WORKERS **OF THE** WORLD. UNITE

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LEON TROTSKY

The Spanish Revolution On the Order of the Day for the Left Opposition

the agenda an imposing question on the when we have no common basis in prinsubject of which the Left Opposition can ciples with these groups. I have in mind and must say its word. I speak of the above all the "Prometeo" group which is Spanish revolution. It is not a question | in disagreement with the Bolsheviknow of a criticism after the event; it Leninists on all the fundamental quesis a question for the international Left Opposition of an active intervention in the events in order to prevent a catastrophe.

We have few forces. But the advantage of a revolutionary situation consists precisely of the fact that even a small group can become a great force in a brief space of time, providing that it gives a correct prognosis and that it issues correct slogans in time. I allude not only to our Spanish section, directly involved by the events, but also to all our sections, because the further the revolution advances, the more it will draw the attention of the workers throughout the world. The verification of the political lines will take place before the eyes of the world proletarian vanguard. If we are really the Left wing, if we are really strong through our correct revolutionary conception, we must show this strength in a particularly sharp manner during a revolutionary sitnation. If we are really internationalists, we must do this work on an international scale.

Two Basic Questions

Two fundamental questions must be put squarely by us: (1) the question of the general character of the Spanish revolution and the strategical line that flows from it, and (2) the question of the correct tactical utilization of democratic slogans and of parliamentary and revolutionary possibilities. I endeavored to say everything essential on these questions in my last work on Spain. Here I want only to express myself summarily on the totality of the questions on which we must pass over to the offensive along the whole line of the Communist International.

Ought we to look forward in Spain to an intermediate revolution between the accomplished republican revolution and the future proletarian revolution a socalled "workers' and peasants'" revolution, with a "democratic dictatorship"? Yes or no? The whole strategical line is determined by the reply to this question. The official Spanish party is sunk up to its neck in an ideological confusion on this fundamental question; a confusion which was sown and is still being sown by the epigones and which open letters, intervention at meetings,

The course of events today puts on prerogatives of the Secretariat at a time tions of strategy and tactics. Nobody must be allowed to stifle these profound divergences by noisy quarrels on organizational grounds and by unprincipled "blocs" which degenerate inevitably into intrigues behind the scene.

The Lessons of China

Following the Russian experience, the question of democratic slogans in the revolution was posed anew in the course of the struggle in China. However, all the European sections did not have the possibility of following all the stages of this struggle. Thanks to this fact, the discussion on these questions had a semi-academic character for certain comrades and for certain groups. But today, these questions are the very incarnation of the struggle, of life. Can we permit ourselves to be bound hand and foot at so important a historical turning point? Just as during the Sino-Russian conflict which threatened to let loose a war we could not lose ourselves in discussions over whether it was necessary to support the Soviet Union or Chiang Kai-Shek so today, face to face with the Spanish events, we cannot even admit an indirect responsibility for the

sectarian, semi-Bakuninist superstitions of certain groups. My practical proposals are summed up in the following:

1. All the sections must place the problems of the Spanish revolution on the order of the day.

2. The leaderships of our sections must form special commissions which should have as their tasks to gather material to go deeply into the questions and above all to follow attentively the activity of the official parties and the manner in which they pose the problems of the Spanish revolution.

3. All the important documents of Spanish Communism (of all its tendencies) must be communicated regularly, at least in the form of extracts, for the information of all our national sections. 4. After a necessary preparation, each national section of the Opposition must open the attack against the policy of the Comintern in the Spanish revolution, This offensive can have different forms: articles in the paper, critical resolutions finds its expression in the program of individual work, and work by groups, etc. for the purpose of rehabilitating their

Relief and Defense for the Striking Miners The coal operators and their gov-

ernment have acted concertedly against the miners who are conducting so heroic and militant a struggle. It is the task of every worker, throughout the country, to come to the immediate aid of the strikers, to give all they can to hely bring about a victory. In Harlan, Kentucky, 17 miners are being held on trumped-up charges of murder. Every worker knows what this means. No effort should be spared to defend them. Funds to assist them in fighting a legal assassination should be sent to the General Committee of the I. W. W., 555 West

Lake St., Chicago, Ill. In Pennsylvania, Tom Myerscough, organizer of the National Miners Union, faces trial soon for "manslaughter" following the killing by thugs of a strike sympathizer. Others are in prison already in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Funds should be sent to the International Labor Defense, 80 East 11th St., New York, N. Y.

Desperately needed relief-clothing and funds-should be sent to the Penn-Ohio Striking Miners Felief Committee locally or at 611 Penn Ave. Room 205, Pittsburgh, Pa. ACT NOW!

Acute Crisis Shakes Germany and Central European Lands

Whole Communist Movement of Europe Now Put to the Test

The latest reports arriving from Ger- pecially in Central Europe where na- facing the test: Can they make their many indicate that the adoption of the tional banks are also crashing, German program, the program of the proletarian Hoover plan has not achieved the task it currency is not accepted for payment. dictatorship that means an end to all proclaimed for itself. The internal sit-What the adoption of the Hoover plan imperialist treaties and agreements, that did perhaps achieve, is the postponement uation, instead of being relieved has institutes the socialized planning of inbeen greatly aggravated. The delay of the formal and immediate downfall of austry and abolishes crises and unembrought about by the negotations between the Young Plan which would have ployment-can they make this program the Americans and the French has call brought into sharp view a whole series the program of the oppressed and dised forth an unprecedented flight of capiof international entanglements of a cat- inherited masses? —S. G.

astrophic nature. As matters stand at

present, the Bruening government, feel-

tal from Germany, nearly \$500,000,000 leaving the country within the period of the last terr weeks. The collapse of the Danat Bank, the financial institution most intimately bound up with the rise of German imperialism and the subsequent bank holiday have brought in their wake something resembling a little earthquake in central European finances. The mark is not being quoted at all on several exchanges. In Belgium, Hun-

ing that for the time being its external hardships are over, is preparing for an front. The relief brought about by the suspension of reparation payments, has been amply offset by the withdrawal of foreign private credits and by the continued export of capital. The situation in the Reich is even more serious than

government is concentrating every effort sources" by extending the already existing emergency decrees. Despite the promises made on the basis of the moratorium, the decree reducing the last crumbs of Unemployed Insurance stands and a whole string of even more outrageous

anti-working class political measures

are being contemplated, involving all round wage cuts. more indirect taxation and more reduction of social benefits. In view of all these planned steps, the Bruening government has already, within the last few days suspended all Communist publications, according to disthe importance of the delegation reveals patches, and prohibited all open air Schacht, the former president of the Reichsbank and an avowed representive of the Hugenberg-Hitler National Blo especially created for him. That this means a decisive step toward a dictatorship cannot be disputed. Whether the United States capitalists would consen to the establishment of a German Fascis dictatorship, with all the neo-imperialist German ambitons that it involves and all the unrest that would inevitably fol low it on the scale of the entire contin ent, is another question entirely.

hardships are over, is preparing for an intensified campaign on the internal I.L.D. Sabotages the **Opposition** Defense

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PRICE 5 CENTS

How the present leaders of the International Labor Defense have privately sent out deliberately misleading information, to the point of downright lies, in connection with the case of the two

All hope of foreign aid is gone. The Philadelphia Oppositionists, Morgenstern and Goodman, who have just been contowards the exploitation of internal "re- victed in court of "sedition", is made clear from some letters which the Communist League of America (Opposition) now has in its possession.

The two militants were arrested and held a number of months ago in Philadelphia for distribution of a leaflet of our organization on the question of unemployment.

The leaflet was the evidence introduced by the prosecution which brought about the finding of guilty against them. From the beginning of the case, the two workers, persecuted under the same Flynn Anti-Sedition Act and for the same reasons as other Communist workers have been, appealed to the Philadelphia I. L. D. to take over the defense of the case, to organize public protest meetings, agitation, legal aid, and so forth. The I. L. D. refused to give the two militants any assistance. On the contrary, it forcibly ejected the two of them from a united front Scottsboro defense conference to which their organization had delegated them.

The solitary reason why the I. L. D. has sabotaged the defense from the very outset is that the two workers belong to the Left Opposition, that they have poliical views differing from those of the I. L. D.'s present officers and the Communst party leaders who control them. This scandalous violation of the statutes and the traditions of the I. L. D. naturally brought down upon the heads of its officials a protest from all sides. Unable to defend their sabotage, the I. L. D. officials instead lied about their position.

Rank and File Illinois Miners Ready for a New and Militant National Movement

Events are moving fast in the min-| delegates representing 33,600 miners are ing industry of the country at the pre- present. In comparison with the figures sent time. Miners fight with guns in of the secretary-treasurer of the reac-Kentucky. Pennsylvania and Ohio min- tionary wing of the union, Walter Nesers courageously fight against some of bit, 71 percent of the miners of Illinois the worst odds ever encountered. Thousands of West Virginia miners answer a responding after the first report of the strike call against starvation conditions and in support of the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners. Two thousands miners in presented making the convention of Franklin county, Illinois, strike against great importance. Further estimation on starvation while working. Rumblings are heard from the Colorado coal fields. that it comes mainly from mines that meetings. The reactionary Hjalmar Rank and file miners in convention unofficially talk of the calling of a gen- According to the report of the Illinois eral strike in Illinois soon. The coal department of Mines and Minerals, 34,miners of America seethe with revoit 000 miners worked during the month of is being mentioned for the post of extraagainst the tyranny and hunger that pre- June. A canvass of the delegates reveals ordinary Finance Commissioner, to be vails within their midst. Is it an awakening to action that will finally set represented, thus giving the convention the miners of America into a powerful approximately 80 percent of the miners movement after 12 dreary years of suffering smashing defeats? Important events are taking place in

Illinois while this is being written. 33,-000 miners are in session, attending a rank and file miners' convention. Called years. the C. I. We have here the possibility But all these forms must be rigorously union and cleaning out the fakers, the from the three corners of the enemy miners that have responded to this call The Illinois Coal Operators Association are motivated by greater ideas than the came out with statement admonishing the selection of a new set of officers. The rotten starvation conditions that stalk expires midnight March 31, 1932 no other throughout the country are not absent organization will be recognized but disin Illinois. The rank and file miners' trict No. 12. United Mine Workers of convention embodies the last frantic ef- America". The District and Internaforts of a group of miners, miners who tional unions came out with statements stable mass basis, the social democracy have been organized solidly since 1897- attacking the convention. However, the 98, to save their union and fight against attack of the Lewis wing was not so vethe bosses and their agents who would hement as the Walker district organizacompletely reduce them to the level of tion. Several days before the conventhe unorganized fields. Events in the tion, two leaders of different mines were ing class. The Communists who, ac Eastern states further bring hopes to the miners of Illinois.

it was a month ago. gary and other European countries, es-

> are represented. More delegates were credential committees. A decisive majority of the Illinois miners are thus reare actually at work at the present time. that 27,000 miners actually working are in the state who are working in the mines. About 48,000 miners are all that there remains in the state. Readers will remember that 50,000 miners have been driven from the Illinois coal fields in 7

The convention convened with attacks

coordinated. of unmasking from day to day before the proletarian vanguard, in the light of living facts, the whole emptiness, the tory work in the national sections, a whole absurdity and at the same time, the terrific danger represented by the it is indispensable to work out a Manifiction of a middle-of-the-road, intermediate revolution.

The leading comrades of all the sections must have in mind that it is pre cisely we, as the Left wing, who must ish section. This manifesto will have to place ourselves upon a solid scientific basis. Thoughtless dabbling with ideas. journalistic charlatanism in the style of Landau and Co., are contrary to the very essence of a proletarian revolutionary faction. The fundamental questions of the revolution must be studied in the same way that engineers study the resistance of matter or doctors study anatomy and pathology. The problem of the permanent revolution, thanks to the events in Spain, has now become the central problem of the International Left Opposition.

Democratic Slogans

The questions of democratic slogans of the utilization of the elections and, later on of the Cortes, are questions of revolutionary tactics subordinated to the general question of strategy. But the worth nothing if one does not find a tactical solution to these formulae at every given moment. However, matters the principal mistake which is being than ever is a correct course imperalook very bad in Spain from this point made by the leadership of the tens of tive. A mistake in policy is trebly and of view. The French newspapers communicate the news according to which

the leader of the Catalonian Federation, Maurin, was to have said in his Madrid Is Foster looking forward, as has be speech that his organization will not come the custom in the official Communparticipate in the elections because it ist movement, to such a fatal outcome does not believe in their "sincerity". Is of the struggle as will require that type

coal fields.

it possible that this be true? It would of "self-criticism" which a contented mean the Maurin is not approaching the bureaucracy has made so odious-the problems of revolutionary tactics from type of "criticism" which repeats mech-

the point of view of the mobilization of anically that "our line was correct" but the forces of the proletariat, but from it "was not applied correctly" by functhe point of view of morality and party tionary A or committee B or rank and bourgeois sentimentalism. Two weeks filer C? Every recent action of the fic suffering and accentuated by a series ago I would have believed that the party, every struggle it has undertaken bourgeois press is recounting stupidities; or led, has wound up with this sorry ers in Western Pennsylvania went out but after having acquainted myself with epitaph. Every important action, at on strike, the working miners joined in the platform of the Catalonian Federa- whose commencement it was "too early intimate solidarity with those thrown tion, I am obliged to acknowledge that to speak of the mistakes and shortcomthis news monstrous as it may be, ings" found its tragic conclusion in the is nevertheless not impossible and must columns of the party press, filled with not be excluded in advance. On this line, we must inaugurate a pitiless struggle in our own ranks. It calculated to "place the blame" on any-

is entirely absurd and unworthy to body or anything, so long as the prinquarrel with various groups on the sub- ciple of the infallibility of the leaderrt of the functions, the rights and the ship of the day is preserved intact.

5. Following upon a certain prepara well as in the International Secretariat festo of the International Left on the Spanish revolution which should be done in the most concrete manner possible and in intimate collaboration with the Spanbe given the largest possible distribution. These are the concrete proposals.] beg you to discuss them and at the same time to send a copy to all the national sections so that the discussion will fol-

low simultaneously in all of them. June 18, 1931

The report of the credentials commit- the fields and made threats to various tee of the convention shows that 230

In the meantime, the crisis is tearing on at a high pitch. All the political fac-Illinois miners that "when the contract vions are re-arming feverishly in the contest for state power. While the gov ernment is steering to the Right, the population as a whole is moving toward the Left. The fascists are devoid of any

> which has followed at the tail of the reactionary Bruening government for the past sixteen months, is regarded with suspicion by broad sections of the work-

cording to the admissions of the capital placed in jail by the sheriff of Franklin county. Immigration authorities invaded ist press itself, are the only political group with a definite plan of action, are once again, as several times in the past, (Continued on page 3)



In the July issue of the party's theor-

Frank Keeney, Moo-The Stalinists Are Pursuing a Sectarian Policy Which Keeps the Insurgent Movements Separated

Foster writes about the Pennsylvania- is at stake to allow such contemptible Ohio coal strike in the following words: horse-play to pass for sagacity and lead-struggles of the American miners in the "It is too early to speak of the mistakes ership. The situation is rife with splenuntary frankness which must be exam- stances is at hand which has not been ined before it is "too late" to speak of there for a long time past. Now more ance of the workers.

thousands of miners who are fighting tenfold disastrous in such a big situation. what is happening in the American coal such a magnificent battle in the Eastern That is why Foster's whole approach to

the problem of the "possibly" wrong distinct, active movements in other parts policies in the strike is so dangerously of the country. false. It is not too early. We must speak out now while there is still time to act.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE COAL FIELDS?

To know what to do, we must first be clear about what is. Driven under the lash of a desperation induced by terri of wage cuts, tens of thousands of minout of work. Under the influence of their resistance, thousands of other miners from the coal fields of Eastern Ohio lamentations, with criticisms of what and Northern West Virginia have joined and the Communists is negligible. The

was wrong, with blustering apologies in the walkout. The strike is almost strike is under the leadership of the inentirely under the leadership of the Na dependent Miners' Union of West Virtional Miners Union and the Rank and ginia, which split away from the rotted File Committee organized by it. The hulk of the Lewis U. M. W. It is led the shoulders of the miners, and the ers, their arrest, and the attitude of the militancy and solidarity of the strikers by such former U. M. W. leaders as

ney and others, and etical organ, The Communist, William Z. | On the present occasion, far too much | --men and women, Negro and white-| is more or less intimately associated it slipped my mind. are in the best tradition of the glorious with the Muste movement, one of whose spokesmen, Tom Tippett, is in charge of the relief at Charlestown. The griev past, and are excelled only by the murand shortcomings of the strike." With did opportunities for the militant labor derous ferocity and abominations with ances of the long-suffering men are those most correct strategical formulae are this sentence, Foster achieves an invol- movement. A combination of circum- which the coal operators and their of the Pennsylvania, the Ohio, the Kenarmed forces have answered the resistthe country.

But the movement guided by the N In the Southern Illinois coal field the M. U. does not complete the picture of with growing insistence. Unfortunately full reads: fields. There are at least three other dominated by confusion and lack of cer-

tainty as to the way out of the morass In Harlan Kentucky, thousands of minors have been out on strike for labor agents have dragged them, they in error regarding the defense of Morweeks. The N. M. U. and the Communare nevertheless groping for a solution. ists are not leading that strike and up Deeply indicative of ferment among them tion in the Philadelphia District, has to the present, at least, have virtually are the various rank and file conferences taken over the defense of these two no influence upon it. The strike, a militant in every respect as the one in Pennsylvania, is led by the local organi- machines are so thoroughly discredited tion under the Flynn Sedition Law in zation of the United Mine Workers of that they dare not put in appearance. For Pennsylvania.

America, and, from fairly reliable re its blunders of the past and of today, the N. M. U. has little influence here ports, the I. W. W. has an appreciable as well. Worse yet, political sharpers, influence among the strikers. smooth demagogues, hungry aspirants to In the mining section around Kan office, concealed henchmen of Lewis or awha, West Virginia, some 23,000 miners went on strike last week in this field of bitterly fought battles and betrayals.

Here too, the influence of the N. M. U. upon the discontentment of the miners. All these movements have a common

root; the attempt of the coal barons to load the burdens of a sick industry upon the case of the two Philadelphia work-(Continued on page 4)

Engdahl's Falsehoods

On March 10, the following letter was sent by the I. L. D. to Roger Baldwin; director of the American Civil Liberties Union:

"Dear Comrade:

"In reply to your letter of March 9, addressed to George Maurer, will state that the International Labor Defense both in the Philadelphia District, and through our national bureau, has voted to defend Goodman and Morgenstern, in connection with the other cases it is defending under the sedition law.

"We are wondering whether the Civil Liberties Union has taken any steps with regard to this case. I intended to speak to you about this matter yesterday, but

> "Very sincerely "International Labor Defense (Sgd.) "J. Louis Engdahl "General Secretary."

On March 11, in reply to the protest tucky miners, of the miners throughout of a Brooklyn worker, Benjamin Gross, the I. L. D. not only repeats the falsohood about its alleged willingness to resentment and dissatisfaction of the handle the case, but asserts that it "has miners continues to make itself heard taken over" the defense. The letter in

"Dear Comrade:

"In reply to your letter of March 7, into which the coal operators and their we can only say that you are very much genstern and Goodman. Our organizawhich are held for discussion and ac- workers, giving them the same protection tion. Both the Lewis and the Fishwick as all the other workers facing persecu-

'With comradely greetings, "J. Louis Engdahl "General Secretary."

Thus, on March 11, Engdahl announced that the I. L. D. had already "taken over Farrington-all rub shoulders at these the defense". Yet on March 25, the I. E. conferences with the reformists of the D. replied to a protest from a member Muste school, each seeking to capitalize of its National Committee, Gerry Allard, by writing:

"Dear Allard:

"We have your long letter concerning (Continued on page 3)

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

GERMANY

Clearing Away the Petty Bourgeois Fog

The Latest Decree Against the Workers

The Bruening government has issued a new emergency decree. Every emergthe toiling masses. The disbursements of unemployment insurance and crisis provision are cut down further. The youth under 21 is henceforth robbed of any support. The duration of support of seasonal workers is cut down, the insurance provisions are reduced. The voluntary obligation to labor, which means nothing but forced labor is raised to the level of a law. The agrarian tax usurers remain untouched. sugar is made increasingly dear. The salaries of colonial empire and with the drawa invalids, the poorest of the toilers, again have their support reduced. The Emergency decree contains still other provisions which signify new burdens for the exploited. An end is made to the already feeble remnants of communal selfadministration.

Policy of German Bourgeoisie

is unconcealed. Without any democratic sistible pressure of the exploited masses without a future. hindrances, it continues its robber policy of town and country for whom, on the towards the proletariat. The deficit of clock of history, the hour of their revthe country is to be born exclusively by the toilers, but the bourgeoisie must at the same time increase its profits. What is the genuine meaning of this decree?

The German bourgeoisie is striving to destroy with all the means at its command, the positions still remaining to completely. The realization of this aim events.

is given over to Fascism. But aside from notion that the decree must be issued ial foundation of the ideology of the govfor emergency reasons. With the announcement of each emergency decree, the workers only protest, but for the

In every emergency decree the main point is directed against unemployment support. Is this done out of reasons of support. Is this done out of reasons of emergency, of economy? Is this really he main reason? The bourgeoisie knows

moment they do not yet rebel.

is one of the nations which, like the archical form of the state until the ial destinies is a thing of the past, begeois system of property. Passing through consequence-the proletariat-had made the historical period of the bourgeois its appearance on the scene. The inevitform of government, was introduced and critical period of the destruction of capideveloped in Spain in a parasitic man- talist civilization is to serve as assisner, living by the graces of the despot- tant to one of the two great forces until then with the last resources of a talist bourgeoisie. With the former, it the small and middle class officials are blood of a brutalized and hungry peasant sia), with the second, to fascist councut down, but the high pensions, on the mass. Spanish capitalism was at no ter-revolution (Italy). This is the dilcontrary, remain unchanged. The war time the natural product of the develop- emma, without any possible middle-way ment of the native petty bourgeoisie. for the petty bourgeoisie. The dictator-Hence the possibility for the monarchy ship of the proletariat is the only soluto succeed in prolonging its life to the tion offered by history to enable humanpresent day, due to the fact that capility to rise to a superior type of civilizaalism, from its first steps onward, made tion, socialism. Fascism is entirely con

we see the destruction of the monarchy, it is not just because of the impulsion of same problem, since Fascism is nothing ation of the genuine character of the the "ideological forces" of the petty bour- but the last resort to a ferocious dic-The policy of the Germany bourgeoisie geois intellectual, but rather of the irre tatorship by a degenerated capitalism narcotic effects of this kind of ideologi-

> olution has finally struck. It signifies republican-socialist (!) bloc which is ap-

parently on its high horse. These poor illusionists, reactionary utopians will not have long to wait in order to receive the working class and to suppress it for themselves the sad lesson of the

The petty bourgeois intellectual is Fascism, the possibility is still left to profoundly deceived thanks to his gross the bourgeoisie to realize its plans with error in perspective and appreciation of the aid of the Bruening government which historical forces. Nothing is more stupid is supported by the social democracy. and futile than the ignorant and charla-This road cannot be accompanied by such tanist abuse that Marcelino Domingo dangerous convulsions as would be the and others of those who make up the precase with a Fascist uprising. Bruening's sent provisional government practise by road is still the surest one. It does not comparing historical situations in order take from the working class all its poli- to establish a system of foolish analotical, economic, cultural and social rights, gies, devoid of any content. Contrary to at one blow. By this tactic of the bour- the belief and to the "theory" of the geoisie, the social democratic leaders petty bourgeoisie which "rules" today, gain the possibility to continue their be- the revolutionary duel in Spain is being trayal not only of the historical inter- engaged in not between the feudal st te ests of the working class but also of and democracy, but rather between the their daily interests, without any great | capitalist state and the industrial proleobstacles in their path. On this road, tariat allied with the exploited peasant it is easier to talk the masses into the masses. The petty bourgeoisie, the soc-

goes to the proletarian revolution (Rus-

the petty bourgeois intellectuals who, the monarchist state its own. If today trary to a historical solution; it only like a thick mantle of fog, veil the socretards the effective solution of the al reality and prevent the clear examinstruggle and the forces at hand. The

cal opium is felt not only in the sector of the petty bourgeoisie but also influ-

The fact that the Spanish state, until ences the attitude of the working mass-April 14 last, retained the form of a es, lacking in critical judgment and nothing that for the moment it is the despotic monarchy, is enough for the wanting a political leadership of its ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie, the cowardly coterie of intellectuals who own in tune with the state of historical "rule" today to conclude that it is a evolution. All this contributes heavily question of a feudal state. Naturally, to the insolent vanity of the intellectual this "small" manifestation of a historical nucleus of the petty bourgeoisie which function of the petty bourgeoisie; every the barracks. From there he is sent

FOR THE SPANISH OPPOSITION PRESS

The events in Spain follow in rapid succession. Each day brings news of the proletariat awakening to a realization of its strength. Every struggle, every strike of the workers brings them into sharper conflict with the bourgeoisie whom they helped to power against the monarchy. The process of disillusionment with the ruling power and of enlightenment as to their own historic mission is sinking its roots deeply in the consciousness of the masses. Only the Communists can hasten this process and place themselves at the head of the proletariat for their final victory. In this magnificent work, the Left Opposition in Spain has taken its place at the very head of the movement. Reviled, slandered, persecuted, it is yet forging ahead to the best of its power. It needs the aid of every militant throughout the world. Its press, the organ through which it speaks to the class conscious workers, must be strengthened immediately. The Militant appeals to all its readers to give the most generous aid to our Spanish comrades. Funds are urgently needed. Send all you can to this great cause of the revolution. All contributions will be receipted and announced in these columns. Send all moneys to comrade A. Gonzales, care of the Militant, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

On the Road to the Proletarian Revolution in Spain With the falling of the monarchy, ernment, although numerically pretty mirage leads straight to a consideration has begun to take seriously its role as there begins in Spain the revolutionary considerable, is completely lacking in of the rest of the population as a mass champion in the "struggle for the liberadestruction of the capitalist state. Spain political and economic independence and of slaves and future "citizens" engaged tion of the people from the yoke of desits historical future is absolutely nil. Its in overthrowing the tyranny in order, potism". Nothwithstanding, this false a further worsening of the position of Russia of the czars, preserved the mon- effectiveness as a leading force of soc- at the next stage, to polish up the sacred situation is purely transitory. It will "rights of man and the free citizen". nct take long for the democratic inepoch of the final crisis of the bour- fore either capitalism or its natural Alfonso XIII is Louis XVI; Zamora is toxication to be dissipated. Revolution-Necker; Prieto is Danton; Marcelino ary situations are the strongest antidote Domingo is Robespierre . . . and so on to all varieties of poison and ambiguous revolutions, capitalism, indifferent to the able fate of the petty bourgeoisie in this down the line. Alcala Zamora and Mig- ideals. The coming events in the Spanuel Maura represent the Girondist fac- ish revolution will make manifest, withtion. A bit ungraceful is the end of the out much delay what the democratic bloc first act of this "tragedy", seeing that really is: a conglomeration of illusions ism of a ruling bureaucracy which the which completely fill the palisades of these operetta Jacobins so gallantly as- which simulate independent political acmonarchist autocracy had maintained history, the proletariat and the big capi- sisted the "despot" to flee across the tion is nothing but one of the masks (the frontier, carrying with him the people's smiling one) of the counter-revolution. millions. And lastly, we have still to If, in the period of a relative equilibrium hear the sound of "The Girondins have of the social antagonisms it is possibetrayed us! To the lantern with them!" ble for ideas, born out of a reality of the past, to appear as the proper norms of In this false historical analogy, the

social life, the special virtue of revoluproduct of a complete ignorance of the tions rests precisely on the fact that real content of the revolution is rooted they draw to the surface, place in the the multitude of democratic illusions of | first rank and accentuate to the highest point the antagonisms which had been veiled by the deceptive ideological mist. This is what will happen immediately pian character of the socalled democratic bloc.

> Against the view of petty bourgeois ideology, theoretically represented in the provisional government -- theoretically that is, the secret law of some generals and no more, since it has been proved in and officers. A man is taken from his practise to the hilt that there is no place in contemporary society for a directing to go over to the police station or to government that is not the direct embodi- to the jail or to the military tribunal. ment of the historical interests of the Then he disappears-perhaps exiled, deproletariat, is an instrument of the capitalist dictatorship-we, Marxian critics, the theorists of the revolutionary proletariat, assert roundly that the Spanish friends and relations don't know where monarchy is not at all a feudal state. | the man has gone to; the newspapers are This is the political lie of the "revolutionary" democracy which, in order to | men so dealt with, but it must run into counterfeit a struggle for an emancipation which does not exist creats a fantasy with which to divert the popular masses from the real road of the revolution. It is a question of a maneuver through which the ruling bloc tries to hide its reactionism in the service of big capital. They believe, these ignor-

amuses, that it is possible to scoff at historical intentions, juggling the tremendous social truth by means of exercizes in lyrical sleigh-of-hand. (To be continued.)

Bilbao

ARGENTINE

Uriburu Dictatorship Strangles Labor

The political and social situation of Argentine is at a standstill just now. The rule of General Uriburu is a failure so far as the well-being of the country is concerned. Even at the time of the last war there was not so much unemployment as there is at the present time; the farming population this year got the biggest knock it ever had, with millions of tons of grain unsold. The big bugs try to put the blame on "Rusia's dumping''-but nobody seriously believes it.

Mum is the word in the labor and social movement. The biggest crime anybody can commit now is to criticize this government, so the socialist Vanguardia is the only one that comes out as usual. Of Communist and Anarchist papers there is no sign, since all their leaders are dispersed.

Of course, the advanced labor movement is supposed to be ready in face of the reaction, such as the closing of the in Spain, making obvious to the blind | labor halls and unions, suppression of est the profoundly reactionary and uto- the newspapers, denial of permits for meetings and conferences, etc. But the revival of the procedure of czarist Russia is something new in South America. For the social and labor movements there is now no law but the military lawhouse or on the street and is invited ported sent to jail or to Ushuaia (convict settlement in Tierra del Fuego). All this without a word to anybody. His silent. We don't know the number of the hundreds by this time.

> That is why there is a dead calm in the labor and social movements in Argentine. Everything is paralyzed—but men are thinking and resentment is growing.

The Conservatives are uneasy; the general elections have been put back to November 8; the probabilities are that by that time this military government will tie itself into a knot.

---R. G.

-ESTEBAN BILBAO. | Buenos Aires.



France is one of the last of the Eur- policy of the "third period", caught it



clearly that thanks to the organization of the working class, its policy of exploitation is subject to certain limits. The experiences of the former and the recent economic struggles have showed that while the betrayal of the reformist bureaucracy is incessant, at the same time. however, regardless of the generally bad economic situation and the enormous unemployment, no or almost no strikebreakers appear. In order to achieve wage reductions of from thirty to forty percent, however, the bourgeoisie needs the-support of a strike-breakets' guard. The industrialists know that the reformist bureaucracy, which will betray strikes in the future too, will then have still better arguments for keeping the workers back from struggle. Throuh the reduction of unemployment support, the bourgeoisie hopes to demoralize and to disorganize a part of the working class. to make them a reservoir of strikebreaking for the future.

The Aims of the Decree

Since the young workers under 21 have not yet had the possibility to gain a firm class consciousness through political and trade union training, since they still have few traditions of struggle, the bourgeoisie believes that it can sooner yoke them to its policy. The young will follow the old. The next emergency decree will reduce the support of additional categories. The bourgeoisie wants to abolish the wage scale system. The present emergency opens a free road. The bourgeoisie calls it: "Re-establishment of the freedom of motion of private rule." In reality, the introduction of coolie wages is to be attained in this manner. The working class need have no illusions on a change of this policy without struggle. The policy of the bourgeolsie in this question is systematic and half British workers in some of the bizconscious of purpose. The aim of all gest and most vital industries accepted the emergency decrees is to destroy the a reduced standard, cajoled into acceptstill existing ability of the working class ance by their reactionary leaders who to struggle, to create the conditions held the whip over their heads of threats for an enormouts exploitation policy of to break any resistance. The railway unfinance capital.

To hold back their own adherents who are being radicalized under the lash of the crisis, from the struggle against the present system, the Welses, Severings, and similars paint for them a picture of the danger of a Fascist overturn. Therefore, better the Bruening government, "the lesser evil"! And the slogan has up till now still kept back the S. P. governmental agencies-of the "labor" Berlin. ---F.

of its presentation.

Its proposals are the overhauling of tively prepare the actual cuts. In South the industrial machinery-rationalization -which means closing of "unprofitable" mines, mills and factories; more labor saving machinery; more speed-up; greater output, and thus more goods at lower costs of production for the already overstocked world markets. These proposals are already being carried out and from them flow the inevitable conclusion-increased unemployment and wage cuts. The royal cabinet similarly proposes further mergers of establishments within industry and finance. This also has its sinister significance in greater monopoly, and larger and more powerful combines to dictate more effectively working conditions.

It will be recalled that more than a year ago, when, British financial interests, following in the footsteps of its two most powerful competitors, their kin of the United States and Germany, went in for rationalization, the Bank of England employed at a royal salary a rationalization dictator. His specific duty was to lay down terms for rationalization, when applications for loans were made by industrial enterprises. The "labor" government became an effective handmaiden in these schemes. The results are, as already stated, mounting unemployment and drastic wage cutting.

A Campaign of Wage Slashing

To lend emphasis to the extent of pre sent wage cutting just a few examples will prove illuminating; During the month of April, about a million and a ions, embracing some 450,000 men, re

ceived a cut, decreed by the National than \$8.00 weekly. Of the clerical yearly received a seven and a half percent wage cut. This is how the semi-

the crisis.

Has the MacDonald government any In the building trades the employers the re-establishment of trade relations. changed grad- According to the figures of the British But in reality its proposed "solution" is ings involving further reductions for Customs House, during the first quarter demanded wage cuts identical in content with that of the 800,000 workers. Because of a threa-

Wales an "independent" arbitrator finally rendered an award calling for a reduction of \$1.75 a week for 162,000 coal miners. Here also, when a strike besucceeded in cajoling them into acceptance on the promise of asking the government for the passage of a new minincum wage law—whatever that will mean.

steamship lines, and in the ship building principle of balanced exchange". Yes, yards, wage cuts are demanded by the employers. About 1,000,000 men in the engineering trades (machinists and metal workers) have accepted a new agreement involving reductions of standards and working conditions. These examples are sufficient to present a picture as to how the British workers fare under the rationalization of industry by the "labor" government.

pious christian gentlemen of the Mac with the exalted title of Lord Privy Donald government, in service to their | Seal, announced the intention of grantcapitalist masters, demand and promul- ing long-term credits for an expected gate mergers of industrial establish- order of up toward \$50 000,000 for heavy ments. Their Coal Miners Act of last machinery material, The gigantic strides year established a state supervising or- of the youthful Soviet industry will yet ganization based upon a regional division for some time to come require a growof the industry; and, since the proof of | ing trade with the capitalist world, a the pudding is in the eating, in this in- growing import of machinery to build stance it was presented in the arbitration wage cut decree to the Wales min- | With long-term credits from the capitalers. Now the union leaders of the Iron ist nations this task could undoubted!y and Steel Trades Confederation propose to ask the government to bring the in- is steadily mounting in England and dustry within the control of a public utility corporaton. Their efforts will tunity to set the British workers into likely not prove unavailing, the same as motion around the slogan of "granting can possibly be said for the efforts and loud clamors of Jimmie Thomas in the negotiations for the wage cuts to the furnish such credits and to increase prorailroad workers for mergers of the existing roads.

With an overhauling of industrial machinery, accomplished primarily at the It would afford the means of creating a Wages Board, of two and a half percent cost of a lower working class level Bri- powerful movement around a specific defor those earning less than \$8.00 weekly tish capitalism nourishes its hopes of mand upon capitalism at home. It and five percent for those earning more still maintaining a leading position in would afford the means of making the the world market. Although compelled British workers real participators in the grades, those earning more than \$500.00 to proceed from a greatly contracted building of Soviet industry.

basis it will undoubtedly fight desper-

of 1931, the Soviet Union sold goods to proposed the two alternatives. "One," came threatening, the union leaders again import of Russian goods, which is not easy to effect, especially as certain great countries are now reaping a harvest from Russian orders. The other method is to adopt a system of barter whereby Russian goods would be paid for in In the pottery trade, on the main the goods of importing countries on the

trade relations with the Soviet Republic

not only balanced exchange but if possible to get in on that harvest. In this the least sentimental.

Extension of trade relations with the Soviet Union in successful competition with the other capitalist powers, however, involves the granting of largescale, long-term credits of which the workers' republic is in need. And just It should now be clear also why these a couple of days ago, Thomas Johnson, the industry toward a socialist level. be immensely facilitated. Unemployment there would seem to be a special opporlarge scale credits to the Soviet Union.' To demand from the capitalist rulers to duction in England of machinery to the Soviet Union. This special opportunity belongs to the British Communist Party.

Alas, this slogan, proposed by the In ately for its diminishing ration. One ternational Left Opposition, has been section is focussing its attention upon declared counter-revolutionary by the workers. In the days of the crisis in government-function to help overcome the growing market in the U. S. S. R. Stalin Comintern regime. Thus by an-While these upper circles are torn with other paradox growing in the wake of

oe grippe economic crisis. In possession of an absorptive internal market and at the same British financial interests, although quite tening strike situation, the union leaders England to the value of \$31,266,635; time a cheaply producing refining indus-British nnancial interests, although quite tening strike branching in the working class. The steadily grow-different in form and in the phraseology induced them to accept a six months while goods sold by England to the Sov-try which opened the foreign markets ing reformist organizations, on the other truce, hoping meanwhile to more effec- let Union amounted to only \$6,921,189. to it, capitalist France looks back upon The conflict was quite clearly express- a prosperity period, which lasted into among the workers. The influence of ed by Sir Geoffrey Clark a director of the second half of 1930. Only in the bourgeois propaganda was above all exshipping and other companies, when he autumn of 1930 and the winter of 1931 did the crisis make itself felt heavily in he said, "is united action to restrict the France too. The development of the agrarian crisis and the price fall of finished goods threw French industry into a difficult position, whose after-effects the working class felt quickly and for a long time. Unemployment assumed a great scope, relative to French conditions: instead of the up to then prevalent shortage of labor, which led to the immigration of foreign-born workers, olutionary trade unions, but also in the hundreds of thousands of workers now respect, the British capitalists are not found themselves either thrown out of a job completely or put upon part time.

At the same time, a stubborn offensive of capital set in to diminish the wages and the general standard of living of the workers.

How did the French proletariat reply to this attack? In general, the proletariat has not yet taken up the defense energetically. Because the policy of the revolutionary organizations, the Communist party and the C. G. T. U. (red trade union center), as a result of the

Centrism, MacDonald can today appear almost unchallenged as the defender of recognition to Soviet Republic; as the defender of trade relations with it and as the sponsor of extension of these relations. The Stalin regime prefers to go the road of back-door dealings to obtain credits rather than boldly to proclaim the slogan. This method lends its assistance to bolster up the shaky government of liberal labor politicians. It strengthens the social reformism of the despicable Fabian brand of MacDonald in the face of the inevitable British working class revolt. The alternative would undoubtedly strike an immense sympathetic chord among the British working masses who have before proved their readiness to support the Soviet Union. It would help to make them real defenders of the Soviet Union and become a source of strength to the British Communist Party But the leaders of the party true pro otypes of Stalinism, self-contented bur-Paris eaucrats who have gradually decimated the party, are using their powers to prevent this possibility. -ARNE SWABECK.

in an exhausted state, the influence of bourgeois propaganda could måke itself felt very strongly in broad sections of the working class. The steadily growband endeavored to maintain the caim pressed in strong anti-foreigner currents against the three million foreign born workers laboring in France and the half million colonial workers exploited to the bone by French capitalism. These antiforeigner currents, abetted by the reformists, penetrated right into the circles of the revolutionary organizations. They frequently made their appearance not only in the unemployment councils formed by the C. G. T. U. and in the rev-Communist party itself.

The first big struggles broke out in August and September 1930, in the period of transition between the mating prosperity and the incoming crisis. For years the French bourgeoisie was accustomed to see a meek proletariat before it. A strike of 4,000 to 5,000 workers was looked upon as very important: most of the labor conflicts were limited to a few hundred participants and slight rises in wages sufficed to send them back again. The bourgeoisie carried through the rationalization of the factories without encountering any noteworthy resistance. To consolidate the apparatus of power it introduced —under the pretext of protecting the workers against certain evils-social insurance which burdened them with a tax on wages in the form of compulsory contributions and chained them to capitalism under Draconic conditions. On July 1, 1930' the law came into force: at the same moment, a ferment set in throughout the country which finally broke out openly in August in the North of France in a movement which embraced close to 200,-000 textile and metal workers. Some smaller movements in other parts of the country (for example, in the Lower Seine department) flared up only to be extinguished again. The labor struggles in the North lasted for weeks.

(To Be Continued)

PIERRE FRANK

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILIITANT

SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1931

MILITANT THE



The Policies of the Stalinists

be amalgamated.

The policy of the Stalinists relative to the National Miners Union has been dealt with many times. In this convention, after having officially and publicly denounced the rank and file movement, a faction within the convention. The first step of not wanting to win over the miners was the circular they put Left wing that had firmly developed it out attacking the convention and Ray Edmondson, the chairman. Many of the the beginning of the rank and file condelegates took affront at the position of the official party and demanded that these statements be withdrawn. After a refusal to withdraw the charges against the convention and its chairman the of the Left wingers voted against the convention went on record against the lational Miners Union and refused to gates was defeated. give aid to the striking Pennsylvania und Ohio miners, although they did alow the floor to a striker of the National Miners Union from the Allegany fields of Pennsylvania. The provocative, disrupting cocksure tactics of a group of self-styled "little Lenins" has driven scores of the best fighters of the Illinois miners temporarily away from the Left wing. A strong group of former league and party members that were ready to support the line of the party became dissusted by the system used in dealing vith plain and simple trade unionist ind reformist followers. To give exact letail would require a special article. However, the strongest Stalinist supporter, Mike Rukavinia, a member of my local union told me and the entire No. 1 Orient delegation that he was not in agreement with these tactics. Shultz, the signer of the official circular, said that he also was not in sympathy with the tone of the attack against the leaders of the rank and file convention. The harshness of the party against workers who do not unhesitatingly carry out

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Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

eigh \$2.50. Five cents per copy. reach proportions where the coal indus-Bundle rates. 3 cents per copy

Speaker after speaker at the Illinois was duly passed and th the resolution rank and file convention pointed out regular order of business resumed.

the immediate need of forming national At this point we may ask ourselves unity with the rank and file miners of pertinent question: How many Communthe nation. The Pennsylvania, Ohio and ists and Left wingers of the labor move West Virginia miners' strike were corment in New York were present at this rectly pointed out as of supreme impor- performance? Answer: Exactly one, the National Miners Union, entered as tance to the miners of Illinois at the and he a member of the Communist present time. Due to the provocative League, not the Communist Party. Now measures of the Stalinists, a powerful why is it that the Communists are content to leave an important body like the self around a class struggle program at C. T. L. C., one holding sway over all the labor unions of the metropolis, envention was blown to smithereens. When tirely in the hands of the labor fakers The reason can only be: the idiotic polthe question came up of sending delegates to the national conference of the icy of the party leaders, the criminal National Miners Union July 15-16, many tactic of isolating Communists from the the ranks of the conesrvative unions. Ten proposal. The proposal to send deleyears of Communists activity in New York-and only one Communist in the C. T. L. C. to combat the fakers. Where

Immediate Task of the Left Wing

The Left wing miners of Illinois must few years ago? take the immediate, necessary steps to guide properly the rank and file movement toward correct lines. Only through an uncompromising struggle against the two thieving wings of the United Mine Workers of America, will unity be possible amongs the miners of Illinois. The miners of Illinois must immediately close their ranks against their common enemy, the coal bosses. The strike of the Franklin county miners, appearing at a time when the Eastern miners are conducting a sweeping strike, assumes tremendous importance. The attack of the political rubbish can. Chicago, Wilmington and Franklin Coal Company against the miners of the two large Orient mines is an attack of the pacity. To fail to realize the necessity of Illinois Coal Operators Association rank and file unity at this time means against the present rank and file movethe starving into defeat of the heroic ment. The answer of the IIllinois minefforts of the Pennsylvania miners. To ers must be a GENERAL STRIKE continue an erroneous suicidal sectarian throughout the state. The strike must policy at this time means the disintegrabe launched against the intolerable startion of the miners movement for years vation conditions existing in the industo come. Let us hope that events throughtry and as a step in solidifying the strike out the coal mining industry will soon of the Eastern miners and objectively weld the miners of America into a powthe issuance of a call for a NATIONAL erful force. To this end, the Left wing STRIKE throughout the land where coal is dug. The Left wing has a great task before it. The destiny of the Illinois miners and the coal miners of the country falls upon their shoulders. The mis-

miners who support the policy of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in the mining industry pledge their whole-hearted support. The miners of Illinois stand ready to takes of the official Communist party must be immediately overcome. Let us be forged into a part of the national hope that the great struggles the min- struggle that is looming. Will the Left wing forces be able to grasp this opers are at the present time engaged in will force the official party away from portunity? To fail to grasp this opporthe sectarian policy. Only through the tunity would be for the revolutionist

to commit a crime against the advanceunity of the Left wing forces through-Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; for out the industry will the present strike ment of the American working class. -GERRY ALLARD.

try will be effected in its producing ca- Belleville, July 12, 1931

pose of. for a period of time prior to them bebranch holds the record of most literature distributed.

netting a little financial surplus for fuand joined the membership in greeting this case. the weekly Militant. Street meetings with large attendances have been held ST. LOUIS.-From this city we now regularly by the branch, mostly a couple per week. Efforts are now being made to increase it to three weekly meetings

on the basis of the branch membership being divided into three groups each are the 50-60 Communist delegates of a taking care of a meeting. With the fall approaching preparations are under way When one thinks of the possibilities of Left wing work in the C. T. L. C. open forum and study classes.

and how they are being ignored by the Communist party leaders in the follow-CLEVELAND-Our two New York com ing out of a blind and stupid policy of rades who are working in Cleveland for isolation, one is forced to the conclusion the time being, report continued success that either they are traitors to the fundful meetings on the City Square. Efforts amental principles of Marx and Lenin, of the local Stalinists to create a hostile or they are just plain fools. In either atmosphere came to nought and those attending the meetings are becoming case, the first duty of every sincere Communist in the party ought to be to seize more interested as some of the questions a broom and do his part toward sweepof dispute within the Communist moveing these misleaders of workers into the ent become clearer to them. This is best expressed in the increasing distribution of our literature. Our comrades -GADFLY.

> weekly. PHILADELPHIA.-George Saul has returned from a busy week in Philadel- have notified us that they will be prephia, helping in the first organization sent at the conference and we look forsteps for the defense of our two comrades up for "sedition", among other the regular delegates. Of course, the things, he spoke at street meetings best way to make sure that it will be in the Negro district and in the work- so is to continue systematically step by ing class section of New Kensington. step in the support of the financial as These meetings are still being continued pect of this program.

THE MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE (OPPOSITION) TO HOLD A PICNIC FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WEEKLY MILITANT SUNDAY, JULY 26th AT **GROUND NUMBER No. 3** GLENWOOD PARK ALL WORKEKRS URGED TO ATTEND AND PARTICIPATE IN THE PROGRAMME OF GAMES AND ENTERTAINMENTS. REFRESH. MENTS WILL BE SERVED ON THE GROUNDS. THE SPEAKERS: C. R. HELLUND and V. R. DUNNE WILL DEAL WITH THE HOOVER DEBT PLAN AND THE WORLD CAPITALIST CRISES AND THE ROLL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS.

With the Militant appearing act, of which this case is a part, and to weekly, newsstands are being solicited press the I. L. D. to perform its duty Palmer. The right of the labor moveby the members to place the paper there to take this case up as a general united ment to a free press, uncontrolled by working class front against the Sedition ing enrolled in the regular list which Act and for the defense of all of its is now supplied by the Militant branch victims. The present defense attorneys agent. And, of course, on a whole this furnished by the Civil Liberties Union, are now preparing the appeal for a new trial. The judge is on his vacation and Last Sunday a very successful picnic it is not yet known when the arguments was held bringing out attendance and for a new trial will be heard. Meanwhile the defense committee is preparture work. Many sympathizers came ing its appeal to all workers to support

have regular reports of active functioning of our small branch. A public meeting is being arranged at which comrade Ochler from Chicago will be the speak- dom of the press". er. The branch started out by increas ing its bundle sales of the weekly Militant. Comments from there as well as for more effective conduct of the regular elsewhere on the weekly in its new form have been unanimously favorable and

should speak well for the future.

THE EXPANSION PROGRAM

CAMPAIGN

We are on the way to the realization of the third step in our Expansion Program-the second national conference of the League. There has been no slackening in support by the branches and by our supporters so far, and we do not have so far held two such meetings look for any even if there may be some variation from week to week. Several comrades in various parts of the country ward to a real gathering in addition to

COME EARLY AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS. GROUNDS OPEN 11 A. M.

the regime of Burleston the reactionary arbitrariness of the capitalist goevrnment, must be ardently defended. It is not the Communist press alone but the whole labor press which is involved-as was shown during the repressions of the world war. This danger must be met by a compact united front movement of all the organizations directly or indirectly involved. The failure of the party to initiate and organize such a movement has not only reacted tothedisadvantage oft he struggle against suppression, but has given the Right wing liquidators the opportunity to establish a spurious unity with discredited and anti-Commnist elements for "free-

Books

by Leon Trotsky

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NOTES TORIAL

EVEN A BROWDER CAN LEARN

We have always maintained, in contradiction to the Right wing, that Centrism is not a stable and consistent political tendency and certainly not a stubborn and incurable "ultra-Left" policy, The long-lasting bloc of Centrism and the Right wing-during which the expulsion of the Left Opposition was carried outis in itself a sufficient disproof of this contention. The adventurist plunges of the "third period" did not disclose a new josition which has been forged in the face of Centrism. They only rounded struggle against the new revisionism out and confirmed the basic thesis of the Opposition: that Centrism is a policy of staggering between the classes which yields to the pressure of the moment and is characterized by wide swings to the Right and adventurist leaps to the Left. The attempts of the Centrists to extricate themselves from the absurdities of the "third period" have been noted before, particularly in unemployment work and in the trade union question. Now we are witnessing an awkward somersault in the policy of the mine strike. It is needless to mention that the leading acrobat in this turn is Browder. He was the noisiest shouter of the pseudo-Left season. That qualifies him, according to the ritual of Stalinism, to be the first to make a turn of 180 degrees, without, of course, saying anything about the falsity of the discarded policy.

Browder will be remembered as the impetuous revolutionist who was through forever with "progressives". He proved and the inescapable historic necessity, -to his own satisfaction-that they had of bringing these principles to the fore become "Social-fascists", and from this as a direct influence on the developing he drew the conclusion that the tactic of revolutionary events. Every section of united front was out of date. As far the International-our own among them back as February 27, 1929, that is, before the crisis and its consequent sharpening of the class relations, he wrote in the Daily Worker:

"We will no longer waste our energies and time in disastrous attempts to work with these fake progressives."

In the Militant for March 1 of the same year we explained, in our counterrevolutionary way, that Browder would have to change his mind about that. He did not disappoint us. After more than two years of rumination over the question-and a blow in the face from the actualities of the mining situation-the same Browder comes forward with an amazing discovery: that "we cannot decline to have relations" with . . . the Musteite, Keeney. Browder could not keep such wisdom to himself. Fired with the zeal of a convert, the great man made a speech, to which-if the Daily Worker for July 11 does not lie-the "party leaders" had to listen. There he announced a new revelation:

"The Keeney group has the hegemony in Southern West Virginia. This requires that we have a tactic of maneuver in regard to these people. We cannot merely decline to have relations with whatever group comes out of this field, whether it is Keeney personally, or Keeney's reprecentatives. The fact remains that one of the roads to the miners in this territory is maneuvers with this out-

OUR REVOLUTION The more clearly the unfolding of world events demonstrates that the conception of socialism in one country-the common theoretical bond of Centrism and the Right wing-is a strangulating noose for the international proletarian revolution, the more evident does it become that the banner of revolutionary internationalism belongs to the Left Op-And by that increases the greatness of its historic responsibility and the magnitude of its tasks which brook no delay

and take no heed of the weakness of

our forces. Blockaded in Russia during the Chi nese revolution and the English general strike, the Opposition had to confine it self to criticism and counter-proposals within a closed circle and was deprived of direct influence on the events them selves. The new rise of revolutionary development coincides with a decisive change in the internal relations of the Communist movement. The Opposition, beaten down with the defeats of the international proletariat which flowed from the ruinous policy of the Right-Centrist bloc, had awakened to new life with the revolutionary revival and confronts them with a world-wide organization and with all its fundamental principles confirmed in living experience.

It is now endowed with the possibility, -must put its ranks in shape for this grandiose international endeavor.

From this point of view we should greet in the warmest manner, and in deeds as well as in words, the proposals of comrade Trotsky in regard to the Spanish revolution which stands today in the center of the stage. To intervene directly now, and on an international

that our weight in the scale might not scale; to study the basic questions down be without influence in the final sumto the bottom; to stir the Communist ming up. We have ventured to believe ranks with discussion over the problems .that, not because we deceive others or of the Spanish revolution and mobilize ourselves about the forces at our disinternational aid in time; to expose and posal, but because our strength is the the soil of Spain. drive out the revolution-destroying policy strength of the Marxian doctrines cry-

Combine the Miners' Struggles into a United Front!

Continued from page 1

presence of a degenerated caste of labor skates who have written for the miners a long list of treacheries and sell-outs. But despite their common root, these are uncovered in a manner that enables four movements have not made common cause. It is in this absence of unity and plainly. solidarity in action that lies the greatest obstacle to the advancement of the miliant miners' movement.

WHAT SHOULD THE LEFT WING DO?

Confronted with this rounded picture undertaken by the Left wing and the Miners Union? They must immediately essential-of expanding the movement process. Like the miners in general, it to other fields. naise the banner of unity, of the conso-

lidation of all these movements. It is The present policy is simply to call particularly in times of stress, when upon the other insurgent groups "from they are fighting-like the miners--with below" to join the conference which the their backs to the wall-that the work-N. M. U. is calling But this is a ridiculous caricature of what should be done. ers feel most acutely the need for unity Divided ranks, separated movements only The other groups have no intention of serve to discourage them, to lower their dissolving themselves into the N. M. U. morale and fighting spirit. A new accreat the blowing of a trumpet The con tion of forces, unification with other ference cannot be a "clever maneuver" workers' groups the breaking down of it must be called for the purpose of the barriers that divide the workers and mobilizing all the miners, regardless of strengthen their enemies-these serve to their affiliations or beliefs, against the hearten the workers, to make them feel offensive of the coal operators and their their strength, to increase their enthus- agents. Such a conference can become iasm, their endurance, their combativity, the initial step in a move to amalgam-It is especially under present conditions ate all the various independent and that the workers look with just suspicion separate insurgent movements with the upon those who spurn the proposal for N. M. U. into a powerful and militant strike in the "self-critical" articles of

of Centrism and bring forward the stallized in the international nucleus of Marxist alternatives in the heat of even(s) the Opposition. We have not seen the and directly upon them--such are the Chinese revolution as a subject for ab tasks envisaged for the International stract historical study. The internation-Left Opposition in comrade Trotsky's al class struggle, in its dynamic develop letter which we print in the current is ment, is posing the questions anew in sue of the Militant. Spain and raising the principle line of the Opposition against the line of Cen-

We have reason to hope that our detrism more insistently than ever. That tachment of the Marxian International is the way we see it. That is why we ists will do its part for the Spanish revmust strain every resource to make our olution. To a certain extent at least mark on the situation while it is alive we have seen the huge vista opened up and fresh. by the events in Spain and understood

tion. It is our task to make it the rev- strike because of capitalist terrorismolution of the American workers and to the terror of the bosses or the state

That is why it is an absolutely unpost-

unity, who stand in the way of its con-| industrial union of the miners a force (Foster, page 597), but the immediate, summation, who block its achievement to be recokoned with by the operators genuine application of the united front by petty tricks or pettler excuses. They and in the labor movement, a powerful policy. will deal with such foes of labor with impetus in building the Left wing move-

impatient speed-providing these foes ment everywhere else. Who will reject and sabotage such a the workers to see their real color unity conference? The agents of the operators among the miners, the false leaders, the windjammers, the proprietponable duty of the N. M. U. to take the ors of "vested interests" in the miners. initiative in calling for a joint conference The Left wing can reject it only at its of all these striking and rebellions own expense and at the cost of the groups, to take the initiative now, to miners. It is in the process of fighting

strike while the iron is hot. It would for the unity of the workers that they be a conference of equally represented will be able to separate the wheat from of the situation, what action should be workers, convoked for the purpose of co- the chaff, to judge who is right, who is ordinating the movements, of solidifying for them. who is against them. The Communists, represented in the Naional them under one head, and-this is highly Left wing has nothing to fear from this has everything to gain-providing it acts

promptly and resolutely, providing it drops the futile policy of ignoring the other movements (this ostrich policy has been followed by the Daily Worker, which thinks to solve a problem by remaining silent) or of confining itself to mechanical denunciations of everything and everybody outside its ranks.

DO NOT BE DECEIVED BY CHEAP PHASES

The worst thing the Left wing can do is to grow intoxicated with an inflated idea of its own strength or position. It is not leading the whole miners' movement, but only a part of it. It can win its way to leadership if it pursues the right policy now-and not after the the press.

The Left wing dares not be deceived by cheap phrases, by boasting, by ruinous self-contentment with the big achievement it can legitimately record now. Do not be blinded to the correct policy to wards the reformist organizations by Foster's chatter about "the growing fascization of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy because it is doing "everything possible to hinder the strike". Lewis and Co have been engaged in their trade of strike-breaking before "social-fascism" was ever invented. Do not be talked into dizziness about "the highly political The Spanish revolution is our revolu- character" of the Pennsylvania-Ohio inspire them to fight for it on the soil of does not make a strike "political". The America as our comrades fight for it on strikes are desperate defensive actions of the miners which do not "require a

-J. P. C. high politicalization of the struggle"

banks in New York to issue clearinghouse certificates among themselves as a form of emergency currency. The bumper crops of the next two years, however, sufficed to restore "normalcy", helped

by a rising long-term trend in prices due to the increased production of gold from rich American and South African fields, and by the demands of the Balkan wars Prosperous virgin wheat in the West, deflation, low money rates, easy terms of 1911-13. prosperous cotton in the South, and pro- for borrowers of new capital-one or World War and 1914 Crisis sperous tariff-supported manufacturing two good crops, and the business cycle

The crisis of 1914 was nipped in the bud by the world war, which meant to American capitalism a great speeding-up dle an increasing population on the scale of the normal development, together with of the pre-Civil War days, and the de-

Do not be deceived with empty talk about the "correctness of the line". Foster may write for another year that "the Lawrence strike gave a first demonstration in the United States of the correctness of the R. I. L. U. line" (page 595). The Browders, in their "self-criticism" after the event will write about the same Lawrence strike, in the same issue of The Communist (page 611), that "a small measure of organizational success was secured"-which coming from the source it does, means that virtually no success was the result.

THE MISTAKE IS BEING MADE **NOW -- CORRECT IT NOW!**

Will the party have to draw up its balance sheet when the coal strike is concluded with the limping, apologetic remark that "a small measure of organizational success was secured"? Will the party leaders be allowed to speak of the "mistakes and shortcomings of the strike" when it is "too late", when it is over and the magnificent opportunity has been missed? We repeat: it would be fatal to permit such a state of affairs. The time to act correctly is now. Now is the time to correct the mistake in policy. The party is pursuing a course of conceit, of separatism, which is false and unworthy of Communists. Its leadership of the miners can not only be extended but made firm and lasting. The tens of thousands of miners in West Virginia, in Kentucky in Illinois-and the other sections which can be won on the basis of the appeal for unity and solidarity—must not be ignored. They cannot be won simply by calling upon them to join the N. M. U. That course was tried in Illinois with miserable results. It must be cast aside before it brings the same results in the present situation.

The miners need a revolutionary leadership which is intelligently awake to the requirements of the situation. The proposals of the Left Opposition meet these requirements. They should be adopted and applied. The official party policy is wrong and does not meet the requirements. It must be rejected. The mistake is being made now. Now is the time to correct it.

-MAX SHACHTMAN.

dustries, for a time masked the increasing difficulties in which the great staple industries such as steel, lumber, cooper, oil, coal, textiles and others found them selves during all this period. The prosperity of the period from 1924 to 1929 was not widespread and did not extend to many basic industries until the final phases of the boom, just before the collapse. The absence of real prosperity was shown by the increasing difficulty of finding markets, which had to be forced by expensive advertising, high-pressure selling, instalment financing, etc., the increasing difficulty for men of fifty or over is finding jobs, the immigration restrictions, which revealed a real in-

creasing percentage of the population en-

gaged in industry in spite of the ability

of capitalism to draw on new strata of

the population, such as women and dis

The labor movement, which had as-

sumed an acutely militant phase follow-

ing the 1919 crisis, slowly lapsed into

lethargy because of the increasingly

acute contradiction between the leader-

ship and the objective conditions, of a



economy deals with crises of capitalism in this country in the past and the

temporary solution found in years gone by to the present crisis. The problem

of foreign trade and the possibilities for its development, as well as the problem

of war in connection with American imperialist expansion will be dealt with in

By B. J. Field

in the East solved the crises of 1819. The was ready to revolve again.

detail by the author in coming articles. Ed.

crop cultivation, in an enomous increase

in immigration and in population growth

(from 1830 to 1860 population increased

one-third each ten years, from 12,860,000

in 18300000 to 31,443,000 in 1860, a rate

which if maintained could have made

the present population of the United

States 236,000,000, nearly twice the ac-

The labor movement began its wander-

ings in the political wilderness by the

organization of "Know-Nothing", "Loco-

foco" and other parties which acted as

The definite victory of American capi-

which it has ever had, the Southern agri-

cultural aristocracy, in the Civil War,

unleashed another roaring boom period

in 1865. Railroad mileage doubled in

it from Europe. The Bessemer process

introduced in 1865 for the first time

made steel a cheap, mass-production com-

modity; coal production quadrupled from

1860 to 1873. Agriculture boomed too

-cotton production, at first hard hit by

the Civil War, recovered by 1877 and

reached as high figures as ever, at 4.500.-

000 bales, to go on to an average of over

6,000,000 bales in the next sixteen years

and 10 millions in 4894. The first of the

big mergers arrived in oil, coal, rail-

roads. New resources were discovered

in oil, copper, natural gas. Export trade

still consisted primarily of foodstuffs and

raw materials; the percentage of manu-

factured goods to total exports hardly

The Panic of 1873

changed between 1870 and 1890.

tail to the kite of the major parties.

Many people say, "This crisis is only another one of the crises which capitalism has gone through periodically since its inception; hard times have always come and gone and capitalism has always gone on to new heights after each

crisis". In the following paragraphs we shall review briefly the history of the major past crises of American history from the standpoint of determining what factors made it possible for capitalism to recover after each of them, based on specific economic forces and not on any in capitalism. If the factors which have growing proletariat began to organize it- The labor movement reached a new pulled capitalism out of its hole in the self into trade unions, and by 1833 the high plane in the organization of the

PAGE 4

From this it can be seen that even a Browder can learn something, if he is allowed enough time. The elementary idea, explained as far back as the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921, that we cannot decline to have relations" with reformists has finally penetrated the thick skull of the Trotsky-killer, and that alone testifies to the power of the idea.

And along with that Browder has assi milated another simple and obvious conception and, as was to be expected, he also made a speech about it. Before the crisis, and after, our hero saw the "offensive of the workers" and the "revolutionary upsurge" rising high enough to drown him. But since then he has found a dry rock to sit on and collect his thoughts. The result of this cogitation is embodied in a speech to the Convention of the Young Communist League, reported in the Daily Worker of July 14th. The erstwhile fire-eater shakes the finger of caution at the assembled hotheads and warns them:"

"It is therefore clear that it is absolutely wrong to speak of the 'offensive of the working class and the counter-offensive of the capitalists'. "The beginning of the mass actions has primarily a defensive character." 'We witness a most vicious offensive of the capitalist class against the working class."

way of conveying the impression that the present struggles of the workers are defensive. This is, of course, a correct appraisal of the situation, as the Militant politics; territorial expansion into the has pointed out a hundred times. The idea itself is not new; it is Browder's sudden comprehension of it that provides the day's sensation.

portant part of the foreign trade. In These incidents demonstrate, as has been said, that Centrism is able to the old South, the development of the cotchange its mind a little; that the analy- | ton gin changed cotton cultivation from sis of its policy as chronic ultra-Left-| a placid patriarchal mode of life, whereism is false; that even a Browder can in the abolition of slavery could be platlearn. But from this we draw no optim- onically discussed by "advanced" Southistic conclusions, for the process takes erners, into a hectic, speculative business in prices, a call by banks for repayment too long, they do too much damage in with profits running up to 50 percent or the meantime and they correct one error more a year, the soil was henceforth "hard money instead of paper"; wideonly in order to commit a dozen more. mined, not cultivated; millionaire plant. Centrism is not consistently Leftist, but ers were now not uncommon, and slavery duction of industrial output, a strengdangerous to the proletarian movement. Bible itself.

first Council of Trade Unions met in past turn out to be no longer applicable New York City. now, the only alternatives left would be

tual figure).

The normal course of capitalist devel (1) a new, hitherto unheard of stimulus opment led to the crises of 1837, preceded to capitalist devlopment, or (2) the furby a wild banking, land and railroad ther development of capitalism must be boom. Again the solution was found in looked on as degenerative rather than territorial expansion into Texas and the progressive. Oregon Territory; in record increases in

While this study is based primarily on the facts of American economic history, we do not for a moment lose sight of the world-wide interconnection of capitalist interests and consequently of the pathological symptoms of capitalism in the form of crises. The very first of the major crises of the United States, that of 1837, was in part precipitated by an increase in the discount rate of the Bank of England in the effort to halt the flow of English capital into American speculative ventures. The timing of crises throughout the world, in fact, is becom-

ing increasingly uniform. We limit the study of crises in this article to the American field purely for the sake of not talism over the one serious opponent packing too much material into a limited

The Early Crises

space.

The two earliest crises of American history, the post-revolutionary crises of 1785-6 and the post-war crises of 1815-19, bore the stamp of an undeveloped economy-the principal concerns were currency inflation, primitive banking methods, excessive imports, insufficient crops to supply an export surplus with which to pay for them. Early in the latter crisis, however, a major step toward developed capitalism was taken when the tariff act of 1816 was passed, to encourage manufacturing industry. The "Amer-And so on. All of which is Browder's ican system" of pre-Civil War politics, combining tariffs with internal improvements, chiefly waterways and highways, was an early manifestation of capitalist Louisiana Territory and Florida furnished new markets, the steamboat was just coming into its own, and American shipping was carrying an increasingly im-

The panic of 1873 was severe and complicated by government deficits and silver currency problems. With such an industrial background, however, it went through the classic course of the crises of a "healthy" capitalism: a sharp drop

> of loans, or in the language of that day, spread bankruptcies, unemployment, re-

Knights of Labor and the development of bigger and better trade unions.

The next crisis came in 1893. The growth of capitalism had reached a point where internal contradictions between the great and the small bourgeoisie were beginning to compel the granting of concessions to the latter in the form of restrictions on the former-the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. Crops were still setting new high records, but agricultural crises were taking the form of agitation against the representatives of finance capital, leading to an unsuccessful bloc between farmers unable to pay their

mortgages and unemidoyed labor, cut off from the escape to the West from low wages, long hours and insecure jobs by the filling up of the farm country. The tactics of the bloc, depreciation of (Bryan and the Democrats, 1896-1904), succeeded in diverting proletarian and agrarian discontent from any revolutioneight years, and absorbed more capital ary outlet in spite of such militant manithan any other industry, a good deal of festations as the Homestead strike of

1892 and the Pullman strike of 1894. The solution of the immediate problems of the crises of 1893 was based on a continuation of the post-Civil War trendsmore intensive manufacturing, the creation of large industrial combinations culminating in the great trust-building era from 1899 to 1901, extension of agricultural production, and increased export trade stimulated by a series of wars including the Spanish-American, Boer and Russo-Japanese wars.

Railroad expansion had come to a climax in the ten years ending 1890, when 70.000 additional miles were constructed. After 1900 new construction slowed down sharply, but great new industries are now expanding-the electrical industry since 1800, automatic industrial machinery on an unheard-of

scale, great new natural resources in oil, copper, silver, iron ore; bumper wheat and corn crops, a tripling of coal production in twenty years' time, all signified that capitalism was still on the upward trend.

The great crisis of 1907, like preceding industries including electrical equipment, sight appear utterly inadequate for any crises, simply corrected the tempo of automobiles, building construction (which mass consumption boom-the outposts of this development. Real estate specula- had been held back during the business talk hopefully of television, tion, which had resulted in overbuilding, war and hampered by high interest home refrigeration in summer, steel conit is constantly false and consistently became an institution consecrated by the thening of the financial position of banks was curied, and an antiquated banking rates during the 1919 boom), the struction for small houses, but there is and individuals because of the sharp and currency system again showed its radio, movies and other such minor in- no conviction in their voices.

a huge influx of gold, an enormous stimulation to agriculture, with a modernized form of banking under the Federal Reserve Act.

The war left the United States with the most gigantic contradictions in its history-on the one hand, the largest manufacturing nation in the world, on the other, the largest producer of raw materials with which to feed competitive manufacturing nations, both branches of production striving avidly for export outlets. At the same time, the United States remained the depository of the world's largest stock of gold, and also

a holder of billions of dollars of paper obligations payable in gold, which compelled America's debtors to stimulate their exports in competition with America to enable them to pay their debts The inter-governmental debts outstandthe real value of bankers' claims by in- ing at the end of the war were aggravflating the paper currency (Greenback- ated by the epidemic of American loans ers, Populists), or by free coinage of abroad by private investors, adding fursilver at higher than its real value ther burdens to European capitalism yet forcing it to redouble its efforts.

One of the century-old solutions for America's crises, to raise bigger crops, was still effective as late as 1919. In that year the farm production rose to the figures of the war boom year 1915, and with the prices then prevailing, reached the greatest value for any crop year in American history, before or since. A new high record for size of crops was made in 1926, but by that time the agrar-

ian problem had reached a point where it could no longer be solved by such methods. The big crops of 1926 merely broke the price of farm products, and mean bigger farming income: larger led to lower production in 1927. In the following year, 1928, bumper crops again brought prices down to a point where the aggregate value of the farm producmillion cars with a home demand in tion was less than that of the smaller crops of 1927. The American farmer is of another 500,000, and radio set being crowded out of world markets, facilities more than three times the best and is faced by the dilemma-big crops and low prices, or small crops and not much better prices?

The manufacturing industries after as evidenced by their existing bonds sellthe post-war boom of 1919, did not seem ing far below par; railroad expansion to be facing this dilemma. Tremendous has been a closed chapter for nearly a sales of manufactured goods to Europe generation; technological improvements. and South America, financed by foreign as analyzed in a preceding article, simbonds floated during a violent securities ply aggravate the problem of the domenboom, the rapid expansion of a group of tic market; the only new industries in

sion, ware (particularly among foreign countries), technological improvements (including mergers), increasing exports, new industries. Territorial expansion, apart from wars of conquest, is closed; bigger crops, as

was proven in 1926 and 1928, no longer manufacturing facilities are a burden, not a salvation, when the automobile industry has a capacity for producing 8

"good" times of 4 million and exports year's sales; foreign loans are unsalable in any quantity because most of the possible borowers are poor credit risks.

possessed farmers.

show little net gain for the past fifteen years, but merely substitutions of one material for another, as for instance, less coal but more electricity, less meat and

failure of capitalism to make real progress during an apparent boom between

two great crises. This is the first time in the history of capitalism in which this has happened, and is confirmed by a study of per capits consumption of major commodities which

wheat but more sugar and dairy products, less lumber but more steel.

facilities, foreign loans, railroad expan-

"Solutions" in the Past Summing up, capitalism has found a "solution" for all former crises in the United States through one or more of the following means: territorial expansion, bigger crops, larger manufacturing