

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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The I.L.D. «Acts» on Mooney

The Appeal for a United Front Evaded by the Stalinists

In his appeal to all militant and revolutionary labor organizations and groups, published in the last issue of the Militant, Tom Mooney wrote from his prison cell in San Quentin: "The time for action has come. Let this appeal be the spark which will start an unparalleled conflagration—agitation that will arouse the masses to demand my unconditional pardon and the release of all class war prisoners. I ask for a genuine united front." In this request, entirely correct in every respect, Mooney very specifically named the organizations and groups which, in his opinion—and we endorsed it—should be called upon to join in the united movement.

A Significant Appeal

The appeal by Mooney has a tremendous significance from every point of view. For years, those who spoke in the name of this splendid militant buried for more than 15 years in the dungeons of capitalism, frittered away their energies and sowed disastrous illusions in the minds of Mooney's supporters in the working class, by limping hopefully behind the lightly-given and lightly-be-trusted promises of aid by capitalist politicians. The Mooney appeal to the revolutionary movement for the organization of a vigorous mass protest movement, with all its implies, definitely put an end to this miserable and unworthy policy of appeals behind the scenes, "seeing the right man", quiet conferences with liberals, and the rest of the futile, nonsensical truck-freight imported into the labor movement by well intentioned and evilly-intentioned petty bourgeois "friends".

Furthermore, the appeal opened wide the doors to the organized militant movement, without which the united front is inconceivable, to take the initiative in carrying out the provisions of Mooney's appeal. We wrote and repeat that an excellent opportunity offered itself to the International Labor Defense, as the most prominent and militant national working class defense organization, to take the first step in calling a genuine united front conference of all the organizations mentioned in Mooney's appeal—however conservative or reactionary their leadership might be—to work out the plans necessary for the execution of the provisions in the letter from the world renowned prisoner of American capitalism.

How has the leadership of the I. L. D. approached the problem of the united front? By a cheap and disgraceful evasion of the central issues so correctly raised by Mooney.

In the first place, the "Call for United Action" by the I. L. D. (Daily Worker, 9-5-31), indicates that it is its intention to bury the Mooney case in the midst of half a dozen or more other labor defense cases that are pending in the country today. It is obvious that a united front movement for Mooney would be recreant in its duty if it failed to conduct a struggle also for the other class war fighters. No man in the claws of the capitalist jailors is dearer to the working class than any other. All our class war fighters who have been captured by the enemy stand on an equal footing. But in this specific campaign, the whole point is missed by failing to concentrate the whole issue around Mooney as the outstanding symbol of the capitalist system of anti-working class frame-ups, and using the example of Tom Mooney as a point of departure—once the movement is really under way—for a nation-wide fight to release all the class war prisoners. This desirable end is not accomplished by the mechanical lumping together of all the conceivable cases under the title of a "united front for Mooney".

A Radical Mistake

The second blunder of the I. L. D., however, is far worse than the first, and bids fair to nullify all the efforts made to organize a genuinely united movement. As we said above, Mooney referred specifically in his appeal to various organizations and groups to form component parts of the united front movement. We cannot conceal the fact that we have not a penny's worth of faith in the good will or the genuine desire to cooperate that the leaders of some of the mentioned organizations have professed for Mooney in the past. The heads of the socialist party, the corruptionists and employers of gangsters who have looted the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and those similar to them—these are hardly the people who are concerned very vitally with the freedom or imprisonment of Mooney and other class war prisoners. We know them from the past, and their heavy hands have rarely if ever weighed in the scales in favor of the workers' side. But that is not the crux of the problem. The crux lies in the ranks of the organizations over which they rule, in the ranks of the workers who are heart and soul with

Mooney but who do not yet understand thoroughly labor organizations and groups, published in the last issue of the Militant, Tom Mooney wrote from his prison cell in San Quentin: "The time for action has come. Let this appeal be the spark which will start an unparalleled conflagration—agitation that will arouse the masses to demand my unconditional pardon and the release of all class war prisoners. I ask for a genuine united front." In this request, entirely correct in every respect, Mooney very specifically named the organizations and groups which, in his opinion—and we endorsed it—should be called upon to join in the united movement.

When such an appeal will be made, the workers everywhere will be able to separate the wheat from the chaff. Otherwise, the Hillquits and Hillmans and their kin will be able to continue to muddy the waters and protect themselves by promises and phrases which cost nothing and obligate them to less.

That is precisely where the call issued by the I. L. D. for a "united front" falls down completely. Where Mooney was specific and open, the I. L. D., bound hand and foot by the dogmatic sectarianism imposed upon it, is vague and thoroughly wrong. It does not appeal to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, but to the "rank and file members of the A. C. W."; not to the socialist party, but to the "working class members of the S. P.". The various other organizations mentioned by Mooney's appeal are simply omitted: The I. W. W., the Proletarian party, the Left Opposition, the Lovestone group, the Welshord group, etc., etc. Why? For one reason only: The policy of the official party, which dominates the I. L. D., as stupid as it is blind, legally prohibits anything but a "united front from below" and even that to the exclusion of all species of "renegades". The "united front from below" means, in practice, and has meant in the past, no real united front at all. It is generally equivalent to a mere recruiting drive under the banner of the party, the T. U. U. L. or the I. L. D. It is the reverse of the "genuine united front" for which Mooney calls. It is not the way to fill the movement with life and vigor. It is the swiftest and surest way of strangling it when it barely born.

Change the Course!

The I. L. D., and in its name, the official Left wing and Communist movement, have started the Mooney campaign with the wrong foot forward. It must pull back and start anew, start correctly.

Demand Trotsky's Return

French Red Union Congress Votes for Appeal to the Soviets

At the national convention in Limoges of the "Federation de l'Enseignement Unitaire", the revolutionary teachers union affiliated with the Red trade union center of France, the following significant resolution was adopted on August 6:

"The national Unitary teachers' convention affirms its absolute solidarity with the proletariat of the first socialist republic in the world, the U. S. S. R., which, at the cost of immense efforts and heroic sacrifices, is strengthening and developing the foundations of socialism over one-sixth of the globe.

"It proclaims the unconditional duty of the revolutionist of every country to rally by revolutionary struggle against their own bourgeoisie to the defense of the U. S. S. R., fortress of the world proletariat.

"It demands of the Soviet government the recall of the measures of exile, of deportation and of imprisonment against

2nd National Conference, Sept. 24

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

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

Steel Wage Cuts Forecast

Analysis Shows Steel Barons' Plans to Slash at Workers

The steel industry entered the crisis of 1930 with too much capacity, deliberately installed a peace-time record-breaking amount of new capacity in the face of violently shrinking markets, and is preparing an assault on wages to enable it to operate at a profit on the small percentage of capacity which is now feasible to operate at all.

At the beginning of the boom year 1929 steel ingot capacity was 63,067,000 tons. Only in May and June of that year was it necessary to call on this capacity to the extent of 100%, and then it was the first time since March 1926 that the steel ingot capacity of the country has been taxed to its full extent. During 1929 there was an addition of 1,308,000 tons to the ingot capacity, which would have seemed amply sufficient to take care of the requirements of the country during the crisis which was plainly in sight by the end of the year.

At this point, however, a typical capitalist contradiction set in. Production of steel ingots declined from 54,312,000 tons

in 1929 to 39,648,000 tons in 1930. Ingot capacity, however, increased from 63,067,000 tons at the end of 1929 to 66,897,000 tons at the end of 1930, an increase of 3,831,000 tons, the largest amount of new capacity installed in any one year in the history of the industry, except for the war-boom year 1915.

As a result, while the industry had operated at an average of 89% of capacity during 1929, it operated at an average of 64% during 1930, an average of 46% during the first half of 1931, and at present and for the last three months has been operating at from 30% to 34% of capacity.

In view of the enormous investment in constant capital which is a technical characteristic of the industry, relatively small fluctuations in percentage of operations are reflected in relatively large fluctuations in profits, as pointed out in a previous article in this series. In the "normal" years 1925-1928, steel companies reported profits of 5 to 6% per annum on their capitalization, operating at an average of 83%. In 1929, at an average of 89%, profits jumped to 10-12% in 1930, with operations at 64%, profits were 3.71% on capitalization, the lowest since 1925. For the first half of 1931, profits of U. S. Steel Corporation were at the rate of 1.3% on its capitalization, against 7.1% for the first half of 1930; for thirty-two other steel companies, profits for the first half of 1931 were at the rate of 0.1% against 6.4%. The basic reasons for these sharp declines in profits were (1) shrinking markets for steel, (2) increasing capacity for making steel leading to higher costs per ton of steel made.

The reason for the huge increase in steel-making capacity in the face of an unprecedented crisis in industry was the increasing acuteness of competition within the steel industry, intensified by the crisis itself with its narrower markets, lower prices and higher costs of production due to low rate of operations. The two leading factors of industry, U. S. Steel and Bethlehem, face each other competitively in every important steel-making district in the United States except for U. S. Steel's dominating position at Birmingham and Bethlehem's at Philadelphia and Baltimore. U. S. Steel's strategy is based on access to controlled ore deposits at Lake Superior and Birmingham; Bethlehem's is based on locating its plants to be able to ship ore cheaply by water transportation. Bethlehem in 1929 tried to entrench itself in the important mid-western district through mergers with Youngstown and Inland, two big "independent" steel companies. It was driven off by Eaton, representing Cleveland and New York capital, who has since been financially wrecked. U. S. Steel, however, seeing the danger, strengthened itself in Chicago and put under construction 21 new fur-

(Continued on page 1)

Jobless Spurned by Roosevelt, Hoover

Unemployment Insurance Must Be Won

With the gaunt specter rising of a winter of misery and starvation for the millions of unemployed, the two leading contenders for the capitalist nominations for president in 1932, Hoover the Republican and Roosevelt the Democrat, are racing against each other to the goal of their ambitions with the plight of the unemployed as the football they kick around as they proceed. The latest act in this criminal play with the lives of millions of victims of "prosperity", has just been unfolded at the jubilee celebration of the founder of the Red Cross in this country. Each of the tacitly avowed presidential candidates delivered a radio address on the occasion which was concerned far less with the Red Cross than with a pronouncement of their respective positions on the most burning problem before the working class of the United States today: What measures shall be taken to mitigate the body-breaking misery which the ten million unemployed and their families are subjected to?

Hoover's "Plan"

Hoover's contribution to solving the problem was the advocacy of "individual and local initiative to aid the distressed". In other words, the government intends to take no steps towards alleviating the unspeakable horrors of unemployment. It is too concerned and occupied with rebates on income taxes in the higher brackets, which flow back to the pockets of the multi-millionaires of the country to the tune of tens of millions of dollars. To take governmental measures for the relief of the unemployed—to say nothing of the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance—would evidently be a blow struck at the foundations of American liberty which, at the present moment, means the liberty to starve without molestation by the state.

Roosevelt, playing the softer music of the "liberal" harp, is more pleasant to the ear, and infinitely more deceptive. With Hoover, one can tell just where the man stands. He is distinctly opposed to the "dole" and to any state assistance to the jobless. Hoover is the living incarnation of all that is reaction-

ary in capitalist society. Roosevelt, however, who is angling for the Democratic presidential nomination, with the hope that the discreditment of the Hoover regime in the crisis period will swing him into the White House, plays the classical game of all the bourgeois politicians under such circumstances. His promises and assurances are as vast as the votes he hopes to catch with them.

Roosevelt is not against "state aid". Not at all. In fact, he has advocated the setting up of a \$20,000,000 fund for the relief of the New York state unemployed—and every small time politician in his party is already slaving at the mouth at the idea of "administering" this juicy sum. How much the unemployed will get out of the fund is not so problematical as it would seem.

The Crux of the Problem

And there lies the real crux of the problem which neither Hoover nor Roosevelt—the latter, in fact, less than the former—is willing to mention. First: it is not "relief for the unemployed" that the workers want. They want an organized system of unemployment insurance, and not one administered by and for corrupt capitalist politicians. Second: it is not simply an insurance fund they want, a fund which "both sides", the boss and the worker he exploits, contributed towards. They want unemployment insurance which is an obligation on industry and the state, and not an obligation upon the workers who are the only real sufferers from the capitalist productive system.

The bourgeois politicians are not concerned with the tribulations of the workers and the unemployed, except to the extent that they furnish a political football and a basis for demagogic arguments with a capitalist opponent. They will grant the workers nothing that they do not win by struggle. That truth holds good for unemployment insurance today. The fight for it must be organized, strongly founded, spread to national scope, and driven home with a force that compels the self-satisfied demagogues of the ruling class to grant the relief so imperatively needed by the starving millions.

Split Threatens A. C. W.

Cliques Expose Each Other While Left Wing Marks Time

The removal of the officials of the Cutters Local 4, A. C. W. by the G. E. B. of that organization, on charges of graft and racketeering, and the fight that has ensued between Hillman and the Beckerman-Orlofsky clique, have held the center of attention of the unions and labor press in the last two weeks. These events have created a sensation in circles unfamiliar with the situation that has prevailed in that graft and racketeer-ridden organization which, curiously, has been masquerading as the most progressive labor union in the country. The readers of the Militant had the opportunity to see the A. C. W. officialdom in their true light, with their masks off and their practices unveiled. To them, the recent developments will not be surprising. We have foreseen these events as a result of the fermentation going on in the A. C. W. bureaucratic machine, a fermentation whose process had been

held in check and prevented from coming to a head earlier by strategical maneuvers of the officialdom.

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

Hillman's Maneuvers

Hillman's clever maneuvers made him the hero of the day, not only in the eyes of the general public as a valiant fighter against gangsterism and racketeering, but also to the labor world, to whom he appears as the great uncompromising leader of the great Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. In removing Orlofsky and Beckerman from their offices and suspending them from the organization on charges of racketeering and scabbery, Hillman has consciously endeavored to reach directly to the hearts of the tailors and cutters who have been victims of those officials and their evil practices and cherished dim hopes for their elimination. Hillman, the great conjurer, has succeeded in turning the tables and appearing himself as a champion of clean unionism. In his latest action, Hillman found

(Continued on page 2)

COMPLETE THE EXPANSION FUND PROGRAM!

Our Weekly Militant is so manifestly superior from every point of view to the semi-monthly—and the reception with which it has met in the movement attests the fact—that no effort can be spared to maintain it and even more, to put a solid and unshakable foundation under it. We started the Weekly Militant again in what appeared to be a "bad period"—the combination of a crisis with the laxity of the summer months. In spite of that, the paper has been so well received that we have been able to get out every issue thus far without interruption.

This is not to say that the job has been an easy one. It was accomplished to a certain extent by the contributions made in the preceding period to our Expansion Program Fund. It will continue to appear regularly and with assurance if the Fund is brought to its conclusion in a swift spurt of energy on the part of all our comrades and sympathizers. A few hundred dollars are still needed to reach the goal of two thou-

sand dollars which was set originally. That it can be done and done quickly has already been demonstrated by the recent action of the New York branch which, in one evening, following an appeal, raised closed to another hundred dollars towards fulfilling its quota. The other branches, and friends of our movement who are not in the League itself, can do at least as well if every nerve is strained to complete the Expansion Program Fund quickly.

The extra effort can and should be made. The Militant is our most valuable instrument in building our movement for the purpose of clarifying and strengthening the revolutionary labor movement as a whole. It cannot fulfill this enormous task without the assurance of its regular, guaranteed appearance every week. A long step in this direction will be made if the comrades everywhere put their shoulders to the wheel to finish the campaign for the \$2,000

fund. A stronger Militant means a stronger foundation for the movement. A stronger Militant means an invincible weapon in our hands for the struggle we are conducting. The speedy and generous contribution of every comrade and friend is imperatively required.

Since the contributions listed in our last issue, we have received the following sums:

NEW YORK: H. Capelis—4.00; M. Sterling—14.50; H. Stone—5.00; E. Field—10.00; A. Glotzer—2.00; G. Clarke—2.50; H. Milton—2.50; N. Berman—5.00; Wm. Edwards—2.00; LOS ANGELES: T. Boinsert—5.00. MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH—10.30. PHILADELPHIA BRANCH (L. S.)—2.00. CHICAGO BRANCH—3.75. KANSAS CITY BRANCH—20.00. NEW HAVEN BR. (G. D.)—3.00. Total: \$89.55.

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

PICNIC

For the Benefit of Conference Fund

on Sunday, September 20, 1931, all day

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Directions: Take the Woodlawn-Jerome Avenue subway to the end of the line. Then take street car or bus to Tibbets Brook Park. Short walk to Plot 8, reserved for our picnic.

Auspices: New York branch, C. L. A.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

PLANNING STEEL WAGE CUTS

(Continued from page 1)
naces at the Gary and the South Chicago works, out of a total of 39 open-hearth furnaces scheduled for 1930-31. Bethlehem bought a steel company on the Pacific Coast; in the same month U. S. Steel bought a Pacific Coast steel company, both in January, 1930, before which time neither had had a plant on the Coast.

Meantime the Republic Steel Corp. through a series of mergers was making a bid for third place in the industry, and the National Steel Corp., organized by a group of ex-U. S. Steel men, through mergers and construction of new plant (particularly at Detroit, which had never had a steel plant before although one of the greatest steel-consuming districts in the country) was bidding aggressively for a place in the sun. There has been more activity in mergers (involving new construction to round out plant facilities) than at any time since the great trust-building period of 1898-1901.

A Contracted Market
By the end of 1930, the industry had a capacity of 66,897,000 tons, and in the following half-year produced 15,259,000 tons of ingots. By the end of the year there may be an additional 1 or 2 million tons of capacity, with no markets in sight to take up the excess. Building construction, which took up 18% of last year's steel output, railroads, which took 16% and automobiles which took 14%, are contracting rather than expanding; oil and gas pipe-lines, which took 9 1/2% (including water lines), will show a sharp falling-off with the completion of the Texas-Chicago natural gas line and the furry of pipe-line construction in the East Texas oil field. The possibilities of increasing markets for sheet steel, new uses for structural steel, and development of alloy steels (now 21% of the total), are not immediate enough to offer hopes of solving the steel industry's problems in meeting the crisis. Some development not now in sight might modify this conclusion, but on the basis of what is available at the present time, we see only limited possibilities at expanding markets for steel.

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

There remains the possibility of reducing costs of production, which in practice means cutting the wages of workers. The possibility of reducing costs through other means are: (1) Newer and more modern machinery, which has been done in connection with the increase of capacity in the last two years, but which is defeated by the simultaneous shrinkage of the market and consequently of the ratio of production to capacity.
2. The speed-up, which has been increasingly applied to the steel industry in recent years. In the past ten years, ingot production per worker in the U. S. Steel Corporation rose from 57 tons to 79 last year, and in 1929 was as high as 97 tons. In 1923, with over 200,000 employees, the corporation produced less steel than in 1929 with 225,000. In 1930, it employed 211,000 workers on the average, a decline of 5% while it produced 11,600,000 tons of finished steel, against 15,200,000 tons in 1929, a decline of 24%.
The success of speed-up methods in making profits is seriously limited, however, in a shrinking market. Speed-up results in more steel, which the market refuses to take.

Wage Declines
3. Wage-cuts are clearly indicated as the tactics of the steel corporations in their struggle to force the burdens of the crisis on to the backs of the workers. The steel companies have hesitated for a long time to cut wages, remembering the 1919-20 strikes. Last year, the U. S. Steel Corporation paid an average of \$5.84 a day to all employees exclusive of the general administrative and selling force, against \$5.80 in 1929, a cut of two-thirds of 1%. The average wage has not varied more than 16 cents a day since 1923, when it was \$5.83.

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

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

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

The Opposition and the National Question

IN SPAIN

[We plan to publish regularly the most important documents on the situation in Spain so that our readers and comrades may be thoroughly informed on what is going on. Not only the documents of the Left Opposition will be published, but also those of other groups in the labor and revolutionary movements of Spain. We commence our documentation with the theses on the national question adopted by the national conference of the Spanish Left Opposition at Madrid on June 7, 1931.—Ed.]

1. The nation in its most completed and defined form is a product of capitalist society. The countries which have not yet entered into the phase of capitalist development cannot be considered nations in the real sense of the word. The progress of capitalism in a country evokes the need of an appropriate state. The form which is "typical, normal, for the whole of the civilized world, is the national state" (Lenin) and not the multi-national state. "The most profound economic factors drive in this direction." The national emancipation movements express this tendency of the bourgeoisie.

2. The struggle of nationalities for their liberation has been synonymous in all points with the struggle against feudalism. The creation of large states has coincided with capitalist development, and in this sense has constituted an historically progressive fact.

In the great "prisons of the peoples," which the vanished Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires were, unity was, on the contrary, a reactionary fact: in these cases, the creation of the state preceded the development of capitalism, and the unity realized was an absolutist and despotic unity, characterized by an unheard-of national oppression. Spain was in a similar position. If in place of being a primarily agricultural country, economically backward, Spain had been a country of great industrial development, capitalism would have founded the various peoples of the peninsula on a solid unity. Spanish unity has had as its basis the hegemony of the large landowners and the Church, the subjugation of the most vital, the most progressive part of the country to the most backward part, a hegemony and domination which found their expression in the "Asiatic despotism"—to use the term of Marx—of the Bourbon monarchy. This artificial and despotic unity could main-

tain itself further only thanks to an irritating national inequality which can be compared with the caste inequality which existed in the Middle Ages between the lord and the serf.

3. The national emancipation movement in Spain has risen with particular energy in Catalonia and in Biscaye, that is, in the two most important industrial centers of the peninsula, expressing thus the natural tendency of every bourgeoisie to constitute a state, and the struggle of the economically most advanced peoples against the assimilating, reactionary centralism of monarchial and semi-feudal Spain.

4. The struggle for national emancipation is one of the aspects of the democratic revolution and consequently is intimately bound up with the class struggle. Concretely, the struggle for national emancipation is only one of the forms of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and feudalism. In it are found again all the characteristics of the democratic movement in general. In this struggle, the bourgeoisie, at every decisive moment, inclines towards capitulation, towards concessions to the enemy (recall the whole policy of the Catalan bourgeoisie led by Cambó), while the petty bourgeoisie holds to radical solutions (Maica and the "Catalonian Action"), showing itself incapable of moving practically to the very end.

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

6. National emancipation is one of the demands of democracy and, for that reason, the proletariat cannot be disinterested in it, adopt an attitude of opposition which hides behind an abstract internationalism and becomes in practice a support of the policy of the reactionary centralism of oppression of certain nationalities by others. "To imagine that the social revolution is possible," said Lenin, "without the uprising of the small nations in the colonies

and in Europe, without revolutionary explosions of a part of the petty bourgeoisie, with all its prejudices, without movements of the barely conscious proletariat and semi-proletarian masses against the landowners, against the clerical, monarchial and national yoke . . . to think in this way means to renounce the social revolution . . . Whoever hopes for a 'pure' socialist revolution, will not see it, and is a revisionist in phrases who does not understand the real revolution."

The revolutionary proletariat must therefore pronounce itself clearly and categorically with regard to the question of nationalities, as it does with regard to all the aspects of the democratic revolution.

7. The Communists, pronouncing themselves unconditionally and clearly for every democratic objective, the struggle against oppression, the national emancipation movement, are thus "the most determined and the most eloquent foes of all oppression" (Lenin). But by all means they avoid identifying themselves with the nationalism of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation which seeks to subordinate the interests of the proletariat class to the national principle, and with the nationalism of the exploiting classes of the dominating nation which, utilizing the legitimate feelings of the supra-national solidarity of the workers, wants to make them accomplices of its policy of national oppression.

That is why the position of the Catalan-Balearic Communist Federation which, in its theses on the national question and in its recent open letter to the Comintern, affirms that the revolutionary proletariat must make the nationalist movement its own, must "integrate the Communist party into the movement", is just as false as the position of the National Confederation of Labor which, at its last conference, at the moment of the intensification of the conflict between the short-lived Catalan republic and the central power, declared itself disposed to struggle against the independence of Catalonia by all means, including armed rebellion.

8. The principle which the Spanish Communists must defend with all their energy is the recognition of the indisputable right of nationalities to dispose freely of their destiny, without excluding the right to separation if it is the wish

of the majority of the population. No democrat—and there are no more sincere partisans of genuine democracy than the Communists—can take a stand against this principle. But one thing is to defend this right, and another is the thing in itself. As Lenin said, "the recognition of the right to separation does not exclude the agitation against separation". The proclaiming of the right of peoples to dispose freely of their destiny signifies that the Communists are against all unjust oppression.

In any case, the propaganda against separation cannot come from the Communists of the oppressed nation, but from those of the oppressed nation who struggle against local chauvinism and bring to the fore the common interests of the workers of all the nationalities. It is only thus that will be established a genuine community of all the workers.

9. In the concrete case of Spain, the Communists will support the right of Catalonia and of Biscaye to give themselves the political constitution suited to them, and will fight against every attempt of the provisional government of the republic to continue the traditions of the despotic centralism of the monarchy. Such, principally, is the mission of the proletariat outside of Catalonia and Biscaye.

The Communists of the oppressed nations will denounce the inconsistency of the radical petty bourgeoisie, will fight against local chauvinism and by means of an active and patient propaganda will show that the bourgeoisie is incapable of solving the problem of nationalities.

10. The Spanish bourgeoisie, by its weakness, by the ties which bind it economically to the feudal forces of the country by its internal contradictions, is incapable of placing the various peoples into the powerful political unity which the interests of the economic development of the peninsula require. This unity can be realized only by a historically progressive class, essentially liberating, a unit which, above all the national differences, has a common interest: the proletariat. Only the victory of this class will guarantee the evolution of the peoples, the indisputable recognition of their rights, the end to all oppression, and the establishment of a union of free republics.

Split Threatens A. C. W.

(Continued from page 1)
an escape from the wrath of the masses of tailors who were betrayed by him in the last stoppage. The Orlofsky-Beckerman gang are the fitting scapegoat for the betrayal. Indeed, were they not the ones who have sabotaged the strike and even directly scabbed on the tailors? Have they not been in the racketeering ring which held the cutters and expressmen locals in their grip, and through their power in those key positions helped the manufacturers to escape from New York and entrench themselves in the out-of-town shops? Has not Beckerman on his record the crushing of the Left wing and the terrible crime of forcing piece work on the tailors?

True, Hillman has not mentioned the latter crimes on the record of his discarded tools and benches, not out of modesty, of course, but out of discretion. He would rather the clothing workers forget those particular acts of the scoundrels: because the tailors know who was behind them and whose plans Beckerman

general truth that capitalism extracts surplus value by withholding from labor a part of the exchange value represented by labor power, with a universal statement that capitalism at all times and places is essential in creating surplus value, that is, exchange values in excess of the minimum subsistence levels paid out in wages. In the case of a highly-mechanized industry such as steel, operating at a low percentage of capacity, the value in exchange of the production is actually less than the cost of the labor power which has been expended on them. The only alternative would be to assume that, since surplus value must be produced in every factory every day, the surplus values alleged to be created under present conditions in the steel industry must be "on the shelf", that is, actually existent but not in a form in which the capitalist can realize on them for the present.

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

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

—B. J. FIELDS.

and Orlofsky carried out. Orlofsky's and Beckerman's recent crimes against the membership are sufficient to condemn them before the masses. But their old crimes will also count against them with the masses of tailors, while Hillman, the liberator of to-day, may be forgiven his "mistakes" of the past.

Hillman's calculations have proved correct to his own satisfaction and to the sad disappointment of his enemies.

The split in the organization, however, has not been averted. Orlofsky and Beckerman still have the support of hundreds of cutters and will proceed with their destructive plans against the A. C. W. Hillman will be faced with a rival racket and will undoubtedly seek to eliminate his competitors by compromising the interests of the workers. Hillman publicly admitted that he was ready to compensate Orlofsky with a big sum of money or a high position outside of his local to avoid an open fight. That Hillman is prone to carry out such a policy, there is good reason to fear, judging from his actions in the past. If a split will be averted at the last minute in such a manner, Hillman's betrayal will be most brazen. Hillman is not likely, however, to resort to such a policy in the present situation, with the elements in his favor. The split will be an open one. The workers will pay the price for the fight between the cliques. Only their active interference can mitigate its effects.

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

The Party Policy
The Rank and File Committee has seemingly adopted our slogan of unity and issued a call to the tailors and cutters to unite their ranks in the struggle against the cliques to safeguard the conditions and prevent the return of the corrupt officialdom to the organization. The tailors are warned against Hillman's treachery and Hillman's policies of serving the manufacturers. The policy of the Rank and File Committee is in general a correct one, but so far they have failed to develop activity and give this policy a concrete application, particularly in the Cutters Local. The Rank and File Committee has not advanced any practical program. The Cutters Local is today the scene of the revival of activity being the local directly involved in the shake-up. The Hillman forces in the local have thrown the membership a promise of an honest election and a free and militant union. The cutters are taking this promise seriously. A clear

policy and a practical program would give the Left wing an opportunity to develop a broad rank and file movement. Without these, the Left wing will lose the prestige it has gained in its courageous struggle against the corruption and terror of the overthrown officialdom.

But of still greater danger to the situation is the attitude of the official party press. Conforming with the spurious theory of company-unionism, the Freiheit fails to see any opportunity for the development of a movement inside the A. C. W. The Freiheit has manifested great interest in the situation but in the wrong direction. All the Freiheit can see in the situation is the mere fight between the cliques, but it is entirely blind to the existence of masses of workers in the A. C. W. Oceans of ink have been spilled on its pages to prove what? That Hillman is more corrupt and therefore a greater danger than the grafters whom he removed. That such propaganda is of great value to Orlofsky and Beckerman, there can be no doubt. This is exactly their line of defense. But of what value is the mere exposure of Hillman without a clear program of action to the tailors and cutters? Such abstract propaganda can only impel some backward elements to cling to their removed officials, the Beckerman and Orlofsky gang, but it will not help the masses of tailors and cutters in their struggle against corruption in the A. C. W. The cutters in particular, who are directly involved in this struggle, have been entirely left out of consideration, and the general impression is conveyed that the cutters have been injured by Hillman's removal of their officials, which is obviously untrue. Such a policy only creates confusion.

Why has the Freiheit taken such a stand? Why this "united front" with

Orlofsky-Beckerman? Whom will such a policy benefit? There can be only one explanation. The party policy is to smash the A. C. W. as a "company union". They are therefore making what is tantamount to common cause with Orlofsky and Beckerman in this fight.

The present situation could be utilized by the Left wing to develop a wide movement among the A. C. W. members. The fight in the Cutters Local could be developed into a struggle against corruption in the other locals of the A. C. W. The tailors are promised better conditions and more work by Hillman as the outcome of his fight against Orlofsky and Beckerman. Hillman is out to betray them again. The cutters have been given similar promise. Hillman is forced to make these promises by the growing restlessness among the workers, in order to bolster his prestige, pacify the workers and then continue to betray them. The sentiment of the workers must be kept up and organized to prevent such a betrayal. This can only be done by organized activity of the workers inside the organization, and not by mere abstract propaganda.

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

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Morgenstern-Goodman and the I. L. D.

Despite all they could do, the delegates of the Philadelphia branch of the Communist League (Opposition) were unable to get any information concerning the Philadelphia Amnesty Conference of the I. L. D. Neither the time nor the place could be discovered. Three days after the conference, the Daily Worker gave the first and only report or announcement of it! This is the second time, to the knowledge of our Philly comrades, that such a procedure has been followed. And there seems to be a "good reason" for such unusual steps. The party bureaucrats are afraid of the effect that will be produced on the workers when the delegates of the Left Opposition are present at these conferences and even more, if they raise the question of the

Stalinist sabotage of the defense of our comrades Morgenstern and Goodman, who have been indicted and convicted under the notorious Flynn Sedition Act. At the Scottsboro conference some time ago, the party bureaucrats were determined to have the conference broken up rather than allow the two comrades to speak. Both of them were finally removed from the hall by violence. Now it appears that rather than have our comrades present, the bureaucrats are ready to go to the extreme of holding these "quiet front" conferences in such a "quiet" manner that nobody even hears about them and the Daily Worker mentions them only when they are concluded. Only hysteria and fear could lead the Stalinist officials to such lengths!

GREECE

THE ELECTIONS IN MYTILENE

After the surprising results of the election of Mytilene, where the Communist party, in collaboration with the Opposition, received about 4,700 votes (in the town of Mytilene itself, the C. P. had a majority of the votes, 1,700 out of 3,000), the Greek bourgeois press, without distinction of tendencies, has become frightened over the "threatening Communist danger".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Before the Greek Communists and above all the Left Opposition are posed today new tasks in face of the new great struggles. Repairing the errors of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the comrades of the Opposition must work with perseverance in order to gain the working masses who are deserting the bourgeois parties for the revolutionary class organizations for the revolutionary class organizations. They will succeed.

Salonika, July 1931.

—OPPOSITIONIST.

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DISCUSSION ARTICLES

A Reply to the Discussion

It must be admitted that the conference discussion material has yielded very little either in the way of positive supplement to the draft thesis of the National Committee or criticism of it.

Our draft has been submitted to an international discussion, and a beneficial criticism from that source is not yet excluded.

A Discredited Idea

Comrades Rose and Carter are the rightful representatives of these tendencies. In their discussion articles they only recapitulate the attitude and point of view they have constantly maintained against the National Committee.

Comrade Rose renews his long-standing feud with us on three very important questions: On the evaluation of the history of the party; on the present status and the perspectives of the party; and on the attitude of the Left Opposition toward the party.

Comrade Rose's first fault, from which the others flow, is his grossly distorted view of the history of the party. This is not without valid reasons.

Comrade Rose's first fault, from which the others flow, is his grossly distorted view of the history of the party.

If it was a mistake in the first place to organize the party, if it was wrong to belong to the party since its foundation, if the circles of word-radicalism which conducted a venomous fight against the party since its inception were correct—if all this were so, comrade Rose's approach to the question would have a certain justification.

Distorted History

Take a few samples of comrade Rose's history at random: In each instance we find them to be distorted, one-sided and false.

Comrade Rose speaks of party members "sent in 'to capture or destroy the I. W. W.'" Who were they and when was such an instruction ever given out by the party?

We have always been under the impression that the Passaic strike was a landmark in party development, that it was handled on a national scale with considerable skill and that it signaled the party's supremacy in the radical labor movement.

gage to the A. F. of L. fakery, to disspate and demoralize." What is this but I. W. W. chatter, later repeated by Browder and similars to justify the "turn" of the "third period"?

One more example: In our platform adopted at the First Conference we gave a review of the mine strike of 1927-28 and the subsequent developments.

Here again comrade Rose gives a prominence to the I. W. W. out of all proportion to their actual merits while he belittles the achievements of the party.

Repeating Slander

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

Problems of Our Perspectives

Our thesis breathes not one particle of spirit of a coming "Victorian age" for American imperialism in the Lovestonian sense. Nor does it project the possibility of a "Victorian age" for American imperialism parallel to the development of British imperialism in the nineteenth century.

This we believe, is the most likely variant for the immediate future which can be quite well substantiated by the present economic and political trends.

But at the outset let us remember that this question is closely bound up with the perspectives of the world's revolutionary movement. It will be of decisive importance whether it progresses toward new victories or whether it suffers new serious defeats.

Hence, our thesis does not at all draw any conclusions based upon the ability of American capitalism to solve its problems or to overcome its contradictions. It proceeds from the inevitable intensification of these contradictions to hold out "prospects of struggle which will increase in breadth and depth and militancy".

Fundamentals of Present Crisis

The capitalist system of society as a whole has reached its period of decline. The crisis which followed the short speculative post-war "boom" marked a beginning of a period of crises for capitalism, within which the business cycles still operate but are changed to the degree that the general period has been changed.

Comrade Rose speaks of party members "sent in 'to capture or destroy the I. W. W.'" Who were they and when was such an instruction ever given out by the party?

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

With such a view of party history as comrade Rose has expounded in his articles it is only logical that he should see nothing good in it today and no hope for its future.

The Communist Party of Germany has no better policy and no better leadership—if we allow for proportions—and yet it influences millions and continues to grow.

False Viewpoints

The theory that the party was worthless in the past and hopeless for the future brings our critic inevitably to a collision with the policy toward the party which the Left Opposition has pursued since its inception.

We cannot determine the line of the Communist League in this manner. First we must clearly define the premises upon which our work as a faction of the party is founded.

(The second article by comrade Cannon in reply to discussion will appear next week.)

fore be incorrect to speak of prospects of American capitalism overcoming its crisis merely on the basis of the process of business cycles operating in the home market.

Further World Market Expansion

The majority of the world's population still consist of peasants (still mainly engaged in natural economy). To turn the peasants into elements of capitalist production, i. e., producers and consumers of capitalist society, is one of the important processes of capitalism and has proven one additional means of capitalist expansion throughout its history.

The crisis releases enormous amounts of liquid capital seeking new fields of investments. Such are to be found primarily in these economically backward countries, colonies and semi-colonies.

To develop such backward countries capitalistically, although offering a means of expansion for a time, does not at all solve the contradictions of world capitalism, nor of any of its component parts.

American imperialism won the war. It established its world hegemony. It intervened in Europe in 1923 to defeat the German proletariat and "stabilize" German capitalism.

America's Role in the World Market

Intervened in Europe in 1923 to defeat the German proletariat and "stabilize" German capitalism. It intervened again in 1931 to postpone the German revolution and to put the screws on France.

Evidently, Wall Street does not in the least fear the consequences to its own market within these competing powers by limiting their rations or even crushing them as competitors.

So far, however, these forecasts have taken into account only the possibilities of American capitalism extricating itself out of the present crisis in connection with its possible further expansion on the world market.

—ARNE SWABECK.

OUR INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

The International Bulletin of the Communist Left Opposition which is published in French and German by the International Secretariat, and an English edition of which is published by the Communist League (Opposition), is now being put on a subscription basis which will considerably facilitate its publication and distribution.

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

Contradictions of the Agrarian Crisis

The agrarian crisis presents itself as a blending of the contradictions of a theoretically pure capitalism with those produced by the law of uneven development. Here we have before us not only the striking discrepancy between the productive forces and the solvent demand but also barriers erected by the backward mode of production restricting the free flow of capital in the creation of the average rate of profit.

The present agrarian crisis which more immediately receives its capping character from the tremendous impetus given to the extension of grain culture of the Western Hemisphere during the War and the period of revolutionary upheavals and crop failures immediately following, has its more profound roots fixed in the enormous technological improvements (fertilizers, machinery, etc.) much of which was applicable even to small scale agriculture.

Effects of "Return to Normal"

The return of normal conditions, the rehabilitation of Eastern Europe grain fields in the face of the huge acreage increase in America, could only result in the dizzy fall of the wheat bushel; concurrent with and supplementing the deepened industrial crisis on the other hand, whets yet more its edge on the attenuated condition of the city working masses.

On the theoretical field it hammers decisively the nails into the coffin of the dogma of Malthus-Ricardo, and affirms in dazzling manner the contention of Engels: "Against the competition of the virgin prairie soils and of the Russian and Indian peasants ground down by taxation, the European capitalist farmer and peasant could not stand up at the old rents. A portion of the soil of Europe fell definitely out of the competition for the raising of grain, the rents fell everywhere . . . This accounts for the woes of the landlords from Scotland to Italy, and from Southern France to Eastern Prussia.

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

Attempts at Organization

The unbridled anarchy of the world market calls forth both in agriculture as well as in industry attempts at organization. In the latter sphere these take the form of trusts, cartels, etc., which, being based on the highest developed technology, are up to a certain point revivifiers in content, insofar as they consolidate the economic foundation for the next mode of production.

The industrial crises in the past have been by their very nature cyclic in character. Even the present crisis, which may be considered the first of the downward crisis, will undoubtedly be followed by a partial revival at least in America.

Above we have briefly sketched the effect of small scale farming on the price level, and it directly follows that the crisis would be of a more permanent nature than the industrial crisis.

The most fundamental tendency of

capitalist production is the constant increase of the specific gravity of the constant capital over the variable capital, and of the fixed capital compared with the circulating capital. It is this fact which gives to an increased consumption of constant capital the role of the decisive factor in the overcoming of the periodical crisis.

The agrarian crisis can be temporarily overcome only through the agency of calamities brought about by the workings of nature or social chaos. The first possibility is that of an international crop failure, which is improbable; the other is that of another imperialist war which must, however, lead not only to its temporary solution by higher grain prices, but to the solution of all the contradictions of capitalism, to the social revolution.

Society does not travel along lubricated rails, as the "gradual" phillistine would have us believe. The historical process heaves its way, having no quams not only for individuals but even for the physical existence of classes. The extermination of the yeomanry in England accompanied by the unfathomable misery of its victims, had, however, a revolutionary significance. The present suffering of the farmers can have none such. With wheat at forty cents, and less, a bushel, and with a most uncertain future, it is hardly likely that there should be present the incentive for the establishment of large capitalist farming with the capital outlay involved.

A Revolutionary Force

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

Marxism, in contradiction to other ideologies, can have no desire to set barriers up to the historical process. With objective eye it adjudges each social phenomenon by the criterion of hindering or advancing the social development. With this in mind, and considering the fact that small scale production is but a decaying remnant of a previous productive mode, we must declare ourselves categorically opposed to any demands serving the purpose of retarding the disappearance of small peasant property.

The most deplorable failing in the thesis is the utter lack of an analysis of the agrarian crisis, which is offered but two lines. The problem is as urgent as it is untouched. That difficulties present themselves in its elaboration is no excuse for such flagrant negligence.

The task of the Opposition is not that of repeating ready-made formulae, but it is we as the vanguard of the vanguard whom rests the tasks of forging new weapons for the movement. It is essential that the agrarian question be put on the agenda of the coming Conference.

—W. KREHM.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

The Revolution in Spain . . . 10c

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

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THE YOUNG VANGUARD

Struggle of the Boston Shoeworkers

youth notes

The Question of Youth in Industry

our tasks

OUR YOUTH THESIS

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

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

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

THE Y. C. L.

The Young Communist League districts are again making plans. This decision was arrived at following the letter of the Y. C. L. to its sixth Convention which apparently served as a substitute (!) for a youth thesis. It makes one sick to read this letter (Young Worker—8-31-31).

Once again we hear about "Left" and "Right" deviations, "failure to do this, that and the other thing, incorrect leadership, "we must", etc., etc. It is an identical repetition of the Y. C. L. letters of the last few years. The proposals are the same. For example: "The 'arm chair' system of work, the making up of unpractical bureaucratic plans of work must be done away with. At the same time it is necessary to decisively remove from the leadership those elements that have become bureaucratic and are incapable of struggling in practice for the line of the Y. C. L.!" A novel suggestion indeed!

Everyone was frightened. Some districts started "plans" without figures! The Chicago district put for itself the goal, among numerous other things, of 150 new members in the next three months. The N. E. C. criticized this as too modest. If the number is substantially increased at least one blessing will result: The members of the N. E. C. will not function in the Chicago district!

Neither the Y. C. L. letter nor the Chicago district plan says as much as one word on the need of the education of the youth inside and outside the League!

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

—JOS. C.

What IS International Youth Day?

What is International Youth Day? The "El Obrero Del Caribe", official organ of the Caribbean sub-committee of the Latin American Trade Union Federation (affiliated to the R. I. L. U.), replies:

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

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

But wait,—let us pick up the Daily Worker of September 2. In the leading editorial entitled, "September 8—Youth Day", we read:

"The anniversary of the founding of the Young Communist International on September 8, 1919, is a fitting time to sharply point out the shortcomings of the whole revolutionary movement in neglecting the task of winning the working class youth to their own class side of the class struggle and to initiate an energetic correction of this remnant of opportunist blindness toward youth problems."

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

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

The conference of the socialist youth took place at Berne, Switzerland, April 1915, while Karl Liebknecht was in prison.

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

The Young Communist International was founded, not on September 8, 1919, but in November 1919.

After this nothing they say can surprise us!

—JOSEPH CARTER.

In the front ranks of the recent struggle of the Pennsylvania and Ohio coal miners was the proletarian youth. On the picket line, on the pit committees, in the locals and on the General Executive Board, the young miners were playing active and leading roles. By their presence and integral participation, the strike was assured of heroic militancy, determined battles, iron-clad solidarity.

This is by no means an unusual occurrence. Since the world war, practically every big struggle of the workers has found the youth playing an important and even decisive part. Witness the steel strike of 1919, the Passaic strike, New Bedford, the New York needle trades, Fall River, and Gastonia.

To understand the part that youth plays in the class struggle, its problems and needs; how it is to be attracted in greater numbers to revolutionary unionism; how to win it for Communism—these require careful and deliberate study. Before this is done, one can hardly expect much organizational results from the spontaneous militancy of the young workers.

Such a study in order to be of real value, should begin with a statement and examination of the most recent statistics on the youth in industry, discuss the specific problems of the young worker, narrate some of the experiences in the organization of the youth and summarize by stating the general tendencies of the development of youth in industry — its numerical strength, strategic importance, growth or diminution of special youth problems.

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

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

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

economic position, today they are in the overwhelming majority in the less skilled industries. Still more, in industries such as coal, the youth formerly were to a large extent engaged in auxiliary work—outside the mine itself; today a large section, if not a majority, (the latter has still to be determined statistically), of the young miners do inside work. From this we can conclude that the tendency at work is that of reducing the problem of the proletarian youth to that of the general unskilled worker. This is seen in the textile, automobile, metal as well as the coal industry mentioned above.

Youth economic demands are being reduced considerably. They arise not from the special economic position of youth in industry, but rather from their physical and psychological characteristics. The physical and mental immaturity of the young worker under 18, and especially under 16, calls for the assurance of such demands as: Establishment of work schools in factories; abolition of night work; an annual four weeks vacation with pay; abolition of child labor under 14 with state support of these at present unemployed and similar demands which may arise under specific conditions. The demand for a six-hour day with no reduction in pay, (which the Party and Y. C. L. call a stagger system when issued for all workers), is still a slogan of the young Communist League. For us, it is a demand for the entire working class including the youth.

The above are also the political demands of the young Communist, that is demands of the capitalist state. Added to this, is the demand for the right to vote for youth of 18 or more. They are applied as immediate industrial demands when the concrete situation requires it. At the same time the more general demands of the workers (social insurance, Negro equality) are propagated among the youth.

The meaning and importance of youth sections of unions is hardly mentioned while the strength of the bourgeois youth organizations are given, those of the petty bourgeois ones, which although not influential, are by no means unimportant. The Youth League for Reconciliation the Young Peoples' Socialist League etc., are not as much as mentioned.

In summary, it can be said that the pamphlet has little value, either statistically, or as a substantial factual guide for youth policies and activities. It falls upon the youth of the Left Opposition to make the necessary study of the problems of youth in industry and to draw the proper tactical conclusions. The sooner this task is accomplished, the greater will be the possibilities for the growth of the Communist youth.

GEORGE RAY.

IN THE RANKS OF THE PARTY

The Startling Turnover in the Party

One of our party comrades has sent us a copy of the bulletin issued by the New York district of the party for a "Three Months' Plan of Work" issued July 1, 1931. Since the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Russian party, after having grudgingly adopted the essential arguments of the Left Opposition for a systematic plan in economy, and having been taken completely by surprise by the successes of planned economy which were totally unexpected by them, a veritable mania for "plans" has swept over every party in the Comintern. One year plans, six months' plans, three months' plans, three days' plans—all of them are adopted, advertised hysterically, driven at fewer pitch and—having been bureaucratically conceived and bureaucratically executed—they are brought to a "successful conclusion" in the columns of "self-criticism" in the party press, where the appointed leaders seek to prove that the plans was indeed a good one, only the membership did not carry it out properly. Never do these conscienceless officials endeavor to make an honest effort to explain to the party members why they have such a miserable record to chalk up for their regime. A case in point, which speaks eloquently and tragically about the state of affairs in the party, is contained in "Attached Material: Fluctuation of the Membership" which is appended to the bulletin referred to above. We quote the opening paragraph:

The Sharp Decline

"Since January 1, 1930, when all of the old membership books had to be exchanged for new ones, the New York District issued about 6,000 books. The number of new membership books made out in the District and not given out to the new members by the Sections for one reason or another, amounts to six hundred, duplicate membership books, about 200, altogether about 800. This means that we actually gave out 5,200 membership books during the period of January 1930 to June 1, 1931. Today we have in the party not more than 3,000 members. In other words, about 2,200 workers left the party in the period of 17 months." (Our emphasis.)

If a discount is made for bureaucratic figure-juggling and for passive members, the number of 3,000 members would doubtlessly be even smaller. But assuming that there are 3,000 members in the district, then we are involuntarily given a crushing indictment of the whole leadership, for New York is where all the statesmen of the regime are concentrated,

where the bulk of its machinery, press and apparatus is concentrated. In the days of the "prosperity", of the "bourgeoisification of the workers", the New York district had some 3,000 members. Today, in the period of "revolutionary upsurge" of "mass radicalization", of the "third period", the principal district of the party has not one serious advance in membership to record! Worse yet: instead of merely having stood still and gained no members, it would appear that hundreds upon hundreds (a minimum of 2,200) workers made their way towards Communism and the Communist party in the last 17 months, but so radically wrong was "something" in the party, that these 2,200 hardly remained in it long enough to pay their first months dues.

The bulletin gives 13 "reasons" for this calamitous situation. The first one is highly significant: "I. We failed to explain to the workers who made off application cards what the Communist party is, what it stands for." How is this possible? Who were these workers who joined the C. P. without know either what it is or what it stands for? Where did they come from? Who fooled them into signing a card about whose significance they did not have the slightest notion? We have no doubt that in the course of one of the "plans", during one of the tragically burlesque misnamed "socialist competition," some of the harassed party comrades simply picked up new "applicants" by the yard, without either party to the bargain knowing much about what was up and probably not caring much, either. But surely that cannot account for the membership dropping in 18 months like a bullet-riddled bird. Nor can all of the other 12 "reasons"—all of them are typical of the official's contemptible endeavor to blame everything on the "ranks"—even if put together, account for the fall.

The Roots of the Evil We believe the causes lie elsewhere. In the first place, it is a warning punishment of the party for the false policies of its leaders. The stifling, mechanical atmosphere in the party makes a healthy discussion of policies illegal for the members. They are obviously voting "with their feet" against the wisdom of Browder, Foster and Co. Despondent and discouraged, they seek the easiest way out of the swamp of defeats, blunders, loss of prestige and influence into which the leadership's wrong course is constantly pulling them. In the second place and

inseparably connected with the first cause, is the internal regime of party bureaucracy, the Stalinist translation of party democracy. We have said a hundred times and we repeat: the worker does not feel at home in his own party. Let him say a word of criticism directed at anyone but the lowest official, at anything but the least important item in the "party line", and he will wake up outside the party with a feeling as if a ton of bricks had hit him on the head. At best he will be tolerated in his unit only in the uncomfortable atmosphere of glaring looks from the section organizer, sneering criticism from some agit-prop flunkie with the constant threat of Control Commission inquisitors hanging over his head. Only the greatest devotion to Communism, to its principles, to its victory in the Soviet Union keeps the party member inside the ranks in spite of this state of affairs. But it does not keep all of them. The bureaucrats very "pleasantly" drive thousands away as with a metal-tipped scourge.

The astounding, almost unbelievable decline in the New York district—unmistakably typical of what must be a worse situation in the less fortunately situated districts—is a signal whose warning note can be ignored only by the totally deaf and hopeless. The drop has occurred in a period of favorable opportunities for extensive growth, the like of which the American Communist movement has rarely if ever seen before. What policies is the party pursuing that they produce such catastrophic results? What regime curses the party that drives thousands out of it? What sort of a leadership has been inflicted upon the party which, in the face of such "victories", does not come humbly to the membership and ask to be removed from office as hopelessly incompetent, which—even were it called upon to render an accounting of its stewardship—would look with contempt and amusement upon the impatient followers who presume to question the authority of the inviolable idols consecrated by Stalin himself?

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BOSTON— From the time of the big strike up till last June, the shoe workers just accepted one wage cut after another without any resistance, in the absence of any leadership capable of leading them in struggle. The T. U. U. L. Shoe workers' group kept up its office on Washington Street, satisfied to maintain itself as a revolutionary "union" with its twelve stalwarts. A lot of talk still went on, how to organize the unorganized? But no definite plans of approach to the workers was laid down by the T. U. U. L.

June 7, a conference was called by the Cutters' local in Lynn, a section of the old United Shoe Workers. All crafts in the industry were invited with the purpose of discussing ways and means of organizing a New England shoe workers union. Over seventy rank and file delegates attended. The initiators of the conference had made no preparations. They only proposed one question for discussion: when and how to call a broader conference. The T. U. U. L. delegates had an opportunity to bring forward their program of action. Every single one of the T. U. U. L. representatives spoke and all the delegates responded assentingly. The conference committee was enlarged and three T. U. U. L. members were added to it. The situation was full of promise for the building of a union on militant premises, despite of the few fakery that were behind the move, such as Meed.

The second conference took place June 21, in Boston. The T. U. U. L. group came to the meet with a definite stand: Either to bring about a united front under the unconditional leadership of the T. U. U. L. or else to leave the conference. At a time when the shoe workers were eager to hear what any group has to propose to them in relation with their conditions, the wage cuts, etc., the party and Left wing forces made the main issue: Blanket endorsement of the T. U. U. L. and a guaranteed acceptance of its leadership.

The party had concentrated all its forces for the conference. As soon as it became evident, that in this manner, the Left wing was in control of a majority, the leaders of the T. U. U. L. group opened fire against the leadership of the

Lynn Cutters groups, McCahey and other members of the rank and file Conference Committee, who were not members or sympathizers of the T. U. U. L. Only a few remained, to answer the denunciations of the party and T. U. U. L. leaders against their group. These also left, later on. The conference then elected a committee of fifteen to call a huge conference for August 15, to organize the Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union. One meeting of this committee was actually held, which was at the same time the first and the last. The organization Conference never took place and the T. U. U. L. Shoe workers' group slunk back into its isolationist snugness.

The Lynn Cutters reorganized their local into the National Shoe Cutters Union. They have led a number of strikes in Lynn. In Boston, they have a great following among the cutters, as well as in other shoe towns. The leadership of this union is conservative, entrenched in the old craft union ideology. The shoe workers have little to expect from them in their struggle to better their conditions. All through their little strikes, at the meetings in which the workers assembled, nowhere has the voice of the Left wing been raised.

In the shoe industry, the Left wing and the T. U. U. L. are once again at the bottom of the ladder. The work must be begun all anew. First of all, the policy of mechanical control of the party leadership of the T. U. U. L. must be rejected. Much has been said in party circles of late in this direction, but nothing has actually been begun to bring about a change in actual procedure. Secondly, the Leninist united front tactic, the tactic of uniting all the workers in action while imposing merciless criticism in the course of struggle upon the temporary reformist allies, so that all workers involved may see with their own eyes who their real friends are—this tactic must be revived immediately, in the shoe industry as well as in all the other trade union work. Only on such a basis can the organization of the shoe workers be effected, only in this way can they be led into militant struggle under revolutionary leadership.

—SHOE WORKER.

A Picture of the Party's Inner Life

The political life in our units is very dull. Sometimes, something flares up in the form of a Scottsboro case, a miners' strike. But whatever it is, it seems that we are divided by something like a "no man's land" from the real currents of political and trade union life of the country. For example, during the miners' strike, we heard from our unit leadership that "the heroic strike of the miners against starvation must be won." How? By throwing all our forces into the strike, by building the N. M. U., by helping the W. I. R. in its relief work, by exposing the "social-fascist" Mustates, socialists, etc. But when it came to the question of how to expose them, we heard again that we must do it by building the T. U. U. L. and the N. M. U., by helping the W. I. R., etc.—a sort of a vicious article out of which the party does not seem to be able to issue, and from which it will not issue until that artificial, anti-Leninist isolation from the masses, kept up for the sake of the "third period", "social fascism", "democratic dictatorship" and the rest of the spell-binding outcries on the moon, is done away with.

Especially do things become bad when the top kicks of the unit try to conceal the fact of our defeat in the coal strike. When it came to the reorganization on the basis of the "three months' plan", it was still worse. There and then the bureaucratic attitude of our leadership showed itself up. The time for the report on the very complicated questions involved, was given between 15 and 20 minutes, time for questions and discussion about 40, and all of this at the end of a lifeless, tiresome meeting filled with routine work, when everyone wanted to get out as soon as possible. As it was stated even in the party bulletin: "The low political level of the units, the mechanical discussions without any preparations, drive away very large numbers of workers." At the next meeting, another topic for "discussion". Perhaps the district office is working on the "three months' plan", but for our unit it remains Chinese, with the exception of one Chinese comrade, for whom it remains Greek.

This and innumerable other bureaucratic attitudes at the top naturally give rise to smaller bureaucrats at the bottom, which, again as expressed by the party bulletin for members, is "opportunistic and sectarian decision of the unit bureau", "bureaucratic attitude of the leadership in the unit" and so on.

In the draft of the three months' plan of work ending July 1, a thousand and one failures were enumerated and not one real reason given except on the style of "self-criticism" with which we have had such bad experience. But it is easy to see that the questions: "Why are we continually falling? Why do we meet with one major defeat after another? Why did we lose 2,200 members in 17 months in the New York district alone?"—are forcing themselves on those of the party members who really want to know what is wrong fundamentally and who cannot be satisfied with the hot air of the "third period" explanations.

Especially is this state of mind becoming evident with the resistance the bureaucrats met with in some of the units when they tried to give the official explanation of our defeats in the

needle trades strike and later on, in the coal strike. And that is a hopeful sign in itself.

—A PARTY MEMBER.

How Articles «Happen» to Be Written

Readers of the Daily Worker may recall that a few weeks ago an article appeared by a certain Frankfeld, one of the lesser wheelchairs in the apparatus who is now "building" the party in Chicago. In the article, there were some revoltingly venomous attacks made upon the Left Opposition, and also a little "self-criticism" in which the author very thoroughly revealed that he has made nothing but mistakes and has been flagrantly incompetent and ignorant—up to the time of writing the article. The manner in which these two sides of the article were combined, and the insane fury with which the "Trotskyists" were assailed, were good cause even then to suspect that more was rotten than appeared on the surface. Now, we receive a letter explaining it all from a thoroughly reliable Chicago correspondent:

It appears that this same person, Frankfeld, appeared one evening in the party bookstore, considerably the worse for an unsuccessful bout with Mr. Capone's principal commodity. Being usually more loquacious and frank in this state, Frankfeld proceeded to pronounce himself as follows: "Who was right on the Chinese situation? None other than Trotsky. Who was right on the Spanish situation? None other than Trotsky. And who is the one that can turn out correct theses on Trotskyism? Why, none other than me, Frankfeld." This cynical hypocrisy aroused a League D. E. C. member, who later brought charges against the party organizer, Gebert for harboring a "Trotskyist" on the district committee. The charges were finally dismissed and Frankfeld was whitewashed. But one of the conditions for the cost of kalsomine was, evidently, that he degrade himself a few more notches. This is the task he accomplished with such skill in his Daily Worker article. He probably figures that he got off lightly.

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

I. Y. D. IN NEW YORK

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

The singing and cheering of the demonstrators, which was very poorly organized, was none too enthusiastic. Our own small group of young Opposition comrades who participated in the parade cheered and sang heartily.