make possible the payment of reparations Europe, the most lavish spender of money to the Allies, is being stifled because the for armaments. After England-comes same Allies cannot afford to yield to France. Through its delegate McKelvie Germany a greater share of the world the United States has already spiked the market. Taxation rises to tremendous heights. increase without abatement. The wage producers' entente under its hegemony. level reduced to a miserably tenuous ex- McKelvie simply made the hardly veiled istence. The financial condition of the threat to dump the tremendous American country is just short of catastrophic. Its surplus. Now the United States is laygold reserves diminish at an alarming ing the ground for cutting into France's wate. The last Reichsbank report show- military strength by financial blackmail. ad a decline of 750,000,000 gold marks, Of the important countries involved, only or one-fifth of the reserve. Ever-increasing sums of money are being exchanged for foreign currency. A marked flight of capital to other countries is observable. So ominous has the situation be come that the Reichsbank--in the face of the crisis in which discount rates have dropped universally-was compelled to announce, effective from June 13, a sensational rise in the discount rate 'rom 2 percent to 7 percent-with Am-

England's at 2.5 and Switzerland's at Pioneer Publishers has been barred

olution in 1919. But American imper ialism is not merely interested in the maintenance of the German bourgeoisie for their own sake; its interests are less

Why is Hoover so ready to forego "for a year" the millions due the U.S. in war debts, providing reparations payments are suspended? Because there is more to the victory of a proletarian revolumoney invested in Germany (end of 1930) than in Great Britain, France and Belgium put together. Some sources put ments in Germany (government loans,

municipal loans, industrial enterprises, secturities, etc.) at about 4 billion dollars! With a return on these investments of from 7 to 8 percent, "our" investors stand to loose the lucrative annual income of almost a third of a billion dollars. American bankers have more involved in their loans and investments in the municipality of Berlin and the Berlin City Electric than in the original Dawes loan (\$200,000,000) or the Young loan (\$100,000 000). Why not forego-for the moment-the war debt payments in face of the bankruptcy or revolutionary threat to the bankers' interests?

There is yet another point. Under pressure from the ruthless Americans, England has lost considerably in incrushing burdens of the imperialist fluence, power and prestige on the Continent. The U.S. has gained, but so has France, the best armed power in French plan at the London Grain Con-The army of the unemployed ference to organize a Danubian grain-France stands to lose substantially by the Hoover plan. Unlike England, even blems of the revolution (the March council. the after it pays the U.S. war debt, France (Continued on page 4)

> $\bullet \bullet \bullet$ «Permanent Revolution» Barred in Canada

"The Permanent Revolution", the book prica's rate at 15 percent, France's at by Leon Trotsky just published by the

# Miners Strike Against Wage Cuts and **Starvation Conditions**

During the last two weeks the strik- the coal miners. ing miners in Western Pennsylvania, It is worthy of note that it is par-Northern West Virginia, and the Eastern ticularly in this section of the bituminpart of Ohio have gained thousands of ous coal fields that the mechanization of new recruits. More mines were shut coal mining has reached its highest point down, picketing activities and mass deand most extensive practise. It naturalmonstrations increased. With it inly resulted in immensely increased crease also the murderous brutality of speed-up and in the most heavy imaginthe coal and iron police, and the state able pressure of exploitation. It is also Cossacks, in combination with the da'sprecisely in this section that union organization during recent years has been tardly strike-breaking efforts of the official remnants of the United Mine Workfought most determinedly by the coal ers of America. This is their desperate operators. It is natural that with a way of attempting to prevent further expansion of the strike.

The Heavy Strike Toll

of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)\*

an authoritative Communist party, capable of strug-

gle, will be constituted in Spain in the coming months.

Under the system of artificial splits imposed upon the

movement from without, this is not realizable. In 1917,

the Bolshevik party consolidated around itself all the

currents kindred and close it. Carefully guarding the

unity of its ranks and the discipline of action, the

party at the same time opened up the possibility of

a broad and all-sided consideration of the basic pro-

April conference, the pre-October period). Can the

proletarian vanguard of Spain elaborate its views and

be imbued with that indomitable conviction in their

correctness which alone will permit it to lead the

HE FURTHER FATE of the Spanish revolution

depends entirely and completely upon whether

The National Miners Union is in the Several miners have already been killback to the shafts, to utilize the state ed, fallen victims to this brutality many leadership in this strike. It is furnishpolice and the U. M. W. gunmen, to accomplish this, and thus drive a wedge have been wounded, and scores are held ing a fighting program. The sympathy of in the jails under almost prohibitive bail. the striking miners in its overwhelming into the solid ranks of the strikers. If Such is the heavy toll of this strike. majority embraces the National Miners further lessons should be necessary we Yet its powerful proportions testify eol-Union. It has good prospects for growth. These factors are also the practical evione more serious experience in the role quently not only to the terrible starvadence of the valuable lessons learned played by the forces of the state governtion conditions existing in these mine fields but also to what has become proby the coal miners from the role played ment on the side of the bosses. Likeverbial-the militancy of the miners. by the type of union officialdom of John wise they are learning a good lesson "Strike against starvation" has become L. Lewis and his henchmen of the U. about the role of the so-called "progresa powerful slogan, effectively rallying M. W. While the striking miners now sives" in the capitalist parties like Gov.

An Appeal for Communist Unity in Spain

A Letter to the Political Bureau solini. It is needless to speak of what consequences

masses of the people towards the decisive storm, There can be no doubt that if the official Spanish party

through any other ways and methods? The mere fact understands the disproportion between its weakness

munist party is compelled in the present situation to tempt at the unification of the Communist ranks, it

combination of these factors the working class power of resistance should demonstrate itself in such a splendid manner.

up tremendous possibilities.

demonstrate in reality that this is not Pinchot who helped negotiate this agreetheir kind of union, they just as con- ment to break the strikers' ranks. cretely demonstrate their understanding organization. It is interesting to note that in this strike the Pittsburgh Terminal Company was the first company even than the numbers involved would to sign an agreement with the U. M. W. officials. Not that any of its striking workers were members, not that it had the slightest love for the U. M. W.; as sistance of the American workers. Una matter of fact, this company three qustionably it is only a beginning of years ago, was the most unscrupulous contender in the onslaughts upon the United Mine Workers. It signed this agreement in an attempt to drive the miners

this would have for the whole of Europe and for the

U. S. S. R. On the other hand, a successful develop-

ment of the Spanish revolution, under the conditions

of the far from terminated world crisis, would open

The profound differences on a series of questions

pertaining to the U.S.S.R. and the world labor

movement, should not stand in the way of making an

honest attempt at a united front in the arena of the

Spanish revolution. It is not yet too late! The pol-

icy of artificial splits must be stopped immediately in

Spain, advising-not ordering, but just that, advising

-the Spanish Communist organizations to convene in

the briefest possible period a unity conference which

should assure all shadings, under the necessary dis-

cipline of action, at least that degree of freedom of

criticism which in 1917 was enjoyed by the various

currents of Russian Bolshevism, which was in pos-

session of incomparably higher experience and temper.

In face of these conditions the miners' of the need of organization-of militant strike in Western Pennsylvania, North-

ern West Virginia, and the Eastern part of Ohio, assumes greater importance imply, imposing though they are. It shows definite working class advance; it proves the great reserve power of reworking class resistance against the wage-cutting onslaught on a far more extended scale. In this sense it is a harbinger of the future prospects for growth of militancy, for building of unionism in the basic industries.

In this strike situation the Communist leadership faces two important problems. The one is caused by the brutal attacks may add that the miners have now had of the combined capitalist forces upon the miners. It necessitates an energetic fight on a correct basis for the full establishment of the democratic rights of the workers, the right to strike, picket to assemble, to select their own represntatives, the elimination of injunctions. of the state cossacks, etc. The second problem wihch is of still more importance is the one of continuous and tenacious building of organization, not merely the organization for the strike but union organization. It means the building of the National Miners Union not so as to disappear when the dramatic aspect of the strike is over but to build on a lasting basis. Organize !--- Organize to be able to extend the struggle and actually secure victory to the miners. Organize to hold the key to the future.

#### **Relief Urgent**

For the working class in general this strike also brings to the fore a problem of vital importance. Relief must be forthcoming to feed and clothe the fighting miners. It should be sent to the Miners Relief Committee 611 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. Defense must be furnished. Assist the I. L. D. to defend all those strikers thrown into jails This is a battle of the working class as a whole. Ferment among the miners is also growing elsewhere. The Kentucky stilkers are standing solid. In the Illinois fields some progress can be recorded toward breaking with the remnants of the treasonable U. M. W. But there are still the inherent weaknesses of the Mutseite "progressive" leadrship which -I adduce it as an example-that the official Com- and the tremendous tasks, and makes a serious at- to an extent has come into the direction of affairs in Illinois. At a conference neld in Staunton the early part of the month in June, 500 delegates, representing 150 local unions, took part, and decided to call a convention on July 6th to "declare the offices of the district union vacant, proceed with the election of new officers, to change the constitution and to devise ways and means for a national policy." The greatest weakness is in the pussy-footing about the building of a new union and in the danger that the John L. Lewis forces may still maintain their foothold. To militant workers these weaknesss are no surprise when one understands the inherently reformist position of the Musteite type of "progressive". However there can be no real guarantee of success until these weaknesses are eliminated.

The Crisis in the Young Plan

The world decline in commodity prices has had a unique effect on Germany. German industry must now produce 40 percent more in order to pay the charges under the Young plan, fixed in marks. Chancellor Bruening reports that instead of alleviating the Dawes burden by an annual 700,000,000 marks, the Young plan-under the conditions of the crisis and of price falls-has caused an additional payment of 200,000,000 marks annually.

The way out? Union with Austria perhaps? Hardly! Even were the French buccaneers to countenance it its effectiveness is "Zukunftsmusik"-music of the future. The open road to the Danubian grain-producing countries is travelled only one way, by their exports of rain to Germany, but not by their imoorts of industrial goods. Higher taxs? The measures already taken have only multiplied the general misery and advanced the question of social revolution to the top of the social agenda. The vicious system of Versailles is wreaking havoe throughout Europe. The only way but for the masses is the proletarian victory.

But the tenacious bourgeoisie have one final resource: the assistance of the powerful, fabulously wealthy master across the sea who saved them once before. Suspend the reparations payments ere we perish under their pressure! Do not bleed to the death Germania, the bulwark against Bolshevism! With these cries on their lips, Bruening and Curtius pled their case before MacDonald at Chequers. His Majesty's Most Loyal Socialist Footmen, no less the foe of revolution than the Germans, were only too willing to accede to the latter's demands-if only the United States would let up on the war debts. That is why the London Observer warned the grasping Americans to this effect: Do not be shortsighted. Consider your own interests. The bankruptcy of Germany, a reve utionary wave flooding Central Europe, mean the end to the annual interest pavements on your huge German investments!

It is this warning that Hoover has needed in the new plan. In 1924, the U. S saved Germany from the effects of a revolutionary crisis which the revoutionists had fumbled. In 1931, it homes to prop up decadent German capifrom the impending revolutionaults. The Hoover plan is de- $\rightarrow$  be as direct a blow to the

revolution as was the stab in Same

from entry into Canada by the government customs division. The authorities apparently regard comrade Trotsky's work, for which there is a considerable demand in Canadian revolutionary circles, as "too seditious" for consumption by Canadian workers. The barring of the book was announced in a letter sent by the authorities to a Toronto worker. We reproduce the letter in full:

NATIONAL REVENUE. CANADA (Customs and Excise Divisions) Port of Toronto, June 17, 1931

Mr. ............ Toronto. Ont. Re: Parcel No... Dear Sir:

In connection with the above numbered parcel we wish to advise you that the Commissioner of Customs has refused entry of the contents, a book entitled, "The Permanent Revolution"

It may however, be returned to the sender by payment of postage in the amount of six cents, by you. Failure to do this within ten days from the date thereof a seizure will be made in accordance with the regulations of the Customs Tariff.

> Yours very truly. (Signed) S. Taylor Supt. Customs Postal Branch.

In the particular case under review, the authorities do not seem to have in evidence the leaflet issued by the admitted.

heard of the official Stalinist theory that Communist League on unemployment, Trotsky's work is 'frounter-revolutionwhich was in the form of appeal for ary" and that he is an agent . . . of a united front with the Communist party. British imperialism. Or if they have The section which was the basis for the heard of the theory, it appears that they sedition charge read: "Agitation slogens do not agree with it. and immediate demands can present no

¢٦) HANKSHINININKSHININININTSİNLIDDILIKSUNUNUNCSUNU

### **A PICNIC**

#### To Celebrate the Appearance of the Weekly Militant

The New York branch of the Communist League invites all militants to join with it at the Picnic to celebrate the appearance of the Weekly Militant. The affair will taake place on

#### SUNDAY, JULY 12, 1931

#### at TIBBETTSBROOK PARK

Games - Races - Rowing - Baseball

THE COMPACT AND COMPACT AND A 
Directions: Jerome Ave.-Woodlawn subway to the end of the line. Hike or take street car to Park: Plot 8.

characterize Andres Nin as a counter-revolutionist, will meet the fullest support on the part of those revcannot but lead to a monstrous confusion, primarily olutionary Communists who at present have their own in the Communist ranks themselves. Upon ideological separate organizations for reasons you are aware of confusion, the party cannot rise. The defeat of and nine-tenths of which lie outside of the conditions the Spanish revolution rendered inevitable by the of the Spanish revolution.

further dismemberment and weakness of the Commun-In order not to create even external difficulties, I ists, will lead almost automatically to the establish ' made this proposal of mine not in the press but in the ment in Spain of genuine Fascism on the style of Muspresent letter. The course of events in Spain-there can be no doubt of this-will every day confirm the \*The letter published above was sent by comrade Leon

Trotsky on April 24, 1931 to the Political Bureau of the necessity of uniting the Communist ranks. The re-Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Because sponsibility for a split, in the given instance will be no reply was received to the letter and the policy of the a tremendous historical responsibility. Comintern in Spain is still moving in the same rut, the A pril 24, 1931

author considers it necessary to make his letter public.

L. TROTSKY

Today the relationship of the various coal fields presents itself somewhat as follows: In the anthracite region where

production and with it employment has remained more "normal", the United Mine Workers is still the union in control. There the task of the Communists and the militant miners is certainly the one of building a Left wing within the union. In the soft coal fields the United Mine Workers as a union, with its reactionary leadership, is utterly discredited and practically out of existence. There the only alternative is the building of a new union. With the present

sweep of possibilities of the National Miners Union as represented by the strike; with the developments toward a new union in other territories, one might ask again what would become of the miserable Lovestone Right wing policy of abandoning the new union movement and returning to the U. M. W. That would spell defeat for the miners' struggles. One may also ask what would it mean to continue this boycott practised by the official party leadership toward the new union movements not under their mechanical control. A continuation of such a policy would similarly be disastrous to These protests must multiply and pile the future prospects of the miners' movement.

There should be no question of a doubt that the only correct policy growing out of this strike must be one of further intensive organization, of building the new union movement, of amalgamating the various separate and sectional unions with the National Miners Union as a prelude to the building of one militant union firmly lodged on a class basis embracing all the coal miners. With such a policy the future can be faced with

### Philadelphia Oppositionists Convicted of Sedition

Bernard Morgenstern and Leon Good-| solution in themselves and should not be al Labor Defense, the party, and the so assigned. They are, by the very na- Daily Worker. From the very inception man, two members of the Communist League of America (Opposition), were ture of the class struggle strictly lim- of the case, the I. L. D. officialdom has ited in their character. That is, they deliberately and criminally sabotaged found guilty of sedition under the notorcan offer means of temporary ameliorathe case. The need for a campaign in ious Flynn Act in a trial before Judge tion. And they must be a help to unite behalf of these victims of the Flynn Act Reed on June 24. Sentence has not yet the workers on the basis of their comwasd enied and rejected. The I. L. D. been rendered in the case. Steps are mon interests and to set them into mowould not even furnish the defendants being taken for a new trial. with a laywer! The defense had to be tion against their class enemy. They The case was tried before Judge Reed, cannot solve the problem. Only the proconducted by the Civil Liberties Union a reactionary-minded jurist of Cambria letarian revolution can do that." The attorney. The entire party press has not County. sitting specially in the Philadelphia court. The state simply offered distribution of the leaflet was, of course, written one single word about the case.

The Daily Worker and Freiheit have not In arguing with the Judge, Defense even mentioned the conviction. The Attorney David Wallerstein, of the Civil whole Stalinist conspiracy of silence and Liberties Union, was told that Reed had treachery is based solely upon the fact never seen a leaflet of this kind before, that besides the "crime" of sedition, the and that this was his first experience defendants have committed the "greater with the Sedition Act; that upon the crimes" of being Left Oppositionists. question of fact as to whether there was The I. L. D. has defended anarchists an intent in the leaflet to overthrow the socialists, syndicalists, A. F. of L. men

government by force and violence; and and others in the past. For Left Opthat he personally thought there was. positionists, however, the I. L. D. officials Attorney Wallerstein explained to him find no better manner of acting than to that the circular was almost in exactly give aid and comfort to the capitalist nrosecution! Protests that have come the language of that in Fiske vs. Kansas in which case the Supreme Court of the from various I. L. D. and members have United States reversed a conviction unnot yet changed the official attitude. der the Kansas Syndicalism Act. Reed replied that he knew nothing about that up to such an extent that the I. L. D.

case or any of the other cases on sedi- and payty bureauchats are compelled tion. Neverthelss, he presided over the to stop disgracing and discrediting the case and refused the defense request for revolutionary movement by their sabota charge to the jury to dismiss the case. age.

The Philadelphia defense committee The abil was again fixed at \$1,000, the same as before. In addition to the mo- for Morgenstern and Goodman needs the tion for a new trial to be made by the assistance of every militant worker in defense, there will also be a motion in the country. Financial aid, agitation. arrest of judgment. The defense is pre- the development of a united movement pared to go to the United States Supreme against the Flynn Act and for its vic-Court on the case if necessary. tims-these are urgent needs. Let those Th report of the trial would be in- who stand in the way of such work, who the confidence that within the perspeccomplete without a referencet to a most undermine the defense of workers caught tive for coming sharpened struggles lay disgraceful action on the part of the in the net of capital st justice, be branded the possibility of victory for the w Stalinist commanders of the Internation-| by their proper name!

# IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR **Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements**

Two Social Democratic Congresses: The Collapse of the 'Lefts' The Sanction of Betrayal at Leipzig The French<sup>,</sup> Socialsts and National Defense

PARIS.-

the proletarian movement: 130,000 memparty politicians brandish these figures? With great joy, Paul Faure proclaimed at the meeting: "In Sweden, the socialists obtained 43 percent of the votes,

the Communists-1 percent."

The convention precedes the great "consultation" of 1932 at which the socialists expect to gain power through the electoral committees. But in reality, the politicians are preparaing their batteries behind the scenes of parliamentary strategy. The principal feature of the conference was the academic resolution on the National Defense.

Tours 1920 and Tours, 1930. After an interval of ten years, the capital question that has served as an historic touchstone for the revolutionary movement, is once again up for debate. But ten years ago at the conclusion of the hideous massacre, the revolutionary workers under the guidance of the Third International arose against the betrayal of the socialist politicians. Whereas in 1930, after the collapse of the Second International, after the years of the great butchery, and after the creation of the Communist party they have returned to Tours to debate the very question that caused their downfall and their betrayal.

To what purpose? Louis Levy posed the question. "What can you decide now that was not decided at Stuttgart before the war?" Indeed, the Stuttgart motion and the amendments by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, calling to struggle for the downfall of the régime in case of war, still remain excellent texts today. But the socialist politicians already stood the test of putting it into effect in August 1914. Under the present conditions, they can repeat a second time. "Why make believe that the party of Marx", added distraction in vague and uncertain terms?"

Today this economical solution can no longer prevail. Precisely because the socialist party must answer today and tomorrow the vague and uncertain preoccupations of the workers who are not concerned merely with the distribution of posts-and because a large national reform party, arisen from the working class after the existence of revolutionary proletarian parties, must needs adjust its ideological baggage.

Working class action was absent from the agenda of the debates. This point

bers, 126 members of parliament, 1 100 Communist party, its ability to reach the local mayors. Against whom do the masses and to share the experience of the struggle with them. party machinations.

> In order to wrest them away, more is needed than the ritualistic conclusion of Bonte's articles (in l'Humanite).

"Therefore, all honest socialist workers, draw your conclusions . . . Desert the progress which he makes all by himself, twenty-four hours afterwards: "The socialist workers will not be deceived . . They will desert the S. F. I. O. tional] the agents of the bourgeoisie." The theory of social fascism even in the modified form given it by the XI Plenum, will hardly be a better weapon.

At the present moment while the struggle of 120,000 textile workers is go ing on, the Communist party and the Red unions must wrest away the workers who are already engaged in struggle from the influence of the reformists, suscitated and rehabilitated bourgeoisie and along with them, from the social democracy, by the application of a broad the situation. and realizable united front policy. This will be the first effective answer to the dangers represented by the pacifist and bourgeois democratic politicians of the party of Noske and Paul Boncour against

the working class, in time of pease as well as in time of war.

#### -LA VERITE.

\*A dispatch from Paris on June 5, reports that in the last issue of the periodical La Vie Socialiste, Renaudel It is trying to hold itself erect by takand 25 socialist parliamentarians re- ing it out on the bodies of the proletarnounced even this compromise resolution. In their declaration they say "When it becomes a question of protecting the independence and the boundaries Levy, "is capable only of debating to of France, the socialists will also be prethe real picture of the "socialist upanimity" of Blum Paul Faure and Co.-Ed.

League Activities

Two of our very active New York comrades, Tom Stamm and George Clarke have established their domicle in Cleveland where they are working to build

that city we have not had a function-ally fascist government, every act that ing branch of the League. That pro- directly prepares and paves the road the rest. "No one has mentioned the spects are very good for such a step is for a victorious, unresisted fascist over thirty million unemployed." In the comparent from the reports of the two turn, is sanctioned. The class conscious comrades. The Militant and our general ness of the workers is luiled to sleep literature is being received eagerly and the rising spirit of class revolt dampennew contacts are already gained. We ed. The Leipzig convention indirectly, know that these two comrades will spare but with an overwhelming majority ap no effort to build the movement on a proved this policy of stabbing the worksubstantial basis. They are now coning class in the back. ducting regular open air meetings and we know we will be confirmed in our The social democracy itself is slipping down more and more from its shame expectations for Cleveland. fully gotten government posts. Bruen-

action against the enemy class. In the At the beginning of June, the Social Already the rebellion within the very The socialists have returned to Tours, period which has just begun, in which Democratic Party of Germany held its ranks of the social democracy itself is [Anarcho-syndicalist trade union center]. real provocateurs. ten years after the convention at which the proletariat experiences the sharpest convention at Leipzig. Like the conven- deepening. While the convention was in The U. G. T. [General Workers Union], The provisional government has been the workers drove them out of the party. and most direct antagonisms between the tion of the French socialists meeting session at Leipzig, the former Reichstag the reformist organization of the Labor committing arbitrary acts, far more The "dissidents" of yesterday, who be opposing classes, the differentiation of simultaneously at Tours, it was a mani- deputy Jacobshagen and numerous local minister, Largo Caballero, was against the scandalous than those of the Primo de gan with 15,000, today boast in their the troops still held captive by the re- festation of the crassest sort of parli- groups of social democrats and social strike, which was declared in spite of Rivera dictatorship; Primo, at least albulletin of a victory full of dangers for formists in the service of the bourgeoisie amentary cretinism. The actual prob- democratic youth declared their adher- the reformists, through the solidarity ways manifested his reactionary charac depends upon the positive actions of the lems confronting the German proletariat ence to the Comunist party. In the with the victims of the working people ter openly, without hiding anything. He were painfully avoided. All the sessions galleries of the convention hall at Leip- of Madrid in the clashes with the mon- made governmental arrests and caller were occupied in the main with inner zig, the voice of the social democratic archists on May 10, after a meeting of them such. But the government of th rank and file made itself heard more

than once, in the almost unanimous ap-The organizational report presents us plause for the isolated delegates of the with a picture of a big reform party, extreme Left, in the cheers at the menstrengthened and consolidated in the tion of the Soviet Union, etc. The socyears of revolutionary ebb, on the back ial democratic workers will not tolerof the disastrous defeat of the prole ate the treacherous, kowtowing passivsocial democracy, this rampart in the tarian upsurge in 1923-and at the cost ity of their leaders much longer. Their army of world imperialism." Nor the of the vacillating, adventurist policies last conquests are being wiped out by of Stalinist centrism. A party one mil- the government of fascist preparation. lion strong, and what is for us even of Unemployment insurance cut in half. greater import, proletarian to the ex- The burden of taxes heaped higher on tent of 50 percent of its composition. the workers' backs. The Schiele Wheat French section of the Second Interna- This great, organized proletarian mass Laws make the cost of living unbear is a decisive factor in the German class able. Democratic rights are summarily struggle and one with which the Com- suspended with the full collaboration of munists must reckon. During the period the social democratic police comissionof reaction, the defeated, scattered pro- ers. At Leipzig, the S. P. fell victim letariat has been able to slowly collect to a decree against demonstrations proits forces again, to rebuild its political mulgated by their "own" police commisand trade union organizations. Fatigued sioner, Fleissner. Against all this, the by the heavy defeat the working class social democratic workers are prepared to fight with the rest of their class, dewas open largely to a reformist ideology, to contentment with wresting away spite and, in due time, even against their ignoble leaders. mere crumbs from the table of the re-

> The social democracy took advantage of The way to unite all workers in common struggle lies in the united front under the leadership of the Communist Today the bourgeoisie is once again party. The social democratic workers

cannot be won over for united struggle gripped by a crisis. The "generous" by Thaelmann's denunciation of their American imperialists who gave it a leaders as social fascists, nor by empty helping hand in 1924, are themselves in appeals to break with Breitscheid, Wels the midst of an economic debacle, the and Co., to join the C. P. G. They Hoover "moratorium" does not enjoy the can and will be convinced of the correctsupport of France, herself facing a ness of the Communist positions, and growing economic slump, as did the lined up for the red front of proletar-Dawes plan. The German bourgeoisie ian victory, by united action against the is on the offensive against the workers. outrageous decrees of the Bruening government, by united struggle against wage reductions and for economic collaboraians. Social legislation, the puny gains tion with the U.S.S.R. Up to the of the workers in long years of patient, tenacious struggle is slashed out of present the Communist party, hampered by its centrist baggage, has been unable existence under the knife of the ruthto take full advantage of this promising less capitalist class. For the workers pared to vote for war credits." This is it is no longer a question of "snatching situation. The sooner the German Communists rid themselves of their confused crumbs", but of retaining them. And and vacillating Stalinist leadership, with this desperate defensive fight is inseparably bound up with the struggle for theid slogans of "national liberation" and existence itself. The social democrats the "people's revolution", with their theories of "social fascism" and their by their entire "policy of tolerance" tosplitting tactics in the trade unions the ward the reactionary, anti-working class Bruening government are playing their quicker will the mass of workers still under the influence of the social demcustomary role of ignominous treachery ocracy be liberated from it, the quicker against the workers who follow it. What will they become attached to the Com-

is this policy based on? Every concession must be made to Bruening so as munist vanguard, the quicker will the the Left Opposition. Despite the fact to avoid the onslaught of fascism! In road be cleared of all reformist obstacles that we have many good supporters in order to avoid the institution of a form- for the victorious upsurge of the proletarian revolution.

## The Provisional Government in Action

On Monday, May 11 a genral strike | in Madrid, where fifty were arrested outwas declared in Madrid by the C. N. T. side of the Monarchists, who were the

the "A. B. C."

The Madrid people arose against the government of Maura and Alcala Zamora who showed exceptional tolerance toward are no grounds for arrests some are due the monarchists while continuing the policy of anti-working class repression of the previous governments. The minister of the Interior, Maura, proved himself a violent enemy of the revolution. It was he, who gave the monarchists the permit to demonstrate. He it was, also, who ordered to fire against the proletariat demanding work and bread, at Bilbao Seville, etc.

The liberation of Berenguer, the general responsible for the disaster of Morocco in 1921, the second dictator, the vicious reactionary who executed Galan and Garcia Hernandez\*, the same Berenguer who most violently applied dictatorship and repression against the proletariat in order to save the crumbling monarchist régime, has greatly outraged the people of Madrid and of all Spain. In such a situation, the strike of Monday. May 11, took place at Madrid, amid the greatest excitement. The people of Madrid hurled itself en masse against

the clergy, burning the churches and the convents and stressing with these actions the tasks concerning the "responsibles", forgotten by the government of the republicans and the socialists. After their ascendancy to power they have forgotten those responsible for the past and the clergy continues to exist under favorable conditions even with the republican régime : Cardinal Segura has been permitted to carry on a struggle against the longer lives in the domain of revolution-Republic. It must not be forgotten that Messrs. Maura and Alcala Zamora are fervent Catholic.

To be sure, the people has given the government a serious warning and the latter has been forced to take the greatest measures of precaution and even to arrest several Monarchists. But most of Alfonso's followers have already been set free, secretly and unobserved. First however, M. Maura and some of the governmental organs started a violent campaign against the Communists and accused them of making a bloc with the Monarchists. It is true that reaction against the Communists became manifest in a large measure and that to a certain degree, the people believed the news of the press. A sentiment cl

followers of the king who was expelled Republic arrests Communists withou from Spain by the people and in a de- any legal grounds, in spite of the law. monstration against the reactionary daily, in spite of "republican democracy", and throws them into the prisons, maintain-

ing all along-the Director of Public Safety (Police) is speaking-that "there to mistakes on part of the police". But Madrid was in a state of martial law and the military judge tried very hard to find something to stage a trial against the Communists --- without success. After the state of martial law wsa lifted, the judge had to acquit all the prisoners, but then, the same director of Public Saftey, the "very democratic" Radical-Socialist, M. Galarza, one of those who protested most loudly against arbitrary arrests when he was a prisoner of Berenguer, forgetting all these declarations arbitrarily kept the Communists of Madrid imprisoned. This is the point of departure toward the scandalous and criminal illegality resumed by the republican government in the same place and with even greater violence than the former reactionary government.

Spain is approaching constituent elections and the republicans are determined to get rid of the Communists and the revolutionary workers even before the elections.

The official Spanish Communist Party is always ready to commit stupidities without taking into account the situation, without considering the existing revolutionary opportunities, which are very favorable for the creation of a Communist party capable of organizing the working class for the seizure of power. But the official bureaucracy no ary reality. They forget that the party does not exist, that it must be organized, that Soviets have not yet been formed The party leadership issues empty slogans "for the immediate insurrection". without a party, without Soviets, without a working class prepared for the struggle. The Spanish "Leninists" of the "third period" have forgotten the teachings of Lenin during the struggles in July 1917 at Petrograd. The irresponsible bureaucracy of the C. P. S. is very "capable" of playing at insurrec tion-contrary to the teachings of Leni -but not of making the revolution.

The Left Opposition has a great tas to fulfill and is already actively engage working with all its forces to succee Madrid, Solitary Prison, May 21, 1931 \* Leaders of the popular military revolt at Jaca, last December.-Ed.

speaking of the further steps it should

not be overlooked that the part which

was really reserved for the final goal

of the program, that is the building of

\$1.00

2.000-

-1,750

texts presented by three principals and the two extreme tendencies, there were opposing formulations. Renaudel said at the convention: "This defense of the country has been confirmed by the party", and Lagorgette declared : "Our slogan is the transformtaion of the capitalist war into a war of liberation". But he pronounced himself in favor of drawing up a unity motion and expressed his belief that a unanimous resolution is quite possible for international action\*.

\$n reality, the positions of the speak ers all converged toward "pacifism through the extension of our organizational work". Within this framework of vague concepts, the socialist party is reserving for itself its "freedom of action". Twelve years after the war not a single voice was raised to demand guarantees, to impose the control of the workers, to revolt against the fact that the party is in the hands of those who betrayed the working class into the hands of the imperialist butchers.

This "common fund"-far more important than all the formulas borrowed by Paul Faure from Austro-Marxismbecame even more apparent by a series of embraces between Right and "Left" which shows that all the tendencies are staking everything on the 1932 elections. Therfore the exoneration of the seven deputies who voted for confidence in the Laval cabinet: the authorization of the Populaire to carry financial advertisements; the silence on President Bouisson; on Paul Boncour, despite his rabid manifestations of chauvinism: only one vote against the political report, etc.

These may be the perspectives of the socialist politicians, but all the objective factors, with which the "party of Marx" did not preoccupy itself; the economic unrest, the European crisis. the critical situation of the German régime, the Spanish revolution-regarded not as the "liberation of the socialists" today but as the emancipation of the working class on June 7. The sixty workers present of tomorrow — and the great working discussed very seriously the problems of class movements like those which have the American revolution taken up by already broken out three times in one the speaker. Systematic educational acyear in the North, will interfere with tivities of this character, which is one the perspective of this convention.

Even on this same question of imperialist war, the voice of the workers tacts. In Boston, it has so far been exforced by the crisis to face the real- pressed mainly in very favorably and ities of the class struggle, did not make extensive circulation for our literature. itself heard at the Tours convention. That Our members there are consciously util-

Street meetings are also being conducted regularly by the branches in New York, Chicago and Minneapolis. In the two first-mentioned cities the audiences often run into several hundred, and while it cannot entirely be termed a steady audience nevertheless the results have been very gratifying.

George Saul is putting in a busy week doing organization work in Philadelphia. His immedaite efforts are concentrated in helping to build up a defense movement for our comrades Morgenstern and Goodman who are now on trial for sedition. The complete failure of the I. L. D, to lift as much as a finger to take up the defense of these two class war prisoners made it necessary for our League sabotage by th I. L. D. is described elsedefense committee to lend their most active support in every way to collect contributions to help wrest these victims out of the hands of capitalist class justice.

Our St. Louis branch has overcome its period of lethargy which obtained some time ago. It is now taking up active work and soon we expect to be able to report progress. The Boston branch organized a lecture for comrade Cannon very important aspect of the revolutionary movement, is gaining valuable con-

's for its vigor and for its strength izing every such opportunity in addition

ing is etxending the government base to the extreme Right. But the socialists are still cowardly exerting every effort to keep their workers back from open resistance. Bruening cuts and slashes the last vestiges of working class legislation. The socialists are behind him. Bruen in literature sales and contacts gained ing instead, uses the budget for the construction of armored cruisers. The socialists give their acquiescence. Now, an entire party convention is devoted to chastising the nine "Left" social democratic deputies who refused to vote for the armored cruiser "B", because they see the influence of the "party" damaged by this act in the eyes of the workers. And here even "the nine" capitulate. "The unity of the party must be preserved at all costs"! Unity for what? Unity in the attempt to uphold the crumbranch there to establish its own defense bling capitalist regime, to act as "phycommittee. The case itself and the open sicians to the sick bourgeoisie", as Tarnow declared in the main report before where in this issue. Suffice it here to the convention. "Is the working class emphasize that our branches everywhere prepared for struggle?", asked one of the as well as the working class in general delegates. He was answered with a will be called upon by the Philadelphia thunderous roar of yes. Then why all this cautiousness? Why all this fear of past but very much in favor of the struggle? Because the proletariat in struggle spells the bankruptcy of the social democracy and the conciliation of the proletarian mass with the Commun-

ist vanguard.

The social democratic mass is ferment- Weekly actually in existence, undertake ing with revolt. The working masses in a systematic manner the continuous are no longer inclined to suffer the extension of the circulation of the Miliabuses of the hostile government. The tant. It can be done by renewing the latest "Emergency Decree" of the Bruen- expired subscriptions, by obtaining new ing government was met with volleys of subscriptions, by building up newsstand stormy protest from every section of the sales and by increasing the present country. The more enlightened bourge- bundle order sales. oisie realize its danger. Thus, the Berliner Tageblatt pathetically appeals to the great "stable party of the German Expansion Program has become a realcitizenry" to cease its policy of tolerating ity. First we established the Pioneer the Bruening government to head off the Publishers, now the Weekly Militant is tempestuous revolt of the masses. But here. Although we were by July first the social democratic lackeys are even a few dollars short of the stipulated more reactionary than these layers of sum of \$1,000 collected on the expansion the bourgeoisie, they are determined to program we can nevertheless say that to their active functioning in the very go to the last ditch-for their capital- w have succeeded through the splendid

hostility arose against the Communist. -S. GORDON. the government profiting by it to begin persecutions of Communists, especially

# Urga

Our Subscription Campaign

though the results show a steady upward from Chicago and from Toronto have climb on our mailing list, both for in- been rather small. We do not believe divdual subscriptions and for bundle that the possibilities in these two cities sales during the period, they have not have been particularly restricted, but been as great as they should be. The rather that they have not been followed Chicago branch heads the list with 44 subscriptions to its credit. It wins the number of pledges which have been made first prize. The New York branch comes | for the Expansion Program which should next with 37 subs to its credit entitling it to the second prize. Third is the installments whichever basis was pro-Minneapolis branch with 22 subscriptions to its credit. The St. Louis branch turned in 23 subs but at the time of

closing had not entirely completed the payments. We are in this tabulation counting only actual completed subscriptions and the total results would indeed look very modest if it had not been for the fact from any worker willing to give sup-

supporters and readers scattered throughout the country. There has, of course been the great

difficulty in the way that the subscription campaign was conducted during the

period of the semi-monthly appearance of the Militant. This counts against the future. Therefore while this stage of our subscription drive is closed we should now be able to begin anew, and begin on a much more favorable basis. We have reason to believe that all our comrades and supporters will now, with the

Our Program of Expansion Campaign With this issue the second step of our e orts of on and supporters.

On the financial aspect of this pro a staff, is already also on the way to With this issue the special subscrip- gram some branches have not responded accomplishment. tion campaign comes to a close. Al- as well. For example the contributions New York (Cannon) New York (E. Goodstein) 28 00 up so well. There are yet quite a good be collected either immediately or in vided for. And that is true not only in Chicago and Toronto but also elsewhere. There are undoubtedly still some sympathetic supporters who could be visited and additional sums secured. Now we have also issued regular contribution lists for the Weekly Militant which should be used to pick up small change

that a good portion, the most substantial port. A systematic effort in this reportion, is made up by many subs coming spect, with every comrade participating, in direct through individual efforts of can become a substantial help. The sums turned in on these lists will also be credited to the branches as their part

in the Expansion Program since it is already such a part by virture of being for the establishment of the Weekly.

With the accomplishments already re-Previously corded, although modest, but a real acreported complishment for a small revolutionary group, we have all reason to feel con- Total to date \$989.40 fident that we can proceed quite rapidly to the next step which is to be realized with the collections reaching \$1,500. In





#### THE MILITANT

## WORKER FR

### **Opposition Appeals To Milliners**

from a leaflet issued to the Left wing ine Left wing forces and consolidate workers in the headgear market of New into a strong factor that will fight against York by the fraction of the Communist the reactionary policies of the Zarit-League (Opposition).---Ed.

To All Militant Millinery Workers (Blockers, Operators, Trimmers, Cutters)

The growth and steady ascent of the Cloth-Hat-Cap and Milliner Worker International from the period of 1921 to 1927 had been checked by the reactionary hand of Mr. Zaritsky. The greatest gains for the union were recorded at until the "worthy President perthe 1927 convention and lasted only fected the machinery for the coming betravals of the millinery workers. The vicious campaign against the workers started with the ruthless elimination of every bit of militant leadership in the different parts of the country as well as in New York. The President together with the G. E. B. succeeded in their planned campaign to undermine the strength of the New York Local 43, of Boston oLcal 7, of the Chicago Capmak ers organization, etc., and came to the 1929 convention with greatly diminished forces and broken ranks. The elimination of the Left wing from active par ticipation and leadership in the International meant the virtual destruction of working conditions in the cap and millinery shops. . . .

The millinery workers are becoming more and more convinced of the evil of the present policies and where they lead to; their hopes are in the Left wing. The dissatisfaction and ferment in the ranks of the millinery workers is deepgoing and found its expression recently in the opposition to the signing of the collective agreement. Had a well-consolidated, organized Left wing existed in the millinery trade at this time, our bureaucrats would pretty much shake in their back door deals with the bosses. A Left wing force which will be a challenge to the hand in glove work with the bosses must rise on the wave of the dis content of the broad masses of headwear workers. Therefore the task of the United Rank and File Committee at prosent is to rally all millinery workers ready and willing to fight against the present officialdom and its policies in Local 42 and 24, and regardless of their political opinion, solidify them into one compact force which would act as a militant group for the interests of the workers within the locals and the International.

To accomplish this task we must proceed immediately to the calling of a rank and file conference leaving the basis for a real broad representation of

By the thesis of the Eleventh Cominall rank and file millinery workers; to tern Plenum we are informed that the not merely involve the question of sol- growing unemployment. During the gensuch a conference all workers called growing contrasts between the systems of diers, of standing army, but of the eral strike year the C. P. membership must be given the opportunity to ex- Soviet economy and capitalist economy whole war machinery, of implements, of reached its highest membership, about press their view and opinions on how is the "kernel of contemporary interna- air fleets etc. Thus we see in the field 12,000. It was a force within the trade to conduct the struggle against the tional relations". Without for one mo- of land armaments similarly the econ- unions and to an extent within the labor treachery of the officials. A narrow rank ment overlooking this growing contrast, omic pressure by American imperialism party, despite expulsion barriers. The and file committee mechanically control- it is necessary to observe the "slight" for a settlement in favor of the power Minority Movement was supposed to have led will only shout phrases but will not error of estimate made by the authors. with the greatest industrial resources. a following of close to a million; but succeed in rallying the millinery workers The kernel of contemporary internationand directing their discontent into fight- al relations is not yet this growing con-

We print below the principal extracts | which will establish unity of all genuskys in the locals and within the International. The demands of this conference should be:

(a) immediate establishment of a buljobs, controlled by a committee of workers duly elected at local meetings; the jobs available and distributed should be publicly displayed for all workers in the union headquarters.

- (b) Shop committees of all branches employed in the shop should be elected at regular shop meetings. (c) exempt stamps and all union rights
- for unemployed millinery workers. in any shop.
- cards.
- (f) lowering of dues for those employed.
- (g) unemployment insurance to be raised through a percentage paid in by the bosses. (h) an immediate lowering of wages
- correspond with the average earnings of the millinery workers.
- for a stoppage.

We propose the adoption by the Left wing of the slogan THE SIX HOUR DAY WITHOUT REDUCTION IN PAY, and as a union demand to be attained immediately the forty hour, five day week for all millinery workers-a burning necessity at this period of widespread economic crisis. A shorter week would insure more work for the unemployed and help check the undermining of union standards.

We call upon the United Rank and File Committee to adopt and act immediately upon these proposals.

in the millinery trade!

the Communist League of America to be seen. (Opposition) Cleveland.

Cleveland Party & Unemployment

On Friday the nineteenth there was an unemployment demonstration in Cleveland called by the party, in which we took part. Hardly a thousand particiletin system for the divison of pated. There, were only three placards displayed in the whole rigmarole. And besides it was quite spiritless. Sam Don. the D. O., stood in command from behind. The demonstrators marched on

the City Hall where they were allowed without any resistance whatsoever to enter, en masse, the city council chamber, where the city council men awgited them for a hearing. And here lies the crux of the matter.

The party has changed its slogans and (d) no overtime should be permitted its position on the question of unemployment. It no longer demands unemploy-(e) abolition of temporary working ment insurance-\$15 per week and an additional three for each dependent. Today it asks for relief (!) and it does

not even specify how much. This brings it into conflict not with the capitalist class or its government, but with the charity organizations! As a matter of

fact, the whole hearing with the councilfor the officialdom which would men was devoted in the main to proving whether the charities were corrupt or. not, whether they had denied food to this

(i) an organization drive to abolish individual or not, whether they had givthe sweat shop; this organization en five dollars instead of nine. The un few imported henchmen that invaded drive should be carried on by all employed council even produced, three the conference for the purpose of causmillinery workers ready to serve cases to prove the graft of the charity ing confusion and spreading discourthe union and should be substi- organization. And the witnesses! Own- agement. However, the convention overtuted for the reactionary proposal ers of houses, insurance policies, hundreds of dollars in grocery bills, and terminate from within the ranks. what not. The party has sunk into the

worst kind of opportunism. Not unem-

 $\mathbf{a}_C$  io, "If they won't give us this relief

Where Does British Labor Stand?

# Illinois Miners on the March

CHRISTOPHER, ILL. standing significance in the Illinois mine fields can be enumerated as follows:

1. The sub-district convention of Franklin County adopted something like 104 resolutions pertaining to changes in the constitution. The preamble changes the notorious retreat of "an equitable share of what we produce" back to the fighting principle of "the full share of our product". Further, the convention changed the constitution to the effect

that no official in the organization can succeed himself in office. Giving more power into the hands of the pit committees, and less power to joint group boards of conciliation

2. The present rank and file movement is the greatest and most effective uprising of the Illinois miners.

3. The honesty and devotion of the majority of the leaders that have sprung form a powerful miners' industrial unup in the course of this new turn cannot be doubted.

4. The movement is so drunk with rank and fileism that no officials of the organization are allowed to address the miners.

5. The division of the rank and tile miners since the Lewis-Fishwick fight was practically liquidated outside of a

whelmed these tools and resolved to ex-

The convention call sent out to every local union in the state is of great ployment insurance because that re- importance. The convention will have ditioned upon the publication of our to hold business meetings every day to quires a difficult struggle-but the path much work to realize as a real miners' of least resistance-only relief; it's easier convention has not been in effect since to get, appears to be the attitude of the the old pre-war days. The sub-district party. The whole unemployment strug- convention of Franklin country was very gle degenerates into whether the char- much alive with discussion and fire the exact date together with the various be counted on in advance to do it again ities association shall pay its relief in from the delegates. The convention de- ments. We expect their publication as on Tuesday, Wednesday, etc. This apcash or in kind. And to make up for liberated over 12 days, adopted over 200 a special supplement to the issue of the plies as well to party members assigned this kind of opportunism the party tells resolutions and did other things to per- Militant dated July 18. the workers in an adventurist braggad- fect its organizational machinery.

we will go and take it." By the way, and file miners at the present time is to be conducted in the columns of the business results in a terrible monotony the police were completely conspicuous the fact that the Illinois movment can Militant. We are therfore orienting upon of mechanical business routine. More For a united and effective Left wing by their absence. Only three mounted be converted into a tail of Lewis and the a final conference date of about Septem- hours are spent each day in indoor busicops were visible on the whole line of movement can further come under the ber 15. However, the official call which ness meetings than in actual work. This Millinery Workers, Members of march; not a single cop in the city hall wings of the Lewis machine as a whole. is to be issued very soon will specify further discourages the workers from at--GEORGE CLARKE. | of some of the leaders to come out regulations for the conference.

straightforwardly in opposition to Lewis of even secondary caliber, certainly not The new devlopments of the most out- as well. They have taken refuge under one of real stature. To expect the latphyases like "I am willing to do what the rank and file want to do." Yet at

the same time, they refrain from boldly attacking Lewis. They are most must organize themselves so strongly that any leading individual will be instantly crushed when he pulls anything from its proper course.

I know that the rank and file will not "save" the U. M. W. A. I know party line, obey orders, heap abuse and that Lewis is determined to go down the line with the union under his arm if sured of some little position in the apit means its destruction. But the time is not far off when the West Virginia

miners' union, the Illinois rank and file movement, the National Miners Union. and other groups throughout the coun-

ion. This objective is the only way out. -GERRY ALLARD.

(Other miners' news on page one)

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C. L. A. (OPPOSITION)

During the latter part of the Winter months we expected to set the first week in July as a tentative date for the second national conference of the Com-

munist League of America (Opposition). The final date of course must be contheses of future perspectives and tasks. These are now practically completed and

There will then follow a two-months The greatest danger before the rank period for discussion of the issues raised, There has been hesitation on the party the exact date, toegther with the various tending the metings regularly.

every industry. The workers to be sure having registered a growing dissatisfac- gruop, usually party members and aption and increased attempts at resist- paratus functionaries, to carry on the ance but they have not yet taken the Such land armaments, of course, do and that during a period of heavily form of a consciously prepared defen- much for the working nucleus, who prosive. In the wage slashing campaign test and complain about the inactivity a definite role has been assigned to the of the membership. This results in spor-MacDonald government. Prior to its adic "discussions", futile, paper plans taking over the reins for his majesty, to activize the general memberships and these Labor party politicians were rather in a deepening chasm between the "acunsparing in their demands for capital in- tive" and the "inactive" members. vestments for expansion of British in-

dustry. Usually, this followed with a veiled "threat" that if capitalism could Notional work of the councils.

The Unemployment Councils at Work

In a more than a year the party has not developed out of the rank and file of its unemployed councils a single leader

ter is to ask the mouse to bring forth a, mountain. But the mountain has brought forth mice in plenty. The party militant in opposition to the district of- has developed in the apparatus of its ficialdom led by Walker. The miners unemployed councils a host of little functionaries, petty careerists, badly trained ideolgically and politically. It is enough to divert the rank and file movement to participate in one or two demonstrations. play a more or less prominent role,

subscribe without reservations to the slander on the "renegades"-to be aspartus and sit on the platform when Foster debates Muste.

Originally, too, the party can show try will constitute the material that will only a minus for its unemployment work. The unemployed councils are largely paper organizations. Workers joined, attended a demonstration or two, listened to general demands unconnected with their local, most immediate needs and drifted away. Or their attendance at best, even now is irregular. This is due to the fact that they have been recruited THE SECOND CONVENTION OF THE from the breadlines and must arrange their time by that of the breadlines or other relief agencies at large distances from their homes. This source of the councils' membership explains why there are almost no working class women and children in them.

Because of this floating membership and irregular attendance, it is necessary organize each day's work. It is impossible to organize the details of work more than one day in advance. A worker who being sent to the non-resident N. E. C. | will distribute leaflets on Monday cannot to the councils, who are frequently shifted about from one council to another council or party organization or activity.

> The floating membership and irregular attendance make it necessary for a small work. Small as it is, the work is too

> A general looseness pervades the in-Motions are passed and promptly for-

ing channels, as recent experiences have taught us.

The call for the conference must contain a restatement of principles. Up till for hegemony of the world market .now the position of the U. R. F. C. has not been made sufficiently clear to every | United States and England. worker in the millinery trade. At the outset when the U. R. F. C. was constitated, the policy prevaiilng was to work under the direct supervision of the Needle imperialism is already forcing England the armaments particularly of its nearest the aim in mind to break away from the Right wing controlled union as soon as "feasible", which would mean the breaking away of small and insignificant seetions of the millinery workers and leaving the bulk of them at Zaritsky's mercles. Naturally we who helped hasten England. It is in this sphere that the the movement of the U. R. F. C. and helped crystallize the sentiment against pared. New wars and revolutions which from. the collective agreement did not and will shake the world to its foundation. could not subscribe to such a policy. At The storm clouds are gathering and present the U. R. F. C. utterances do not moving with ever increasing velocity. This mention at all its attitude towards the N. T. W. I. U. The present negative attitude is equally incorrect. We Left Plenum thesis, is the "kernel of contemwingers cannot ignore the N. T. W. I. U. Fear of the R. F. C. to mention the N T. W. I. U. and to take a positive stand is only misleading to the workers who should know our views and duties to the Industrial Union.

It should be made clear that while we time do not deny our loyalty to the principles of the N. T. W. I. U. and industrial unionism and we will continue our the N. T. W. I. U. in its work of organizing the unorganized as a step toward the eventual establishment of one industrial union for all veedle trades workers

Nevertheless a great departure has been made by the U. R. F. C. from its up for American imperialism in regards This question involves the entire desoriginal course and this makes it possi- to land armaments. The German Chan- tiny of England." ble for all elements to find a basis for cellor suggested a downward revision of united work. We millinery workers, reparations payments. Of course, such members of the Left Opposition, call upon a proposal would need the sanction of tions, coming right upon the heels of strikes a snag which with this gentry, the militant workers to rally to the sup- Wall Street by which the reparations the defeat of the German revolution and finds its formula: "England is living on port of the United Rank and File Com- payments are finally pocketed. How- the American intervention for restabiliz- a higher standard than her continental mittee. We must give ample and serious ever, President Hoover was not slow in ing German capitalism, the British Com- neighbors". thought to the imperative need of united grasping the opportunity. His morator- munist Party polled 53,000 votes to the action of the Left wing in the task of jum proclamation aims at two simulvreventing further betrayals by the Right taneously "great" accomplishments to elections the relationship of votes were of the capitalist masters and hence all Max Shachtman

ewhere.

all upon the U. R. F. C. to issue of reduction of land armaments of the thing, this intervening period registered out England there is a systematic heavy for a rank and file conference European nations.

trast. No, this kernel is still to be out for military and naval expenditures gentlemen of the type of Purcell Hicks test between the main imperialist powers be:

More precisely the rivalry between the Both of these powers are in the throes

of the deep-going capitalist world crisis. perialism will fully utilize this opportun-The unbridled expansion of American ity and swing its economic whip to reduce to the wall. In actual practise it is now rival and secure its own supremacy unbeing demonstrated that the former, in challenged. Such are its preparations ist vanguard has so far remained unorder to overcome its economic difficul- for the more open and more brutal inties will proceed yet more ruthlessly evitable conflict. It will also be another resources of working class disillusionfurther to establish and maintain its step toward more definitely putting the ment with the MacDonald labor governworld hegemony against Europe, and par- European nations on rations. While ment. ticularly, against its main competitormost gigantic conflict yet is being prewhich has been assigned only secondary place in the Eleventh Comintern

porary international relations." Manuvering for position through economic and diplomatic means has so far petitor the United States. Her domincharacterized the contest between these ion empire is shaken by the growing dif-

are building an opposition within the sure. All a prelude to the continuation ary movements are developing. Thus, Right wing controlled union with the which will take the form of open war now that the sun is actually beginning to objective of changing the Right wing fare. The five power naval conference set over her imperial domain it coinpolicy and with the aim in mind to semingly hung the shield of a diplom- cides with her advance toward a revtransform the union into a fighting atic victory on the chest of the grotesque olutionary situation. The question of weapon of the workers, we at the same British premier; but in reality American the greatest importance, however, is the imperialism carried off the laurels of one of the readiness of the working class victory. It will soon stand out much for such a situation; and above all the more clearly to what extent the results question put by Comrade Trotsky in his struggles for such principles and will of this conference means a settlement of book "Whither England": fight for and demand a united front with naval supremacy in favor of the power with the strongest industrial resources.

-in Europe

found in the increasingly furious con- in 1928-1929 by the principal powers to and Cook. The party weekly organ

United States.....\$ 772,984.000 Great Britain .....\$ 550,080,000 France .....\$ 357,556.000 We may rest assured that American im-

these undoubtedly are the perspectives of American imperialism there remains still

#### The Essential Question of Destiny of England

What is the position of England in this conflict? It is showing the sears of a declining empire. It has fallen to third place as a world exporting power. Inch ist faction agents, the membership has by inch it is being forced further to the wall by its most overwhelming comtwo powers; that is, with a few engineer | ferentiation of interests of each separate ed revolutions thrown in for good mea- part. In the colonies, serious revolution-

"Will it be possible to organize a Communist party in England, which shall battles is clearly discernible. The situa American Imperialism for Disarmament be strong enough and which shall have tion is being described by her leading insufficiently large masses behind it, to dustrialists as one of "unrelieved gloom" enable it, at the psychological moment

From the more recent Chequers con- to carry out the necessary political conversations similar prospects have opened clusion of this ever sharpening crisis? rible pauperization and squalor of the

> Where is the Proletarian Vanguard? In the Dec. 1923 parliamentary elec-

Labor party's 4,350,000. By the 1928 as having any reference to the standard Martin Abern ng administration in New York as well knife the developing German revolution 50,000 to 800,000 respectively. Thus, efforts are aimed at reducing the work-

a victory of reformism over Communism, wage slashing now carried into almost

League of Nations reports the sums laid based upon the "prestige" of the "Left reached a circulation of about 70,000 and the Minority Movement weekly organ

The "Armaments Year Book" of the alas, the fatal weakness: it was mainly

about 110,000. Today the party finds itself frightfully reduced to a position of serious isolation, its daily organ not reaching much above a 3,000 circulation. The Minority Movement has become skeleton organization of the party without any serious influence. The Communable to draw upon the great and growing

While we shall reserve an attempt to make an analysis of this specific situathe American working class to be heard | tion until a later article, it is necessary to bear in mind, when looking at this contrast of the past with the present. the disastrous policy of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. From this the British Communist Party has not learned one single lesson. As a matter of fact ben prevented from making any such attempt. Thus the heritage of this false alp upon the party. And surely a fund-Communist party will be able to play a serious leading role in the coming struggles now being inexorably prepared

-not to speak of the coming revolutionary situation. MacDonald Preparing the Road

Meanwhile the road of England headlead? ing directly toward new serious class

But statements by them are, of course, not in the least concerned with the terworking class. There is a growing demand from the financial interests for a complete overhauling of the industrial machinery. But right there the demand

Naturally this is not to be interpreted

and to lend force to the counter-demand if parliamentary elections register any- ing class standard of living. Through-

not run industry, the workers would Not that this was intended for the ears of the workers and for them to carry out the practical conclusions therefrom. Far from that. It was intended as a pressure upon capitalism. And today history is drawing the conclusion for MacDonald and his colleagues. It flows inevitably from their position as tions are elected, do not work, make no his majesty's ministers, as lieutenants of capitalism of the most miserable but also most cunningly treacherous social reformist stripe. Theirs is now the particular task, no longer of mouthing regular as the attendance of the rank phrases about workers running industry, and file. A course in public speaking by but of applying the instruments of capi- Brodsky is dropped when half completed talist state coercion to reduce the work- without explanation given or demanded. ers' standard of living; to assure the Tre ideological level of the "education" basis for rationalization and further ex- is unbelievably low. Thus Johnstone on ploitation. That it is precisely also the the unemployment program of the I. W. labor government which is assigned the W .: "The program of the Trotskyists, task of making preparations for the com- as I will show, differs only by a hair's ing imperialist conflict-disguised under breadth from the program of the I. W. peace palavers-coincides with its posi- W." tion.

But the plans of the capitalist masters of England including the specific tasks assigned to the Labor government, have not yet fully materialized. Thus, policy, while remaining uncondemned and despite the menacing clouds which now uncorrected, today still weighs like an so frequently threaten the much cherish ed jobs of these royal ministers they amental change of orientation, of policy will, barring unforeseen developments, and of tactics is necessary before the still be able to hang on for some time. But that will make possible the further completion of the process of disillusionment and make the break more decisive by the developments of England's crisis It will make the coming class battles more decisive also. Yet the all important question remains the clarity and defintieness of working class direction. Will the Communist forces be able to

#### -ARNE SWABECK.

Note: This is the first of a series of articles on the present situation in England and the tasks of the Communists. A second installment will appear in the next issue.--Ed.)

#### THE MILITANT

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James P. Cannon Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

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gotten. A motion initiating socialist competition among the councils in their organization of tenant's leagues, is passed unanimously by an executive body and never heard about again. Motions calling for reports on finances, on the sale of literature, etc., are passed and result in nothing. Committees and delegareports and are not brought to account. Small sums are continuously stolen by unemployed workers. Efforts at elementary workers' education are as ir-

The external activities of the councils suffer from the same looseness. The distribution of leaflets is unsystematic and hap-hazard. Some workers throw them away. What tenants' league work is done is equally unsystematic and haphazard. Meetings with house committees are not followed up. No minutes of these meetings are kept. No further steps are taken to spread the organization to neighboring houses. In restoring the furniture of evicted workers, the council proceeds to the scene of the eviction without leadership, etc., etc.

No adequate techique has been devised for fighting evictions. The procedure in vogue at present can be compared only to fire fighting. An eviction is reported to a council. The council is mobilized and proceeds to the scene. If it outnumbers the police ten to one the furniture is restored. Obviously this is a ridiculous procedure. Should the councils be able, from the point of view of time, numbers and other factors-which they are notto restore the furniture of every evicted worker, they would be reduced to a society for restoring evicted furniture. But in that case, the police and the municipal governments would be more than equal to the problem. Their organization is as yet stronger, more mobile, better disciplined and trained. In New York City, one or two patrolmen in a position to summon more, are stationed at the set e of every eviction in the neighborhoods where the councils are known to function.

-THOMAS STAMM.

#### NOTES ORIAL

#### THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

**.6E** 4

Wage cutting began with the first manifestations of the crisis and have been proceeding ever since at a continually accelerated pace. For quite a while this practice was masked by denials and all kinds of subterfuges. The notorious conference of employers and labor leaders at the White House, at which the solemn pledge to maintain wage standards was issued was the first big smoke screen behind which the movement began. It was followed by a campaign of reductions all along the line. But the fiction of holding up the levels was maintained, and the wage cutters resorted, primarily, to indirect methods, such as laying off and re-hiring at reduced rates, in order to conceal the actual trend.

But now the process of beating down the living standards of the workers has wage cuts are accumulating in such a the practical absence of labor resistence have begun a real assault on the wage scales. They are coming out in the open with this policy.

This was indicated several weeks ago in the blunt declarations of the leading bankers that wages must come down still further. In these statements the keynote of capitalist policy was sounded, and the offensive against labor standards began to widen its scope. The figures of the Labor Bureau, Inc. show 185 wage reductions, averaging about 10 per this way they will convince the workcent, and distributed over 175 manufacturing enterprises, for the single month ending March 15. The campaign continues in full swing. The pious sermonizing of the early months of the crisis of which the American workers have ten as you are. That is what they said, the supplementary accusation launched about keeping up the wage scales is giving place to editorial apology for the is by no means unreasonable. In that lowering standards.

The New York Times, the most influential and authoritative organ of the capitalists, salutes the program of retrenchment at the expense of the workers and recommends it to them. "Economists and practical men" says the Times editorial of June 7, "are not all agreed that it has been wise . . . to insist upon the maintenance of high wages." And not only that. The Times does not think it "wise" to insist on other conditions and standards which interfere with the workers' efficiency as profit-makers for the bosses. "Is it not fair to ask of them that they contribute something to the general effort to tide over the days of hardship?" it asks. monstrative action there was the protest They haven't contributed enough yet. of the conscientious revolutionist against So now, according to the Times, they should "yield something in the way war prisoners to debased and reactionof special privileges, and even arbitrary ary factionalism. rulings, which have been established in

coated declaration of war there is the essence of the capitalist policy for the ensuing period: an unbroiled offensive against the workers.

Will the workers fight back? Will they take up the defensive struggle on a wide front within the year? There are a few signs of such a development, but they are isplated and sporadic as yet. It must be admitted that a serious /defensive struggle, involving masses of workers, has not yet begun. The Department of Labor figures, just published, show fewer strikes in the year 1930 than in any year since 1918. 653 strikes and lockouts last year against 3,630 in 1919 a comparative picture of the state of labor activity. The first three months of 1931 showed 146 strikes and lockouts a slight decline from last year's low average.

These figures, taken by themselves, may well prove to be highly deceptive. The reached a new stage. The figures on capitalists, proceeding full swing to a further attack on the workers, are quite volume that the facts can no longer be likely to collide with an explosive factor hidden or denied. And there is no point nidden behind the bare figures of the in it, for the exploiters, emboldened by strike movements for the past fifteen months. The figures alone take no account of the accumulation of grievance and discontent as yet unexpressed and therefore unspent. It is by no means as-

sured that the new encroachments will pass unchallenged. On the contrary, they are more apt to bring matters to the combustion point.

The capitalists, bent on loading the burden of the crisis onto the backs of year. That action of Foster and Co. was the workers are preparing thereby the a crime for which the Communist worknecessary conditions for a labor revolt. In ers, as propaganda has been unable to convince them, that there is no way out but to fight. Under such conditions the prospect of a series of stormy battles, many times shown themselves capable, event the Communists would get hearing the I. W. W. met the officials of the "The Menshevik Lydia Zederbaum" turnthe like of which has not been granted before.



#### THE UNION SQUARE MEETING

When the meeting at Union Square man with the announcement that the official Communist party has not been invited to send a speaker for the occasion -which was ostensibly a united front prisoners-the representative of the Communist League, comrade Swabeck took his name off the speakers' list and withdrew from the meeting. In this dethe prostitution of the interests of class

ing in which every militant worker worthy of the name would boldly participate. Every radical and pseudo-radical organization that can be thought of was represented by a speaker: yellow socialists and Right Communists, liberals and anarchists, Musteites and I. W. W.s. Everybody was welcomed-everybody but the Communist party. This, with its ten of thousands of members and supporters, was deliberately and specifically excluded. Do you call that a united front for class war prisoners? If is a contemptible fraud, using the Centralia victims as a shield for a reactionary demonstration.

You will not get our support for such a game. Comrade Swabeck's withdrawal from the meeting was a way of saying this. He might have made the protest by taking the stand and denouncing the shameful procedure. That, however is a secondary question and a debatable one. There is something unspeakably repugnant to an honest militant in using the platform of a labor defense meeting Riazanov carefully concealed the letter." for polemics. The prisoners, and their burning appeal for solidarity, are apt to get lost in the shuffle. + This is what actually happened at the Union Square

meeting. An anarchist windbag, taking his tip from the chairman's announce ment, gives a lecture against the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. Other speakers poisoned to the marrow by the phobia against Communism, aired their prejudices. The result? The meeting degenerated into a demonstration against Communism. Those who hold the Cen- | of advancing against comrade Riazanov tralia men in prison have no reason to object to that.

The leaders of the I. W. W. are dir ectly responsible for this miserable performance and their guilt is in no way

extenuated by the fact that the Stalinists boycotted a similar meeting last ers will yet call them to account. The Union Square meeting was conducted on the same plane. By their actions its organizers said to the Stalinists; Solidarity in behalf of labor prisoners means just as little to us as it means to you; we will prove that we are just as rot not difficult to reveal the mechanism of That is what they proved. It is by today by the same accusers under the such an attitude-in which the officials of pseudonym of the Marx-Engels Institute. Communist party on one level—that a ed over the letter of Marx to Riazanov real movement of genuine solidarity in back in 1925. Why did she give it to the fight for the Centralia victims is him? As a token of Riazanov's back in thwarted, and sabotaged, and made impossible.

This affair of last Saturday was rich in other instructive lessons. Despite the future collaboration in the conspiracy last Saturday was opened by the chair. formidable list of organizations represented, a scant few hundred came to the lat? The "Institute" is speechless on meeting. Doesn't that show where the this subject. The word "the Menshevik" present strength of labor militancy lies? Doesn't it show that the socialists paid hesitate, all the more so because since demonstration in behalf of the Centralia only lip service to the demonstration and 1925, Riazanov "carefully concealed" the that they give no real support to the letter. Why did he conceal it? Obviousissue?

when, in the crusade against Commun- is true that between 1925, when Riazism, it falls into the company of this black gang and finds itself at home there. But this is the logic of the fight against Communism. Communism, despite all the worthless bureaucrats who disgrace its banner, is the only revolutionary

Just consider! Here was proclaimed doctrine the only revolutionary class quished or modified." In this sugar- martyrs-a most commendable undertak- they wish it or not. those who dedicate a warning-of this logic. -J. P. C.

A New Slander Against D.B. Riazanov

Pravda of March 12 published a note ment, and 1931, when he was mixed up in selling this letter, which draws a entitled "Marx on K. Kautsky" and in the conspiracy against the dictatorship crushing picture of Kautsky, Bernstein signed "the Marx-Engels Institute". of the proletariat, Riazanov published or the other proprietor of the document This note has subsequently been repro- not a few documents and works which duced without any comment by the world causad Menshevism considerable vexapress of the Comintern. Externally, the tion. But nothing doing. The readers published while Kautsky was alive or center of gravity of this note lay in the of the press of the Comintern must be remarkable passage from the letter of guided along the old formula of the de-Marx in 1881 which gives a crushing vout: "I believe it no matter how abcharacterization of Kautsky, a characteri- | surd it is." Good, the reader will say, but what

zation which was, in short, fully verified did happen with the letter? Is it auby the future.

thentic, did Riazanov really hide it? And The publication of the note solemnly signed by the whole Institute has, howat the quotation in order not to doubt ever another aim: to befoul the person who created the Marx-Engels Institute the authenticity of the letter: Marx and was at its head. Here is what is said at the end of the note: "The orig- in collaboration with Yagoda. As to the naturally carried it out. It is only circumstances under which the letter inal of this letter was turned over to Riazanov by the well-known Menshevik propose a hypothesis whose verisimili-Lydia Zederbaum-Dan already in 1925. During the trial of the Mensheviks, affair.

Riazanov was accused before the whole Riazanov could receive the letter world by the attorney general of the only from the hands of those who held republic of collaboration in the conspiracy against the dictatorship of the pro- it. The mangement of the heritage of Engels has fallen into the hands of Bernletariat. A few months after this acstein by force of the same historical valuable find. But he waited for the cusation, the whole of humanity has comlogic of the epigones which today permunicated to it a new crime of Riazanov: he has, it seems, again into the bargain ... concealed the quotation from Marx's letter of 1881. Nothing but this need exceptional pedseverance an ingenuity in public, that is, not only was the engagesuch circumstances to make his case and of Engels. Like the Lenin Institute, worse, and which are all out of propor. the Marx-Engels Institute bought numertion to the first accusation shows that ous documents from the Mensheviks and manner of acting? Let us call it by its the socalled conscience of Messrs. ac- through the intermediary of Mensheviks: right name: it is a way of acting a la cusers is not tranquil. By combining, it is enough to refer, for example to the as usual, disloyalty with rudeness, these archives bought by the Lenin Institute people only discover things with their from Potressov\*. It is beyond doubt aid, and only betray the fragility of the that the "Menshevik Lydia Zederbaum"

did not simply turn over the letter to Riazanov, but she probably sold it as We explained at the time in a hypothetical form how the accusation against an intermediary for Bernstein or some an organ which fights, at the extreme one else among the old men who had the Right wing of the Mensheviks, against Riazanov originated. Everything that is letter by Marx. It is quite natural that Soviet Russia.-Ed. written us from Moscow on this sub-

from the same circle, put as a condition for the sale that the letter should not be while the one selling it was alive. The rigorous manner in which Bernstein submitted to this sort of censorship the correspondence of Marx and Engels is sufficiently well known. There was no other choice left to comrade Riazanov: in order to get possession of the letter, if he did, then why? It is enough to look he was obliged to accept the condition imposed upon him Anybody else in his place would have acted in the same way. cannot be falsified, even by Yaroslavsky After having accepted this condition, he thanks to this extreme prudence and loywas "concealed", we can, again only alty in all matters of this kind that Riazanov has been able to extract from tude, however, is guaranteed a hundred the hands of adversaries precious elepercent by all the circumstances of the ments of the heritage of our classics. We think that it is now clear why Riazanov "concealed" the letter. Whoever knows Riazanov will not doubt for an instant that more than anybody else, Riazanov burned with the desire to publish his proper moment to strike. By means or mits Yaroslavsky to dispose of the heri- a raid, the letter of Marx was found tage of Lenin. Riazanov manifested an at Riazanov's and it was not only made gathering together the heritage of Marx ment made by Riazanov broken, but it was turned around as a proof against Riazanov. What should we call such a

L. TROTSKY.

\* Potressov, former Menshevik collaborator of Lenin and Martov in Iskra. Today an emigre, he publishes in Paris

### The Hoover Reparations-Debts Scheme

Stalin.

(Continued from page 1)

still has a gratifying surplus left from trial production just as low, the markets the German reparations. Does it com- of the world just as contracted and conplain about that? Mellon and Hoover gested. More than Hoover's suspension will soon suggest a "way out of the plan will be required to undo these difcomplication". Balance your budget, M. him? As a token of Riazanov's friend-Laval, by cutting down on armaments ship with the Mensheviks, and of their expenditures. This ingenious form of blackmail turned the trick for America eliorated. But only for a brief time. against the dictatorship of the proletarat the Washington Naval Conference in 1921, where it first achieved "parity" with the British. It worked at the Lonought to shut the mouth of all who don conference in 1929. In short, the dominance of the American dollar has torpedoed more British vessels than the Germans could hope to sink in the Batly in order to safeguard the interests of the of Jutland. Why should it not suc-The I. W. W. has come to a sad pass Kautsky and of world Menshevism. It ceed in being just as effective against France? MacDonald the faithful outpost anov entered into conspiracy with the in Europe of Wall Street, has already advanced the idea, with an eye at France, Mensheviks to conceal the historic docu-

in the House of Commons. A Solution of the Crisis?

themselves to the war against Commun-But the crisis? Will it be solved by ism come to the service of reaction. The the Hoover plan? Fantasy! . The stock final answer to all the plans of imperialdeplorable affair at Union Square last good times, but which might be relin- a union of all forces for the Centralia movement of the proletariat. Whether Saturday was a striking illustration-and market may experience a few jerky rises and falls for a while, but the army of

unemployed remains just as large, indusficulties.

Then the German crisis, at the very least? Beyond a doubt it will be am-The postponement of the big collapse will only make it more earth-shaking when it does take place. There is an inexorable fatality in Wall Street's plans to save Germany from Bolshevism: The Dawes plan lasted almost five years before it had to be scrapped for the Young plan. The Young plan never outlived its father---two years of life and it is mourned at the grave only by France. The Hoover plan? Will it last even two years? It is doubtful. In the ability of the German Communists to solve the crisis of misery and despair by a successful proletarian revolution, lies the ist conquest and slavery.

-MAX SHACHTMAN.

Percent. Percent. Jan. 1858 13.0 Dec. 1903 11.0 June 1861 9.8 May 19008 18. July 1911 Sept

Almost two years have elapsed since the current crisis began, and still the bourgeoisie has made no progress toward

understanding it or formulating a solu

tion. At the April meeting of the Academy of Political Science, a group of bankers, business men, and professors of economics gathered for two days, under the chairmanship of a Morgan partner and later of a former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, to discuss the crisis. Every man for himself, they presented the following "explanations":

1. There is no crisis-world production of commodities keeps increasing with only minor setbacks of which this is one, and will continue to increase to new high records. 2. The war and its after-effects. 3. Continuing political insecurity. 4. Tariff barriers. 5. Overproduction of agricultural products. 6 management of banking and credit facindustries and communities. 9. Shortage and maldistribution of gold.

The chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank, the largest bank in the United States, adds:

10. Abnormalities in certain commodity markets due to attempts at price fixing.

11. The delay with which wholesale prices of finished goods, retail prices, wages. and rentals, have followed the drop in prices of raw materials.

The significant thing about all these explanations is that nowhere is there the slightest mention of the one thing that bourgeois and proletarian alike agree in regarding as the mainspring of all capitalist economic activity-profits. This comission should not be looked at as a coincidence. The bourgeois does not wish at this time to measure force frankly and openly with the proletariat in economic or other conflict, and his ideological defense is to obscure the issue by leaving out of the discussion the

most important factor which is profits. Comparing the reports of 1900 corporations engaged in 59 lines of business for 1930 with 1929. net profits show a decline from \$5,983,049,000 in 1929 to \$3,516,381,000 or a drop of 41.1 percent. Now between 1929 and 1930 the total cent. Total wages paid by manufactur-25 percent.

The effective result of the first full of crisis, therefore was to reduce faster than either production or

> vis which we propose is that n profits waa ed and pre-

pared for by the decline in the relative participation of wages in the products of industry during the "prosperous" time up to 1929, which led to a restriction of markets-we shall also give reasons for thinking that the present depression may be the last of the periodical crises on the upward swing of captialism and may be the beginning of a new period of de clining profits and intensified class strug gle

All the reasons given for the existence of a crisis, so far as they mean anything. mean that goods have been "over-pro duced" in comparison with the possible market for them. This "over-production", which is such a puzzle to bour Business has to go in cycles. 7. Poor geois thinkers, means simply that there is no longer a profit in seiling as many ilities. 8. Lack of equilibrium among goods to as many people, in 1930 as there was in previous years. The "market" for a given quantity of goods, in

capitalist economy. means the possibility of selling so much goods at a profit. The foregoing figures indicate what has

the crisis. Let us now consider how capitalism in the United States has steadily destroyed its own profits and "markets" in the years preceding the crisis. by a comparison of certain figures sup-

plied by the U.S. Census Bureau.

Note: This is the first of a series of articles intended to interpret the daily economic life of the United States in accordance with the real.course of its development and from a Marxian point of view. The present article deals with the general features of the crisis that began in 1929, seeks to isolate its causes, and discuss the prospects for the future and their political consequences and effects for the labor movement. Future articles will deal with specific industries-coal, copper, steel, automobiles, textiles, railroads and banking-from the standpoint of the economic background of the class struggle.-Ed.

Economic Crisis -- What Next?

prop.

ject fully confirms our suppositions. It is

#### By B. J. Field

individual capitalist is not good for the value added by manufacture in 1929 group of capitalists as a whole. The is actually smaller than in 1899.

individual capitalist derives a competitive advantage, expressed in lower costs and for a time in higher profits through displacing men by machines, that is, variable capital by constant capital. The group of capitalists as a whole, however, by all adopting the same or a similar

earners increased 85.5 percent, and their less by booms and is less harmed by process, wipe out the competitive advantage of the first capitalist, and in so do- average wage rose from \$426 a year to ing equalize competitive profits among \$1,306 or 206 percent, but their share plant.

themselves. The net result however, is in the produce of their labor declined a lower proportionate employment of from 41.4 percent to 36 percent. The happened to profits last year, following variable capital, resulting in a lower fact that value added by manufacture average rate of profit, which expresses increased 556 percent while the number itself in capitalist terms in a shrinkage of wage-earners employed increased only of "markets" or places where goods can 85.5 percent sums up graphically the extent to which labor efficiency has been be sold at a profit.

The shrinkage of markets in the boom increased, largely by mechanization.

1899

1909

1919

1929

As production keeps increasing while the participation of labor keeps decreasing we should expect the recurrent crisis to become more acute as time goes severity. on. Increasing mechanization tends to make the profits of business more dependent on operation as close to capacity as possible. To illustrate this, compare two establishments one highly mechanized, and the other largely dependent on direct labor, which we will call plant A and B respectively. Of each \$100 of product produced by A, \$40 rein operation decreased, and the propor- in the business world, as to its effects presents raw material, fuel and power, \$40 represents overhead costs of machinery (maintenance, interest on investof selling and distribution were eating ment amortization, etc., all costs which up the economies due to more efficient | go on unchanged from year to year irrespective of the amount of output) \$10

No. of Wage Earners

4,713,000

6 615,000

8.000.000

8.742.000

From 1899 to 1929, the number of wage

Wages

3,427,000,000

10,453,000 000

11,421,000,000

\$ 2008,0000,000

\$12, and overhead costs remaining unchanged at \$40 will leave a profit of

of 20 percent in sales. Similarly, a decrease of 20 percent in sales to \$80 will involve a decrease in raw materials to below "normal", than any of its pre-\$32, in wages to \$8 and overhead re- decessors, but there are indications that ] maining unchanged at \$40, there will be in some respects it is even absolutely more severe. In other words, the rate

Plant B, on the other hand, being only of increase of "normal" production may It is, in fact, an essential contradiction tion is not a matter of the last ten years slightly mechanized, pays under normal itself be slowing down. Railroad freight susceptibility to business depression of capitalism that what is good for the alone-the proportion of wages paid to conditions \$40 out of each \$100 of sales traffic measured in carloadings with

for raw material etc., \$10 for overhead, No and \$40 for wages leaving likewise \$10 Beb for profit. An increase of 20 percent in May sales will involve an increase in raw Jun materials costs to \$48, wages to \$48, Sep which together with the unchanged overhead costs of \$10 will total \$88, leaving a profit of \$12, or 20 percent more than 'normal", while similarly a decline in sales of 20 percent will result in a reduction of the profit from \$10 to \$6, instead of wiping it out completely. The less mechanized plant therefore profits

Wages

40.2

42.2

36.0

41.4 p. c.

Value Added by

\$ 4,831,000,000

8,529,000,000

24 748,000,000

31,687,000,000

The increasing mechanization of Am-

This conclusion is borne out by an

analysis of industrial activity in the Un-

ited States since 1854 recently made by

a Western bank. "Normal" figures of

industrial production were calculated,

making allowance for a broad upward

tendency, and activity for each month

since January, 1854 was stated in per-

centages above or below this steadily

rising "normal" line. During this per-

iod there have been fourteen important

depressions. We list below the month

during which each of these reached its

lowest point, and the percentage figure

We see that at no time before the

war was there any decline of more than

20 percent below the "normal" line; the

1921 depressions went as low as 27 per-

cent and the present depression 28.3

Not only is the present depression re-

latively more severe, in terms of decline

for that month.

percent below "normal".

Manufacturing

			•• (• • · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1
pt.	1896	17.9		
ıe	1894	19.9	Jan. 1931	28.3
y	1885	13.1	July 1924	12.7
<b>b.</b>	1878	12.7	April 1921	27.
v.	1865	14.0	Dec. 1914	13.
1.	anu		oury rorr	

allowance for the lighter average load per car, is actually less than in 1921, a year of the most serious percentage depression up to that time, although 1921 car loadings were in turn higher than those of 1911, a year of relatively minor depression Export trade is now at the lowest levels since the war, lower than in the depression year 1921. Immigration this year will be less than 100,000 for the first time since 1869.

Turning for a moment from the general manifestations of the cri is, let us assume the axiom that the total industrial activity of a country is the sur of the activity of its individual indusdepression than the highly mechanized tries, plus the relations existing among them. For the individual industries, there is a "law of uneven development" erican industry can be summed up on analogous to that which Trotsky has the basis of the foregoing figures by worked out as between nations. The stating that value added by manufac. general scheme of the historical developturing amounted to \$1,025 per worker in ment of an industry follows a roughly 1899 and to \$3,624 per worker in 1929. uniform curve. It begins as a new, speculative industry, with numerous But this can only mean, in terms of the above discussion, that American small individual concerns, many of business has become more sensitive to whom quickly disappear it may have shrinkages of sales and markets, and difficulty at the beginning in finding marcrises should therefore show increasing [ kets, but soon obtains general acceptance of its product, the profits of successful concerns are large, and sales are apt to increase even during a period of business depression.

> In the second stage, a broad demand has been created, profits remain large and even increase, numerous smaller producers consolidate into a relatively fewer number of large firms, and the problem of management is how to produce enough rather than how to sell its output. Productive facilities are rapid ly increased during this stage. This leads to the third stage, wherein productive facilities are enough or more than enough to meet the actual demand, and the principal problem of management becomes how to sell, rather than how to produce. Markets become saturated, competition sets in on a severe basis. prices and profit margins are lowered. mergers increase until only a few large producers are left in the industry. Even tually the problem of markets (at a profit) becomes very difficult, all kinds of costly and artificial methods must be used to stimulate demand, the profit margin is likely to remain under the average even in good times and to result in losses in bad, times, showing a gre

> > (Continued in Next Issue)

Data on	Manufacturing 1919	Industries 1919-1929 1927	1929
No. of establishments	214,383	191,866	199 268
No. of wage earners	9,000,059	8,349.755	8,550,284
Wages paid	\$10,461,736,869	\$10,848,802,532	\$11 271,016,618
Value added by manu- facture (excluding cost of material containers,	24,809,092,926	27,585,210 400	31,095,855.410
fuel, and purchased electricity)	24,809,092,920	21,000,210 100	31,000,000,110
In other words the si	ve of the ever-		

In other words, the size of the aver-

manufacture, which had been 42.2 percent in 1919, was reduced to 36.2 percent of the added value of 1929.

The fact that the share of wages in The rate of return on invested capital has been decreasing is only another way to sell to a contracting market, and production increases 20 percent to \$120, declined from 10.6 percent to 5.7 percent. of saying that the proportion of variable high-pressure salesmanship, the emphasis raw material etc. will cost \$48, wages volume of physical production is esti- declining relatively to constant capital, mated to have declined only 18.1-2 per- crystallized in buildings, raw materials ing together with hectic efforts to in- \$20 instead of \$10, an increase of 100 ing industry are not believed by any profits are made out of variable capital. authority to have declined more than not constant capital. The relatively estic market in the period of highest smaller amount of variable capital has therfore meant a progressive shrinkage

in the possibilities of the capitalist profitably disposing (remembering always that market implies profit).

age plant increased, the number of plants years before 1929 was well recognized tion of wages to total added values to if not its cause. It was a common com-

plant production. This means, of course

plant production. This means, of ocurse the total values added by manufacture that it was becoming increasingly difficult is wages, and \$10 is profit. If sales and capital paid out in wages, has been on style and color in all kinds of goods, and the increasing use of installment selland machinery. As Marx pointed out, crease export sales, all point to the percent in profits against an increase effects of the contradiction of the domactivity up to 1929, which contained the seeds of the crisis.

> This process of throttling the partici- no profit left. pation of wages in the national produc-