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Industrial Depression Growing

Austrian Crisis and Communism

By L. D. Trotsky

The Austrian crisis is a partial manifestation of the crisis of democracy, the fundamental form of bourgeois rule. The too high tension of the international, as well as the class, struggle leads to the short circuit of dictatorship in which the safeguards of democracy are burned up one after the other. The process began at the European periphery, in the most backward countries, at the weakest links in the capitalist chain. But the process goes even further. What is called the crisis of parliamentarism is the political expression for the crisis of the entire system of bourgeois society. Democracy stands and falls with capitalism. The social democracy defends democracy which is being ruined and thereby drives social development into the blind alley of fascism.

The Strength of the Social Democracy

The great weakness of the Austrian bourgeoisie after the war and the revolution, combined with the economic and political dependence of Austria, became the most important sources for the strength of the Austrian social democracy. While the Austrian social democracy fulfilled its office of savior and consolidator of the bourgeois regime, it had the opportunity, in its agitation, to repel either the national or the foreign bourgeoisie (English and American). In the first period of the stabilization of the bourgeois regime after the revolution, the social democracy was the direct agent of foreign capital. This permitted it not only to throw the responsibility for all evil upon the national bourgeoisie, but it could also adopt—at least, in appearances—a more independent, a more critical position towards this bourgeoisie than was accessible to the social democracy in other countries, not even excluding Germany. The further the consolidation of the bourgeois regime progressed, the more frequently did the social democracy accuse the national bourgeoisie that it merely executed the commands of Anglo-Saxon capital. For the workers, however, it kept one argument ready, which excused the inviolability of private property: "Naturally, we would be able to finish off with our bourgeoisie, but it isn't a question of them, but of the bourgeoisie of England and America."

The bourgeois parties of Austria lost their distinctiveness all the more easily because they were compelled to hang on the lips of the Anglo-Saxon host. The social democracy, in essence, played the same role, but it is compelled to come forward as an Opposition to the bloc of the bourgeois parties, because it bases itself upon the workers. This "Opposition" alone permits it to save the bourgeoisie. We see similar processes and phenomena in Germany too. They have contributed in an extraordinary manner to the self-preservation of the German social democracy. But since the German bourgeoisie is much stronger and more independent, the German social democracy had to make agreements with it more plainly and openly, and assume the direct responsibility for it before the working masses. This circumstance created great possibilities of development for the German Communist Party.

Austria is a small body with a big head. The capital city is in the hands of the social democracy, which has, however, less than half the votes in the national parliament (43 percent). This unstable

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Hundreds Killed by Marines in Haiti

NEW YORK—Not five but hundreds of Haitians were killed in the uprising of Haitian peasants at Aux Cayes recently, states the Amsterdam News, Harlem Negro weekly on the authority of a letter smuggled out of Haiti to Capt. N. P. Marshall, head of the Save Haiti League. The writer of the letter said he did not dare sign his name for fear of reprisals from the marine-controlled Haitian government.

"Hundreds of Haitian peasants", reads the letter, "who were coming into Aux Cayes to protest, without arms, simply with their usual small canes, against the way alcohol, tobacco and coffee are taxed, have been slaughtered. Women and children were killed. Officially they acknowledge 12 dead and 40 wounded but there are hundreds."

Illinois Miners Urgently Need Relief

After having encountered the gun-point terrorism of the operators' thugs and the state militia during the strike, the Illinois miners who responded to the call of the National Miners Union are being met with a vicious blacklisting campaign by the operators, calculated to drive the militants in the field either to starvation or out of the mining territory.

The men who went on strike include some of the most courageous fighters in the mining industry and to have them driven out of the field would involve a great setback for the progressive and Left wing movement and leave the workers exposed to the machinations of the Lewis and Fishwick machines and their employers the coal operators. The workers who fought so militantly and who ready to fight with even greater sacrifices deserve the support of the whole labor movement. The operators are not only trying to starve

Lost Fliers and Hoover Refuse 6-Hour Day

WASHINGTON—Why the Hoover administration failed, during five weeks of bitter winter weather, that followed its knowledge that two American fliers were lost on the ice of Arctic Siberia, to ask the Soviet government for help in rescuing them, is the central mystery in this grim story which the explorer Stefansson has brought into the light of publicity.

When at last a telegram from Stefansson to Secretary of the Interior Wilbur drove Wilbur to ask the Moscow Foreign Office for help, the fliers had been down on the ice seven weeks, and their original food supply was enough for only eight weeks. Temperatures of 70 below zero Fahrenheit are recorded in that region in December.

Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, attorney for the Airways Transport Co., employers of the fliers, appealed to Hoover, Borah, Wilbur and to Boris E. Skvirsky, unofficial representative in Washington for the Soviet government. Wilbur's request that Soviet ice-breakers be sent to rescue the fliers was sent to Moscow through Skvirsky. Borah cabled Foreign Secretary Litvinov direct.

Did non-recognition alone cause the Washington administration to stand inactive until the fliers had but one week's food supply left—with one chance in a hundred of their early rescue?

The obscure pages of the capitalist press are giving part of the picture of growing industrial decline in the United States which all the optimistic declarations by "experts", printed on the front pages, cannot conceal. As the weeks go by since the colossal stock market collapse, it becomes all the clearer that the blow at the industrial and financial structure of American capitalism was neither accidental nor just an episode.

The far-reaching significance of the growing industrial decline in the country for the working class, which is the one most bitterly affected, may be gathered from the figures just made public by the spokesman for American big business, the New York Times (12-29-1929):

"Iron and steel operations are at a low ebb. The ratio is now the lowest of the year and for the industry as a whole will not top the fifty percent fig-

ure. . . . Merchandise shipments, as measured by car loadings figures, are slower, emphasizing the let-down which has occurred generally. . . . Business generally is quiet as the year ends, especially in manufacturing and wholesale and jobbing lines. New purchasing is characterized by cautiousness and the disposition to buy only for immediate requirements. . . . Of the ninety-four lines of business in New York City reporting to Bradstreet's last week, five were better than, fifty equal to, and thirty-four below a year ago. No lines report collections better than a year ago, forty-six were equal to a year ago and forty-eight were below a year ago."

From the New England area, Times reports that textile mill operations are "still subnormal", with shoe production pretty light. "Building operations continue the smallest of the year." The Chicago district reports the steel output down to 55 percent for the area, with new business "light". Philadelphia reports the market for building materials, including timber, to be slow, with dwelling house construction out of sight. In the Ohio territory, iron and steel operations are down to about 50 percent, with prices reduced to the lowest level in more than a year. St. Louis acknowledges that "practically all industrial plants have reduced production and cut forces, which has aggravated the employment situation." With little change the same downward movement exists throughout the country.

The sharp slow-down in American industry is already having a telling effect on the working class. That unemployment is on the increase, is obvious. The employers are attempting as usual, to get out from under their difficulties by laying off as many men as possible and speeding up those who are left to the highest possible peak. A period of the most severe intensifying of labor "efficiency" and "rationalization"—at the expense of the workers' health and lives—has set in on a nation-wide scale. Bitter struggles of the workers against wage cuts, speed-up and unemployment are scheduled for the coming year in defense against the hammerblows of the bosses. Unless the labor movement begins immediately an intense and widespread drive to organize the millions of unorganized workers in the basic industries of the country, unless a break is made conclusively with the suicidal policy of collaborating with the capitalist class and a policy of militant combat substituted for it, the workers of the United States will face the coming struggles with a minimum of preparedness as against the maximum of determined ruthlessness, consolidated organization and governmental assistance that the bosses have at their command.

Exports Increase

What is especially significant about the present industrial situation in the country, is the increase of foreign exports. The National Chamber of Commerce has just announced that the American exports for the first 9 months of this year were more than 8 percent larger than for the corresponding period in 1928. This indicates with doubled emphasis that the home market of the U.S. has narrowed considerably, because industrial production has declined in spite of the increase in exports. It indicates further that the United States will make every effort to escape the consequences of its crisis by exerting the harshest possible pressure on its competitors in the world market.

The crisis in the United States, irrespective of its duration or depth, is a reflection of and at the same time an impetus to the crisis in world capitalism

CONCEDE CLEVELAND UNEMPLOYMENT

CLEVELAND-(FP)—The open shop American Plan Assn., basing its report on employment in member firms, states that 54,000 were on the payroll in 231 Cleveland plants in November, compared with 51,000 in November, 1928. The report admits however that unemployment is greater this year than last, many workers having come to Cleveland from Detroit and other cities where unemployment is bad.

HOOVER PROSPERITY

RALEIGH, N. C.—The Associated Charities has 142 "cases" on its hands this winter against 84 last winter. The greatest need is for fuel, for which the Charities has no money, because the Community Chest has had to cut its budget.

French Aim Blow at U. S.

Raise Tariff on American Autos

A stiff blow at American automobile competition in France is being contemplated by the French government in a project to be submitted to the parliament for the increase on tariff duties on foreign automobile and parts. While the raising of the tariff is formally directed against all foreign auto imports, it is the real aim of the project to strike at the United States, which does practically all of the importing in this field.

The extent to which the foreign market in France would be cut down for American automobile and parts manufacturers is indicated by the fact that the estimates made of American cars and trucks sold in France in 1919 runs to about \$32,000,000—with about two-thirds of the cars being Fords.

Plan High Auto Tariff

The French project covers two laws, which American capitalists expect to drive them clear out of the market. The first would raise the duty on parts for assembly and replacement to three times the previous rates, or 125 percent of the sales value of the product. The second measure would raise the duty on complete cars from the present 45 per cent ad valorem to about 90 percent. It is said that the Ford plant, for instance, which is the only one assembling cars, would have its parts subjected to such a high duty as to make further operation at a profit virtually impossible.

American sales in France do not form a very large part of the total automobile sales, but what alarms the French is the fact that the share of the U. S. is steadily on the increase. The market equilibrium of any of the capitalist countries is so delicately "adjusted" nowadays that any larger increase of America's share in the French trade would undoubtedly have a serious effect upon the domestic industry, where the French bourgeoisie is priding itself upon the relative lack of unemployment. It is both the fear of losing a larger portion of its own market in France, and the radical consequences of increased unemployment in the country, that impels the French to attempt this severe blow to the American master.

That the American automobile interests will not stand by silently while this attack is consummated is quite apparent. Already the State Department and the Department of Commerce of the U. S. have received urgent appeals from the automobile manufacturers to "do something" about the French project. A difficulty, from the American capitalist view, arises at this point because the French have drawn the drafts of the laws so cleverly that formally there is no direct discrimination planned against the U. S., since the laws are to cover "all" foreign imports, although it is quite obvious that Italian and British auto trade being insignificant in France, the bills are in reality intended against the U. S.

U. S. Will Fight Back

Nevertheless there is every certainty that the American government, true to its role of faithful servitor to capitalist interests, will exert the heaviest pressure to prevent the project from becoming French law. Its passage would be an especially hard blow at the American producers because of the severe depression in which the industry is now found in the U. S. Thousands of workers are laid off every month; plants are either being shut down entirely or working part time; the prospects for the coming year are very poor and greater decline is freely predicted by practically everyone. The main hope of the American auto manufacturer does not lie in the maintenance of the domestic market, and certainly not in its increase in the coming period. That is universally acknowledged. Their hopes for the maintenance of production even at a moderate pace are pinned mainly on exports, not only to the Orient and in America, but also to Europe.

The growing resistance of European manufacturers, the persistent talk among them of a cartel or alliance to ward off the massive movements of the Americans, the steps being taken against U. S. competition all along the line and now mani-

festated in the planned acts of France—all these indicate that the export hopes of the Detroit industrial kings are not in such a cheerful position as they pretend. It also indicates that their promises to the auto workers that increased exports will mean a renewed wave of employment, are not founded on very substantial grounds.

These factors indicate that the most anxious resistance to the French project will be made by the American interests. If the French are under the impression that they will put through their plan without meeting the hardest opposition from the

U. S., they will very quickly be disillusioned. The U. S. imperialists have more powerful and ruthless means of pressure at their command than mere diplomatic notes.

And the olive branches of peace that the god-fearing statesmen of the world have been handing to each other with so much publicity, what about them? They disappear, as always do all pacifist fantasies, in the living realities of the mad, cut-throat rush for profits, territory, spheres of influence, colonies, markets which is the foundation of modern imperialism.

Another Haymarket Cop Dead

By T. P. LEWIS

CHICAGO—Twice in 43 years Pat Nash made the first page. The first time was in 1886. He was one of the Haymarket cops. The papers marked him for special attention in those days of heroic policemen because bits of the Haymarket bomb wounded him.

The second time was Monday. Someone noticed the lights in Pat's squalid attic room on West Monroe St. burning in the afternoon. This time the papers intoned a half column paean of glory to the hero and grew sad at the thought that a noble defender of Chicago's good name should have died of want and inattention.

Boss Press Upholds Tradition

For the press of Chicago never misses a chance to call back to mind the march of 180 cops against what it invariably describes as a mob of 2,000 anarchists on May 4, 1886. There is never mention of the fact that this "mob" was a mass meeting of union men protesting against the murder of four strikers by police the previous day at the McCormick Reaper works.

SUPPRESS MOONEY REPORT

Young Hid Evidence Hound Trotsky's Kin

SAN LUIS OBISPO, Cal.—(FP)—Murphy McHenry, San Luis Obispo editor, in an open letter to Governor Young, quotes Charles Whitmore, once Young's secretary and now state building and loan commissioner, as saying: "I don't understand why Gov. Young doesn't act in the Mooney case. Mooney deserves to be pardoned and I told him (Young) so." McHenry says in his letter that Young turned the case over to that he would make his decision from Whitmore's findings. Whitmore reported that Mooney and Billings were innocent, but the governor took no action. Young denies that this is so.

Both the state supreme court and the advisory pardon board are working on the two cases, but there is no probability of a decision in the near future. Both bodies are preparing for a long set of hearings, and are going over the whole transcript of testimony, which Young has had in his hands for several years before he passed the buck to the board and the court. Meanwhile Mooney spent Christmas working as a waiter in the guards' mess hall at San Quentin, and Billings spent his, not in his former healthful job of gardener to the warden of Folsom, but at work in the prison laundry.

FORD'S TREATMENT OF LABOR

Henry Ford, who says he likes older workers but whose Detroit plants throw them out without compunction, comes in for criticism from Sec. A. Epstein, of the American Assn for Old Age Security. Calling attention to Ford's recent utterances concerning the value of skill and steadiness of the older workers, Epstein points out that the U. S. labor department recently published a study showing Ford plants to be more ruthless in drawing the deadline against men over 40 than any other firm studied.

SWEDISH WORKERS PROTEST BARBARIY IN CAROLINA

NEW YORK—(FP)—Informed of the course of "justice" in North Carolina which is sending labor men to the penitentiary and white-washing the slayers of strike leaders 500 workers meeting at Holmstad near Gothenburg, Sweden have sent resolutions of protest to Gov. O. Max Gardner of North Carolina. A collection netting 30 crowns, is being forwarded for strikers defense.

The press of Chicago has a tradition to uphold. It was largely by means of this press that the bosses of Chicago were able to whip up hysteria of sufficient magnitude to permit the legal lynching of Albert Parsons and his five comrades on November 11, 1887. So whenever a Haymarket cop dies, there is always a front page story.

But however often these stories appear, the labor movement of Chicago will continue to believe what it has believed since 1886: The bomb that killed Patrolman M.J. Degan was thrown by a police spy. That the object of throwing this bomb was to give excuse for destroying a mass movement for the 8-hour day and assassinating its leaders.

The workers of Chicago feel deep bitterness for a press that utilizes the passing of these cops to recall the Haymarket as an episode in which the forces of law and order triumphed over a murderous and irresponsible mob—and perhaps also, to remind the labor movement of the terrorism the master class is capable of unleashing if another occasion requires it.

STALINIST REPRESSION

At the same time that he announces—once more—the final liquidation of Trotskyism, Stalin is redoubling the brutality towards the supporters of the Russian Opposition who do not capitulate.

News that we have just received from deportees inform us that the health of our comrade Rakovsky is seriously shaken. His heart especially is in a bad way and there is hardly any possibility of treating it at Barnaul, where he was recently exiled.

The repression is extended even to the children of Oppositionists. A month ago, the daughter of comrade Trotsky, who lives in Moscow, was suddenly imprisoned. She remained in prison a few days, then she was set at provisional liberty, under surveillance, so that she might take care of her three children. But then her husband was arrested... on the pretext of putting him through an examination: since then there has been no news. The agents of Stalin know full well that he is so seriously ill that any political activity on his part is impossible. They want to crush us Opposition at any cost for they are quite well aware that it is not liquidated. But their efforts will be in vain.

SAN FRANCISCO—(FP)—Wallace D. Fogan, 55, was "too old to work". His money was gone. He turned on the gas in his two-room apartment, and when his wife came home she found his dead body and a note which began: "Dear Lottie: Please forgive me. I am leaving you all my money—13 cents and 6 cents in stamps." With this fortune Mrs Fogan must now face the world.

Open Forum of the New York Communist League

The coming semi-monthly Open Forum lectures announced by the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) include the following speakers and topics:

James P. Cannon, on "Gastonia and Marion", a comparison of the two historic labor struggles of the past year in the Southern textile fields and their significance to the Left wing. To be held Saturday, January 11.

Martin Abern, on "The Left Wing and the Labor Unions" a discussion of this much-disputed question from the point of view of the Communist Opposition. To be

Mellon's Pa. Domain Rises

Workers Squeezed for Profits

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL

PITTSBURGH—(FP)—Control of this city by the Mellons' millions is soon to be visualized by another great shaft of steel and stone in the downtown section. The new Gulf Refining Co. building is to rise 37 stories above the street opposite the magnificent new Koppers Bldg., home of the "General Electric and Coal." Both Gulf Refining and Koppers are Mellon concerns, typifying their progress toward supremacy in the control of coal properties and a rapidly shaping monopoly of manufactured gas.

The symbolic domination of Pittsburgh by the castles of the mighty Mellons is every day matched by their actual march onward to unchallenged control of the industrial area of western Pennsylvania, with its wealth of unmined coal and huge steel mills. Dairy combines, chain store extensions and fuel monopoly are sidelines in the Mellons' financial sway. These latter ventures are financed through bond issues which free Mellon capital for further expansion while leaving actual control in the power-greedy hands of this grand ducal family.

Workers Make His Wealth

Gulf Refining Co. station workers, when they look at the new Mellon skyscraper downtown, will have cause to think of their contribution to their employers' wealth. They get only \$75 a month, while Mellon truck drivers average \$90, or half the union scale.

Station managers had their day lengthened by one of those interesting devices used alternately to cajole and coerce them. At a periodic "experience" meeting they were asked if they didn't think that "any manager who was truly interested in his station would stay on the job during the day's rush hour." All present agreed readily, whereupon it was announced that the rush hour was between 5 and 6. The managers' workday ends at 5.

Mellon Advances in New York

NEW YORK—Clever evasion of the New York state law preventing a holding company from acquiring more than 10% interest in a public utility corporation is noted in the current *Annalist* in recording the gobbling up of Brooklyn Union Gas by the Koppers-Mellon interests of Pittsburgh. The Mellon firm, which is fast becoming a gas monopoly in the east, organized 10 separate holding companies to acquire 100% of the Brooklyn gas company's stock.

These dummy companies are named Aden, Burma, Canton, Dover, Etna, Farley, Gorham, Hector, Irving and Java and according to Mellon's high-priced experts, cannot be challenged under the New York law, the purpose of which was to "prevent" a holding company controlling a public utility.

The Koppers monopoly is acquiring holdings in the Consolidated Gas Co., the gas and electric monopoly of Manhattan.

THE UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW

"As a token of friendship M. Karachan (Soviet ambassador to Turkey) presented to President Mustapha Kemal two valuable paintings."

—New York Times, 12-29-1929

held Saturday, January 25.

Max Shachtman, on "Can Capitalism Disarm?", in which the results of the London Naval Conference will be dealt with and the standpoints of Communism and pacifism in the question contrasted. To be held Saturday, February 8.

Speakers for subsequent meetings will include S. M. Rose, Joseph Friedman, James Russell, and others. The Open Forum meetings begin at 8 p. m., are held at the Militant Hall, 25 Third Avenue, Room 4, (near 8th Street), and admission is free. All workers are cordially invited. Questions and discussion follow all lectures.

Naval Bases and Imperialism

The Struggle for Position at the Coming Conference in London

By Albert Glotzer

The five power naval conference to be held January in London is another chapter in war preparations. The conference will present a picture of spectacular jockeying for advantageous positions and for further maneuvers in alignment of forces.

The world map today offers a sectionally divided picture. By agreement, the imperialist powers have designated the rights of possession among themselves to the extent that no part of the globe, with the exception of the Soviet Union, is free from capitalist domination. The last arrangement in division of territory was made following the last war and the defeat of the Central powers. But what appeared to world capitalism then as a "fair" distribution of the spoils, has today become obsolete in view of the decisive economic changes that have taken place in post war capitalism.

The New Economic Center of Gravity

The outstanding change in world economy is the transference of the economic center of gravity from Europe under the hegemony of England, to the United States. At the same time all facts point to the decline of England, American capitalism, contrary to its pre-war position, when it maintained itself primarily on the basis of the home market, has its roots sunk in the soil of world economy. It dominates the European market, has penetrated into Asia, South America, etc., and in this way brought about the sharpest antagonisms between itself and the other powers.

America is pressing England ruthlessly. Any alliance between them can only mean the further domination of the U.S. The struggle for markets and a redistribution of colonial possessions and "spheres of influence" is driving headlong to war. This is especially clear in the pre-conference discussions and negotiations. While these changed economic conditions force the United States to lock horns with its outstanding competitor, England, they equally force her into sharpest antagonism with France, Japan and other imperialists. The contraction of the world market is forcing its solution through war. It is the only way that capitalism solves its contradictions.

The pre-conference atmosphere is an extremely bitter one. The preliminary discussions between the U.S. and England are looked upon with disfavor by the other powers. Japan, France and Italy reject the ratios of naval armaments laid down by these two countries. If there are to be ratios, they too demand an equal voice. Open talk of war is on the order of the day. John Steele in the Chicago Tribune of December 20, speaks of England as "our enemy". Every power assumes a most bellicose attitude, backing it with threats to one another.

The Conflict in Ratios

The matter of ratios in armaments will appear to be the main issue at London. This alleged issue of difference is indicative of the nature of the conference. The ratio of 5-5-3 as agreed upon by the U.S. and England is disputed by the other three participants. Japan asks for an increase in the ratio to 10-7-7. France demands a naval strength of 800,000 tons. Italy calls for parity with France, with the added statement that she is willing to concede this point if France will in return allow her concessions in Northern Africa.

The issue of parity and ratios, if accepted at face value, can mean nothing. What is important for the unmasking of the London fraud is the more cogent question of actual war preparations. It is necessary to remind the working class that the parity agreements are not parities based upon a decrease in armaments and the ratios of strength, but are on the contrary parities and ratios based upon increased building and further expenditures for war. The establishment of parity or ratios between the imperialists is a meaningless cloak to mislead the workers into false security. Agreements between these robbers are less than worthless. The whole history of capitalist diplomacy shows this. London will be the scene where the gauging of each others strength will be attempted, where the more concrete steps for war can be taken, and from where a barrage of pacifism will be laid under the direction of reformism and social democracy.

The possession of naval bases will play a tremendous role in the coming conflict of the seas. They serve as an intermediary point for supplies, refueling and ammunition. An examination of these naval bases

of the three leading powers, England, U.S. and Japan will shed light not only upon the strength and role of these bases, but will at the same time give a picture of the areas of conflict. It will be seen too, that naval bases exist where the interests of the imperialists are the greatest, and as such serve also as a center of military operations against colonial uprisings.

England's Naval Bases

Taking England first, her twenty-six bases form an almost complete circle around the globe. Beginning at Wei-hai-wei, on the East coast of China, directly opposite Japan, starts the first of a long arc of bases. Following along the coast Southward lies Hong-Kong, Singapore and Rangoon on the South marks the complete arc around China. From there a continuous path is cut around the whole of Southern Asia (in the main, India) beginning at Trincomales, to Colombo, and Bombay. The bases then proceed thru the straits separating Africa from Asia, at Aden, Port Port Sudan, Suez, Port Said, Malta and Gibraltar. The bases then proceed thru the straits separating Africa from Asia, at Aden, Port Port Sudan, Suez, Port Said, Malta and Gibraltar. The bases then proceed thru the straits separating Africa from Asia, at Aden, Port Port Sudan, Suez, Port Said, Malta and Gibraltar. Here we find a long line of naval bases stretching from the East coast of China, encircling the Southern coast of Asia, passing thru the straits, making not only a border of Africa, but also the Near East and Europe.

Africa is similarly circumscribed. Aden, Port Sudan, Suez, Port Said, Malta and Gibraltar on the North, Freetown, and St. Helena, on the west, Simontown at the South Cape and Port Louis off the East Coast. In this hemisphere are located seventeen of England's total of twenty six bases, since it is here that her possessions are the most numerous and the antagonisms the greatest.

Central and South America mark the second decisive section of imperialist exploitation. Here as well as in Asia, England and American interests clash most violently. In this section, England's bases begin at Halifax on the East coast of Canada, continue to Bermuda, East of the United States thence to Kingston and Port Castries in the Caribbean Sea. Port Stanley, East of the Southern end of South America marks the fifth base forming one line along the Atlantic coast of North and South America. The remaining four bases are in the Pacific. Esquimalt on the West coast of Canada, King George and Sydney in Australia, and Auckland in New Zealand, complete them.

The seven bases of the United States are concentrated in the Central America and Pacific territories. On the map they present an almost straight line. Located in the Caribbean are two, one at Guantanamo Bay and the other at the Virgin Isles. Number three is located at the Panama Canal, which is of vast importance, since the canal serves as a gateway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, rendering transference of forces relatively less difficult. The remaining four bases are in the Pacific beginning at Pearl Harbor, proceeding westward to Samoa, Guam and the Philippines.

Japan's six bases lie off the coast of China at Ryoyun, Elko, Chingka, Futamiko, Amami-o-shima and Bako. They are all definitely in the area of China, the main seat of Japan's interest.

England's Favored Position

From the above it appears that England is in a favored military position. There is no question but that the possession of so overwhelmingly a number of bases are a positive advantage over the supposedly greater fighting force of the U.S. But this is not the most decisive question. The bases indicate the areas of conflict, the centers of the greatest competition, but do not necessarily mean that the possession of a majority of them is the overwhelming factor.

The most decisive factor in the event of war is the resources of the various contenders. Increased building and expenditures presents a problem to all of the powers with the exception of the United States. Her resources place her in a most favored position. This is indisputable. While France demands her share of extended naval construction she is at the same time in favor of a let-up because of lack of resources. Likewise Japan, and England feel the difficulties. America alone can continue with a steady building program and will maintain this position. In addition no other country has its industries so completely

organized on a war basis as the U. S. Particularly the two most essential industries to war, steel and chemical, are ready at a moment's notice to prepare for war production.

New Methods of Sea Struggle

Another factor of importance which is also a point of difference is the type of warfare and methods to be employed. It is apparent that the old methods of ship versus ship struggle is giving way to undersea and air methods. This will call for faster ships and more effective guns. It will mean increased airplane carrier building and likewise submarine construction. In addition the fact the expense in the building of huge battleships is a tremendous one, plus their decreasing effectiveness, will lead an attempt to reduce their role in war. This reveals the whole MacDonald program of battleship reduction as hypocrisy.

But these questions are not the most important ones for us. At this stage the crucial problem is that war is on the horizon. The bloodbath is being planned, one that will far exceed the last war in brutality and slaughter. London is a preface to it. "Disarmament" and "peace" discussions, headed by pacifists and "socialists" are gestures made only to lull the international working class into a false sense of security. The time is ripe for struggle against the threat of war, with which capitalism is always pregnant. To arouse the international working class, to organize it to defeat the imperialist war with the weapon of proletarian revolution that is the task of the Communists.

A Proposed Party Questionnaire

"The first four pages of pages of every Moscow newspaper today are wholly devoted to Stalin. There is column after column of tribute to 'the peerless warrior of Communism', 'the closest comrade and follower of Lenin', 'the iron Leninist', 'socialism's victorious chief'... In the critical period there is little doubt that Stalin's support won the day for Lenin... Stalin reorganized the Red staff and suppressed the counter-revolution with characteristic vigor... Stalin did not oppose the NEP—he never opposed Lenin, etc., etc."

—Comrade Walter Duranty, in the New York Times of comrade Adolph Ochs, 12-22-1929.

In view of all this startling information, all of which, we confess, we were not aware of up till now (we even admit that we thought the contrary was true), we suggest that the following catechism be given to all workers who desire to join the official Communist Party. If the worker gives the old style, pre-third period reply (hereinafter printed in parentheses), he should be immediately denounced as a renegade and expelled from the party even before he is admitted. If he makes the correct, i. e., third-period-new-style reply, he should be admitted with honors and put on the most convenient district committee. We herewith submit a few of the questions and answers (both styles):

Question 1: Who founded the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia (Bolsheviks)? Answer: (Lenin). Stalin.

Question 2: Who led the overthrow of the czar and a little later, of Kerensky? Answer: (Lenin and Trotsky). Stalin.

Question 3: Who negotiated with von Kuehlmann and General Hoffman at Brest-Litovsk? Answer: (Joffe and Trotsky). Stalin.

Question 4: Who organized the Red Army? Answer: (Trotsky). Stalin.

Question 5: Who led it to victory and suppressed the counter-revolution? Answer: (Trotsky). Stalin.

Question 6: Who founded the Communist International and led it? Answer: (Lenin and Trotsky). Stalin.

Question 7: Who was Lenin's closest collaborator? Answer: (Trotsky). Stalin.

Question 8: Whom did Lenin call the ablest man on the Central Committee? Answer: (Trotsky). Stalin.

Question 9: Whom did Lenin propose, in his "Testament", to remove from the position of Party secretary? Answer: (Stalin). Trotsky.

Question 10: Whom did Lenin denounce as disloyal, rude, unreliable, etc., etc., etc.?

No Work in San Antonio

Labor Warned to Stay Clear

By ESTHER LOWELL

SAN ANTONIO, Texas-(FP)—Warnings to workers who read San Antonio's page advertisements in northern papers that jobs are scarce in the winter resort city are being broadcast. Sec. Wm. L. Hoefgen of the Central Trades Council first sent out the signal to all unionists. Now the U. S. employment Service, Dept. of Labor, reiterates it, telling workers not to go to any part of Texas before communicating with the service on the availability of jobs.

San Antonio has been following the well-trod pattern made by Los Angeles' high pressure advertising in newspapers, magazines and by radio to lure tourists. The labor surplus inevitably brought to the city by such a campaign is then used to beat down wages which the local unionists have labored hard to raise.

Strangers to Rock Pile

Two union delegates have appealed to Mayor Chambers to give city employment to more workers who are nearly destitute. Over 200, mostly local men, have been put into park and street cleaning service. A good many strangers have been arrested as "vags" and sent to the rock-pile to work off \$50 fines!

Already the Salvation Army reports its quarters overflowing with jobless. There are only 40 beds in the army hall and twice as many men crowd in at night to use chairs and floor. The admission charge on the second night bars most from repeating at the hall, but newcomers are always ready to take their turn, so great is the number of unemployed. "Coffee-and" is given each lodger at breakfast and an average of 36 other meals a day served to those who otherwise would starve. The men work an hour apiece for meals, but there is not enough work to give all a chance. Salvationists had over 200 applications for Christmas baskets 10 days before the holiday and reported donations considerably under other years.

Similar failure to reach its holiday charity goal was reported by the Empty Stocking group which furnishes food and clothing and renovated playthings to the poor. The organization was barely able to get half its modest \$1,500 budget! The Rotarians this year abandoned their previous practice of giving gifts to poor children from the municipal Christmas Tree.

☐

MERRY CHRISTMAS

Starvation in North Carolina

RALEIGH, N. C. (FP)—The Raleigh News and Observer publishes this story of North Carolina destitution:

"WENDELL, N. C.—Wendell recently had a most vivid and pitiful example of the actual want, verging on starvation, which the farm situation in this section has made only too common.

"A gaunt, ill-clad couple, man and wife, with their little girl and boy trudging painfully down the splendid concrete highway pulling a boy's wagon loaded with all they had left in the world, all except the boy's dog, which not even grim want could force the father to take from his son, though there must have been little enough food for that extra mouth. Pitifully little on the wagon—a clock, a picture, clothing, Christmas and birthday gifts of happier days—nothing of any value and all that was left after half a lifetime of hard work."

Answer: (Stalin). Trotsky.

Question 11: Who opposed Lenin on the national question, on the union with Tseretelli, on the monopoly of foreign trade, etc., etc.? Answer: (Stalin). Trotsky.

Question 12: Who led the French revolution? Answer: (Robespierre and Danton). Stalin.

Question 13: Who led the Crusades against the pagan? Answer: (Richard the Lion-Hearted). Stalin.

Question 14: Who built the pyramids of Egypt? Answer: (Cheops and Rameses). Stalin.

Question 15: Who built Noah's Ark? Answer: (Noah, Ham, Shem and Jephthah). Stalin.

Question 16: Who ate the apple? Answer: (Adam). Stalin.

Any comrade can think up lots more of these questions

The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition

Continued from Last Issue

By L. D. Trotsky

That the present-day Martinovs conceal themselves in the shreds of Bolshevik quotations of the year 1905, the quotations with which Stalin, Kamenev, Rykov and others covered themselves in 1917 against Lenin, is a masquerade that can deceive only idiots or illiterates*. The Comintern, under the leadership of Martinov-Bucharin-Stalin, carried on in China with a furious howling against the permanent revolution. That is now the fundamental question for the countries of the East, and consequently also one of the essential questions for the West. Has comrade Urbahns an opinion in this question? No, he has none. He hides behind separate words, or what is worse yet, behind Radek's article, which he prints "at all events".

Thermidor or Party Rehearsal of Thermidor?

If things are in a bad way with comrade Urbahns with regard to the Chinese revolution, they are still worse, if that were possible, with regard to the Russian revolution. I mean primarily the question of the Thermidor and therefore also the question of the class character of the Soviet state. The formula of Thermidor, like every historical analogy, is naturally a conditional one. When I employed* this formula for the first time against Zinoviev-Stalin, I immediately emphasized that it was conditional. Nevertheless it is entirely legitimate, in spite of the difference between the epochs and the class structures. Thermidor signals the first victorious stage of the counter-revolution, that is, the direct passage of power from one class to another, which is necessarily accompanied by civil war; but it remains concealed politically by the fact that the struggle is conducted between fractions of a yesterday still united party. In France, Thermidor was preceded by a period of reaction which developed while the Plebeians, the lowest section of the city, still held the power in their hands. The Thermidor completed this process of preparation of the reaction by a political catastrophe, in the course of which the plebeians lost the power. In this way, Thermidor does not signify a period of reaction in general, that is, of ebb, of running off the rails, of the weakening of the revolutionary positions, but it has a much more precise significance: it indicates the direct transfer of power from one class to another, after which the revolutionary class reconquers power in no other way than an armed uprising. For the latter, again a new revolutionary situation is necessary, the appearance of which depends upon complicated internal and international uses.

In 1923, the Marxist Opposition already established the beginning of a new chapter in the revolution, a chapter of ideological and political recession which, in respective, could signify the Thermidor. It is then that we employed the word for the first time. Had the revolution triumphed in Germany at the end of 1923—which was entirely possible—the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia would have been purified and consolidated without internal convulsions. But the German revolution ended with one of the most frightful capitulations in the history of the working class. The defeat of the German revolution gave a powerful impetus to all the processes of reaction in the Soviet republic. Thence the struggle in the Party against the "permanent revolution" and against "Trotskyism", the creation of the theory of socialism in a single country, etc. The ultra-Leftists in Germany did not understand this turn of events. With one hand they supported the reaction, in the Russian Communist Party, with the other they carried on a formally aggressive policy in Germany, ignoring the defeat of the German revolution and the beginning

*Martinov was for twenty years long (1903-23) the principal theoretician of Menshevism. He joined the Bolshevik Party, when Lenin was already ill and the campaign against Trotskyism had begun. In 1923, Martinov accused the October revolution prior to the N.E.P. of Trotskyism. Now he is the principal theoretician of the Comintern. He remains what he was. But he covers his old, fundamental line with quotations from Lenin. For the selection and forging of such quotations there exist several factories.

of its recession. Like the Centrists in the R. C. P., the ultra-Leftists in Germany (Maslow, Fischer, Urbahns) concealed their erroneous policy behind the struggle against "Trotskyism" which they represented as "liquidationism", just because they considered the revolutionary situation not behind them but ahead of them. In this case, "Trotskyism" was called the ability to estimate the situation correctly distinguishing the periods. Be it said in passing that it would be very useful if Urbahns had finally drawn the theoretical balance of this whole struggle, for it is precisely this struggle that deadened the minds of the German workers and prepared the victory of the idealless officials, adventurers and careerists.

The false "ultra-Left" course of 1924-25 still further weakened the positions of the European proletariat and thereby accelerated the reactionary down-sliding in the Soviet republic. The expulsion of the Opposition from the Party, the arrests, the deportations were only further stages in this process. They marked an ever greater weakening of the party and consequently also declining power of resistance of the proletariat in the Soviet republic. Nevertheless, it did not by far signify that the counter-revolutionary coup d'Etat had already been accomplished, that is, that power had passed from the hands of the proletariat into the hands of another class.

The fact that the Soviet proletariat was unable to prevent the organizational destruction of the Opposition was naturally a very alarming symptom. On the other hand, however, Stalin was compelled, simultaneous with the crushing of the Left Opposition, to commit plagiarisms from its Platform in every field, to direct the fire to the Right and to transform the inner-party maneuver into a sharp and prolonged zig-zag to the Left. In spite of everything this shows what powers of pressure the proletariat still possesses and how dependent upon it is the state apparatus. The Russian Opposition must continue to base its policy upon this fundamental fact, a policy which is one of reform and not of revolution.

Even before the organizational crushing of the Opposition, we said and wrote repeatedly that after the Left is cut off, the Right wing would present its bill to Stalin. The elements that supported Stalin in the struggle against us would exert a pressure with redoubled force as soon as the Left barriers were let down. That is just what we predicted. We formulated it as follows: "The Thermidorian tail will strike a blow at the Centrist head." This has already happened and will still be repeated. I do not mean Bucharin-Tomsky here, but the deep-going Thermidorian forces of which the Rights in the party are only the pale shadows.

In spite of the organizational demolition of the Opposition and the weakening of the proletariat, the pressure of its class interests together with the pressure of the ideas of the Opposition proved themselves sufficiently powerful to compel the Centrist apparatus to make a prolonged zig-zag that created the political pre-conditions for the latest capitulations. The composition of the capitulators is naturally very varied, but the leading role is played by those who formerly imagined the process of down-sliding as proceeding in a straight line and were prepared, at every new stage, to proclaim: Thermidor is completed. The Zinovievist, Sefarov, on the eve of our expulsion from the party, cried out, first in Berlin and then in Moscow: "It is five minutes to twelve!" that is, five minutes before Thermidor. Five minutes ticked off and Sefarov capitulated. Radek, before Sefarov, intended, on the occasion of Zinoviev's and my expulsion from the Central Committee, to proclaim that Thermidor was here. I tried to show him that this was only the Party rehearsal of Thermidor, perhaps not even the general rehearsal, at any rate it was not the Thermidor, that is, not the counter-revolutionary overthrow accomplished by the classes. Since 1926, Smilga was of the opinion that the then policy of Stalin-Bucharin ("enrich yourselves", the Anglo-Russian Committee) the Kuo Min Tang led only in one direction, to the Right, that the October revolution had exhausted its internal resources and that aid could come only from the outside, something upon which he based no hopes at all. He wrote theses on this theme. The possibility of a break between the Centrists and the Right, and of a swing

of the Centrists towards the Left under the pressure of the internal forces, was entirely absent in his calculations. On the question of the Thermidor and two parties, Radek and Smilga represented the extreme "Left" position in the Opposition. And that is why events took them by surprise and why they capitulated so easily.

These brief particulars should make it clear to the reader that Urbahns' question as to whether "Trotsky goes far enough in the question of Thermidor" or "does not go far enough" (Urbahns' formulation), contains nothing new: we discussed this whole group of questions long ago and revised them at every new stage.

On May 26, 1928, I wrote from Alma-Ata to the exiled comrade Michail Okoudjava, one of the old Georgian Bolsheviks: "In so far as the new course of Stalin sets itself tasks, he undoubtedly endeavors to approach our position. In politics, however, what is decisive is not only the what but also the how and the who. The fundamental struggles that will decide the fate of the revolution are still before us. . . We were always of the opinion and we have said more than once that the process of political odwsliding of the leading faction could not be envisaged as a constantly descending curve. Even the down-sliding does not take place in a vacuum but in a class society with profound internal friction. The masses of the party are not a unit, rather they form, for the most part, the raw material of politics. Under the pressure of class blows from the Right and from the Left, processes of differentiation are inevitable. The grave events of the recent period in party history, whose consequences we suffer, are only the overture to the further development of events. Just as the overture of an opera anticipates the musical theme of the whole opera and gives a condensed expression of it, so our political "overtures" have anticipated the melodies that must develop to their full extent in the future, to the accompaniment of trumpets, double-basses, drums and other instruments of serious class music. The development of events confirms with unmistakable certainty the fact that we were correct not only as against the turncoats and weather vanes of the type of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Platakov, etc., but also against our dear friends of the "Left", the ultra-Left muddle-heads, insofar as they are inclined to take the overture for the opera itself, that is to assume that the fundamental processes in the Party and the state are already at an end, and the Thermidor, which they heard about for the first time from us, is an accomplished fact. . ."

Comrade Urbahns, does this not hit the nail on the head?

Urbahns' Mistake in the Question of Thermidor

The source of a whole series of false conclusions of comrade Urbahns lies in the fact that he considers Thermidor an accomplished fact. It is true that he does not draw all the conclusions from this, but the few that he has already drawn, in the event that they were definitely affirmed, are enough to ruin the cause of the Leninbund.

In an article devoted to my expulsion from the U. S. S. R., *Die Fahne des Kommunismus* wrote that the "Stalinist domination can no longer be considered the representative of the working class and must therefore be fought by all means." (February 1, 1929). The expulsion of Trotsky from the country was made equivalent in this article, to the guillotining of Robespierre and his companions. In other words, Thermidor was declared to be an accomplished fact. Were this declaration dictated only by the heat of the moment, it would not be worth while dwelling upon it. The political struggle is inconceivable without exaggerations, isolated mistakes in perspective, etc. What must be considered is not the details, but the basic line. Unfortunately, the leadership of the Leninbund persistently attempts to transform the mistake into a basic line. Volkswille of February 11 prints a resolution on the situation in Russia in connection with my expulsion. The resolution says plainly: "That is the Thermidor" (*Das ist der Thermidor*) and the Stalinist regime for all liberties, so that it may find itself at the top in the approaching conflicts with the open counter-revolution." The editorial of *Volkswille* of February 13 says that "with the expulsion of Trotsky the final balance is drawn under the revolution of 1917." It is not astonishing that Urbahns, having adopted such a position, is ever more frequently obliged to declare that he is not "one hundred percent" in agreement with the Russian Opposition because it "does not go far enough". Alas! Urbahns himself continues to go far . . . along the road of his original mistake.

Out of a very important analogy with Thermidor in the class sense, Urbahns (like Radek) has made a formal, and partially personal analogy. Radek said: The expulsion of the Opposition from the Central Committee is equivalent to the elimination of the Robespierist group from the government. The guillotine or exile to Alma-Ata is only a question of technique. Urbahns says: The smashing of the Opposition and the expulsion of Trotsky is equivalent to the guillotining of the group of Robespierre. The broad historical analogy is replaced here by an arbitrary and cheap comparison of a personal and episodic character.

The Russian revolution of the twentieth century is immeasurably broader and deeper than the French revolution of the eighteenth century. The revolutionary class on which the October revolution bases itself is infinitely larger, more homogeneous, more compact and more resolute than the plebeians of the French cities. The leadership of the October revolution, in all its currents, is more experienced and penetrating than the leading groups of the French revolution were or could be. Finally, the political, economic, social and cultural changes that the Bolshevik dictatorship has accomplished are incomparably profounder than the changes that the Jacobins made. If it was impossible to tear power from the hands of the plebeians without a civil war, although they were weakened by the growth of class antagonisms and the bureaucratization of the Jacobins—the Thermidor was a civil war in which the sans-culottes suffered defeat—how then can it be assumed or believed that power can pass from the Russian proletariat to the bourgeoisie in a peaceful, tranquil, imperceptible, bureaucratic manner? Such a conception of Thermidor is nothing but an inverted reformism.

The means of production that formerly belonged to the capitalists are today still in the hands of the Soviet state. The land is nationalized. The exploiting elements are still excluded from the Soviets and the army. The monopoly of foreign trade still exists for protection against the economic intervention of capitalism. These are not small matters. Still more: By the power of its attack, the Opposition has compelled the Centrists to deliver blows against the Thermidorian class forces and the expression of their tendencies in the Party—even if they were not mortal blows and naturally not decisive ones. One must not close his eyes to this. In general, the policy of the ostrich is a bad policy.

The Stalinist zig-zag to the Left is just as little a "final balance" under the Thermidorian danger as the expulsion of the Oppositionists was the "final balance" drawn under the October revolution. The struggle goes on, the classes have not yet spoken their final word. Centrism remains. Bolsheviks must remain Bolsheviks. Capitulators merit only contempt. And the ultra-Left muddleheads must be called to order.

On May 1, 1928, *Arbeiterstimme*, organ of the Austrian Communist Opposition (comrade Frey's group), developed the following thoughts in an article entitled "In Spite of Stalin Soviet Russia is a Proletarian State":

"There are political questions that act as infallible touchstones. For the Left Communist Oppositions, which appear today in all possible groupings and shadings, there is also such a touchstone: the question of the proletarian character of Soviet Russia. . . There are Left Communist Opposition elements who, indignant at the policy of Stalin in all its forms, throw out the baby with the bath. In certain minds, for example, the idea is beginning to take form that should the policy of Stalin persist, then Soviet Russia will be transformed in a purely evolutionary manner into a bourgeois state. . . All the degeneration in Soviet Russia is the result of the undermining work with which the bourgeoisie is occupied with in which it is seconded, objectively speaking, by the Stalinist course. In this manner, the bourgeoisie seeks to prepare the overthrow of the

Throughout the World of Labor

The Leninbund on the Wrong Road

The misfortune of the Leninbund consists in the fact that it wants to play the role of an independent party when in reality it is only a weak faction. I do not doubt for a instant that if you persist in the present way, you will lead the organization to a catastrophe in a few months.

—Letter of comrade Trotsky to the leadership of the Leninbund, October 13, 1929.

Eighteen months ago the Leninbund received 40,000 workers' votes in Prussia, 8,374 of them in Berlin alone. During these eighteen months it has not been able to consolidate the positions gained, extend its influence into new fields and thus strengthen its ranks. For some time, comrades have tried to demonstrate that the absence of a clear political line, the perpetual floating between Korsch and Brandler could have nothing but disastrous consequences for the Leninbund. The facts have justified their predictions. At the last municipal elections, the Leninbund lost more than half the votes it had in 1928. In Berlin, where its paper, Volkswille, appears, it fell from 8,374 votes to 3,784.

The comrades of the minority asked that lists of candidates should not be presented everywhere, on principle—which would be the act of a second party—but that we should limit ourselves to presenting them only in those places where we have a strong position and where we represent the party in the mind of the masses. That is the case at Neulissenburg, for example, where we were not only able to get all the Communist votes, but even to carry four mandates from the social democrats. That is a real success. Unfortunately, at other points in the Reich, the act of presenting candidates served the social democracy and thereby discredited communism in the eyes of the masses.

The presentation of independent tickets at all costs and on principle was serious enough, but the methods employed in the electoral campaign were often such as could only make the Leninbund ridiculous. One of the members of the national committee did not hesitate to issue a leaflet which is a model of opportunism and could be claimed by any sort of social democrat at all.

These are the manifestations of an extremely grave nature, which must engage the attention of all the members of the Leninbund if they wish to hold back their organization from the dangerous declivity down which it is slipping.

The masses still have reformist illusions that must be taken into account. It is precisely a question of carrying out a policy which in the hard daily struggle, leads the masses by means of their own experience to the limits of democracy and proves to them practically that only the over-stepping of bourgeois democracy by revolutionary action can really improve their situation.

Instead of undertaking this serious and fruitful work, it is imagined that these illusions can be destroyed by decrees and hollow phrases which are based on no concrete experience. That is how the working

Soviet power. But to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship, really to seize power for itself—this can be done by the bourgeoisie only by a violent overthrow . . . We are fighting the Stalinist course. But Soviet Russia is something else than Stalin. In spite of all the degeneration which we fight and will continue to fight most resolutely, so long as the class-conscious workers are armed, Soviet Russia is a proletarian state to us, which we defend unreservedly in our own interests, in peace as in war, in spite of Stalin and in order to defeat Stalin, who is incapable of defending it with his policy. Whoever is not absolutely firm in the question of the proletarian character of Soviet Russia, hurts the proletariat, hurts the revolution, hurts the Left Communist Opposition."

This formulation is theoretically entirely irrefragable. Comrade Urbahn would have done better to reprint it in the organ of the Leninbund than to publish Korschist and semi-Korschist articles.

Continued in Next Issue

class is left without direction in the decisive moments and lives without being capable of drawing any profit from events, as was the case in Germany in October, 1923, at the last First of May, and as is the case at present in Austria.

On November 30, the congress of the revolutionary elements who form the trade union opposition, was held in Berlin. The representatives of the opposition existing in a certain number of trade unions, those of the red factory councils, and those of the unemployed, assembled to deliberate on the organization of a vast front of defense against the offensive of capital.

The reformists are attacking this congress ferociously, and particularly the Communist Party of Germany which they denounce, as "the organizer of the trade union split". But all the revolutionary workers will support this initiative, for the congress can give a new and powerful impetus to the exploited masses on the condition, it is understood, that it is conscious of its tasks, that it appreciates correctly the situation in Germany and that it elaborates a program of revolutionary struggle capable of drawing the workers together and assuring their defense.

It is to be feared, unfortunately, that the German Communist Party is failing once more in its role and does not know how to give effective aid to the assembled delegates. On the eve of the congress it had done nothing, studied nothing and prepared nothing serious.

What will it bring to the congress in order to group together the millions of German proletarians into a powerful front of defense? Everything indicates that it will seek to cover the absence of a maturely considered policy by the customary petty methods concerning organization exclusively: they will speak of creating new committees! And they will repeat the mistakes that have so often been committed. What account will the central committee of the German Communist Party take of the systematic splitting offensive of the reformists? Continue to allow itself to be isolated until there is no longer a single Communist left in the trade unions? Until the reformists will have succeeded, without even having to fight, in demoralizing the millions of trade union workers?

And how does the party think of acting practically in order to lead the enormous mass of unemployed workers into the struggle, so as to avoid that misery does not discourage them and throw them into the arms of fascism? It is hardly permitted to hope that the present leadership will show itself capable of tackling these problems seriously.

Finally, it is inconceivable that the Leninbund, which wants to be and should be the organization of the Communist advance guard, has not yet taken a position towards this congress, that it makes no efforts to send delegates to it, and does not occupy itself with problems that it has to solve.

Berlin, November 29, 1929.

—KURT LANDAU

The Betrayal in Austria

On Saturday, the national council made the constitution reform that gives dictatorial powers to Chancellor Schober a law after an eight-hour session.

Since noon today the Austrian parliament has been meeting under a strong police guard in order to push through the fascist constitutional bill in all three readings at once. Since firm agreements have been made on all important points between the government and the social democrats, the adoption of the bill is assured.

About nine in the evening, the second reading was ended. The bill was adopted in the draft of the sub-committee. Various amendments, including social democratic ones, were rejected. The third reading begins about 10 o'clock. The last vote is still expected today.

The reporter on the bill was Schuschnigg, the Tyrolean Christian-socialist supporter of the Heimwehr leader Steidle. After him spoke Schober, who announced the extension of the constitutional reform, and thereby joined in with the proclamations of the Heimwehr and bourgeoisie press that the present bill should only be an installment, the first stage.

Schober declared, among other things, that he thanks (!) the parliament for the great work (!) it accomplished so swiftly.

The "popular movement conducted by the Heimwehr" must now recognize the constitution after the change, and there is already a "plainly visible pacification", so that the hope exists that Austria can finally proceed upon the upward grade. "Much good" was attained through the conversations with the opposition (!) Now it is necessary to fill the changed constitution "with real life".

On the unity with the social democracy, Schober declared that the government did not surrender a single point of its program and the "Opposition" participated much more positively in the completion of the work on the constitution (!)

The social democratic deputy Eisner declared that his party had voted for the constitutional bill "in order not to keep the parliament from the more important questions of Austrian economy." (!)

The whole region around the parliament is occupied by a strong police reserve. A large number of fascists with sticks and blackjacks has marched up to the support of the police. In spite of this, a few hundred revolutionary workers succeeded in penetrating the parliament on the steps of which a speaker was arrested after a few words by a large number of policemen.

Protest demonstrations also took place in the provinces. A protest meeting in front of the Rohrbach spinning mill, near the industrial center of Neunkirchen in Lower Austria was violently dispersed by the gendarmes.

The Austrian social democrats have brought their treason to a crowning point. In a "legal" way, they have put the fascist dictatorship in the saddle; they are delivering the Austrian proletariat to fascism.

The revolutionary crisis in Austria is by no means "solved" by the vote in the national council. Fascism, which has temporarily found a cover under the Schober constitution, is determined to go the whole way. It will not shrink from civil war and terror.

Various bourgeois papers are emphasizing the provisional character of this "constitutional reform." The Austro-Marxists are not doing the slightest thing to organize the defense front of the proletariat. The difficult task of organizing the masses for the counter-offensive against the further plans of the Austrian reaction lies before the Communist Party of Austria.

Vienna, December 8, 1929.

In France: A la Americaine

A l'Americaine is the slogan of the Tardieu bourgeoisie. It has launched its good fellow like a new moving picture is launched, with the most modern methods of commercial advertising. All over the front pages of the newspapers, in shop fronts, across the screen of passing events is displayed the optimistic smile of Tardieu, succeeding the surly countenance of Poincare. Big posters on all the walls of Paris vaunt the merits of the new product and rail at the unhappy rivalry of Daladier and company. The citizen standardized by advertising has let the new popular heroes be imposed upon him like Cadum soap. Scientific methods are being tested for manufacturing popularity. A l'Americaine, the new government is making interchangeable parts, without worrying about the old party labels, which put the old, outmoded and slow machines on the scrapheap in order to set the traditional political parties in motion. Tardieu is beating the speed record in establishing his government. He does not spare expense to get a better and quicker yield. He takes men from here, from there, from the Right and the Left, in the largest possible number in order to satisfy the largest possible amount of appetites and to assure himself of the largest clientele.

The old political parties of democracy are indignant at these new methods of competition which disarm and beat them on a ground that isn't their own, like the petty tradesmen protests against the methods of big stores. This ministry of confusion, composed of anomalous and unprincipled personages, is gravely denounced. It is gravely demonstrated that it cannot last because it violates the traditional rules of the game of the parties in a democracy. It is predicted that the unprincipled ministry will not last, that it will succumb to the joint assault of the Right, discontented with the foreign policy, and the Left, dis-

contented with the domestic policy, and then they will see how they deluded themselves.

The success of Tardieu is stirring up a fever of political Americanism. The Right wing of the Socialist Party has not borne the torment of Tantalus inflicted upon it for many weeks in order to lead it to the final deception—it also hoists the banner of political rationalization inside the Party, of autonomy for the parliamentary group, of the revision of the statutes, of the struggle of the young against the old. Like Tardieu speaks to the "country" above the heads of the deputies, it threatens to speak to the voters over the heads of the militants and the regularly constituted organs. The struggle between the Right and the Left in the S. P. appears more and more as the struggle between the modernizers and the mossbacks. While the Left remains attached to the old revolutionary forms, devoid of all content, which petrify and demobilize it into a grandiloquent dogmatism, the Right wants to arm itself with the methods of the most modern political technique so as to make its way along the new pathways of the bankers' democracy.

With American methods, American results. Prosperity! Tardieu cries after Hoover. Optimism is on the order of the day. After the period of the 'san kine, the period of the fat; after the days of penitence, great merriment. The economy of the speculator succeeds that of the father of the family. New days, new people. The countenance of Poincare, draped in "the old honesty of a republican in the days of the empire", watching at the bedside of his sick mother, the bourgeoisie, and his little franc, has given way to the broad smile of the cynical and corrupted Tardieu, the man of N'Goko Sangha and Homs Bagdad, who is leading the dance of the five billions and the reduction of taxes. Poincare and the other republicans are in the discard, Tardieu triumphs with the methods of efficiency. And the political parties beaten in the competition, like the radical party and the socialist party, raise a loud outcry by accusing him of having stolen their program. But Tardieu moves fast and well. . . This proves only one thing: all the bourgeois political parties (including the S. P.) are in accord on the general policy to be carried out. Their estimations of the kind of merchandise fit to pour upon the political market, converge for the moment but they are more or less well stocked up for the competition and all of them have let themselves be outdone by the "unprincipled" crew of Tardieu.

This fever of Americanism, of rationalization and of efficiency in every field, is not peculiar to France. It reaches right into the U. S. S. R. where the International Press Correspondence informs us of the manufacture in series of young "Soviet Americans" (sic!). And that is normal, inasmuch as American capitalism is the firmest, the best equipped with the most modern methods. But wait! The moment that Tardieu chooses to tire our ears with his standardized screechings about prosperity, is the same time that the colossal crash in New York bares the underside of this renowned prosperity. We learn of the formidable inflation of credit that lay at its base and which, all of a sudden, gives way, reducing it to its real and doubtless respectable proportions. The electoral myth of Hoover gives way before the reality of the crisis that they sought to hold back. It is the law of the capitalist regime that all prosperity is unstable. By the American reality can be judged the value of Tardieu's American myths!

In the language of the coarse mountebank, Tardieu promises prosperity precisely at the moment when events make the very possibility of this prosperity questionable, at the moment when the Bourse, in spite of the flattery and encouragement of power, is seriously weakening.

To be sure, French capitalism no longer suffers from post-war agonies; it lives and grows. But the harbingers of the international crisis which it will have to undergo are already apparent. The workers must take cognizance of them and gather together their forces. No decade will pass before Tardieu's prosperity shows its real face: the furious efforts of capitalism to assure a stable rule, which allow of nothing, ruins everything, and which the workers will batter down.

PIERRE NAVILLE
Paris, November 1929

The Austrian Crisis and Communism

Continued from Page 1
equilibrium, which is maintained thanks only to the conservative-conciliatory policy of the social democracy, extraordinarily facilitates the position of the Austro-Marxism. What it does in the Vienna city council is enough to distinguish it from the bourgeois parties in the eyes of the workers. And what it does not do—that is, the most important things—it can always put to the responsibility of the bourgeois parties. While Austro-Marxism exposes the bourgeoisie in articles and speeches, it very skillfully utilizes, as we have already said the international dependence of Austria in order to prevent the workers from rising against class enemy. "In Vienna we are strong, but in the country we are still weak. Besides we have a master over us. We must retain our positions within the democracy and—wait." That is what the most important idea of Austro-Marxist policy looks like. All this made it possible up to now for Austro-Marxism to play the role of the "Left" wing in the Second International and to retain all its positions against the Communist Party, which continues to heap mistake upon mistake.

An Important Instrument of Capitalism

The Austrian social democracy helped the Entente make an end of the Hungarian revolution, helped its bourgeoisie to issue from the post-war crisis, and created a democratic asylum for unstable private property. Thus, it was the most important instrument for the domination of the bourgeoisie over the working class.

But this instrument is an independent organization, with an independent, numerous bureaucracy and a labor aristocracy which has its own interests and its own pretensions. This bureaucracy, flesh of the flesh of the petty bourgeoisie, bases itself, according to its ideas, manners and customs upon the working class and constantly fears its dissatisfaction. This circumstance is the main source of friction and conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the social democracy, that is, between the master and the servant.

No matter how tightly the Austrian social democracy has enmeshed the working class in its net of political, trade union municipal, cultural and sport institutions, it is nevertheless plain—and the July 1927 days showed this especially clearly—that the reformists-pacifist methods alone do

not give the bourgeoisie the necessary guarantees.

What has been said explains the social functions of Austrian fascism. It is the second servant of the bourgeoisie, distinguishable from the first and standing opposed to it. The lower ranks of the social democracy are impelled forward by a proletarian instinct, even if a falsified one. The lower ranks of fascism feed upon the hopelessness of the petty bourgeoisie and declassed elements, in whom Austria is so rich. The leaders of the social democracy weigh down upon the class instinct of the proletariat with the aid of the slogans and institutions of democracy. The leaders of fascism show the despair of the rotting petty bourgeoisie a way out in the perspective of a saving overthrow, after which the "Marxists" will no longer be able to hinder the good headway of agriculture, of handwork and trade.

Fascism, Bolshevism and Social Democracy

We thus have in Austria the classic refutation of the philistine theory that fascism is born out of revolutionary Bolshevism. Fascism begins to play an all the bigger role in a country, the more plainly, the more revolting and intolerable becomes the contradiction between the policy of the masses, and the unpostponable requirement of historical development. In Austria, as everywhere else, fascism appears as the necessary supplement to the social democracy, feeds upon it and comes to power with its aid.

Fascism is the legitimate son of the formal democracy of the epoch of collapse. The principles of democracy are carried through in Austria, with special crassness, to absurdity. The social democracy lacks a few percent for a majority. It can however be said—and that is no paradox, but the naked truth—that the political stubbornness of the Austrian social democracy is based not upon the 43 percent of the votes it has, but upon the 7 percent which it lacks for a majority. The foundations of capitalism would remain inviolable were the Austrian social democracy to conquer the majority. But such a conquest is by no means guaranteed. It is idiosyncrasy to believe that all questions will be settled by propaganda.

If one proceeds from the premise that the life of Austria will continue to develop within the limits of democracy, then one can absolutely not believe that in the course

of the next 25 to 50 years the Austrian social democracy will positively attain a majority. The economic life of all capitalist Europe stands before a great danger coming from the United States and other oversea countries. The economic decline of Austria, which is inevitable with a perspective of peaceful development, would sooner bring a loss of votes to the social democracy than a gain. Consequently, according to the logic of democracy, in spite of the fact that a further domination of the bourgeoisie dooms the nation to decay and cultural decline, in spite of the readiness of the overwhelming mass of the proletariat—this backbone of the nation—to take a step towards socialism,—this step cannot be taken because a few percent of the voters, the darkest, the most backward, the most depraved, stand aside from the struggle, vegetate in the dark, and are ready at the decisive moment to

give their votes and fists to fascism.

Democracy has reached absurdity. In the epoch of the organic and planned development of capitalism, which was combined with a systematic class differentiation of the country, democracy played a historical role, including that of the education of the proletariat. Its greatest role it played in Europe. But in the epoch of imperialism, which primarily in Europe, is the epoch of decaying capitalism, democracy has landed in a blind alley. That is why we see in Austria, where the constitution invented by the social democracy, where the social democracy occupies a big place, holds the capital city, and where, consequently, we should be seeing the democratic forms of the transition from democracy to socialism in the most perfect manner—we see in reality that politics is regulated on one side by attacking bands of fascists and on the other by retreating troops of half-armed social democratic workers, and as the orchestral director of the democracy there comes forward an old police agent of the Hapsburg school!

To Be Continued

What Now?

The Bolshevik Opposition and the C. P. S. U.

By the Editors of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition

Continued From Last Issue . . .

The Question of Unity

To the proposal of the Opposition to reestablish the unity of the party upon Leninist bases, Yaroslavsky slavishly repeats the reply that the social democrats make to the Communists when the latter attempt to establish the united front of struggle against the bourgeoisie. The leaders of the social democracy, we know, invariably affirm that the Communists do not desire the united front, their aim being, on the contrary, the division of the working class, and that in proposing a united front they are doing nothing but deceiving the working masses. In order to do this, the social democrats do not refer to confiscated (and distorted) personal letters, but to the articles and speeches of the leaders of Communism. The indignation of the social democrats feeds in this case on the knowledge of its impotence in the struggle. The Communists, know, however, that we cannot and do not want to struggle against the bourgeoisie,—why do they offer us the united front? You are deceiving the masses!!!—No, reply the Communists, it is you who, by passing yourselves off as fighters, deceive the masses and we are unmasking you before them. If you do not want to be unmasked, prepare to fight!

It is by representing the faction of Stalin as the guardian of the unity of the party that Yaroslavsky deceives the party. Not only the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but all the parties of the International are divided into three parts. All the organizers and directors of the Comintern in the epoch of Lenin have been removed, and, in overwhelming numbers excluded from the party. The prestige of world Communism continues to fall: he who says the contrary deceives the party. The five year industrial plan, the statistical draft for economic development—that does not settle the question. The party is the historical and fundamental arm of the proletariat. In its present state, with its present orientation of principle, its present regime and direction the party cannot succeed in its task.

In the Soviet Republic, the facade of the government apparatus, heritage of the October revolution, conceals the real situation of the party. This concealment does not exist in capitalist countries. International Communism is suffering losses all along the line and continues to fall back. And without a well-directed International, no five year plan will lead to socialism.

Under these conditions, the Opposition has once attempted to reestablish unity of the party. Naturally, we never doubted for a minute that this attempt would be repulsed. Now it has happened. The reply is given. The light necessary for those who needed it is given. Many Oppositionists who signed Rakovsky's declaration will still separate themselves from their fundamental nucleus. Let them go their way! For this fundamental nucleus has been able, in these last months, to recover completely from the stab in the back from those who capitulated. The effect of this blow, for the moment, was inordinately strong because of the isolation of the Oppositionists. The worse moment was in June-July. Therefore, it is not for nothing that Yaroslavsky is obliged to quote the June

letter. The editorial board of the Bulletin is now receiving dozens of letters indicating that the crisis of the Opposition is overcome. The reply of Yaroslavsky emphasizes a whole period. The Left Centrists who, out of necessity were a part of the Opposition up to the split of the Center-Right bloc, withdrew from it when official Centrism turn to the Right. That is in the nature of things.

The Leninist opposition closes its ranks again. We must regroup ourselves on a national as well as an international scale. Towards the U.S.S.R. and the C.P. S.U., as towards the International, our method remains as before the method of reforms. But we are not ready to fight for these reforms within the limits of legality which, in the struggle for their preservation, Stalin and his Yaroslavsky constantly narrow down. We esteem it necessary to double our efforts to organize the Bolshevik-Leninists as a faction within Communism, to publish systematically the Bulletin of the Opposition, to introduce it into the U.S.S.R., and to distribute it normally among the vanguard workers of the Soviet Republic. We call upon those who think as we do to determine to help us in this cause.

The Pot of Gold for Unemployed

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

DETROIT-(FP)—While members of the mayor's committee on unemployment confess they can do nothing with the problem and a local poster company is putting up posters to the effect that "Business is good; Keep it good! Nothing can get ahead of the U. S." the Volunteers of America has this to say:

THE POT OF GOLD!

A local manufacturer announces the placing of thousands of workmen on his payroll. Papers print a pleasing picture of prosperity. Everywhere the story is repeated. With extra enthusiastic exaggerations each time.

Debt-ridden, destitute, despairing husbands in hundreds of hamlets read the story with a ray of returning hope. Pitiful, personal belongings hastily heaped into a bundle. A wedding ring . . . a few last little luxuries pawned to pay the fare.

Hurry up, hurry on, to Detroit. That's where happiness is to be had. We long looked for Pot of Gold has been located! Its in Detroit. . . don't the papers say so?

The arrival; and then the slow sodden sinking in of the terrible truth. "They ain't takin' on men. . . just now!" . . . So there's another destitute, down and out family here. Another hopeless husband. Another weary, work-worn woman with children hanging hungrily to the hem of darning dress.

Despair. . . and a final, piteous plea for help from the Volunteers of America. Is it any wonder we NEED and ASK you to help us handle our terrifying task. . . you to help us handle our terrifying tasks?

Larger numbers of class conscious rebels are looking to

the weekly Militant as their organ of expression. Free from futile bombast, exaggeration, falsehood and hysteria, the Militant aims to give its working class readers the news of the class struggle in this country and throughout the world, based always on facts and illuminated by a Marxist analysis.

To be without the Militant every week is to lose contact with the greatest problems of the labor and revolutionary movement. The articles by Leon Trotsky alone demand and deserve the serious study of every worker. You can make sure of getting the paper every week, and independent of casual visits to the news-stands by becoming a subscriber.

For a short period we are offering a combination of a yearly subscription to the Militant and a copy of Leon Trotsky's brilliant analysis "The Draft Program of the Comintern", together for \$2.00. The blank below is for your convenience. Fill it out and mail it with your check, money order or cash.

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Convention of the Textile Workers Union

The delegates who gathered at Paterson to attend the second convention of the National Textile Workers Union had an enormous problem before them: the problem of organizing the hundreds of thousands of textile workers in the U. S., who are among the most miserably paid and unorganized in the country into the trade union movement. The extent to which this problem was tackled correctly is a reflection of the state of affairs both in the left wing movement in general and the labor movement as a whole.

Of the approximately one million textile workers in this country, only an insignificant handful are organized in the trade union movement. Those that are unionized, are divided in rival organizations, which at one time reached the number of sixteen but are now down to three important ones: the National Textile Workers Union, the Left wing organization under the influence and control of the Communist Party, the United Textile Workers Union, the A.F. of L. conservative organization, and the mildly progressive independent Associated Silk Workers. None of them has more than a few thousand members.

The Problem of the South

A big handicap in the work of organizing these largely unskilled workers is the fact that a large share of the industry is located in the reactionary South, with a working class that was only recently agricultural in customs and ideas, which has had practically no experience in struggles, and which, in its general outlook and as a general rule is far behind the northern workers.

Add to these conditions the fact that the textile barons are extremely powerful and arrogant that they never have had to work with unions as a recognized factor, that they resist the most modest proposals of their workers with a feudal ruthlessness and terror, and some conception of the hugeness of the problem can be gained.

But since the power of the capitalist class as a factor by itself, never been the only reason for the lack of organization, the causes must be sought elsewhere. One of them is the division of the labor movement itself. And that also, is as much or more an effect than a cause. Independent textile unions—outside the A. F. of L.—have arisen in the past because of the criminally neglectful policy of the well-fed bureaucrats, who have done as much and more for the textile barons as the government, its armies and police have done. Their role has been to prevent militant action by the workers wherever possible. And when it becomes impossible for them any longer to restrain the pressure of the workers, they have joined with and led strikes only to direct them into harmless channels, that is, harmless to the textile bosses.

The National Textile Workers Union was not born out of any academic decision to oppose the A. F. of L. union, but out of live and bitter struggles, out of the Passaic strike, out of the New Bedford strike, and out of the increasing need and desire to organize the hundreds of thousands of slaves in the industry.

That the N. T. W. had the wisdom, the foresight, the militancy and policy of struggle that were and are lacking in the leadership of the old unions is evident from even its brief period of history. It is inconceivable that the Wm. Greens or Wolls or McMahons should ever have the initiative or desire to plunge into the dangerous, vast field of the South, or conduct such a strike as Gastonia, or show even the most pallid resemblance to the spirit of battle, self-sacrifice, courage shown by the N.T.W. union members and leaders in spite of all the errors they made. Nor can one imagine a convention of the McMahon controlled union to resemble the convention of the N. T. W. U.

A Workers Convention

The tendency so profoundly developed of late among the Stalinist "leadership" of the Communist Party, to hold fake, inflated conventions was reduced to a minimum in Paterson. The delegates represented workers and were themselves workers from the mills of New England and the new-born South of the working class. The Southern delegates in particular most of not all of them new recruits in the movement were the liveliest section of the convention and discussed the problems of the union with a confidence that does not promise well for the Southern bourgeois.

In fact, so prominently a place did these Southern non-Communist and non-

that they frequently took the C. P. fraction by surprise, so that hectic, anxious meetings of the fraction had to be held so as to push "the party face" more assertively to the fore in the sessions. Nevertheless, the activity of these workers is a healthy sign in two senses: it bodes well for their development as active, independent fighters in the class struggle and is a lively refutation of the new Stalinist theory that no trade union can make a step forward unless it is hugged in a mechanical, artificial, stifling embrace by the Communist Party. This is all the more true because these workers are not at all animated by any anti-Communist or anti-Communist Party motives.

Another step forward marked by the convention was the improvement of its directing staff. The chaotic conditions existing up to now in the national office of the Textile Workers' Union constantly worsened by the petty battles of the Lovestoneites and Fosterites, were partially alleviated. Unfortunately, there are far from adequate assurances that the new central office force will function as properly as the situation requires. The mediocre people who were put into the "office staff" were not chosen for their abilities as much as they were for their readiness to rubberstamp any decision made by the present party leadership.

The Stalinists were so frightened by their previous experiences with Weisbord, Dawson, Keller and others that they calculated upon avoiding any future "deviations from the line" by installing a hand-made, hand-picked committee distinguished by nothing except a vast capacity for obedience and an even drabness of ability. Worse yet, there is not a single non-party worker on the staff, although any number of them might have been chosen, much to the profit of the organization and its proper working, as compared to some of those who were selected by the party.

Shortcomings of Conference

Another, and more serious shortcoming of the conference, was the program of work and policy it adopted. The main resolution on the situation and tasks of the union was drawn in the style, tone and content of the political resolution at a Communist Party convention. There is no question of a technical distinction here, but of the documentary reflection of the position taken by the party for the creation of simon-pure Communist unions which result in the final analysis to narrowing down these organizations to party members and their sympathizers. Whoever fails to draw these lessons from the decline of the Left wing needle trade unions under that policy is riding for a fall in the textile union as well.

The main problem before the union—the organization of the textile workers into a militant class union—was not properly dealt with in the convention or the resolution. To read the latter, one would never imagine that it was adopted by a body incorporating approximately five to six thousand members out of about a million workers in the industry.

What the resolution particularly failed to consider adequately was the coming campaign of the A. F. of L. in the South. For analysis, it substituted denunciation. While all the attacks made upon the A. F. of L. bureaucracy are justified a thousand times over, it is insufficient simply to declare that "we must carry on a continual campaign of exposure and open struggle" against it. The fact remains that the bulk of the Southern textile workers do not yet distinguish between the militant Left wing unions and the reactionary A. F. of L. unions. To assert the contrary is self-deception and nothing else.

The workers learn to separate friend from foe by experience in the struggle and not by decree or thesis. The American workers particularly will yet go through a thousand betrayals and defeats before they take the path of revolutionary struggle. The task of the Communists and the Left wing is to hasten this process by exposing the labor lieutenants of capitalism in the very heat of the struggle, by diminishing and trying to eliminate the experiences of defeat and treason by guiding and teaching the workers while they are fighting.

In the United States at the present time the best means to this end is the tactic of the united front. For those who have conceived of the united front in the past as an alliance of leaders at the top, the proposal now may seem to be a "conservative"

ed front as an instrument for uniting the advanced, revolutionary workers with the backward, conservative workers in a struggle not only against the capitalists but also against their labor agents, the proposal still holds good.

The tactic of the united front is the way in which the true role of the Greens, McMahons, and Mustes of all varieties—who do not want to and will not unite with the militants for a common struggle because that is not their function in the labor movement—will be demonstrated even to the most backward worker. And they are the ones to consider in the South,

The Daily Worker Gasps for Arguments

At a complete loss to reply with any reasoned political arguments to the viewpoint and criticism given by us in the *Militant*, the *Daily Worker* has constantly been compelled to resort to the old, reliable but not very honest expedients of misrepresentation and slander. Throw a lot of mud—some of it must stick! The new experts in fighting Trotskyism calculate that Mark Twain was probably right when he remarked that a lie will travel all around the world while truth is pulling on its boots. One of the purest (in the chemical sense) examples of this method of argument can be found in the *Daily Worker* (12-30-1929) under the title "Economic Crisis and the Crisis Among the Opponents".

The section of that editorial devoted to Lovestone is too obvious and needs no particular comment. Nowadays, anyone, even the muddled Centrists of the Stalin school, is capable of politically and theoretically annihilating the national-reformist and petty bourgeois ideology of the Right wing throughout the International. All the Centrists have to do—and that is what they actually do—is to look up the articles and documents of the Opposition written years ago and borrow their arguments wholesale from this inexhaustible arsenal. The veriest pop-gun from this store of weapons, even when it is held in the unskilled and trembling hand of the Centrists, is heavy enough against the primitive defense of the Right wingers.

Centrism Out of Its Element

But when the Centrist turn to attack the Communist Opposition, he finds himself gasping out of his element. He dares not, and does not any longer pretend, to discuss the fundamental questions of principle and strategy that divide the Communist movement: national reformism (socialism in one country) versus revolutionary internationalism; subordination of the proletariat to the colonial bourgeoisie (Chinese revolution) or the socialist path in the colonial countries; workers and peasants versus proletarian parties; etc., etc., etc. The same holds true in virtually every important issue of the day in the class struggle, be it in the trade union field where the Centrists hop from one position to another without the slightest knowledge of where they are going, or in any other. The only thing left, then, is misrepresentation, insinuation and slander. The above-mentioned editorial is a classic example. It says:

"The Trotskyite opportunists waited more than two months before they could pick up courage to utter a word of analysis of the crisis... But finally they have decided they simply must speak, even without the long-awaited directives from Constantinople." As for the "blistering" sarcasm about the "long-awaited directives", it is to laugh considerably. But before you laugh, bear in mind that the people who write so "ironically" about directives from afar are precisely the same ones who did not know for many long months whether American capitalism had reached its apex or its Victorian age, and finally had to be told in the "long-awaited directives from Moscow" that they were all wrong on everything but their mutual charges of unprincipledness. They are the very same people who cannot sleep, eat, drink, think, white, act or do anything at all without first inquiring from Stalin whether it is in accordance with the latest "line". They are the people who make "analyses" and work out "lines" yesterday only to repudiate and condemn them today

where they predominate. They are the ones who will at present follow the A. F. of L. if it arrives first on the scene and shows the necessary initiative and they will follow the National Textile Workers Union if it is the one that gets to the workers first. It is to show the workers that the Left wing holds the banner of unity in struggle, that it is ready to unite its forces with every worker, no matter if he still has some faith in the Greens for the moment, that the N. T. W. must adopt the tactic of the united front. That this was neither done nor considered at the Paterson convention marks a weakness in the union's position traceable to the present line of the Communist Party leadership. But the course of the struggle will convince the militants in the organization of the right path to pursue.

discarded—by command—tomorrow. Their political life is the survival of the fittest—stomach, i. e., the stomach that can digest or give forth any and every policy rammed down its throat by the ruling regime in the Russian Party.

We already outlined and analyzed the character and the outcome of the American depression and crisis in the Platform adopted by our first national conference in Chicago seven months ago. Since our analyses were not made and remade to fit some fatigational emergency, our platform stands, and its predictions are steadily verified by the course of events. Anyone who reads the *Militant*, and certainly the avid readers of the *D. W.* knows that we have referred to this analysis and repeated it on numerous occasions in the recent past. Therefore, when the *Daily Worker* says, "In the *Militant* of December 28, we finally receive the first word of Trotskyist analyses of the economic crisis", it is stating a limping falsehood calculated to avoid the discomfort of arguing against our analysis.

Not satisfied with this, the *D. W.* needs resort to the shabby trick of yanking a sentence or two out of a news story and presenting it as though it were our first and last word on the economic situation. The scintillating facetiousness of the *Daily Worker* on the question of long skirts is merely unvarnished dishonesty: "The quotation it makes from the news story in the *Militant* refers exclusively to the dress industry and the factor played in it by the so-called 'long skirt models'. The upright *Daily Worker* 'overlooks' this 'little point' and makes it appear as though the *Militant* maintains that what is wrong with American industry today is the failure of the ladies to buy long skirts instead of short ones! Is this not profound? Is it not conclusive proof of the renegacy of the Trotskyists? Does it not expose and annihilate them the thousandth time, annihilate them?"

Well, we can be even more "revolutionary" than the *Daily Worker* on the question of the crisis. It says for instance, in the same issue: "Crisis Becomes Severe in 50 years; 5,000,000 Jobs" and proceeds to remark that "no one mentioned a specific figure of national employment of the working class. The *Daily Worker* has placed the number in excess of 5,000,000!" We think that to a genuine revolutionist in these momentous days of the Third Period and the New Line, the *Daily Worker* should have written "Crisis is worst in world history. American capitalism on the brink of collapse. Communists ready for power. Trotskyists shamelessly announce 5,000,000 unemployed. *Daily Worker* places number higher than 10,000,000. We are twice as radical as Trotskyists."

As it hobbles painfully to the conclusion of its "arguments", the *Daily Worker* announces that "pending their formal amalgamation", and "while the Right wing (Lovestone) and the Trotskyites are formally separated at the top, they already have a practical amalgamation of the machinery of distribution of their papers at the bottom." (This penetrating wisdom flows from the fact that the *Militant* and *Revolutionary Age* are sold at the Rand School news stand). As for our "formal amalgamation", the *D. W.* has probably confused us with the recent amalgamation of Stalin and Bucharin. Nevertheless, we would be very much obliged to the *D. W.* if it would answer a question:

Why not fix the final date for our amalgamation with the Right wing thereby getting the matter off your mind and allowing the suspense of your new nerves

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

The NEW YORK BUILDING TRADES

New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

Marching the sidewalks of New York looking for employment, one is reminded of the advice by that good fellow known as Prosperity Hoover who suggests that the salvation of the unemployed is to... find employment. Simple as it sounds, it is not quite so simple in its application.

As is known, there is a vast army of workless seeking work not only in New York but throughout the country. It is no exaggeration when we say that the number runs well over 4,000,000 and is still going strong.

Among the industries that have been hard hit is the building trades. In "good" times we always had a few thousands out of work in the industry, but of late the number has soared pretty high. Bricklayers, iron workers, steam fitters, plumbers, painters, tile layers, etc.—about one-third of them are unemployed right now, not to speak of their helpers, laborers, and men who are engaged in the manufacture of building material.

Well, some explanation of this can be found in the report of the Chamber of Commerce that in the year 1929 there was \$360,000,000 less building work done than in the year 1928—a normal year. That is how it looks in general, let us examine the particular trades.

Take the bricklayers, for instance. Today there are concrete buildings coming. It requires less material, less labor to pour in buildings than to lay single bricks. The framework of a building or the iron structure, as we know, is all made and patterned according to the architect's plan. That is also the case with fixtures, window and door frames which are done in shops and put in according to the plans of the building. Such methods have existed in these lines of work for quite some time.

Take the plumbing trade, where practically 100 percent, or at least 90 percent of the pipe work was cut and threaded on the job by union mechanics. It is today cut to sketch, brought on the job and then put together by lead and screwing the fittings together, thus eliminating about 40 percent of the work. Well, if 40 percent of the work is done on the outside, in open shops, how about getting the unemployed plumbers, whose job it is, to demand that this work be given to them? Didn't they get the 40 hour week? What does it matter if union or non-union material comes in?

One of the biggest plumbing bosses in the city, who formerly had about 35 jobs on the go, has now about 10 jobs and not small ones either, but jobs ranging from 48 stories down. On a big job, such as 48 stories, the Durham system is applied or, simply, a screw pipe job. That means that all the piping has to be cut and threaded. In such a structure 12 inch to 1/2 inch pipe is used. Generally, pipe up to 4 inches or even 6 inches used to be cut on the job, but since 1927, when the plumbers lost their strike, all pipe ranging from 2 inches upward is done to sketch on the outside. This boss has a shop with three machines running two shifts. Employed at this work are young workers or plumbers' helpers who get 50 and 55 cents an hour. One machine alone replaces about 10 sets, that is, ten plumbers and ten helpers. Not only do the labor bureaucrats refrain from getting these machines run by union men but they won't even organize the workers who run them.

In the steamfitting trade it is known that all pipe work ranging from 3-8 inch up is cut to sketch in an open shop. Yet there is new mechanization taking place. The welding of large pipe is beginning to appear in buildings and more and more men are replaced. Where formerly it took 4 sets to do the work, one set can do it more simply and quickly.

That is how it runs in the other trades. The army of unemployed being on the increase, the cutting of wages will take place, hours of work made longer, the unions smashed, etc. However, the building trade proletariat will see all the glorious "prosperity" he enjoyed for a while, gradually fading away. After all it will not be so easy for the building trade worker, after having such a relatively good standard of living, to let it pass by so lightly. He will fight and fight desperately to maintain a standard of living for himself and his family.

The Communists must be on the alert in the growing radicalization of these workers in the forefront of their

struggle. No matter how reactionary the old unions may be, we must get into them and fight with the workers for real militancy, connecting their economic struggle with the political fight for the working class. In the bulk of the building trades today, it is absolutely ridiculous to keep yelling at the workers to break their unions and form new ones at the present time. It is by working as Communist workers with these workers who are not yet conscious of their tasks that we will win them for the cause.

JACK SPRAGUE

TWO KINDS OF CORRUPTED PRESS

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

I was extremely pleased in reading your article in reply to the falsifications published in the *Daily Worker* by Browder that we are in a united front with the Lovetonicites. We thought that only the capitalists, with their corrupted press, were capable of misrepresenting and distorting whatever was against their own interests, but we see that these malicious tactics are finding their place in the Stalinist press.

Because they have no concrete arguments to present against us, in the great ideological (?) struggle against Trotskyism, they use such methods only in order to prejudice and blind the members. The only thing they know about Trotskyism is that we are "renegades" and "countre-revolutionaries". They willingly accept any discussion with members of the S. P., the S. L. P., the I. W. W. (even with the Fascists!), but not with the Trotskyists. As for the Militant, not only don't they dare to read it, but even do not touch it for fear of being contaminated. And how they dare to call renegades such comrades as Trotsky and Rakovsky! I knew the latter personally in Rumania when he was secretary of the Socialist Party and one of the most prominent figures in the labor movement of that country.

For these reasons, I think it necessary that the Militant not only unmask such calumnies as are published in the *Daily Worker*, but also begin publishing regularly, in a fixed space on the front page, our political platform so that the revolutionary workers will know what is the real position of our Communist group.

We indeed realize the great difficulties and obstacles which confront us. History teaches us that in every new movement the masses—the multitude, do not think rightly. Their minds are mainly dominated by a certain ruling class. We also know that such great struggles require self-sacrifice and persistence until our final triumph and victory.

Therefore we are determined to work consistently with unshakable confidence in building a movement based on the revolutionary experience of history as taught by Marx and Lenin. Let us then devote all our efforts, energy and honest Leninist determination to our ideological struggle.

JAMES ECONOMOU

MERRY CHRISTMAS IN YOUNGSTOWN

Youngstown, Ohio.

Dear Comrades:

"Merry Christmas and Happy New Year," say the bosses of the mills of this Valley of Iron and Steel. This hackneyed expression, bulging with irony, is nothing less than insult added to injury at a time like this.

The mills have been idle since the first week in November. Some departments are working a few days each week and others are not working at all. Many workers had not a dollar coming on last pay day, which was supposed to be our Christmas pay.

They wish us "Merry Christmas" and invite us to church to sing Glory, Glory, Hall-a-lula, and to commemorate the birth of Jerusalem Slim. But the willingness to sing and the desire to commemorate cannot emanate from the body which carries an empty stomach.

How can we be merry, how can we be happy when we are walking the streets from place to place, begging some master's leave to let us toil for him, while poverty and starvation stare us in the face?

When the mills are going at their best we receive nothing more than a sustenance wage. For this wage we are the victims of a diabolical speed-up system. The speed-up system, the twin baby of capitalism, has filled the bosses' warehouses, has precipitated the present industrial slump and has thrown us out on the streets as slaves without the means of existence.

Our only chance of fighting this speed-up system is through organization. "In union there is strength." A considerable number of the mill workers are ready and hoping for organization, industrially at least. But they cannot so easily see how their working conditions can be improved by joining a political party which issues a bulletin once in a while, telling them lies about the job on which they are working.

These workers cannot be blamed for their views on the "Workers Party". When they attend a public meeting called by the official party, they can see at first glance that the Youngstown branch of the party is not run by workers, but is dominated, steered and warped by second hand shoe peddlers, storekeepers, by the lowest grade of petty bourgeoisie. And of course they go home from such a meeting with feelings of disappointment, disgust and contempt.

We were amused, in addition to being assured of our correct political line, by the *Daily Worker* outburst of Mr. Chiang Kai-Shek Browder, the present day Wolfe. Well, what's the use of a watchdog if he doesn't bark? And how can one play the role of a Wolfe without howling?

We do not forget that Browder was Stalin's Yankee priest in China, and that he carried out the orders of pope Stalin. Even though Chiang Kai-Shek was murdering the workers of China, Browder aided him until such time as Chiang thumbed his nose at Stalin.

It is preposterous; and if one did not know the recent role of the C. I. leadership, it would seem impossible to imagine a character like Browder having cheek enough to open his mouth. He may or may not (I don't know which) be competent to play the role of a Wolfe, but if he had the conscience of a mongrel he would forever see the blood of the Chinese working class looking him in the eyes. He would not consider himself absolved from the sin of helping Chiang Kai-Shek just because he has since done penance by denouncing Chiang, the Chinese hangman, his former idol. If this man Browder had any sense of decency left he would go behind the curtain where he could keep his eyes and ears open and his mouth shut.

With revolutionary greetings,

CHARLIE BYRNE

NATIONALISM vs. INTERNATIONALISM

New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

I think it is pertinent that the Militant give voice to the subject: Nationalism versus Internationalism in the labor movement. The time is ripe for every worker to understand the full meaning of Marx' saying: "Workers of the world, unite!"

We all know that skilled labor, the aristocracy of labor, and its trade unions are essentially nationalistic in their outlook. Their heads are puffed up with nationalistic prejudices. Hence they are enemies of internationalism, enemies of workers' unity.

One reason why the millions of auto workers, textile workers, etc., have not been organized into trade unions is because the average aristocrat of labor looks with contempt upon an unskilled worker. Unskilled laborers to him are "rabble", an "undesirable", "disloyal" element.

But we have arrived at a stage of capitalist development where trade unionism is being sorely tried. Through improved machinery, thousands upon thousands of skilled workers are being pushed down the ladder into the "gutter" among the unskilled. The circle of trade union aristocrats is getting smaller and smaller, while the circle of the unskilled, semi-skilled and those workers who have lost their trade through the machine, grows larger and larger. It falls upon the shoulders of the Communist movement to gather and organize the unskilled, semi-skilled and all those workers disinherited by the machine, under the banner of internationalism. The time is here to bring home to every worker the incomparable words: "Workers of the world, unite!"

PAULINE GUTRINGER

GREETINGS FROM ALABAMA

Birmingham Ala.

Dear Comrades:

Three cheers for the Weekly Militant and the brave boys behind it! Well, here I am again with another little piece of my mite. Put this down for a half-year sub and here's hoping I may be able to come again soon.

Your comrade,
SARAH F. J. LINN

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