WORKERS **OF THE** WORLD. UNITE

IV

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The I.L.D. «Acts» on Mooney

The Appeal for a United Front Evaded by the Stalinists

In his appeal to all militant and rev- | Mooney but who do not yet understand olutionary labor organizations and thoroughly who must be won to a real groups, published in the last issue of struggle for Mooney's liberation. And the Militant, Tom Mooney wrote from they can be won for this goal, they can his prison cell in San Quentin: "The convince themselves in the light of intime for action has come. Let this ap- contestable and eloquent experience as peal be the spark which will start an to who will best be able to organize unparalleled conflagration-agitation that the fight, and what program of action will arouse the masses to demand my offers the best means for victory, only unconditional pardon and the release of | if the class conscious militants declare, all class war prisoners. I ask for a as Mooney has done: Let all these orgenuine united front." In this request, ganizations get together. Let them pool entirely correct in every respect, Mooney their resources. Let them show where very specifically named the organizations they stand on the touchstone issue of and groups which, in his opinion-and a real fight for Mooney's freedom. we endorsed it—should be called upon to join in the united movement.

A Significant Appeal

The appeal by Mooney has a tremenname of this splendid militant buried by promises and phrases which cost for more than 15 years in the dungeous nothing and obligate them to less. of capitalism, frittered away their energies and sowed disastrous illusions in the minds of Mooney's supporters in the down completely. Where Mooney was working class, by limping hopefully be- specific and open, the I. L. D., bound hind the lightly-given and lightly-be. hand and foot by the dogmatic sectariantrayed promises of aid by capitalist pol- ism imposed upon it, is vague and thor iticians. The Mooney appeal to the rev- oughly wrong. It does not appeal to olutionary movement for the organization | the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, but of a vigorous mass protest movement, to the "rank and file members of the ble to operate at all. with all its implies, definitely put an end A. C. W."; not to the socialist party, but to this miserable and unworthy policy of to the "working class members of the appeals behind the scenes, "seeing the S. P." The various other organizations Only in May and June of that year was right man", quiet conferences with lib- mentioned by Mooney's appeal are simerals, and the rest of the futile, nonsens- ply omitted: The I. W. W., the Proletar- the extent of 100%, and then it was the ical truck frequently imported into the ian party, the Left Opposition, the Love- first time since March 1926 that the labor movement by well intentioned and stone group, the Weisbord group, etc., evilly-intentioned petty bourgeois "fri- etc. Why? For one reason only: The ends".

the doors to the organized militant move- blind, legally prohibits anything but a ment, without which the united front is "united front from below" and even that inconceivable, to take the initiative in to the exclusion of all species of "recarrying out the provisions of Mooney's negades". The "united front from beappeal. We wrote and repeat that an low" means, in practise, and has meant excellent opportunity offered itself to the in the past, no real united front at all. international Labor Defense, as the most It is generally equivalent to a mere reprominent and militant national working cruting drive under the banner of the class defense organization, to take the party, the T. U. U. L. or the I. L. D. It cannot labor under the illusion that 10 1-2% in 1930, with operations at 64%, first step in calling a genuine united It is the reverse of the "genuine united the leadership of the magnilcant move- profits were 3.71% on capitalization, the front conference of all the organizations front", for which Mooney calls. It is ment which is about to be started will lowest since 1925. For the first half of mentioned in Mooney's appeal-however not the way to fill the movement with fall to it automatically. A false, a stupid 1931, profits of U. S. Steel Corporation conservative or reactionary their leader- life and vigor. It is the swiftest and ship might be-to work out the plans necessary for the execution of the provisions in the letter from the world renowned prisoner of American capitalism.

When such an appeal will be made, the workers everywhere will be able to

separate the wheat from the chaif.

That is precisely where the call issued by the I. L. D. for a "united front" falls policy of the official party, which dom-Furthermore, the appeal opened wide inates the I. L. D., as stupid as it is

ly born.

Change the Course!

How has the leadership of the I. L. D. official Left wing and Communist move reactionary groups which will only lead clines in profits were (1) shrinking marapproached the problem of the united ment, have started the Mooney campaign the movement into a ditch of futility as kets for steel, (2) increasing capacity

Jobless Spurned by 2nd National Conference, Sept. 24

Arrangements are being completed for the holding of the second National Conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition), whose sessions will open in New York on Thursday, September 24 and run for four days until Sunday night, September 27. More than thirty delegates, regular and consultative, are expected to attend the sessions which will be held in the hall of the national headquarters, at 84 East 10th Street, where all visitors and delegates are requested to report. Discussion of the theses submitted by the National Committee is still being conducted throughout the organization, and the reports to the conference are being prepared to insure the most fruitful results from the sessions.

As part of its welcome to the conference delegates, the New York branch is arranging a banquet to which all New York friends of our movement are being invited. A mass meeting in one of the large halls of the city is also being planned for September 23. Branches are urged to send an immediately information concerning their delegations so that adequate provisions may be made by thenational office for their maintenance during the period of the conference.

The appeal by Mooney has a tremen-dous significance from every point of view. For years, those who spoke in the muddy the waters and protect themselves

Analysis Shows Steel Barons' Plans to Slash at Workers

The steel industry entered the crisis, in 1929 to 39,648,000 tons in 1930. Ingot of 1930 with too much capacity, deliber- capacity, however, increased from 63.utely installed a peace-time record-break- 067,000 tons at the end of 1929 to 66,of violently shrinking markets, and is of 3,831,000 tons, the largest amount of their respective positions on the most ployed will get out of the fund is not so ing amount of new capacity in the face 897,000 at the end of 1930, an increase preparing an assault on wages to enable new capacity installed in any one year it to operate at a profit on the small per- in the history of the industry, except centage of capacity which is now feasi- for the war-boom year 1915.

At the beginning of the boom year 1929 operated at an average of 89% of capacsteel ingot capacity was 63,067,000 tons. ity during 1929, it operated at an average jected to? it necesssary to call on this capacity to steel ingot capacity of the country has been taxed to its full extent. During 1929 there was an addition of 1,308,000 tons to the ingot capacity, which would have seemed amply sufficient to take care of the requirements of the country during the crisis which was plainly in sight by the end of the year.

At this point, however, a typical capitalist contradiction set in. Production of panies reported profits of 5 to 6% per steel ingots declined from 54,312,000 tons annum on their capitalization, operating

policy may cause it to forfeit not only were at the rate of 1.3% on its capitallsurest way of strangling it when it bare- leadership in the movement, but even zation, against 7.1% for the first half

As a result, while the industry had

of 64% during 1930, an average of 46% during the first half of 1931, and at present and for the last three months has been operating at from 30% to 34% of capacity.

In view of the enormous investment in constant capital which is a technical characteristic of the industry, relatively small fluctuations in percentage of operations are reflected in relatively large fluctuations in profits, as pointed out in a previous article in this series. In the "normal" years 1925-1928, steel ocniat an average of 83%. In 1929, at an average of 89%, profits jumped to

Roosevelt, Hoover Unemployment Insurance Must Be Won

With the gaunt specter rising of at ary in capitalist society. Roosevelt, winter of misery and starvation for the however, who is angling for the Demmillions of unemployed, the two leading ocratic presidential nomination, with the contenders for the capitalist nominations hope that the discreditment of the for president in 1932, Hoover the Repu- Hoover reigme in the crisis period will blican and Roosevelt the Democrat, are swing him into the White House, plays racing against each other to the goal of the classical game of all the bourgeois their ambitions with the plight of the politicians under such circumstances. unemployed as the football they kick His promises and assurances are as vast around as they proceed. The latest act as the votes he hopes to catch with in this criminal play with the lives of them.

millions of victims of "prosperity", has bration of the founder of the Red Cross in this country. Each of the tacitly the relief of the New York state unemavowed presidential candidates delivered ployed-and every small time politician a radio address on the occasion which in his party is already slavering at the was concerned far less with the Red mouth at the idea of "administrating" Cross than with a pronouncement of this juicy sum. How much the unemburning problem before the working class of the United States today: What meas-

ures shall be taken to mitigate the bodybreaking misery which the ten milliou unemployed and their families are sub-

Hoover's "Plan"

and local initiative to aid the distressed". In other words, the government intends to take no steps towards alleviating the unspeakable horrors of unemployment. It is too concerned and occupied with rebates on income taxes in ploits, contributed towards. They want the higher brackets, which flow back to unemployment insurance which is an the pockets of the multi-millionaires of obligation on industry and the state, and the country to the tune of tens of mil- not an obligation upon the workers who lions of dollars. To take governmental are the only real sufferers from the measures for the relief of the unemploy- capitalist productive system. ed-to say nothing of the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance cerned with the tribulations of the workthe foundations of American liberty extent that they furnish a political footwhich, at the present moment, means the ball and a basis for demagogic argu-

the state. prestige and influence. What the Left of 1930; for thirty-two other steel com- of the "liberal" harp, is more pleasant good for unemployment insurance today. wing allows to slip through its hands panies, profits for the first half of 1931 to the ear, and infinitely more deceptive. The fight for it must be organized, strong-The I. L. D., and in its name, the will be picked up by conservative and were at the rate of 0.1% against 6.4%. With Hoover, one can tell just where the ly founded, spread to national scope, and The basic reasons for these sharp de- man stands. He is distinctly opposed driven home with a force that compels to the "dole" and to any state assist- the self-satisfied demagogues of the rulance to the jobless. Hoover is the liv

Roosevelt is not against "state aid". just been unfolded at the jubilee cele- Not at all. In fact, he has advocated the setting up of a \$20,000,000 fund for

problematical as it would seem.

The Crux of the Problem

And there lies the real crux of the problem which neither Hoover nor Roosevelt-the latter, in fact, less than the former-is willing to mention. First: it is not "relief for the unemployed" Hoover's contribution to solving the that the workers want. They want an problem was the advocacy of "individual organized system of unemployment insurance, and not one administrated by and for corrupt capitalist politicians. Second: it is not simply an insurance fund they want, a fund which "both sides", the boss and the worker he ex-

The bourgeois politicians are not con--would evidently be a blow struck at ers and the unemployed, except to the liberty to starve without molestation by ments with a capitalist opponent. They will grant the workers nothing that they Roosevelt, playing the softer music do not win by struggle. That truth holds

front? By a cheap and disgraceful evas ion of the central issues so correctly pull back and start anew, start correctly. raised by Mooney.

In the first place, the "Call for United Action" by the I. L. D. (Daily Worker, of half a dozen or more other labor decountry today. It is obvious that a united front movement for Mooney would be recreant in its duty if it failed to of the "Federation de l'Enseignement Unconduct a struggle also for the other itaire", the revolutionary teachers union permit them to participate with their in- petitively in every important steel-mak class war fighters. No man in the claws affiliated with the Red trade union cen- exhaustible energy in the common work ing district in the United States except of the capitalist jailors is dearer to the resolution was adopted on August 6. working class than any other. All our class war fighters who have been captured by the enemy stand on an equal footing. But in this specific campaign, the whole point is missed by failing to capitalist system of anti-working class frame-ups, and using the example of Tom Mooney as a point of departure-once of the revolutionist of every country to the movement is really under way-for rally by revolutionary struggle against against, and 26 abstentions. a nation-wide fight to release all the their own bourgeoisie to the defense of class war prisoners. This desirable end is not accomplished by the mechanical lumping together of all the conceivable cases under the title of a "united front for Mooney".

A Radical Mistake

The second blunder of the I. L. D. however, is far worse than the first, and bids fair to nullify all the efforts made to organize a genuinely united movement. As we said above, Mooney referred specifically in his appeal to various organiparts of the united front movement. We tests the fact-that no effort can be cannot conceal the fact that we have not a penny's worth of faith in the good to put a solid and unshakable foundation will or the genuine desire to cooperate under it. We started the Weekly Militant that the leaders of some of the men-lagain in what appeared to be a "bad tioned organizations have professed for period"-the combination of a crisis with Mooney in the past. The heads of the the laxity of the summen months. In socialist party, the corruptionists and spite of that, the paper has been so well employers of gangsters who have looted received that we have been able to get the Amalgamated Colthing Workers of out every issue thus far without inter-America, and those similar to themthese are hardly the people who are concerned very vitally with the freedom or war prisoners. We know them from the past, and their heavy hands have rarely Expansion Program Fund. It will conif ever weighed in the scales in favor | tinue to appear regularly and with assurof the workers' side. But that is not ance if the Fund is brought to its conin the ranks of the organizations over part of all our comrades and sympath-

they have done so often in the past. -M. S.



fense cases that are pending in the French Red Union Congress Votes for Appeal to the Soviets

At the national convention in Limoges [the revolutionists of October, notably tion and of the dictatorship of the proresolution was adopted on August 6: "The national Unitary teachers' conletariat. vention affirms its absolute solidarity

with the proletariat of the first socialist republic in the world, the U. S. S. R., be turned over to the regular organs of Birmingham; Bethlehem's is based on which, at the cost of immense efforts and proletarian justice and not to the ad- locating its plants to be able to ship ore concentrate the whole issue around heroic sacrifices, is strengthening and ministrative justice reserved for the class cheaply by water transportation. Beth- eer-ridden organization which, curiously, Mooney as the outstanding symbol of the developing the foundations of socialism enemy." over one-sixth of the globe.

Not only did the syndicalists, the Opthe U. S. S. R., fortress of the world positionists and non-party Communists proletariat.

vote for this resolution, but more than "It demands of the Soviet government a dozen delegates supporting the official danger, strengthened itself in Chicago as a result of the fermentation going or the recall of the measures of exile, of party policies in the union also recorded and put under construction 21 new furdeportation and of imprisonment against themselves affirmatively.

for making steel leading to higher costs per ton of steel made.

The reason for the huge increase in steel-making capacity in the face of an unprecedented crisis in industry was the increasing acutenss of competition within the steel industury, intensified by the crisis itself with its narrower markets, lower prices and higher costs of production due to low rate of operations. The two leading factors of industry, U. S

Leon Trotsky and Rakovsky, in order to Steel and Bethlehem, face each other com-Birmingham and Bethlehem's at Philadelphia and Baltimore. U. S. Steel's "It demands that the revolutionary strategy is based on access to controlworkers persecuted for political offenses led ore deposits at Lake Superior and

lehem in 1929 tried to entrench itself has been masquerading as the most proin the important mid-western district gressive labor union in the country. The "It proclaims the unconditional duty tion were unanimously adopted. The end through mergers with Youngstown and was adopted by 270 votes in favor, 132 Inland, two big "independent" steel companies. It was driven off by Eaton, representing Cleveland and New York capital, who has since been financially wreck- the recent developments will not be sured. U. S. Steel, however, seeing the prising. We have forseen these events

> (Continued on page 1) a fermentation whose process had been

ing class to grant the relief so impera ing incarnation of all that is reaction- tively needed by the starving millions.



Cliques Expose Each Other While Left Wing Marks Time

B. of that organization, on charges of euvers of the officialdom. graft and racketeering, and the fight that has ensued between Hillman and the Beckerman-Orlofsky clique, have held a break between Hillman and the Orloi the center of attention of the unions and sky-Beckerman gang, and the perilous labor press in the last two weeks. These events have created a sensation in circles unfamiliar with the situation that has prevailed in that graft and racketreaders of the Militant had the opportunity to see the A. C. W. officialdom in their true light, with their masks off and their practises unveiled. To them, in the A. C. W. bureaucratic machine,

The removal of the officials of the held in check and prevented from com-Cutters Local 4, A. C. W. by the G. E. ing to a head earlier by strategical man-

In the Militant of August 15, we pointed out the causes which were leading to consequences an inevitable split in the New York organization held for the clothing workers. We urged the Left wing workers in the A. C. W. to raise the slogan of unity between the tailors and cutters in order to frustrate the sinister designs of their officials. The Left has been unable to develop any considerable agitation and has therefore been a negligible factor in the situation. The scene is entirely held by Hillman and those loyal to the Amalgamated on one hand-and the Orlofsky-Beckerman forces which openly defied the A. C. W. and are preparing to launch an opposition union, on the other. Hillman's victory in this fight is virtually secured. The Left wing, due to its inactivity, lack of understanding and the absence of a correct policy, has missed another opportunity to gain ground in the Amalga mated and confidence of the exploited and many times betrayed masses of clothing workers.

Hillman's Maneuvers

Hillman's clever maneuvers made him the hero of the day, not only in the eyes of the general public as a valiant fighter against gangsterism and racketeering, but also to the labor world, to whom he appears as the great uncom-NEW YORK: H. Capelis-4.00; M. promising leader of the great Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

In removing Orlofsky and Beckerman from their offices and suspending them from the organization on charges of racketeering and scabbery. Hillman has consciously endeavored to reach directly to the hearts of the tailors and cutters who have been victims of those officials and their evil practises and cherished dim hopes for their elimination. Hillman, the great conjurer, has succeeded in turning the tables and appearing himself as a champion of clean unionism.

In his latest action, Hillman found (Continued on page 2)

COMPLETE THE EXPANSION FUND PROGR Our Weekly Militant is so manifestly sand dollars which was set originally. The extra effort can and should be fund. A stronger Militant means

semi-monthly-and the reception with spared to maintain it and even more, ruption.

This is not to say that the job has been an easy one. It was accomplished imprisonment of Mooney and other class | to a certain extent by the contributions made in the preceding period to our the crux of the problem. The crux lies culsion in a swift spurt of energy on the which they rule, in the ranks of the izers. A few hundred dollars are still workers v o are heart and soul with needed to reach the goal of two thou-

superior from every point of view to the That it can be done and done quickly made. The Militant is our most valu- stronger foundation for the movement. has already been demonstrated by the able instrument in building our move- A stronger Militant means an invincible zations and groups to form component which it has met in the movement at- recent action of the New York branch ment for the purpose of clarifying and weapon in our hands for the struggle which, in one evening, following an ap- strengthening the revolutionary labor we are conducting. The speedy and genpeal, raised closed to another hundred movement as a whole. It cannot fulfill erous contribution of every comrade and dollars towards fulfillinfi its quota. The this enormous task without the assurance friend is imperatively required. Program Fund quickly.

The first two paragraphs of the resolu-

other branches, and friends of our move- of its regular, guaranteed appearance Since the contributions listed in our ment who are not in the League itself, every week. A long step in this direclast issue, we have receive the followcan do at least as well if every nerve tion will be made if the comrades every- ing sums: is strained to complete the Expansion where put their shoulders to the wheel to finish the campaign for the \$2,000 Sterling-14.50; H. Stone-5.00; E. Field



For the Benefit of Conference Fund

on Sunday, September 20, 1931, all day

at TIBBETTS BROOK PARK. Plot 8

Directions: Take the Woodlawn-Jerome Avenue subway to the end of the line. Then take street car or bus to Tibbetts Brook Park. Short walk to Plot 8, reserved for our picnic. Auspices: New York branch, C. L. A.

All Invited

-10.00; A. Glotzer-2.00; G. Clarke-2.50; H. Milton-2.50; N. Berman--5.00; Wm. Edwards-2.00; LOS ANG-ELES: T. Boisnert-5.00. MINNEA POLIS BRANCH-10.30. PHILADEL-

PHIA BRANCH (L. S.)-2.00. CHICAGO BRANCH — 3.75. KANSAS CITY BRANCH-20.00. NEW HAVEN BR. (G. D.)-3.00. Total: \$89.55,

Total each reported in last issue from New York: \$27.00. Total previously reported: \$1,252.59. GRAND TOTAL TO DATE: \$1,369.14

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

PLANNING STEEL WAGE CUTS

(Continued from page 1)

naces at the Gary and the South Chicago works, out of a total of 39 open-hearth Pacific Coast; in the same month U. S. on what is going on. Not only the docu- lord and the serf. Steel bought a Pacific Coast steel com- ments of the Left Opposition will be 3. The national emancipation move pany, both in January, 1930, before which Coast.

through a series of mergers was making tional question adopted by the national the natural tendency of every bourgea bid for third place in the industry, and conference of the Spanish Left Opposi- oisie to constitute a state, and the strugthe National Steel Corp., organized by tion at Madrid on June 7, 1931.-Ed.] a group of ex-U. S. Steel men, through 1. The nation in its most completed mergers and construction of new plant and defined form is a product of capital-(particularly at Detroit, which had nev- ist society. The countries which have er had a steel plant before although one not yet entered into the phase of capiof the greatest steel-consuming districts talist development cannot be considered pation is one of the aspects of the dem- gard to all the aspects of the democratic in the country) was bidding aggressively nations in the real sense of the word. for a place in the sun. There has been The progress of capitalism in a country more activity in mergers (involving new evokes the need of an appropriate state. construction to round out plant facil- The form which is "typical, normal, for ities) than at any time since the great the whole of the civilized world, is the trust-building period of 1898-1901. national state" (Lenin) and not the

A Contracted Market

economic factors drive in this direction." By the end of 1930, the industry had The national emancipation movements a capacity of 66,897,000 tons, and in the express this tendency of the bourgeoisie. following half-year produced 15,259,000 tons of ingots. By the end of the year their liberation has been synonymous in there may be an additional 1 or 2 million tons of capacity, with no markets all points with the struggle against feudalism. The creation of large states has in sight to take up the excess. Building coincided with capitalist development, construction, which took up 18% of last and in this sense has constituted an hisyear's steel output, railroads, which took torically progressive fact. 16% and automobiles which took 14%, are contracting rather than expanding: which the vanished Russian and Austrooil and gas pipe-lines, which took 91/2 % Hungarian empires were, unity was, on (including water lines), will show the contrary, a reactionary fact: in sharp falling off with the completion of these cases, the creation of the state the Texas-Chicago natural gas line and preceded the development of capitalism, the flurry of pipe-line construction in and the unity realized was an absolutist the East Texas oil field. The possibiland despotic unity, characterized by an ities of increasing markets for sheet unheard-of national oppression. Spain steel, new uses for structural steel, and was in a similar position. If in place of development of alloy steels (now $21/_{0}$ %) being a primarily agricultural country, of the total), are not immediate enough economically backward, Spain had been to offer hopes of solving the steel ina country of great industrial developdustry's problems in meeting the crisis. ment, capitalism would have founded the Some development not now in sight might various peoples of the peninsula on a modify this conclusion, but on the basis solid unity. Spanish unity has had as of what is available at the present time, its basis the hegemony of the large landwe see only limited possibilities at expanding markets for steel.

Another possibility, that of increasing prices, has been tried twice since the crisis began, and with the exception of an advance in sheets partially disguised by a reclassification of sheet specifications has been an utter failure.

There remains the possibility of reducing costs of production, which in practise means cutting the wages of workers. The possibility of reducing costs through other means are: (1) Newer and more modern machinery, which has been done in connection with the increase of capacity in the last two years, but which is defeated by the and consequently of the ratio of pro- an escape from the wrath of the masses Beckerman's recent crimes against the

The Opposition and the National Question

IN SPAIN

[We plan to publish regularly the tain itself further only thanks to an ir-] and in Europe, without revolutionary ex-] of the majority of the population. No most important documents on the situa- ritating national inequality which can be plosions of a part of the petty bourge- democrat-and there are no more sincere furnaces scheduled for 1930-31. Beth- tion in Spain so that our readers and compared with the caste inequality which oisie, with all its prejudices, without partisans of genuine democracy than the lehem bought a steel company on the comrades may be thoroughly informed existed in the Middle Ages between the

published, but also those of other groups | ment in Spain has risen with particular time neither had had a plant on the in the labor and revolutionary move- energy in Catalonia and in Biscaye, that ments of Spain. We commence our is, in the two most important industrial Meantime the Republic Steel Corp. documentation with the theses on the na- centers of the peninsula, expressing thus for a 'pure' socialist revolution, will not The proclaiming of the right of peoples gle of the economically most advanced peoples against the assimilating, reactionary centralism of monarchical and semi-feudal Spain.

4. The struggle for national emanciocratic revolution and consequently is revolution. intimately bound up with the class struggle. Concretely, the struggle for selves unconditionally and clearly for It is only thus that will be established national emancipation is only one of the every democratic objective, the struggle a genuine community of all the workforms of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and feudalism. In it are found pation movement, are thus "the most again all the characteristics of the dem- determined and the most eloquent foes multi-national state. "The most profound ocratic movement in general. In this of all oppression" (Lenin). But by all Catalonia and of Biscaye to give them struggle, the bourgeoisie, at every deci- means they avoid identifying themselves sive moment, inclines towards capitula- with the nationalism of the bourgeoisie tion, towards concessions to the enemy of the oppressed nation which seeks to 2. The struggle of nationalities for (recall the whole policy of the Catalonian bourgeoisie led by Cambo), while ian class to the national principle, and the petty bourgeoisie holds to radical solutions (Macia and the "Catalonian Action"), showing itself incapable of moving practically to the very end.

5. National emancipation can no longer be the work of anybody but the great popular masses. It is upon them that That is why the position of the Catalthe bourgeoisie supported itself in the onian-Balearic Communist Federation nineteenth century. Today, that is no longer possible because a new force has come forward, the proletariat, whose function in economic life opposes it to the bourgeoisie and impels it to exercize hegemony in all the great popular movements. That is why the bourgeoisie, at every decisive moment, surrenders and betrays the movement.

6. National emancipation is one of the demands of democracy and, for that tween the short-lived Catalonian repubreason, the proletariat cannot be disinterested in it, adopt an attitude of disposed to struggle against the indeopposition which hides behind an abs- pendence of Catalonia by all means, in owners and the Church, the subjugation of the most vital, the most progressive tract internationalism and becomes in practise a support of the policy of the part of the country to the most backward part, a hegemony and domination reactionary centralism of oppression of which found their expression in the certain nationalities by others. "To im-"Asiatic despotism"-to use the term of agine that the social revolution is pos-Marx-of the Bourbon monarchy. This sible," said Lenin, "without the uprisartificial and despotic unity could main- ing of the small nations in the colonies the right to separation if it is the wish republics.

movements of the barely conscious pro- Communists--can take a stand against letarian and semi-proletarian masses this principle. But one thing is to deagainst the landowners, against the cler- | fend this right, and another is the thing in itself. As Lenin said, "the recogniical, monarchical and national yoke . . to think in this way means to renounce tion of the right to separation does not the social revolution . . . Whoever hopes exclude the agitation against separation" to dispose freely of their destiny signsee it, and is a revolutionist in phrases who does not understand the real ror- ifies that the Communists are against all unjust oppression. olution".

In any case, the propaganda against The revolutionary proletariat must separation cannot come from the Comtherefore pronounce itself clearly and munists of the oppressing nation, but categorically with regard to the quesfrom those of the oppressed nation who tion of nationalities, as it does with restruggle against local chauvinism and bring to the fore the common interests

of the workers of all the nationalities. 7. The Communists, pronouncing themagainst oppression, the national emanci-9. In the concrete case of Spain, the Communists will support the right of

selves the political constitution suited to them, and will fight against every attempt of the provisional government of the republic to continue the traditions of subordinate the interests of the proletarthe despotic centralism of the monarchy. Such, principally, is the mission of the with the nationalism of the exploiting proletariat outside of Catalonia and Bisclasses of the dominating nation which, utilizing the legitimate feelings of the supra-national solidarity of the workers,

tions will denounce the inconsistency of wants to make them accomplices of its the radical petty bourgeoisie, will fight policy of national oppression. against local chauvinism and by means

of an active and patient propaganda will show that the bourgeoisie is incapwhich, in its theses on the national quesable of solving the problem of national tion and in its recent open letter to the Comintern, affirms that the revolutionary ities. 10. The Spanish bourgeoisie, by it: proletariat must make the nationalist weakness, by the ties which bind it econmovement its own, must "integrate the

omically to the feudal forces of the coun-Communist party into the movement", is try by its internal contradictions. is injust as false as the position of the Nacapable of placing the various peoples tional Confederation of Labor which, into the powerful political unity which at its last conference, at the moment the interests of the economic development of the intensification of the conflict be of the peninsula require. This unity can be realized only by a historically pro lic and the central power, declared itself gressive class, essentially liberating, a unit which, above all the national dif

cluding armed rebellion. 8. The principle which the Spanish Communists must defend with all their energy is the recognition of the indisnutable right of nationalities to dispose freely of their destiny, without excluding and the establishment of a union of free

policy and a practical program would, Orlofsky-Beckerman? Whom will such give the Left wing an opportunity to a policy benefit? There can be only one develop a broad rank and file movement. explanation. The party policy is to Without these, the Left wing will lose smash the A. C. /W. as a "company unthe prestige it has gained in its cour- ion". They are therefore making what ageous struggle against the corruption is tantamount to common cause with and Orlofsky carried out. Orlofsky's and and terror of the overthrown officialdom. Orlofsky and Beckerman in this fight. But of still greater danger to the sit-

by the Left wing to develop a wide movement among the A. C. W. members. The fight in the Cutters Local could be developed into a struggle against corruption in the other locals of the A. C. W. The tailors are promised better conditions and more work by Hillman as the outcome of his fight against Orlofsky and Beckerman. Hillman is out to betray them again. The cutters have been given similar promise. Hillman is forced to make these promises by the towards Communism. growing restlessness among the workers, in order to bolster his prestige, pacify he removed. That such propaganda is the workers and then continue to beof great value to Orlofsky and Becker- tray them. The sentiment of the work- struggles. Repairing the errors of the ers must be kept up and organized to Stalinist bureaucracy, the comrades of prevent such a betrayal. This can only the Opposition must work with perservbe done by organized activity of the ance in order to gain the working massworkers inside the organization, and not

The Communists of the oppressed na-

ferences, has a common interest: the

proletariat. Only the victory of this

class will guarantee the evolution of the

peoples, the indisputable recognition of

their rights, the end to all oppression

GREECE

THE ELECTIONS IN MYTILENE

After the surprising results of the election of Mytilene, where the Communist party, in collaboration with the Opposition, received about 4,700 votes (in the town of Mytilene itself, the C. P. had a majority of the votes, 1,700 out of 3.000), the Greek bourgeois press, without distinction of tendencies, has become frightened over the "threatening Communist danger"

As a matter of fact, it is the first time that the C. P. of Greece, since its foundation in 1920, has concentrated so large a number of votes in these regions. The island of Mytilene was rightly regarded as the unchangeable electoral fief of Venizelism. Since 1912, the date of the attachment of the island to Greece, the population, composed in large measure of small townsmen and artisans, pressed on all sides by the royalist regime, always gave its votes to Venizelos.

If the economic crisis has affected all of Greece it has not spared Mytilene. The island of a once flourishing commerce, was cruelly struck by the catastrophhe which overcame Asia Minor in 1922, in which it lost an important market. Unemployment developed like everywhere else in Greece. The tax policy practised by the present government only worsened the position of the working masses of the island. It is exactly in these conditions that the election took place.

The C. P. came out of it greatly strengthened in the struggle, especially thanks to the combined efforts of the Opposition and party comrades. As soon as the results were known, the bourgeois press raised a great outcry and demanded that exceptional measures be taken to repress Communism. The government was affected by it and threw all "responsibility" for the results obtained by the C. P. upon the royalist and republican opposition.

The latter did not fail to reply. Evidently, the bourgeois parties didn't expect these results at all. The leader of the Royalist opposition. Tsaldaris, in his declarations to the press, raised the immediate need of a close collaboration of all the bourgeois parties to ward off the Communist peril.

They are already speaking of the imminent formation of a bloc of the liberal and popular parties for the coming parliamentary elections of 1932, in order to eliminate the Communists.

The two principal bourgeois parties believe, by a formal collaboration, to be able to put a stop to the growing radicalization of the masses. But the administrative measures will in no way be able to remedy a situation which flows from the anarchy in capitalist production.

The Class Struggle, organ of the Com-The present situation could be utilized munist Left Opposition (Archio-Marxisty) analyzing the causes for the s



duction to capacity.

2. The speed-up, which has been increasingly applied to the steel industry in recent years. In the past ten years, ingot production per worker in the U. S. Steel Corporation rose from 57 tons to 79 last year, and in 1929 was as high as 97 tons. In 1923, with over 260,000 steel than in 1929 with 225,000. In 1930, it employed 211,000 workers on the average, a decline of 5% while it produced 11,600,000 tons of finished steel, against 15,200,000 tons in 1929, a decline of 24%

The success of speed-up methods in making profits is seriously limited, however, in a shrinking market. Speed-up results in more steel, which the market refuses to take.

Wage Declines

3. Wage-cuts are clearly indicated as the tactics of the steel corporations in forgot those particular acts of the scoun their struggle to force the burdens of the drels because the tailors know who was crisis on to the backs of the workers. The steel companies have hesitated for a long time to cut wages, remembering the 1919-20 strikes. Last year, the U. S. Steel Corporation paid an average of \$5.84 a day to all employees exclusive force, against \$5.80 in 1929, a cut of twovaried more than 16 cents a day since 1923, when it was \$5.83.

Wages per ton of finished steel have declined steadily, during the same period. In 1922, wages per ton were \$42.35, erating at a low percentage of capacity, from which they dropped to \$27.45 per ton by 1929; last year the company could not fire workers as fast as the demand for steel declined, and the average wage per ton rose slightly to \$31.69.

Corresponding to the steady decline in wages has been an increase in the proportion of profit to the gross sales of the corporation. As recently as 1924, the Steel Corporation paid out in wages 35 cents out of every dollar that it took in, and retained as profits 12 and a half cents. By 1929, the share of labor had declined steadily to 28 cents, and the share of the bondholders and stockholders had increased just as steadily to over 17 cents. Last year, because of the inability of the big corporation to adjust its activities rapidly to the shrinking market for steel, mentioned above, the share of labor was 35 cents and profits 15 cents.

At this point a correct Marxian analysis of the productive process is essential to an understanding of the economic perspectives for labor in the steel industry. Some comrades confuse the

him it tailors who were betrayed by the last stoppage. The Orlofsky-Beckerman gang are the fitting scapegoat for the betrayal. Indeed, were they not the ones who have sabotaged the strike and even directly scabbed on the tailors? Have forgiven his "mistakes" of the past. they not been in the racketeering ring which held the cutters and expressmen employees, the corporation produced less locals in their grip, and through their power in those key poscitions helped the manufacturers to escape from New York and entrench themselves in the out-ofrecord the crushing of the Left wing and the terrible crime of forcing piece work on the tailors?

(Continued from page 1)

In the great "prisons of the peoples"

True, Hillman has not mentioned the latter crimes on the record of his dis carded tools and henchmen, not out of modesty, of course, but out of discretion, He would rather the clothing workers behind them and whose plans Beckerman

general truth that capitalism extracts surplus value by witholding from labor a part of the exchange value represented of the general administrative and selling by labor power, with a universal statement that capitalism at all times and

out in wages. In the case of a highly gate its effects. mechanized industry such as steel, opthe value in exchange of the production is actually less than the cost of the labor power which has been expended on them. The only alternative would be be produced in every factory every day, the surplus values alleged to be created under present conditions in the steel

in which the capitalist can realize on them for the present.

If this were the case, the capitalists would not need to exert any particular pressure on the workers for lower wages; they could simply pay out paper dividends to their stockholders, to be cashed in when the paper profits were realizable "off the shelf".

We do not accept this analysis, but rather conclude that in order to make profits the steel companies are about to engage in a drastic campaign of wagecutting, which will place a militant steel strike on the order of the day. -B. J. FIELDS.

them before the masses. But their old crimes will also count aagainst them with the masses of tailors, while Hillman, the liberator of to-day, may be Hillman's calculations have proved correct to his own satisfactoin and to direction. All the Freiheit can see in the sad disappointment of his enemies. The split in the organization, how ever, has not been averted. Orlofsky and Beckerman still have the support town shops? Has not Beckerman on his of hundreds of cutters and will proceed with their destructive plans against the Hillman is more corrupt and therefore A. C. W. Hillman will be faced with a greater danger than the grafters whom a rival racket and will undoubtedly seek to eliminate his competitors by compromising the interests of the workers. Hillman publicly admitted that he was ready to compensate Orlofsky with a big sum of money or a high position outside of his local to avoid an open fight. That Hilman is prone to carry out such a policy, there is good reason to fear, judging from his actions in the past. If a split will be averted at the last minute in such a manner, Hillman's betrayal will be most brazen. Hillman is not likely, however, to resort to such a policy in the present situation, with the elements in his favor. The split will be thirds of 1%. The average wage has not places is essential in creating surplus an open one. The workers will pay the value, that is, exchange values in excess price for the fight between the cliques. of the minimum subsistence levels paid Only their active interference can miti-

Are they prepared to do it? Unfortunately, this is not the case.

The Party Policy

The Rank and File Committee has seemingly adopted our slogan of unity and issued a call to the tailors and cutto assume that, since surplus value must ters to unite their ranks in the struggle against the cliques to safeguard the conditions and prevent the return of the corrupt officialdom to the organization. industry must be "on the shelf", that The tailors are warned against Hillman's is, actually existent but not in a form treachery and Hillman's policies of serving the manufacturers. The policy of the Rank and File Committee is in general a correct one, but so far they have failed to develop activity and give this policy a concrete application, particularly in the Cutters Local. The Rank and practical program. The Cutters Local is today the scene of the revival of ac-

membership are sufficient to condemn uation is the attitude of the official party press. Conforming with the spurious theory of company-unionism, the Freiheit fails to see any opportunity for the development of a movement inside the A C. W. The Freiheit has manifested great interest in the situation but in the wrong the situation is the mere fight between the cliques, but it is entirely blind to he existence of masses of workers in the A. C. W. Oceans of ink have been spilled on its pages to prove what? That man, there can be no doubt. This is exactly their line of defense. But of what value is the mere exposure of Hillman without a clear program of action to the tailors and cutters? Such abstract propaganda can only impel some backward elements to cling to their removed officials, the Beckerman and Orlotsky gang, but it will not help the masses of tailors and cutters in their struggle against corruption in the A. C. W. The

cutters in particular, who are directly involved in this struggle, have been entirely left out of consideration, and the general impression is conveyed that the cutters have been injured by Hillman's removal of their officials, which is obviously untrue. Such a policy only creates confusion.

Why has the Freiheit taken such a culation department. The subscription for stand? Why this "united front" with one year is two dollars, and one dollar

Morgenstern-Goodman and the I. L. D.

Despite all they could do, the delegates Stalinist sabotage of the defense of our of the Philadelphia branch of the Com- comrades Morgenstern and Goodman munist League (Opposition) were unable who have been indicted and convicted to get any information concerning the under the notorious Flynn Sedition Act. Philadelphia Amnesty Conference of the At the Scottsboro conference some time I. L. D. Neither the time nor the place ago, the party bureaucrats were detercould be discovered. Three days after mined to have the conference broken up the conference, the Daily Worker gave rather than allow the two comrades to the first and only report or announcespeak. Both of them were finally rement of it! This is the second time, to moved from the hall by violence. Now it File Committee has not advanced any the knowledge of our Philly comrades, appears that rather than have our comthat such a procedure has been followed. | rades present, the bureaucrats are ready And there seems to be a "good reason" tivity being the local directly involved for such unusual steps. The party burto go to the extreme of holding these in the shake-up. The Hillman forces in eaucrats are afraid of the effect that will "quiet" manner that nobody even hears "united front" conferences in such a the local rave thrown the membership a be produced on the workers when the about them and the Daily Worker menpromise of an honest election and a delegates of the Left Opposition are tions them only when they are concluded. free and militant union. The cutters are present at these conferences and even Only hysteria and fear could lead the taking this promise serioulsy. A clear more, if they raise the question of the Stalinist officials to such lengths!

by mere abstract propaganda. But this means a change in the whole tactical line of the party and the adoption of correct Leninist tactics. This is too much to expect from the Stalinist bureaucracy—unless the comrades in the ranks get busy. -ALBERT ORLAND.

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will also facilitate the work of the cir-

cess of the C. P. in Mytilene, attributes this advance to the radicalization of the masses which is taking place here on a grand scale. In reality, this success of the C. P. could not be explained in any other way. The Stalinists have done nothing on the island to justify such a result. The laboring masses (the workers of Mytilene where the Opposition leads various trade unions) and the masses of the poor peasants have turned

Before the Greek Communists and above all the Left Opposition are posed today new tasks in face of the new great es who are deserting the bourgeois parties for the revolutionary class organizations. They will succeed.

Salonika, July 1931.

-OPPOSITIONIST.



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THE MILITANT

DISCUSSION ARTICLES

A Reply to the Discussion

ence discussion material has yielded very little either in the way of positive supplement to the draft thesis of the National Committee or criticism of it. The absence of any serious attacks on its main conclusions-although some of then represent a distinct and original contribution of the Left Opposition and are presented in the American movement for has always maintained that the party the first time-may be taken as an in- must go back and appropriate some of its dication of the general support of the organization for the propositions of the for a moment to compare Passaic with National Committee and a forecast of the action of the Conference in regard to them.

Our draft has been submitted to an international discussion, and a beneficial criticism from that source is not yet .ex cluded. But in the ranks of our own national section the estimation of the problems and the tasks formulated by the National Committee have not yet been successfully assailed. Critics of the National Committee are not lacking, but their contributions do not go to the roots of the new issues. They attempt either to revive questions long settled in our But, my dear friend, the "Save the Unranks or to obscure the main questions with superficial quibbles over minor points.

A Discredited Idea

rightful representatives of these tendencies. In their discussion articles they only recapitulate the attitude and point of view they have constantly maintained against the National Committee. Since the conflicting positions cannot be re- nearly every week in the Militant for a conciled-and they cannot be because policy which borrows much from the ex they have nothing in common-nothing ample of the "Save the Union" moveremains but for the National Conference to pronounce a judgement on them and the altered conditions. end the disputes. Here I wish only to make a few remarks on the critical articles of the comrades mentioned and to explain once more why we still hold to minence to the I. W. W. out of all prothe views we have maintained against portion to their actual merits while he them.

Comrade Rose renews his long-standing feud with us on three very important relief campaign led by the party "grew questions: On the evaluation of the hisand the perspectives of the party; and on the attitude of the Left Opposition based on the Pennsylvania-Ohio strik ϵ . with comrade Rose all three of these each case, the conclusions have a systemculsive and cannot be joined together. Our first Conference more than two years ago spoke very decisively on these points. In our opinion the Second Conference should reaffirm the judgment and put a period to contentions over them.

Comrade Rose's first fault, from which the others flow, is his grossly distorted view of the history of the party. This is not without valid reasons. During all the years of the party's formative period and its emergence as a dynamic factor in the class struggle at the head of the conscious workers' movement he stood aside from the party and took no part in the making of its history. He learned

It must be admitted that the confer-| gage to the A. F. of L. fakers, to dis sipate and demoralize." What is this but I. W. W. chatter, later repeated by Browder and similars to justify the "turn" of the "third period"? So far from repudiating the course of the party in the Passaic strike-taking it as whole, we mean, not denying or justifying certain errors—the Left Opposition fruitful experiences. If you will stop the present strategy in Paterson you ought to see the force of this opinion.

a review of the mine strike of 1927-28 did not spare criticism of the party er rors in the whole campaign for we had waged a heated struggle over them in the party. But comrade Rose sees only the husk of the nut: the kernel escaped movement of unpleasant memories" ion" movement was the instrument through which the party came to head

a huge mass movement of miners for the first time. It is true enough that the Comrades Rose and Carter are the party leadership of the present day is turning its back on all that rich experience and on the methods which, in spite of all the errors, yielded such great results. But why should we emulate them? On the contrary we are hammering them ment, making allowance of course for

Repeating Slander

Here again comrade Rose gives a pro belittles the achievements of the party. According to him the national miners out" of the I. W. W. strike in Colorado tory of the party; on the present status Nothing of the sort. The relief campaign was organized months before and was toward the party. With us as well as The later entrance of the I. W. W. into the relief situation as a result of the questions are intertwined and, also in Colorado strike only served to muddle the situation and poison the atmosphere atic character. They are mutually ex- with reactionary slander about misappropriation of funds.

Such an account of the affair as comrade Rose offers is false to the core, and provocative as well. You will never get the Left Opposition to accept the I .W. W. version of party history. Just consider such an expression as this:

Problems of Our Perspectives

Our thesis breathes not one particle of | hands of one imperialist power-the Unispirit of a coming "Victorian age" for ted States.

American imperialism in the Lovestonian To substantiate the possible variants sense. Nor does it project the possibility about the party from the scandal sheets of a "Victorian age" for American im- it must be proved whether, despite this in 1931 to postpone the German revoluand kitchen-gossip of its enemies. On perialism parallel to the development of that basis he serves up an account and British imperialism in the nineteenth at least for single capitalist powers can is intervening now in England. In this breadline. interpretation of the party's past that century. But we do give the reasons still be found. One of Marx's dictum process of interventions, it has poured bears very little relation to actual fact. which "are still effective enough to warrant its ability to extricate itself out of tinually makes to the standpoint of the its present crisis by shifting the burden anti-party sects who still hold him as a of it not only upon the working class at home but upon the nations of Europe," without even excluding the possibility of another boom.

[the relief campaign, "brought to a fore be incorrect to speak of prospects of head" by the I. W. W.) as a godsend." Why not add that the party stole all the money and thus round out the story that all its enemies have told?

With such a view of party history as comrade Rose has expounded in his avticles it is only logical that he should see nothing good in it today and no hope for its future. According to his opinion, the American Communist Party -which never was any good-"cannot any longer be classified as even possess ing the potentialities of a 'mass party' in the face of its miserable failures in all fields". Can the Left Opposition trifle for a moment with such an esti mation? Here is a sweeping statement indeed, which forbids the party to grow regardless of external events.

The Communist Party of Germany ha no better policy and no better leader ship-if we allow for proportions-and One more example: In our platform yet it influences millions and continues adopted at the First Conference we gave to grow. We should not take the re sponsibility of prohibiting the American and the subsequent developments. We party to grow stronger. The facts of life will most likely veto the order and discredit us entirely. As a matter of fact for return on capital investments. the recent advances of the National Miners Union under party leadership occured since comrade Rose made the first him altogether. He laments the "Save draft of his document. That fact, and the Union" movement as "the famous many others which can easily be cited, countries, colonies and semi-colonies. be to accept his view.

False Viewpoints

The theory that the party was worthless in the past and hopeless for the future brings our critic inevitably to a collision with the policy toward the party which the Left Opposition has pursued since its inception. Only one conclusion can follow from this premise — to form another party. But this idea has been so hopelessly discredited in the Left Opposition, in America as well as on an international scale, that comrade Rose stops short of the logic of his own position and exhausts himself with negative criticism of the tactics of the National Comittee which proceed from a different premise. The content in all of his criticisms, accordingly, is indefinite ness, contradiction and half-formed con-

clusions. We cannot determine the line of the Communist League in this manner. First we must clearly define the premises upon which our work as a faction of the party for the extradiction of surplus value-new is founded. Tactical conclusions follow from this. It is of course possible even then to disagree on the tactical applica- the super-profits possible. This prospec tion of the basic policy. But in that can well enough serve as a complement case the disputes are narrowed down, they can be put concretely and definitely. The attempt to work out a common tactic when the premise is contraditory is doomed to failure from the start. This, in our opinion, is the source of the

vague and confusing proposals which comrade Rose outlines in his articles. -JAMES P. CANNON. (The second article by comrade Cannon

in reply to discussion will appear next "The party pounced upon this movement, week).

American capitalism overcoming its crisis merely on the basis of the process of Dusiness cycles operating in the home market. This would entirely ignore the fact that its sources of power are spread

the world arena that it will seek its fur ther field of expansion. Further World Market Expansion

The majority of the world's population still consist of peasants (still mainly en gaged in natural economy). To turn the peasants into elements of capitalist production, i. e., producers and consumers of capitalist society, is one of the im portant processes of captialism and has proven one additional means of capitalist expansion throughout its history. From its very inception, it began by battering down barriers for this expansion set up by feudalism, first by "lib erating" the peasants from serfdom, thus creating a new equilibrium. Immense areas and population can still be developed capitalistically once there

are the apparently sufficient guarantees The crisis releases enormous amount vestments. Such are to be found pri-

marily in these economically backward show how false and dangerous it would American imperialism is again gathering its breath from the first shocks of the

stock market crash and the crisis. It is preparing to conquer new territories. Its most important weapon will be a combination of capital exportation with export of goods, granting of long term credits and outright loans for the purchase of industrial goods. American imperialism has long had its eve on China with its 420 million population, overwhelmingly peasant in its make-up, engaged mainly in natural economy. Of course, it would not pour in heavy investments merely to develop sources of production in competition with its own cotton fields, its own copper mines or its own steel mills. No: it would enter primarily to turn the vast field of peasants into elements of capitalist produc tion, into producers and consumers; to first of all invest into fixed capital, which means building roads, railroads, factories. machinery, etc., thus making the investments for promotion of sale o its industrial goods and simultaneously super-profits. So far, the Chinese worker is already on a much lower level, making

to a revival and a new upward conjunc ture of American capitalism. To develop such backward countries capitalistically, although offering a means of expansion for a time, does not at all solve the contradictions of world capitalism, nor of any of its component parts. On the contrary, it vastly increases these contradictions. But to draw from that a conclusion based upon the absolute inability of American capitalism to extricate itself from this present

crisis is simply ridiculous. America's Role in the World Market American imperialism won the war It established its world hegemony. It the German proletariat and "stabilize"

Contradictions of the Agrarian Crisis

a blending of the contradictions of a theoretically pure capitalism with those all over the world. And it is precisely in produced by the law of uneven developthe striking discrepancy between the productive forces and the solvent demand but also barriers erected by the backward mode of production restricting the free flow of capital in the creation of the average rate of profit. From the latter fact that the preponderable position of world agriculture is carried on a pre capitalist scale, that to the small producer the farm is not an investment but the very basis for his existence, from this fact there arises the radical distinction between agriculture and industry, be tween the agrarian and the industrial crisis.

The present agrarian crisis which more immediately receives its capping character from the tremendous impetus given to the extension of grain culture of the Western Hemisphere during the War and the period of revolutionary upheavals and crop failures immediately following, of liquid capital seeking new fields of in- has its more profound roots fixed in the enormous technological improvements

(fertilizers, machinery, etc.) much of which was applicable even to small scale agricult<mark>ure</mark>.

Effects of "Return to Normal"

current with and supplementing the tions of capitalism, to the social revoludeepened industrial crisis on the other tion. hand, whets yet more its edge on the

attenuated condition of the city working masses.

On the theoretical field it hammers decisively the nails into the coffin of the dogma of Malthus-Ricardo, and affirms in dazzling manner the contention of Engels: "Against the competition of the and .Indian peasants ground down by taxation, the European capitalist farmer and peasant could not stand up at the old rents. A portion of the soil of Europe fell definitely out of the competition for the raising of grain, the rents fell woes of the landlords from Scotland to Italy, and from Southern France to lands have not been taken under cultito ruin all the great landlords of Europe and the small ones into the bargain." (Vol. III, page 842.)

In industry a fall in commodity prices is immediately followed by a withdrawal of capital from the affected lines and its reinvestment in a more profitable sphere. This process, regarded by Smith and the other economists as another instance of the unerring machinery of Providence flagrantly ceases to function

in the case of small scale agriculture The farmer will not only continue after! his investment yields him no return, he will persist after he works for a return ridiculously below a living minimum. intervened in Europe in 1923 to defeat This tendency originally due to the ingrown instinct of the petty-bourgeoisie. upon which our general strategy is based German capitalism. It intervened again is more substantially reinforced at the

The agrarian crisis presents itself as capitalist production is the constant increase of the specific gravity of the constant capital over the variable apital, and of the fixed capital compared with ment. Here we have before us not only the circulating capital. It is this fact which gives to an increased consumption of constant capital the role of the decisive factor in the overcoming of the periodical crisis. Agricultural products appear practically entirely in the productive process as circulating capital and for the greater part as variable capital. The above mentioned tendency presents itself from this point of view as a continued increase of the importance of industrial production at the expense of agriculture. The determining factor in the alleviation of the industrial crisis, the opening up of new markets for constant and especially fixed capital, only indirectly and to an increasingly limited extent affect the agrarian crisis. The very technological development which increases the productivity of agriculture by diminishing the importance of agricultural products in the productive process, diminishes the prospects of greater grain markets.

The agrarian crisis can be temporarily overcome only through the agency of calamities brought about by the workings of nature or social chaos. The first possibility is that of an international crop The return of normal conditions, the failure, which is improbable; the other rehabilitation of Eastern Europe grain is that of another imperialist war which fields in the face of the huge acreage in- must, however, lead not only to its temcrease in America, could only result in porary solution by higher grain prices, the dizzy fall of the wheat bushel; con- but to the solution of all the contradic-

Society does not travel along lubricated rails, as the "gradual" philistine would have us believe. The historical process hews its way, having no qualms not only for individuals but even for the physical existence of classes. The extermination of the yeomanry in England accompanied by the unfathomable misery of its vicvirgin prairie soils and of the Russian tims, had, however, a revolutionary significance. The present suffering of the farmers can have none such. With wheat at forty cents, and less, a bushel, and with a most uncertain future, it is hardly likely that there should be present the incentive for the establishment of everywhere . . . This accounts for the large capitalist farming with the capital outlay involved. The law of the formation of an equal rate of profit Eastern Prussia. Fortunately all prairie makes it very ridiculous to imagine heavy capital investments in the field suffering vation. There are enough of them left from the acutest overproduction. The creditor hesitates to foreclose the mortgages: they realize well that a portion of the payments is better than none. We

have reached a stake where capitalism must keep tens of millions in a state of desolate vegetation. As with other remnants of pre-capitalist society, so also can capitalism not supersede small scale agriculture by farms on a capitalist basis; here we have the revolution in permanence.

A Revolutionary Force

Marxism beginning with unquestionable historical data arrives at the conclusion that the peasantry can play no independent revolutionary role. This does not, however, excuse at all the tendency all too prevalent among certain Communists to "overlook" the agrarian exploited. Truly did Kautsky remark that in the same degree as agriculture recedes in

favor of industry does the peasantry gain

in political importance. Not only in the

backward agricultural countries but even

in America does the peasantry present an

Marxism, in contradiction to other

ideologies, can have no desire to set bar-

riers up to the historical process. With

objective eye it adjudges each social

enormous revolutionary potentiality.

And in part, by the concessions he concaptive, his exposition of party history is somewhat provocative.

If it was a mistake in the first place to organize the party, if it was wrong to belong to the party since its foundation. if the circles of word-radicalism which conducted a venomous fight against the party since its inception were correct --if all this were so, comrade Rose,'s approach to the question would have a certain justification. Needless to say we do not share such a view nor the conclusions deriving from it.

Distorted History

Take a few samples of comrade Rose's . . . round the I. W. W. were at first party). But this is presented as solely course of the I. W. W. leaders in fomenting antagonism to the Communist American capitalist economy. movement-and this was the really decisive element in the situation-is left out of account. Finally, he says, there came an appeal to the I. W. W. from the Communist International "over the heads of the American Communist leadership Not so. It was the lelegation of the party to the Comintern that drafted the still operate but are changed to the appeal and the whole party supported it.

Comrade Rose speaks of party members "sent in 'to capture or destroy the I. W. W.'" Who were they and when was such an instruction ever given out by the party? We read about it in the I. W. W. papers in their campaign to poison their members against Communism, and nowhere else. By such criticisms of the party comrade Rose only information about it.

impression that the Passaic strike This testifies to the growing intensity and migrants, in addition to the growing ment, that it was handled on a national scale with considerable skill remacy in the radical labor movement. party leadership to accept the gage of battle"-some of Weisbord's absurd gos- ing standing army of unemployed on the sip retailed five years later to glorify one hand, and on the other, a growing by the spurt in the automobile industry. himself. Again: "The collective, party abundance of credits seeking new markets Meanwhile, however, American capitalism

This we believe, is the most likely variant for the immediate future which can be quite well substantiated by the present economic and political trends. But at the outset let us remember that this question is closely bound up with the perspectives of the world's revolutionary movement. It will be of decisive importance whether it progresses toward new victories or whether it suffers new serious defeats.

Hence, our thesis does not at all draw history at random: In each instance we any conclusions based upon the ability find them to be distorted, one-sided and of American capitalism to solve its probfalse. "The native proletarian elements | lems or to overcome its contradications. It proceeds from the inevitable intensineglected by this rising movement" (the fication of these contradications to hold out "prospects of struggle which will inthe fault of the as yet groping and crease in breadth and depth and millinexperienced party. The reactionary tancy". And precisely under the likely variant of an upward conjuncture of

Fundamentals of Present Crisis

The capitalist system of society as whole has reached its period of decline. The crisis which followed the short speculative post-war "boom" marked a beginning of a period of crises for capitalism, within which the business cycles degree that the general period has changed. This period also marks the beginnings of the development of a new sys-

tem of economy represented by the Soviet Union which, of course, will play its serious part in any future perspective. Each new cycle becomes a historical step in capitalism, bringing it nearer to its end. The increasingly planetary character of the conjunctures of capitalist economy has become particularly expressed in the succeeds in giving away his sources of more uniform and more universal phase of the industrial cycle in each crisis dip,

We have always been under the though not uniform in the rising "booms" was a landmark in party develop- scope of crises as a part of capitalist population, into producers and consumeconomy. At the beginning of this crisis, France was still to some extent an exand that it signalized the party's sup- ception-to the extent, mainly, to which her economy is still made up of smail mainly on the home market. It became But what does comrade Rose see in this scale and peasant economy. Also this expressed mainly in the renewal of fixed event? He sees "the slowness of the crisis particularly records as a universal phenomenon within capitalism the grow-

to h nd over these workers bag and bag- its overwhelming preponderance is in the affairs on a large scale. It would there- sent to the Militant, 84 East 10th St.,

reads: "There is no such thing as a millions upon millions into Europe bepermanent crisis." Lenin never tired of cause its hegemony demands a certain emphasizing that: "There is no situation measure of "stability" of the capitalist for which there is absolutely no way out equilibrium. While such capital investfor the bourgeoisie." Both are still true ments are made also for the promotion today. And it depends decisively upon of exportation of goods, they are above the maturity and actions of the prole-all designed to strengthen the Wall Street tariat to what extent capitalism can re- hegemony and thereby serve constantly cover from the crisis or whether it will to put each of the European powers on proceed more rapidly in its decline. In a more limited ration in world economy.

this respect, the proletarian vanguard unfortunately shows great weaknesses throughout the capitalist world.

The Basis of Possible Revival

The law of uneven development of capitalism holds no possibility, after the acute phase of this crisis is overcome, of a business revival comprising all countries. But this very uneven development. which is more pronounced under the imperialist epoch, holds precisely the possibility of the stronger power emerging from the crisis, passing through depression to revival, at the cost of the weaker. Crises are the periods of capitalist forcible adjustments of the relative over production. They are manifested in the direction inevitably produces the most purely economic aspects by a restriction of output, diminution of stocks on hand by a falling price level, thus releasing money for renewal of fixed capital, which means production of means of production. factories, machinery etc., re-employment of labor and increases of variable capital. Apparently, however, there is as yet in this country no diminution of stocks on

hand. According to Survey of Current Business for Feb. 1931, the following comparison of stocks on hand is shown:

1928 1929 1930 December Total Raw

186 195 Materials 156Total Ind. Fin-

119 121ish. Products 122 Prior to the war, the American production cycles were based almost exclusively on the home market, by continuous expansion of national market, by extending the frontiers to tap new natural resources and by turning a constant stream of im-

ers. They became particularly expressed in the extension of railroads. The postwar boom of 1921-1929 was still based

capital for railroad material, machinery and building which had been practically at a standstill during the war, as well as

Evidently, Wall Street does not in the least fear the consequences to its own market within these competing powers by limiting their rations or even crush-

ing them as competitors. That will not reduce the size of world market still available. But it will relatively strengthen further its imperialist hegemony and its struggle for re-division of the world.

So far, however, these forecasts have taken into account only the possibilities of American capitalism extricating itself out of the present crisis in connection with its possible further expansion on the world market. Yet each step in this furious conflicts of capitalist state relations as well as of class relations, and, as far as the latter are concerned-not the least at home. But this part of the problem-so important for our perspectives of coming sharpened struggles—it will be necessary to leave for another

-ARNE SWABECK.

OUR INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

article.

The International Bulletin of the Communist Left Opposition which is published in French and German by the Interternational Secretariat, and an English edition of which is published by the Communist League (Opposition), is now be-

ing put on a subscription basis which will considerably facilitate its publication and distribution. The annual sub scription is one dollar.

The Bulletin contains reports of the work and the views of the Opposition groups throughout the world, and is the main channel for the exchange of opinions in the Left Opposition and for the

discussion of disputed questions. Six issues of the English edition have already been issued and the future numbers will appear even more regularly. All comrades and readers of the Milltant are urged to subscribe to the International Bulletin. \$1.00 for 10 issues. wisdom could find no better road than for investment. However, the latter in had entered the world market and world Money orders, checks or tills should be

Attempts at Organization

The unbridled anarchy of the world market calls forth both in agriculture as well as in industry attempts at organization. In the latter sphere these take the form of trusts, cartels, etc., which, being based on the highest developed technology, are up to a certain point revolutionary in content, insofar as they consolidate the economic foundation for the next mode of production. In agriculture, the most ambitious of such attempts is the Canadian Wheat Pool. Involving largely small scale farmers, affecting only distribution and leaving the sphere of production untouched, the Wheat Pool must be appraised as a reactionary petty-bourgeois Utopia, and like all such, foredoomed to shatter on the rocks of the inexorable historical process. It may be well said that the Wheat Pool presents the same caricature of a capitalist industrial trust as Stálin's adventurist 100% collectivization, based on primitive ploughshare offers of Socialist agriculture.

The industrial crises in the past have been by their very nature cyclic in character. Even the present crisis, which may be considered the first of the downward crisis, will undoubtedly be followed by a partial revival at least in this is not so. The reasons for this are produced, and in the form of the productive process.

fect of small scale farming on the price weapons for the movement. It is essenlevel, and it directly follows that the tial that the agrarian question be put crisis would be of a more permanent on the agenda of the coming Conference. nature than the industrial crisis.

The most fundamental tendency of

phenomenon by the criterion of hindering or advancing the social development. With this in mind, and considering the fact that small scale production is but a decaying remnant of a previous productive mode, we must declare ourselves categorically opposed to . any demands serving the purpose of retarding the disappearance of small peasant property. The preservation of small property has always been one of the cherished resorts of the reactionaries in their struggle against the rising proletariat. Our approach to the farmer must be such as to bolster not his petty-bourgeois instinct but to awaken the proletarian half of him.

The most deplorable failing in the thesis is the utter lack of an analysis of the agrarian crisis, which is offered but two lines. The problem is as urgent as it is untouched. That difficulties pro-America. With the agricultural crisis sent themselves in its elaboration is no excuse for such flagrant negligence. The innate in the nature of the commodity task of the Opposition is not that of repcating ready-made formulae, but it is ve as the vanguard of the vanguard on Above we have briefly sketched the ef- whom rests the tasks of forging new

-W. KREHM.



The Spanish Revolution in Danger . . . 15c

These two pamphlets will give the reader an invaluable analysis of the present situation in Spain and the prospects of the further development of the revolution. The standpoint of the Opposition, in contrast to that of all the other groups involved in the present Spanish situation (the official Communist party, the Maurin group, the syndicalists, and others), is presented with the exceptional clarity and pentration for which the author is so well-known.

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THE MILITANT

HE YOUNG VANGUARD • Struggle of the Boston Shoeworkers

BOSTON-Lynn Cutters groups, McCaey and other our tasks From the time of the big strike up members of the rank and file Conference Committee, who were not members till last June, the shoe workers just accepted one wage cut after another with- or sympathizers of the T. U. U. L. Only out any resistance, in the absence of any a few remained, to answer the denuncialeadership capable of leading them in tions of the party and T. U. U. L. lead-The youth members of the Left Or struggle. The T. U. U. L. Shoe workers' ers against their group. These also left, position must realize that big responsigroup kept up its office on Washington later on. The conference then elected a no definite plans of approach to the workers was laid down by the T. U. U. L. June 7, a conference was called by the Cutters' local in Lynn, a section of the old United Shoe Workers. All crafts in the industry were invited with the purpose of discussing ways and means of organizing a New England shoe workers' union. Over seventy rank and file conference had made no preparations.

Street, satisfied to maintain itself as a committee of fifteen to call a huge conrevolutionary "union" with its twelve ference for August 15, to organize the stalwarts. A lot of talk still went ou, Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial how to organize the unorganized? But Union. One meeting of this committee was actually held, which was at the same time the first and the last. The organization Conference never took place and the T. U. U. L. Shoe workers' group slunk back into its isolationist snugness The Lynn Cutters reorganized their local into the National Shoe Cutters Union. They have led a number of strikes in Lynn. In Boston, they have a great delegates attended. The initiators of the following among the cutters, as well as in other shoe towns. The leadership of They only proposed one question for dis- this union is conservative, entrenched in the old craft union ideology. The shoe cussion: when and how to call a broader workers have little to expect from them conference. The T. U. U. L. delegates in their struggle to better their condihad an opportunity to bring forward tions. All through their little strikes, their program of action. Every single at the meetings in which the workers asone of the T. U. U. L. representatives sembled, nowhere has the voice of the spoke and all the delegates responded Left wing been raised. assentingly. The conference committee

was enlarged and three T. U. U. L. mem-In the shoe industry, the Left wing generally under its direction. Thirdly bers were added to it. The situation and the T. U. U. L. are once again at they must engage in intensive study of was full of promise for the building of the bottom of the ladder. The work Marxism and Leninism, that is, equip a union on militant premises, despite of must be begun all anew. First of all, themselves with the weapons of revolu- the few fakers that were behind the the policy of mechanical control of the move, such as Meed. party leadership of the T. U. U. L. must

The second conference took place June be rejected. Much has been said in party 21, in Boston. The T. U. U. L. group circles of late in this direction, but nothcame to the meet with a definite stand: ing has actually been begun to bring Either to bring about a united front un- about a change in actual procedure. der the unconditional leadership of the Secondly, the Leninist united front tac-T. U. U. L. or else to leave the confer- tic, the tactic of uniting all the workers ence. At a time when the shoe workers in action while imposing merciless criticwere eager to hear what any group has ism in the course of struggle upon the to propose to them in relation with their temporary reformist allies, so that all conditions, the wage cuts, etc., the party workers involved may see with their own eyes who their real friends are-this and Left wing forces made the main istactic must be revived immediately, in sue: Blanket endorsement of the T. U. U. L. and a guaranteed acceptance of its the shoe industry as well as in all the other trade union work. Only on such a basis can the organization of the shoe

The party had concentrated all its workers be effected, only in this way forces for the conference. As soon as it can they be led into militant struggle became evident, that in this manner, the under revolutionary leadership. Left wing was in control of a majority, the leaders of the T. U. U. L. group

-SHOE WORKER.

A Picture of the Party's Inner Life

The political life in our units is very needle trades strike and later on, in the dull. Sometimes, something flares up in coal strike. And that is a hopeful sign the form of a Scottsboro case, a miners' in itself.

-A PARTY MEMBER.

How Articles «Happen» to Be Written

Readers of the Daily Worker may recall that a few weeks ago an article appeared by a certain Frankfeld. one of the lesser wheelhorses in the apparatus who is now "building" the party in Chicago. In the article, there were some revoltingly venomous attacks made upon the Left Opposition, and also a building the T. U. U. L. and the N. M. little "self-criticism" in which the author very thoroughly revealed that he has made nothing but mistakes and has been flagrantly incompetent and ignorant-up to the time of writing the article. The manner in which these two sides of the article were combined, and the insane fury with which the "Trotskyists" were assailed, were good cause even then to suspect that more was rotten than appeared on the surface. Now, we receive a letter explaining it all from a thoroughly reliable Chicago correspondent: It appears that this same person, Frankfeld, appeared one evening in the party bookstore, considerably the worse for an unsuccessful bout with Mr. Capsituation? None other than Trotsky. And who is the one that can turn out none other than me, Frankfeld." This E. C. member, who later brought charges barboring a "Trotskyist" on the district committee. The charges were finally he degrade himself a few more notches. This is the task he accomplished with such skill in his Daily Worker article. He probably figures that he got off lightly.

youth notes The Question of Youth in Industry

OUR YOUTH THESIS

The August 15th issue of the Militant contained the thesis on the youth question proposed for our pre-conference discussion by the National Youth Committee we have had only one discussion article on it.

What do the other youth comrades think about the thesis? Is it adequate? Are we too modest in our proposed steps? How about the adult ocmrades? Are they frankly disinterested? or perhaps skeptical about all youth work?

Both youth and adult comrades should send critical articles on the thesis to the Militant. In this way the coming Conference will be in a better position to make plans for our activity among the young workers.

THE Y. C. L.

The Young Communist League districts the Y. C. L. to its sixth Convention which apparently served as a substitute (!) for of the young workers. a youth thesis. It makes one sick to

read this letter (Young Worker-8-31-31). Once again we hear about "'Left' and Right deviations", "failure to" do this, istics on the youth in industry, discuss that and the other thing, incorrect lead- the specific problems of the young workership, "we must", etc., etc. It is an er, narrate some of the experiences in identical repetition of the Y. C. I. letters of the last few years. The proposals are the same. For example: "The 'arm chair' system of work, the making try - its numerical strength, strategic up of unpractical bureaucratic plans of work must be done away with. At the same time it is necessary to decisively remove from the leadership those elements that have become bureaucratic and are incapable of struggling in practise for the line of the Y. C. I."! A novel suggestion indeed !-

Everyone was frightened. Some districts started "plans" without figures! The Chicago district put for itself the goal, among numerous other things, of 150 new members in the next three months. The N. E. C. criticized this as too modest. If the number is substantially increased at least one blessing will result: The members of the N. E. C. will not function in the Chicago district! Neither the Y. C. I. letter nor the Chicago district plan says as much as one word on the need of the education of the youth inside and outside the League!

Our youth comrades especially in New York and Chicago should get busy Speak to the Leaguers; organize them into study groups in Communism, youth problems, or the platform of the Left -JOS. C. Opposition.

In the front ranks of the recent economic position, today they are in the coal miners was the proletarian youth. Executive Board, the young miners were militancy, determined battles, iron-clad solidarity.

This is by no means an unusual of curence. Since the world war, practically every big struggle of the workers has found the youth playing an important and even decisive part. Witness the steel strike of 1919, the Passalo and needs: how it is to be attracted in ism; how to win it for Communism-

Such a study in order to be of real value, should begin with a statement and examination of the most recent statthe organization of the youth and summarize by stating the general tendencies of the development of youth in indus- entire working class including the youth. importance, growth or dimunition of mands of the young Communists, that is special youth problems.

A recent attempt to fulfill this need falls short of the mark. ("Youth in Industry" by Grace Hutchins, International Pamphlets.)

Most of the statistics used are taken from the 1920 census. Although having some value for one who has never looked into the question, they are of little value for those who want to answer the points raised above. That is, for the practical youth organizers of today. The author tries to overcome this difficulty by referring to the increased mechanization process, the growing speed-up and the general tendency towards the simplification and intensification of the indus trial process, which requires an increas ing employment of young, virile fresh labor power. This means the growing importance of youth in industry.

However, and this is of utmost importance, the numerical increase of the youth in industry is accompanied by a decrease of the special youth problems. Whereas formerly (and it is important young workers were primarily apprentices, and helpers, that is, had a specific growth of the Communist youth.

struggle of the Pennsylvania and Ohio overwhelming majority in the less skilled industries. Still more. In industries On the picket line, on the pit commit- such as coal, the youth formerly were bilities rest upon their shoulders. They tees, in the locals and on the General to a large extent engaged in auxiliary must understand what their duties are work-outside the mine itself; today a and what the Opposition expects from playing active and leading roles. By large section, if not a majority, (the them. The fact that they are members youth to that of the general unskilled automobile, metal as well as the coal industry mentioned above.

Youth economic demands are being restrike, New Bedford, the New York duced considerably. They arise not needle trades, Fall River, and Gastonia. from the special economic position of To understand the part that youth youth in industry, but rather from their plays in the class struggle, its problems physical and psychological characteristics. The physical and mental immaturgreater numbers to revolutionary union- ity of the young worker under 18, and especially under 16, calls for the issuthese require careful and deliberate ance of such demands as : Establishment are again making plans. This decision study. Before this is done, one can of work schools in factories; abolition was arrived at following the letter of hardly expect much organizational re- of night work; an annual four weeks sults from the spontaneous militancy vacation with pay; abolition of child labor under 14 with state support of these at present unemployed and similar

demands which may arise under specific conditions. The demand for a six-hour day with no reduction in pay, (which the Party and Y. C. Ll call a stagger sys tem when issued for all workers). is still a slogan of the young Communist League. For us, it is a demand for the The above are also the political de-

demands of the capitalist state. Added to this, is the demand for the right to vote for youth of 18 or more. They are applied as immediate industrial de mands when the concrete situation requires it. At the same time the more general demands of the workers (social

insurance, Negro equality) are propagated among the youth.

The meaning and importance of youth sections of unions is hardly mentioned while the strength of the bourgeois youth organizations are given, those of the petty bourgeois ones, which although not influential, are by no means unimportant. The Youth League for Reconciliation the Young Peoples' Socialist League etc., are not as much as mentioned. In summary, it can be said that the pamphlet has little value, either statistically, or as a substantial factual guide for youth policies and activities. It falls upon the youth of the Left Opposition to make the necessary study of the problems of youth in industry and to draw the proper tactical conclusions. The to substantiate this statistically) the sooner this task is accomplished, the greater will be the possibilities for the

and the National Committee. To date their presence and integral participa- latter has still to be determined statis of the Left Opposition implies that they tion, the strike was assured of heroic tically), of the young miners do the already understand the historic role that side work. From this we can conclude the Opposition must play in the Comthat the tendency at work is that of ro munist movement in returning it to the ducing the problem of the proletarian road of Marxism. They understand that for this is necessary the creation of Marxworker. This is seen in the textile, ism cadres. How can our young comrades mould themselves into these cadres? How can they train themselves for the big tasks which they know will confront them? The first thing they must understand is that their training for leadership in

the Communist movement is not a matter merely of personal desire but a serious obligation to the organization. All youth comrades must strive towards fitting themselves for leadership. Secondly, they must participate in the activities of the organization and in the movement

tionary knowledge.

In the past the education of our youth comrades has been left too much to chance. There is no doubt that our comrades have learned much and advanced themselves considerably in the time that they have been in the Left Opposition. The serious participation in all the activities of the Opposition largely assures this. But this is not sufficient. Better progress could be made, particularly in the sphere of theoretical knowledge, if a systematic supervision of the education of the youth comrades leadership. were introduced.

In my opinion, this function should be placed in the hands of the National Youth Committee. What would be its duties in this relation? First, it would have to protect, so to speak, the opportunities of the young comrades for edu-

cation. It must prevent that all routine work be heaped on the young comrades, so that they are left insufficient time for study. Secondly, it must elaborate an extremely comprehensive course of study.

> political and trade union life of the country. For example, during the miners'

This work must begin immediately after the National Conference.

them.

GEORGE RAY.

What IS International Youth IN THE RANKS OF THE PARTY: Day?

What is International Youth Day? The "El Obrero Del Caribe", official organ of the Carribean sub-committee of

The Startling Turnover in the Party

inseparably connected with the first cause, is the internal regime of party U., by helping the W. I. R., etc.-a sort

opened fire against the leadership of the Thirdly, it must demand regular ac-

counting from each comrade as to the progress being made. Finally, it must be responsible for furnishing all docustrike. But whatever it is, it seems that ments and books necessary in cases we are divided by something like a "no where comrades cannot afford to buy man's land" from the real currents of

the Latin American Trade Union Federa tion (affiliated to the R. I. L. U.), replies:

"The 6th of September, 1914, one month after the commencement of the war, the revolutionary socialist youth held a conference in Switzerland with the participation of Liebknecht, Russian Bolshevik representatives, and other revolutionists, who in face of the treason of the social democracy, set themselves the need of mobilizing the youth in the struggle against war and imperialism, for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Since then, this date has been dedicated by the international proletariat to the youth, having been converted into International Youth Day". (August 1, 1931).

Can one believe his eyes? Can this appear in a press edited by Communists? How can this be explained?

But wait,-let us pick up the Daily ful conclusion" in the columns of "self-Worker of September 2. In the leading criticism" in the party press, where the Day", we read:

"The anniversary of the founding of membership did not carry it out properthe Young Communist International on ly. Never do these conscienceless offiwhole revolutionary movement in neglecting the task of winning the working class youth to their own class side of the class struggle and to initiate an energetic correction of this remnant of opportunist blindness toward youth problems."!

So! In Latin America, the proletarian youth celebrate International Youth Day as an anniversary of a meeting of socialist youth on the 6th of September, 1914, in Switzerland, while the "Daily" calls upon them to demonstrate for the same holiday but as "an anniversary of the founding of the Young Communist International on September 8, 1919" in Berlin!

paragraph:

The Sharp Decline

District issued about 6.000 books. The

out in the District and not given out to

17 months." (Our emphasis.)

And such ignoramuses head the Communist movement! The most elementary knowledge of Communist youth history would suffice for one to know, that:

The conference of the socialist youth took place at Berne, Switzerland, April January 1930 to June 1, 1931. Today we 1915, while Karl Liebknecht was in prison.

At that time, the first Sunday of every September was established as International Youth Day. Why the 8th, a Tuesday, was picked this year, is hardly explainable.

The Young Communist International was founded, not on September 8, 1919, but in November 1919. After this nothing they say can sur

prise us! -JOSEPH CARTER.

One of our party comrades has sent where the bulk of its machinery, press party democracy. We have said a hun- party does not seem to be able to issue, us a copy of the bulletin issued by the and apparatus is concentrated. In the dred times and we repeat: the worker New York district of the party for a days of the "prosperity", of the "bour- does not feel at home in his own party. geoisification of the workers", the New Let him say a word of criticism directed "Three Months' Plan of Work" issued York district had some 3,000 members. at anyone but the lowest official, at any-July 1, 1931. Since the Stalinist bur-Today, in the period of "revolutioanry | thing but the least important item in eaucracy in the Russian party, after havupsurge" of "mass radicalization", of the "party line", and he will wake up ing grudgingly adopted the essential the "third period", the principal district outside the party with a feeling as if a arguments of the Left Opposition for a systematic plan in economy, and having of the party has not one serious advance ton of bricks had hit him on the head. been taken completely by surprise by the in membership to record! Worse yet: At best he will be tolerated in his unit successes of planned economy which were instead of merely having stood still and only in the uncomfortable atmosphere of totally unexpected by them, a veritable gained no members, it would appear that glaring looks from the section organizer. mania for "plans" has swept over every hundreds upon hundreds (a minimum of sneering criticism from some agit-pron 2,200) workers made their way towards flunkey with the constant threat of Conparty in the Comintern. One year plans, Communism and the Communist party trol Commission inquisitors hanging six months' plans, three months' plans, three days' plans-all of them are ad- in the last 17 months, but so radically over his head. Only the greatest devoopted, advertised hysterically, driven at wrong was "something" in the party, tion to Communism, to its principles, to fewer pitch and-having been bureau- that these 2,200 hardly remained in it its victory in the Soviet Union keeps the eratically conceived and bureaucratically long enough to pay their first months | party member inside the ranks in spite

dues. executed-they are brought to a "success-

The bulletin gives 13 "reasons" for this calmitous situation. The first one editorial entitled, "September 8-Youth appointed leaders seek to prove that the is highly significant: "1. We failed to plans was indeed a good one, only the explain to the workers who made out application cards what the Communist party is, what it stands for." How is September 8, 1919, is a fitting time to cials endeavor to make an honest effort this possible? Who were these workers sharply point out the shortcomings of the to explain to the party members why who joined the C. P. without know either they have such a miserable record to what it is or what it stands for? Where chalk up for their regime. A case in did they come from? Who fooled them point, which speaks eloquently and into signing a card about whose signifitragically about the state of affairs in cance they did not have the groggiest the party, is cotnained in "Attached Ma- notion? (We have no doubt that in the terial: Fluctuation of the Membership" course of one of the "plans", during which is appended to the bulletin refr- one of the tragi-comic burlesques misred to above. We quote the opening named "socialist competition." some of

the harassed party comrades simply picked up new "applicants" by the yard, without either party to the bargain "Since January 1, 1930, when all of knowing much about what was up and the old membership books had to be probably not caring much, either, But exchanged for new ones, the New York surely that cannot account for the membership dropping in 18 months like a number of new membership books made bullet-riddled bird. Nor can all of the other 12 "reasons"-all of them are the new members by the Sections for typical of the official's contemptible enone reason or another, amounts to six deavor to blame everything on the hundred, duplicate membership books, "ranks"-even if put together, account about 200, altogether about 800. This for the fall. means that we actually gave out 5,200

The Roots of the Evil

membership books during the period of We believe the causes lie elsewhere In the first place, it is a warning punhave in the party not more than 3,000 members. In other words, about 2,200 ishment of the party for the false pol icies of its leaders. The stifling, mechan workers left the party in the period of ical atmosphere in the party makes : healthy discussion of policies illegal for If a discount is made for bureaucratic the members. They are obviously voting figure-juggling and for passive members. "with their feet" against the wisdom of the number of 3,000 members would Browder, Foster and Co. Despondent and doubtlessly be even smaller. But assuming that there are 3,000 members in the discouraged, they seek the easiest way out district, then we are involuntarily given of the swamp of defeats, blunders, hour a crushing indictment of the whole lead- of prestige and influence into which the ership, for New York is where all the leadership's wrong course is constantly statesmen of the regime are concenttated, Pulling them. In the second place and

bureaucracy, the Stalinist translation of of a vicious article out of which the and from which it will not issue until that artificial, anti-Leninist isolation from the masses, kept up for the sake of the "third period", "social fascism". "democratic dictatorship" and the rest of the spell-binding outcries on the moon, is done away with.

strike, we heard from our unit leader-

ship that "the heroic strike of the miu-

ers against starvation must be won."

How? By throwing all our forces into

the strike, by building the N. M. U., by

helping the W. I. R. in its relief work,

by exposing the "social-fascist" Muste-

ites, socialists, etc. But when it came

to the question of how to expose them,

we heard again that we must do it by

Especially do things become bad when the top kicks of the unit try to conceal the fact of our defeat in the coal strike. When it came to the reorganization on the basis of the "three months' plan". it was still worse. There and then the bureaucratic attitude of our leadership one's principal commodity. Being usualshowed itself up. The time for the re- ly more loquacious and frank in this port on the very complicated questions state, Frankfeld proceeded to pronounce involved, was given between 15 and 29 himself as follows: "Who was right on minutes, time for questions and discus- the Chinese situation? None other than of this state of affairs. But it does not sion about 40, and all of this at the end Trotsky. Who was right on the Spanish keep all of them. The bureaucrats very of a lifeless, tiresome meeting filled with "planfully" drive thousands away as routine work, when everyone wanted to get out as soon as possible. As it was correct theses on Trotskyism? Why, The astounding, almost unbelievable stated even in the party bulletin: "The decline in the New York district-unmialow political level of the units, the mech- cynical hypocrisy aroused a League D. takably typical of what must be a worse anical discussions without any preparasituation in the less fortunately situated tions, drive away very large numbers of against the party organizer, Gebert for districts-is a signal whose warning note workers." At the next meeting, another can be ignored only by the totally deaf topic for "discussion". Perhaps the disand hopeless. The drop has occurred in trict office is working on the "three dismissed and Frankfeld was whitewasha period of favorable opportunities for months' plan", but for our unit it remains ed. But one of the conditions for the extensive growth, the like of which the Chinese, with the exception of one Chin- coat of kalsomine was, evidently, that American Communist movemnt has rareese comrade, for whom it remains Greek.

the party pursuing that they produce This and innumerable other bureaucrasuch catastrophic results? What regime tic attitudes at the top naturally give curses the party that drives thousands rise to smaller bureaucrats at the botout of it? What sort of a leadership has tom, which, again as expresed by the been inflicted upon the party which, in party bulletin for members, is "opporthe face of such "victories", does not tunist and sectarian decision of the unit come humbly to the membership and ask bureau", "bureaucratic attitude of the leadership in the unit" and so on.

> In the draft of the three months' plan of work ending July 1, a thousand and one failures were enumerated and not one real reason given except on the style of "self-criticism" with which we are we continually failing? Why do we meet with one major defeat after another? Why did we lose 2,200 members in 17 months in the New York district alone?"-are forcing themselves on those of the party members who really want to know what is wrong fundamentally and who cannot be satisfied with the hot

air of the "third period" explanations. Especially is this state of mind be-

coming evident with the resistance the ized, was none too enthusiastic. Our own bureaucrats met with in some of small group of young Opposition comthe units when they tried to give the rades who participated in the parade official explanation of our defeats in the cheered and sang heartily.

P. S. The comrades who brought the charges has subsequently been expelled from the League himself! No comment!

I. Y. D. IN NEW YORK

Almost six hundred demonstrators participated in the I. Y. D. parade held by the Young Communist League in New have had such bad experience. But it York. Of these, more than half were is easy to see that the questions: "Why adult workers. The party had called oif its various meetings in the city, and its members were told to participate in the League's demonstration. From this we can easily see that the League, which claims three hundred or more members in New York, did not succeed in mobilizing the youth against capitalist militarism and war.

> The singing and cheering of the demonstrators, which was very poorly organ-

at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

with a metal-tipped acourge.

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to be removed from office as hopelessly incompetent, which—even were it called upon to render an accounting of its stewardship-would look with contempt and amusement upon the impudent followers who presume to question the authority of the inviolable idols consecrated by Stalin himself?

ly if ever seen before. What policies is

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