



ON THE SPOT

LET'S SHAKE HANDS ON THIS

This is not good hot weather stuff but even during the glare of an election campaign and the fury of peace proclamations there are indications that some of our best professors are devoting their brains to serious thinking. The French Academy of Science, than which there is none more savant, approved by a majority vote that it is safer from the hygienic point of view to osculate than to shake hands. The learned doctors blamed this hygienic deviation on the unfortunate germ who is unable to speak up for himself but we dare to state that the doctors simply prefer to kiss than to shake hands.

SMITH MAY KEEP HIS SHIRT ON

When Al Smith, lost leader of the Democratic Party, issued his expected statement pledging fealty to the Democracy in the election campaign, he avoided mention of the presidential candidature as if Franklin D. Roosevelt were Martin Luther running on the platform of the Prohibition Party. Four years ago when Al got the nomination at the Houston convention, William Gibbs McAdoo, his old rival, announced that he was going to take off his coat for Al and Democracy. Instead he put on a new suit and took a boat to Paris where he stayed until the weather got cooler in the United States. If the working class voters who work themselves into a lather over the confidence men of the capitalist parties took of their coats to work for Communism in the election campaign and all the year around before long the genus capitalist politician would be issuing statements from the zoo.

OLIVE IS WASTING HER OIL

In an effort to lubricate the Du Pont soul, Mrs. Olive Johnson, editor of the *Weekly People*, wrote an open letter to the powder barons. Of course she probably believes that the bourgeoisie of this country, like the ruling classes of all times will not surrender their power without a violent struggle, but just a letter from the editor of the *Weekly People* might induce those dynamic gentlemen to step down gracefully. Perhaps they manufacture dynamite in order to provide employment, and promote wars with the same worthy aim in view. It is too bad people get killed in the process. It is also too bad Mrs. Johnson did not make her appeal to the exploited wage slaves of Du Pont. They would probably pay at least as much attention to it as the T. N. T. mahatmas.

WHOEVER WINS WE ARE FOR THIS FIGHT

We are informed that there was a wild session at the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Legion of New York County over the bonus question. The Legion bosses fought hard to prevent the passage of the resolution for payment but their patriotic efforts were of no avail and we must announce with great regret that those boys (hic, hic, horror) who fought for their country in France and even in Paris, insisted on demanding now what they were only supposed to get when they were dead or damned near it. I feel as keenly about the Legionnaires fight for a bonus as I do for the troubles of the King of Siam who had his fun and still is having a lot of it if my spies correctly report on him, and in a fight between a bunch of patriots who were organized to smash the labor movement and their bosses who organized them but now refuse to pay them for their patriotism, I am somewhat like the Irishman who was neutral in the late war, "I am not for England nor against Germany."

THE RASCALLY POOR SIMPLY WON'T BE GOOD

The nawsty report is hitched on to a drive for funds but there is reason to believe that the moral turpitude of the working class knows no bounds. In the years of prosperity—write your own editorial about that—they went around riding in automobiles, wearing silks and satins and indulging in other debaucheries which were supposed to be strictly within the domain of the ruling classes. But it seems they are bound to sin in periods of depression as well as in periods of prosperity. The Salvation Army is raising a fund and in the press agent's report that I have on my desk, or whatever you want to call it, the heart appeal is based on the amazing fact that this is the most bastardy year in the history of this country. We have no objection to the bar sinister at all. In fact before our respectability became so shocking we used to quote with great gusto the axiom used by a Monarch of England when he was repulsed by the daughter of the Earl of Warwick. "A king's bastard is a house's pride", quoth he. Yes, there were kings in those days. But anyhow the working class should have more sympathy for the Salvation Army than they seem to have.

—RIDEM.

A WARNING OUT OF THE PAST

There has recently been an increase in the number of violent physical encounters between members of the Communist party on the one hand, and members of other labor organizations on the other. On several occasions, organized groups of party members have attempted to break up meetings of the Left Opposition—only quite recently at Wilkins and Intervale Avenues, Bronx. At the same corner, a number of nights later, a violent battle took place between members of the Communist and Socialist parties at an S. P. meeting. On another evening, a similar fight took place at a socialist meeting at a downtown corner of Second Avenue in New York. In still other places, meetings of the Lovestone group have been disrupted by organized groups of opponents.

Should such a course be perpetuated, it can bring only the greatest discredit and harm to the Communist cause in general and to the party in particular. A stern warning throughout the party ranks against such an attitude towards working class opponents, and particularly towards the socialist workers, must immediately be issued so that everybody may know that the Communists will not take any responsibility for street fighting of any kind between workers.

In 1925, a severe crisis broke out in the German Communist party. The ultra-Leftist line of the party leadership, originally inspired by the Comintern chiefs themselves, produced the inevitably disastrous results for the party. The party had become increasingly isolated from the non-Communist masses. A huge wall had been erected between the

Communist and socialist workers—to the tremendous satisfaction of the socialist leaders. Innumerable cases were recorded of fights in the streets and halls between both sides, which only further alienated the socialist workers from the party.

So harmful had such a development become that the Executive Committee of the Communist International was compelled to refer to it publicly, before the whole working class of Germany, in its famous Open Letter to the German party in the middle of 1925. We quote a significant passage:

"In order really to find a path to the best section of the German social democratic workers, a struggle must be launched against those excesses which originate in the period when the struggle was conducted with arms in hand. The greatest harm to the cause of the working class is brought, for example, by cases of mutual fights between Communists and social democrats (at meetings, among the youth, etc.), which still take place to this very day, for which the social democrats are to blame without the Communists being blameless either. Such mutual fights play right into the hands of the counter-revolutionary leaders of the German social democracy, and these leaders naturally instigate deliberately such a struggle. The Communists must take the initiative for a final elimination of such phenomena, which naturally presupposes the good will of the social democratic workers."

With little change, this entirely sound and necessary advice of 1925 applies to the American party at the present time.

It is quite ludicrous to read the lamentations of the socialist press about the party's disruption of S. P. meetings, especially when it is remembered that the Hillquits were the first to introduce violence as a means of settling their disputes with the Left wing, not only inside the party in 1919, but in the trade unions under their control; and further, that the socialists in power have not hesitated a moment to crush the Communists under an iron heel. At the same time, the falsifications in the official party press about the increasing encounters do not conceal the well-known fact that the party not only encourages hooligan disruption of opponent meetings, but frequently initiates and organizes them. Workers who are moving towards Communism—non-party workers as well as rank and file Left wingers in the S. P.—are repelled from the party by such conduct. They are caught once more by the reaction, and so far as the Socialist party is concerned, Hillquit owes more to the criminal stupidity of the Stalinists than he thinks.

The party which talks today about "overcoming our isolation", must call a halt immediately, openly and in unmistakable terms. The lessons of 1925 must not be allowed to pass by without leaving clear traces on the consciousness of the Communist workers. Those who are seriously concerned with the movement will repeat the warning of the past and demand that it be heeded today.

Put an end to hooliganism and street fighting between workers of different views! Burn such a disgraceful method out of the revolutionary movement!

Five Expelled from Y.C.L.

Chicago Communist Youth Fight Campaign against Opposition

CHICAGO.—

The expulsion of four members of the Young Communist League, and the exclusion of one more, for refusing to denounce the Left Opposition as counter-revolutionary, and for conducting a fight against the paralyzing bureaucracy in the League follows right after the expulsion some months ago of comrades Satir, Gould and Andras. Unable to refute the telling charges of incompetence and bureaucracy, in the League, the petty functionaries have resorted to their classic reply: expulsions. The ideas of the Left Opposition, which the Stalinists have sought to repress by force, are making their way to the Communist workers and particularly the younger, militant comrades. The new addition of forces accruing to the Left Opposition in this case is a most welcome and significant sign of the progress we are making.

The expulsion of the comrades in question brought forward the following statement signed by all of them. We urge all comrades in the League and Party to take up this question and demand an end to the destructive, bureaucratic policy of suppression of Communist opinion within the movement.

STATEMENT OF THE EXPULSIONS OF FERN, BARSHESKY, SOLD, AND HANKIN AND THE EX- CLUSION OF FAREFIELD TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE:

Last July at the District convention of the Y. C. L. a group of comrades presented a series of criticisms regarding the intolerable situation in the League and condemned the bureaucratic activities of the leadership. These criticisms were confirmed by the Young Communist International in its resolution on the American League. The Y. C. L. although it condemned the Satir group by name, was forced to make the same criticism of the American leadership as was made by that group. Comrade Satir, Gould and Andras, leading comrades of District No. 8 were expelled by the bureaucrats so that their incompetence might not be exposed and that they might remain at their sinecures.

The criticisms of these comrades were:

1. Rooting ourselves in the factories
2. Against bureaucracy.
3. Raising the ideological level of the League
4. Insufficient anti-militarist work and numerous other points.

Again the bureaucratic and terroristic leadership has manifested itself not only in wholesale expulsions but also in the exclusion from membership of Dave Fairfield.

The latest victims of the bureaucratic and terroristic lash are Phil Sold, Irving Bern, Yetta Barchevsky, Dave Fairfield and H. Hankin.

Phil Sold, organizer of the Lake Street Unit and very active among the young Negro workers was expelled six months ago for fraternizing with Satir and Gould, whom he considered revolutionaries of high standing and for refusing to condemn without study the Left Opposition. He has applied for readmittance, and upon maintaining his stand was refused reinstatement.

Bern and Barchevsky, both young Communists who have proven themselves

active sincere fighters since pioneer age, and who have been brought up to believe in Leninist democratic centralism have been expelled for

(1) fighting the bureaucracy, which is undermining the Y. C. L. and is so detrimental to the League's growth as a leader of the working class youth.

(2) Refusing to denounce as counter-revolutionary comrades who have proven themselves sincere fighters. (Satir and Gould)

(3) They dared to study the question of the Left Opposition.

(4) These two comrades refused to condemn the Left Opposition as counter-revolutionary since the Y. C. L. leadership had failed to prove the incorrectness of certain policies of this group.

Dave Fairfield, a young comrade who after being convinced by members of the Tuley faction applied for membership in the Y. C. L. and was refused admittance because he dared to question the policies of the Y. C. L. This especially illustrates the bureaucratic attitude of the leadership, since comrade Fairfield was refused the right to study both sides of the question. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that the leadership was unable to prove wherein the counter-revolutionary tendencies or activities of the comrades lay, they insisted that Fairfield condemn Bern and Barshesky as counter-revolutionaries.

Comrade Hankin, a new member of the League had several misconceptions of Negro work. Upon being shown his error he quickly, sincerely and openly recognized his mistake and condemned his previous stand at an open meeting. The comrades of his unit, especially the Negro comrades, greeted this frank speech with loud applause. Yet, for questioning the position of the Y. C. L. on the expelled comrades and the Left Opposition he was expelled as a white chauvinist

Hoover & Unemployment

Republican Party Platform Ignores Vital Problem of Jobless

More than 13,000,000 men pound the pavements of plentiful America, out of work, with no hope of finding employment. Both the conservative Department of Labor and William Green, president of the A. F. L. corroborate these high figures of unemployment. All data published to date point to a daily increase of the jobless army.

It is no longer a matter of being jobless for a few weeks. These weeks have turned into months, and the months are rapidly becoming years. The prospects for work are as slight as the greatly reduced wages. The crowds at the factory gates are dwindling into mere handfuls. Even the brazen lies of Henry Ford, of putting thousands back on the job attract far less attention from the unemployed than they did some months ago. The most glibly begin to eye these deceptive statements with suspicion. One finds the curious anomaly in the want ad sections of the newspapers. It is no more the bosses who ask for "help". Today the workers spend their last dollars in advertisements, begging, pleading,

imploping some kindly capitalist to give them employment.

Jobless in Extreme Need

Two years ago unemployment meant the loss of a few luxuries. One could manage to exist without a radio and an automobile. But as the crisis continued, the lack of a job forced the worker to make payments on his home, and tens of thousands have gone under the auctioneer's hammer. Whatever savings the worker possessed have either been used up or have passed into the bankers' hands in the innumerable bank crashes. For some time, thousands of jobless have been kept afloat by assistance from more fortunate friends and relatives. But this situation is coming to an end, if it is not already concluded. The proletarian friends and relatives have been cast into the workless army. Or, if still working, their wages have been cut so low, that not only is assistance impossible, but they themselves are in dire need of relief of some sort. The picture is changing. The unemployed are ceasing to look for

(Continued on page 2)

Socialist Edict Paves Road for Hitlerites

Communists Must Form United Front Now

While the danger of a Fascist victory in Germany becomes increasingly accentuated, the social democrats are playing their classic role of restraining the workers from any concerted mass action to crush the Hitlerite viper before it is too late. Under the guise of opposing a concentration of Fascist power, the social democratic leaders are working hand in hand with the reaction to prevent "violence on both sides"—that is, to prevent the workers from uniting militantly against the Nazis. A special cablegram to the New York Times of July 14 gives the following significant report about Severing, the social democratic minister of the Interior for Prussia:

"While Baron Wilhelm von Gayl, Reich minister of the Interior, was on his way to confer with President von Hindenburg at Neudeck in East Prussia, on what was to be done about the carnage in connection with the election campaign, Carl Severing, the Prussian Interior Minister, issued orders today forbidding local police authorities to allow demonstrations and meetings unless they were sure that a sufficient police force was available to stifle violence at its first sign. The edict stipulated that the police must be adequate not only to control assemblies but to provide safe conduct

home for all participants as well as restrain them from committing acts of violence after the meeting's dispersal.

"Herr Severing's orders rest on the last presidential emergency decree, which made political demonstrations reportable to the police in advance."

Such an edict can apply essentially only to the Communists, even though ostensibly it is to include Fascist meetings as well. The Fascists are now under the direct protection of the federal government, which has removed the most important bans that existed prior to the formation of the von Papen government. The police administrations are shot through with Hitlerites and sympathizers. The Fascists are already organized on an efficient military basis, with strong support from the Reichswehr. They can be checked only by the united manifestation of working class strength in the country. By a "fair" opposition to "all" demonstrations, the social democratic priesthood is really playing right into the hands of Fascism, clearing the streets of proletarian demonstrations so that Hitler may have a clearer road to power.

At the same time, the Stalinist leaders are playing a dangerous game of hide-and-seek with the key to the whole situation—the united front of all the workers against the Nazis. Under the crushing weight of the situation, the fantastic theory of "social-Fascism" is being slowly shattered. But the desire to maintain the bureaucratic prestige of the party leaders prevents them from throwing the whole business overboard, bag and baggage, publicly, frankly, so that all the militants may understand the why and wherefore and be able to act accordingly. The situation cries out imperatively for clear-cut policies. The Stalinists are fooling around.

In some sections, the party has made a shameful turn towards the united front policy. In Berlin, it has gone so far as to address itself to the social democratic party. Why in Berlin and not nationally? Does "social-Fascism" hold good federally but not locally? Can a real united front be fought for if the old theory which prevented it is kept in reserve? The half-measures being taken now are worse than no measures at all, in one sense, because it makes confusion worse confounded. In 1925, the Executive Committee of the Communist International had to declare to the ultra-Leftists in the German party, in connection with the Hindenburg-monarchist danger, which was far from being as acute as the Fascist danger today:

"The Red Front Fighters League must address an open letter to the Reichsbanner with the proposal for a common struggle against the monarchists. Our slogan is: Wherever you will fight against the monarchists, we shall support you unconditionally. . . . It is necessary to adopt a new tone towards the social democratic workers, emphasizing with all strength the readiness of holding back much of what separates the Communist party from the social democratic workers in the name of the common struggle against the monarchist danger. . . . It is necessary to make clear to all the members of the German C. P. and all workers that the main thing is the approachment to the social democratic workers in the factories". (Imprecise, June 16, 1925.)

While some of the formulations contained here are not entirely accurate, the spirit applies a hundredfold stronger to the present situation. A plain, public, candid turn completely away from the miserable theory of "social-Fascism". A recognition in full of the Opposition's proposal for a united front of the Communist and social democratic parties against the Fascist danger, a united front that will mobilize the million-masses of Germany's proletariat not only against Hitler and Co., but also against the treacherous policy of the socialist leadership. The party leadership which has already accumulated a menacing heap of blunders, must be driven to the wall on the question. The Communist workers in this country must lend their support to the policy we advocate.

It is not too late yet but neither is there too much time. Events are moving with express speed, and the party's policy must be changed accordingly. Fascism must be crushed now!

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC

The New York Branch of the Communist League of America will hold a picnic at Tibbetts Brook Park, on Sunday, August 7th. It is planned to get all members, friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York to attend.

Keep the date open. Watch *The Militant* for further information.

Leon Trotsky -- THE BARBUSSE CONGRESS

Dear Comrades:

I have before me the June 4 number of the Paris Magazine *Monde*. *Monde* is published by Barbusse and serves as the present time as the central organ for the convocation of the "great Anti-War Congress". On the third page of this magazine there is an extract from an appeal by Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse. The character and spirit of the appeal are sufficiently clear from the following words: "We call upon all people, all groups, regardless of their political affiliations and all labor organizations—cultural, social and trade union—upon all forces and all mass organizations! Let all join us in the international Congress of War against War."

Then follows a passage from a letter addressed by Rolland to Barbusse: "I am wholly of the opinion that the Congress should be open to all parties and non-partisans on a common basis of sincere and determined struggle against war." Further on, Rolland expresses his agreement with Barbusse, that the first place in this struggle should be occupied by the working class. Still further, we read the first list of those who have joined the Congress. It consists of radical and half-radical French and German writers, pacifists, members of the League of the Rights of Man, and so forth.

This is followed by an aphorism from the well-known Emile Vandervelde. "Everywhere war gives birth to . . . explosions of revolutionary dissatisfaction on the one hand and the rabid reaction of fanatical nationalism on the other. It is of the utmost necessity that the Internationals unite their forces closely in order to prevent war."

Finally, after these words by Vandervelde, quoted from the socialist journal *Le Peuple* of May 29, 1932, we read a quotation from the central organ of the French Communist party, *L'Humanite*, of May 31, 1932: "Reply 'Present!' to the call of Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse for participation in the International Congress at Geneva."

In the last issue of *La Vie Ouvriere*, the central organ of the Unitary General Confederation of Labor, there is an article in which complete agreement is expressed with the initiative taken by Rolland and Barbusse.

The picture is now perfectly clear. The French Communist Party and the trade union organization led by it, stand behind the Initiators of the Congress. Behind French Communism stands the leadership of the Comintern. What is involved is the danger of a new world war. In the struggle against this danger it is necessary to utilize also the fellow-travellers, who appear or may appear to be, to a certain extent, the most honest and determined in the ranks of the petty bourgeois pacifists. However, this is in any case a question of tertiary or still lesser importance. The initiative in this matter, it would seem, should be taken before the eyes of the international proletariat, by the Comintern and Profront. The most important problem is the successful attraction to our side of the working masses of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals. As a

(Continued on page 4)

Republican Platform and Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)
for jobs—they are seeking relief, food and shelter.

The coming winter shows no signs of improvement. More people will be out of work. Death from starvation will threaten every proletarian family. But before the commencement of the winter season, an election campaign will be concluded. Four parties, Republican, Democrat, Socialist and Communist have drawn up platforms and nominated presidential candidates who stand on these platforms. With more than one-fourth of the American working class out of work, there can be no doubt as to the main issue of the campaign. It is **unemployment**. The acid test for the parties is their stand on this burning question. What have they to offer the jobless in their platforms? What have their actions been in obtaining relief for the unemployed? This article will deal with the record and the stand of the Republican party on this problem.

What have the Republicans done for the jobless? One word can sum up their deeds—nothing. They were elected on the promise of eternal prosperity. One year passed and their prosperity bubble burst.

For almost a year following the stock crash, with industry shutting down and lay-offs rising to the millions, their main occupation was pulling the wool over the eyes of the people. There was no crisis, Hoover said. It was only a temporary fluctuation. Then—when it became impossible to deny what was so obvious, Hoover had another gag. It would all be over in 60 or 90 days. Or if these predictions proved false—then prosperity was around the corner. Like Diogenes who looked in vain for an honest man, the American workers are searching for this corner.

Hoover's Grand Scheme

But even if thousands of workers at the start, might have been inclined to believe in the shams of the "great engineer", he himself placed no stock in them. He embarked on a "grandiose program". The papers were full of it for days. \$500,000,000 was invested in a huge "public works" scheme. Millions of men were to be returned to work. Result—a huge fizzle. And the jobless army kept growing. Wall-Street-Hoover admits today in vetoing the Wagner-Garner "relief bill" that—\$300,000,000 will only give jobs to a mere one hundred thousand men.

The next publicity scheme (the only thing the unemployed got out of the Republican administration) was the "stag-ger system". The Republican platform says that this scheme of "part time employment—limited unemployment". It yielded nothing of the kind. Every succeeding month showed an increase in the number of men thrown out of work. What it really did was to cut the standard of wages in half. And you may be sure, the bosses are thankful.

To the Hunger March on Washington that demanded unemployment insurance, Hoover responded with an emphatic No. And to give force to his statement the Capital was surrounded by the militia armed with all the weapons of modern warfare.

But this wasn't enough. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was organized. The purpose of this institution was to hand out a subsidy of over a billion dollars to the banks and the railroads. They were supposed to start the wheels of industry turning with this money. So Hoover said. The bankers and railroad magnates, however, took the money and divided it among themselves, under the high sounding title of "overdue liabilities".

Relief "Un-American"

The Republicans say in their platform that federal relief is "un-American"; only local relief is permitted. Hardly a month had passed since the platform was adopted and a bill is passed giving federal relief to states in need, to the tune of three hundred million dollars. And this is to be divided among the unemployed and their families who total over forty million people. Even if all the red tape were eliminated it would amount to scarcely ten dollars per person. And this for a whole year!

In a platform of more than twenty thousand words hardly a hundred are devoted to unemployment. To the demand for social insurance, the Republicans give lectures on "rugged American individualism". To the cry for relief they answer with platitudes about "courage, fortitude and patience". Starve—but starve quietly! They boast to their masters that there have been "few strikes and social disturbances" under their regime. They will eat these words yet!

Is any more proof necessary? The Republican party remains the most conscious and willing agents of the exploiters of the working class.

We must organize to destroy both the Republicans and the capitalist system which they represent. We must vote **Communist** as a sign that we understand the first task in our historic mission.

—CLARKE.

THE MILITANT
Published weekly by the Communist
League of America (Opposition)
at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin A. Bern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

Entered as second class mail matter
November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at
New York, N. Y. Under the act of
March 3, 1879.

Vol. 5, No. 29 (Whole No. 125)
SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1932
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; for-
eign \$2.50. Five cents per copy.
Single rates, 3 cents per copy.

I See War With Germany

by LEON TROTSKY

World politics have at present two focal points unusually remote from each other: one on the Mukden-Peking line, the other on the Berlin-Munich line. Either one of these points of infection is enough to destroy the "normal" course of events on our planet for years—for decades. However, the day-by-day work of the diplomats and official politicians looks as though nothing unusual was happening. It looked the same along in 1912 during the Balkan War which was the overture to 1914.

For some reason—grossly slandering an intelligent bird—people call this an ostrich policy. The ornamental decision adopted by the League of Nations on the Manchurian question is a document of impotence without equal even in the history of European diplomacy: no self-respecting ostrich could possibly sign his name to it. This blindness—in some cases, of course, quite voluntary—to what is preparing in the Far East, has at least this mitigating circumstance: that events there will develop at a comparatively slow pace. The East, although awakening to a new life, is still far from the "American", and even the European, tempo.

Germany is a different matter. The blind alley into which Europe, Balkanized at Versailles, has now run finds a concentrated expression in Germany, where it has taken the political form of "National-Socialism." In the language of social psychology this political tendency might be described as an epidemic hysteria of despair among the intermediate classes: the ruined small trader, craftsman, and peasant; in part, too, the unemployed proletarian; the officer and non-commissioned officer of the great war, still wearing the symbols of distinction but without rations; the clerk of the closed-up office; the bookkeeper of the bankrupt bank; the engineer without occupation; the journalist without salary or prospect; the physician whose clients are still sick but have forgotten how to pay.

Hitler has refused to answer questions about his domestic program on the ground that it is a military secret. He is not obliged, he says, to give away his secret methods of salvation to his political enemies. This is not very patriotic, but it is clever. In reality Hitler has no secrets at all. However, we are not here concerned with domestic policies. In the matter of international politics his position seems at first glance a little more definite. In his speeches and articles Hitler declares war on the Versailles Treaty, whose creature he himself is. He specializes in terms of abuse directed against France. But as a matter of fact if he came into power he would become one of the chief pillars of Versailles, and would turn out to be a mainstay of French imperialism.

These assertions may seem paradoxical. Yet they flow inexorably from the logic of the European and international situation when correctly analyzed—when the analysis starts, that is, from the basic factors of politics, and not from phrases, gestures, and the other trash of the demagogue.

HITLER WILL NEED ALLIES

The German Fascists declare that they have two enemies: Marxism and Versailles. By "Marxism" they mean two German parties—the Communists and the social democrats, and one state—the Soviet Union. By Versailles, they mean France and Poland. In order to understand what will be the actual international role of a National-Socialist Germany, it is necessary to weigh briefly these elements of the problem.

The relation between Fascism and "Marxism" is sufficiently clear from the experience of Italy. Mussolini's program, up to the day of the operetta march on Rome, was no less radical and no less mystical than that of Hitler. The reality turned out to be merely a struggle against revolutionary and oppositional forces. Like its Italian prototype, German National-Socialism can come to power only after breaking up the workers' organizations. This, however, is no simple task. Civil war lies on the road between the National-Socialists and the power they seek. Even if Hitler should get a parliamentary majority by peaceful methods—which may safely be excluded from things possible—he would find it necessary just the same, in order to inaugurate a Fascist regime, to break the backbone of the Communist party, the social democracy, and the trade-unions. And this is a very painful and prolonged surgical operation. Hitler himself, of course, understands this. That is why he is not at all disposed to accommodate his political plans to the uncertain destinies of German parliamentarianism.

While covering himself with phrases about legality, Hitler is awaiting the opportune moment to strike a short and sharp blow. Will he succeed in this? It is no easy task. But it would be unpardonably light-minded to consider his success impossible. And by whatever roads Hitler might come to power—whether through open doors or by breaking in—the Fascization of Germany would mean in any case a severe domestic conflict. This would inevitably paralyze the forces of the country for a considerable period of time, and compel Hitler to seek in surrounding Europe, not revenge, but allies and protectors. From this fundamental consideration our analysis must begin.

In their struggle against Fascism the German workers will naturally seek support in the Soviet Union, and they will find it. Can you imagine for a moment that in these circumstances Hitler's government will risk getting into an armed conflict with France or Poland? Between the proletariat of a Fascist Germany and

the Soviet Union stands Pilsudski. Pilsudski's help, or at least his friendly neutrality, will be infinitely more important to Hitler, absorbed in the Fascization of Germany, than the liquidation of the Polish Corridor. How insignificant this question will seem to Hitler—and indeed the whole question of the boundaries of Germany—in the midst of his bitter struggle to get the power and to keep it!

Pilsudski would be for Hitler a bridge toward friendship with France—if indeed there were no other bridges closer by. Even now there are voices heard in the French press—as yet only in its secondary organs—"It is time to steer our course by Hitler!" To be sure the official press, led by *Le Temps*, takes a hostile attitude to the National-Socialists. But this is not because the masters of fate in contemporary France take Hitler's martial gestures seriously. No, what frightens them is the path by which Hitler can alone come to power—the path of civil war, a thing whose outcome cannot be predicted by anybody. May not his policy of a state overturn from the Right unleash a revolution on the Left? That is what the ruling circles in France are worrying about—and quite justifiably, too.

But one thing is clear: If Hitler did overcome all obstacles and arrive in power, he would be compelled, in order to get a free hand within his own country, to begin with an oath of loyalty to Versailles. Nobody on the Quai d'Orsay has any doubt of that. Moreover, it is well understood there that a military dictatorship of Hitler, once it was firmly established in Germany, might become a considerably more reliable element in the French hegemony over Europe, than the present German governmental system, whose mathematical formula consists almost entirely of unknown quantities.

WAR WOULD BE INEVITABLE

To imagine that the ruling circles in France would be "embarrassed" to act as patrons of a Fascist Germany would be quite childishly naive. France is now relying upon Poland, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, three countries ruled by a military dictatorship! Is this accidental? Not in the least. The present French hegemony over Europe is the result of the fact that France still remains the sole inheritor of the victory of the United States, Great Britain, Italy, and herself. (I do not name Russia here since she did not participate in the victory, although she paid for it with the greatest number of human lives.) From the hands of the most powerful combination of world forces which history has known, France has received an inheritance which she will not let go of, but which is too heavy for her narrow shoulders. The territory of France, her population, her productive forces, her national income—all these are obviously inadequate to support her lordly position. The Balkanization of Europe, the stirring up of antagonisms, the struggle against disarmament, support to military dictatorships—these are the methods necessary to prolong the hegemony of France.

The forcible splitting-up of the German nation enters into the system as a link quite as necessary as the fantastic boundaries of Poland with its famous Corridor. In the language of Versailles, "Corridor" is the name given to an operation which other people call removing a rib from a living organism. When France, while supporting Japan in Manchuria, swears to God that she seeks peace, this only means that she stands for the inviolability for her own hegemony—that is, her right to dismember Europe and reduce it to chaos. Immoderate con-

querors, as history testifies, are always inclined to "pacifism", because they dread the revenge of the conquered.

A Fascist regime—a thing which could be realized only at the price of bloody convulsions and a new exhaustion of Germany—would be for that very reason an invaluable element in French hegemony. From the side of the National-Socialists France and her Versailles system have nothing at all to fear.

Would Hitler in power, then, mean peace? No, Hitler in power would mean a re-enforcement of French hegemony. But exactly for this reason Hitler in power would mean war—not against Poland, not against France, but against the Soviet Union.

The Moscow press has spoken more than once in recent years about an approaching military intervention in the Soviet Union. The author of these lines has more than once objected to this kind of snap prognosis—not because he thought that there was in Europe, or on the rest of the planet, any lack of the evil will to war against the Soviet Union. No; there was no lack of that. But for such a risky undertaking the disagreements and resistances were too great, not only between the different European states, but still more within each of them.

There is hardly a politician worthy mentioning who now imagines that the Soviet Republic could be settled with by means of armies improvised along the border or simple landing operations. Even Winston Churchill no longer believes that, notwithstanding the very wide gamut of his political vocal exercises. An experiment of this kind was more than well made during the years 1918-20 when Churchill, according to his own proud boast, mobilized "fourteen nations" against the Soviet Union. How happy the British exchequer would be now to have back those hundreds of millions of pounds spent on intervention in Russia!

But we mustn't cry over split milk. Besides a good lesson was paid for with that money. If at that time, in the first years of the Soviet Republic when the Red army was still walking in its baby shoes—alas, in those years it often had nothing on its feet at all!—the troops of "fourteen nations" could not win the victory, how much less hope there is now, when the Red Army is a mighty force, with a victorious tradition, with young and yet experienced officers, with inexhaustible reserves raised up by the Revolution, and with sufficiently opulent military stores!

The united forces of the encircling nations, even if they could be dragged into the adventure, would be small for the task of intervention in the Soviet Union. Japan is too far off for an independent military role against the Soviet Union, and moreover the Mikado's government will have troubles enough near-by in the coming years. To make intervention possible, a great, highly industrialized, and moreover continental European empire would be needed—one which would desire, and be able, to take upon itself the principal weight of a holy pilgrimage against the Soviets. To be more accurate—a country would be needed which had nothing to lose. A glance at the political map of Europe will convince you that such a mission could be undertaken only by a Fascist Germany. More than that, a Fascist Germany would have no other road left to go. Having come to power at the price of innumerable victims, having revealed its bankruptcy in all domestic problems, having capitulated to France and consequently to such semi-vassal states as Poland, the Fascist regime would be inexorably compelled to seek some sort of gambling way out of its own bankruptcy, and out of the con-

traditions of the international situation. A war against the Soviet Union would grow out of these circumstances with fatal necessity.

To this pessimistic prognosis you might reply by citing the example of Italy, with whom the Soviet Union has established a *modus vivendi*. But that objection is superficial. Italy is separated from the Soviet Union by a series of intervening countries. Italian Fascism rose with the yeast of a purely domestic crisis—the national claims of Italy having been satisfied liberally enough at Versailles. Italian Fascism came to power shortly after the great war, at which time there could be no talk of a new war. And finally Fascist Italy remained lonely, and nobody in Europe knew how stable the Fascist regime would prove, on the one hand, or the Soviet regime on the other.

In all these respects, the position of Hitler's Germany would be fatally different. An external success would be necessary to it. The Soviet Union would be an intolerable neighbor. We remember how long Pilsudski hesitated before signing the pact of non-aggression with Russia. Hitler side by side with Pilsudski—that alone almost answers our question. On the other hand France cannot help understanding that she is not in a position to keep Germany permanently disarmed. The French policy will be to turn Fascist Germany against the East. That will offer an escape valve for the national indignation against the Versailles regime, and—who knows?—maybe we will have the good luck to find along this road new sources for the solution of that most sacred of all world problems, the problem of reparations.

RUSSIA MUST BE PREPARED

If you take on faith the assertion of the Fascist prophets that they will come to power during the first half of 1932—though we are far from believing these people on their mere word—it is possible to lay out in advance a sort of political calendar. A couple of years must be set aside for the Fascization of Germany—for crushing the German working class, creating a Fascist militia, and restoring the cadres of the army. Along about 1933-34, then, the conditions for a military intervention in the Soviet Union would be adequately ripe.

This "calendar" of course assumes that the government of the Soviet Union will be meanwhile patiently waiting. My relations with the present Moscow government are not such that I have any right to speak in its name or refer to its intentions, about which I, like every other reader and man of politics, can judge only on the basis of all the information accessible. But I am all the more free to say how in my opinion the Soviet government ought to act in case of a Fascist state revolution in Germany. Upon receiving the telegraphic communication of this event I would, in their place, sign an order for the mobilization of classes. When you have a mortal enemy before you, and when war flows with necessity from the logic of the objective situation, it would be unpardonable light-mindedness to give that enemy time to establish and fortify himself, conclude the necessary alliances, receive the necessary help, work out a plan of concentric military actions—not only from the west but from the east—and thus grow up to the dimensions of a colossal danger.

Hitler's shock troops are already singing all over Germany a marching song against the Soviets, composed by a certain Doctor Hans Buchner. It would be imprudent to let the Fascists draw this martial air. If they are destined to sing it, let them sing it staccato.

Whichever of the two might happen to take the formal initiative, a war between a government of Hitler and the Soviet Government would be inevitable, and that too at a very early date. The consequences of this war would be incalculable. But whatever illusions they might cherish in Paris, one thing could be confidently asserted: In the flames of a Bolshevik-Fascist war, one of the first things to burn up would be the Versailles treaty.

—L. TROTSKY.

YOUTH NOTES

JULY ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS

Send for the July issue of **Young Spartacus**. Order a bundle and distribute the papers to the working and Communist youth. The issue contains articles of interest to all youth. An article by N. Gould explains the recent situation in the Chicago Young Communist League.

NEW YORK

The Spartacus Youth Club at its last meeting, Friday, July 8, held a discussion on the "Communists and the Presidential Elections". Comrade Morris Kent led the discussion and a number of comrades participated. On July 15 comrade H. Capells will lead a discussion on the "Reasons for the Backwardness of the American Working Class".

A number of highly successful open-air meetings were held by the club in the past few weeks. Last Thursday a meeting was held on the corner of Second Ave. and 4th St., at which **Young Spartacus**, **The Militant**, and "Germany, the Key to the International Situation" were sold. A number of youth contacts were made.

The picnic held for the Spanish youth and the Mexican comrades last Sunday

Opposition Challenge Still Unanswered

June 25, 1932.

Communist Party,
New Jersey District 7,
7 Charlton Street
Newark, New Jersey.
Dear Comrades:-

On June 11th, a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union, in Newark. At this meeting a report was made by the delegation which recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union. One of the speakers, comrade Leo Potrovsky, who is also a leading party member, made a report in which he attacked the International Left Opposition and especially comrade Leon Trotsky.

The members of the Newark branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) protested his remarks and proposed that an open discussion be arranged on the platform of the International Left Opposition. Our proposition was accepted by comrade Rostovsky in behalf of the party. We therefore request that you appoint a committee to meet with our committee and make arrangements for organizing this discussion which in our opinion will help materially to clarify the confusion that exists in the Communist ranks with regard to the policies of the Left Opposition which have been slandered, misrepresented and distorted by the Party leadership and in the Party press.

With Communist Greetings,
LOUIS NAGY,
Secretary of the Newark Branch,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

Pioneer Publishers Notes

In a short two weeks **What Next** by comrade Trotsky will be off the press. The timeliness of the work makes us confident that we are going to hang up a record for quick sales. We are making every effort to achieve this result. In next week's issue we expect to be able to make a significant announcement about the price which will make our first expectation almost a certainty. Watch for it!

The book will run to about one hundred and eighty pages and will be both paper and cloth bound. It will be up to our publishing standard in appearance and work. Arrangements are being made to ship them out against orders immediately they come off the press.

Coming on the heels of the **Problems of the Chinese Revolution**, the publication of **What Next** marks a high point in our publishing activities. But we are not stopping with this significant achievement. We are already preparing for our next publication. From this time forth we expect to issue a steady stream of works by the teachers and leaders, both living and dead, of the international revolutionary movement. In a short time we will announce what our next publication will be.

BOUND VOLUMES

Our small supply of the bound volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets is getting steadily smaller. In these bound volumes are contained three earlier works by comrade Trotsky which are out of print and are unobtainable except in these bound volumes. These are: **The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany** which deals with the question of social-Fascism; **World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan**, which deals with the question of economic collaboration with Soviet Union; and **The Draft Program of the Comintern** which deals with the question of socialism in one country. We may reprint one or all of these works. If we do it will be some time in the future. In the meantime the only opportunity our comrades and readers have to read and study these important works is in the bound volumes. And these are going fast.

Publications in Foreign Languages

A number of the works which we advertise in England are also obtainable from us in Jewish, Russian, Italian and Spanish. Comrades who read English with difficulty or feel more at home in their native languages should apply to us for information about these publications. We may not be able to fill every order but we will try.

Earn A Free Copy of Problems of the Chinese Revolution

Have you read **Problems of the Chinese Revolution**? How many copies have you sold? Comrades who are unemployed and cannot afford to buy a copy can easily earn a copy by getting orders for four paper bound copies. Upon receipt of orders for four copies we will send the remittance free a copy for himself. This offer holds until further notice. It applies, of course, only to orders for the book itself. That is, it does not apply to Militant subs with which the book is given as a premium.

Now comrades, this is your opportunity! We are of the opinion still that no worker who has a dollar can refuse to buy this work when all its qualities are explained to him. Our experience here confirms us in our opinion. If you go to it you can do it.

at Tibbetts Brook Park failed to raise any substantial sum of money. A number of youth comrades and friends were there but few adult sympathizers cooperated.

Comrades should send in donations for the Spanish youth comrades so as to help them put out their monthly magazine, **Young Spartacus**.

The Club will hold a camp-fire at Palisades, Saturday evening July 23rd, comrades will meet on the New York side of the 125th St. ferry at 6:30 P. M. All comrades invited.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

BY LEON TROTSKY

These 450 pages of analysis and record of the revolution and counter-revolution in China since 1925, offer the first integral Marxian presentation of one of the greatest movements in modern times. The views of the Left Opposition are given here for the first time in systematic, elaborated form, side-by-side with a stinging criticism of the catastrophic course pursued by Stalin and Bucharin. The suppressed writings of Trotsky are found here for the first time in English, together with appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovitch, Nassunov and others.

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The Crisis in the A. C. W.

Independent Clothing Workers Union Formed in Canada

In the July issue of the *Advance*, official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union we read a report of a ten percent wage cut put over on the Philadelphia membership through the decision of the "Impartial Chairman," Judge Stern. This wage cut is one of the seasonal wage cuts that are foisted upon the membership of the A. C. W. by official agreement with the Clothing Manufacturers' Association, in addition to the unceasing wage reductions in the shops that are not recorded.

It has been the accepted theory and practice of the A. C. W. that all disputes between it and the clothing manufacturers are settled by arbitration. Hillman has made this system renowned, as the last word of the "higher labor strategy" in contradistinction to the "uncivilized," "jungle" method of the strike.

To our great amazement however, we read further in connection with the above wage cut in Philadelphia the following ponderous editorial remarks:

Hillman's New "Militancy"
"It is all turning in a vicious circle. The Philadelphia manufacturers, of course, want the wage cut for whatever cash value it has. But they also want it as an advertising device. They can tell the trade press and the buyers that labor now being cheaper, they can turn out better quality goods for the same money or the same quality for less money. So they get the advantage and use it. And there the vicious circle begins. First Chicago and Rochester wanted reductions to enable them to compete with New York and Philadelphia. They got what they wanted. Now Philadelphia must have a further wage reduction to be enabled to compete with Chicago Rochester and New York. The next in line is New York! It must compete with Philadelphia. Then presumably Chicago and Rochester will follow. . . .

"The game will have to be stopped sooner or later. Perhaps later will be late and the industry will have gone to the dogs. The game will not be stopped by holy invocations or righteous indignation. It is up to the union and the union only. It may not be in a position today, so it must prepare for the task—today, tomorrow, every day. Not impartial arbitration but more union power is the court of last resort. Accounts will be squared even though it may take time and effort."

What has become of that "higher labor strategy" to which are attributed all the "achievements" of the A. C. W., and on which Hillman prides himself on every occasion? Has not Hillman by the grace of this "higher labor strategy" gained recognition and prestige among manufacturers, politicians, judges, senators, the clergy et al? The monumental achievements of the A. C. W. in the sphere of "civilization" are recalled with pride by Hillman and his lieutenants not only on the pages of trade union journals but also, and more so, in the capitalist press. The Amalgamated "Labor" banks (which serve loans to the clothing firms and thereby assume responsibility for their stability at the expense of the workers); the cooperative houses (where dwellings are provided for the union officials and business people); the unemployment insurance schemes (which serve as a means to insure the high salaries of the officials); and above all the famous "impartial machinery" to settle disputes in the industry and avoid strikes, are held up by Hillman and the bosses alike as a model to be copied by the rest of the labor unions.

I recall an editorial that appeared in a New York liberal paper some time ago in which the Amalgamated system of unemployment insurance was cited as an example of a successful solution of the unemployed problem. According to that editorial the A. C. W. membership were receiving as much as eighty percent, four-fifths of their average wages (and their wages, as you know are very high). The editor, of course, obtained his information

directly through Hillman's offices. So what has become of all these great "achievements" and the class collaboration methods which are responsible for them? Have they failed? Has Hillman decided to discard the "civilized" methods and turn to more union power, to the "court of last resort"? Does he really intend to "square accounts", even though "only in the future"? If anyone thinks so on the basis of the hypocritical pronouncements of his lickspittle editor on the *Advance*, he is simply a fool or a novice.

Collapse of "Higher Strategy"
The Hillman bureaucracy feels that all the things mentioned above are already too well known and properly evaluated, especially by the A. C. W. members themselves. The "higher labor strategy" of the Hillman bureaucracy, which so closely tied it to the clothing manufacturers and gained a high reputation, prestige and medals for Hillman in the bourgeois world, have brought starvation, slavery, demoralization and despair to the tens of thousands of clothing workers. There is hardly a clothing center, here or in Canada, where the clothing workers have not had the opportunity to get a taste of Hillman's "civilized" union methods. And many of them are already beginning to react to these methods in a direct and efficacious manner.

The Amalgamated bureaucracy feels the bankruptcy of its "higher labor strategy" it feels it considerably and substantially. It feels it financially and organizationally. Its prestige is falling precipitately: both with the manufacturers and the workers. Its banks are crashing. Local unions and centers are rebelling. They openly break away from the A. C. W. decaying body. The Hillman bureaucracy is experiencing a sinking of the foundation under its feet. It must seek a way of rescuing itself. Hence this talk of a change of tactics. Hence the hypocritical references to struggles . . . "in the future". This is essentially the purport of the ponderous remarks of the manducos, hypocritical sheet, paradoxically called *Advance*. It is perdy multiplied by crass insolence. It will not mislead anybody.

On the same page of the same issue of the *Advance*, a slanderous attack is made on the new Clothing Workers Union recently formed in Montreal, Canada, out of the former Amalgamated locals. This new union was born in the open revolt of the membership against the A. C. W. bureaucracy for their granting of wage cuts, their terroristic methods, expulsions, and so forth. The patience of the membership reached the breaking point. First the pressers threw into the face of the A. C. W. officialdom their union "protection" and the benefits of the A. C. W. and quit the union. They were followed by the operators and tailors who jointly organized themselves into the All-Canadian Clothing Workers Union. This new union has practically succeeded in wresting control from the Amalgamated in the clothing centers of Canada and is proceeding with further plans of organization.

Hillman Sunk in Montreal
The strategy of the Hillman bureaucracy did not avail. The manufacturers have not long enjoyed the benefit of the wage cuts, relieved from Hillman as the prize of union recognition. Of no avail were also the terror and the shrewd, tricky maneuvers of the Hillman agents who sought to save their dominance over the workers. When the Hillman agents, in order to save the sinking Amalgamated ship, at the eleventh hour made promises of union democracy and better protection only to keep the tailors from leaving the Amalgamated, it was already too late. The tailors had already crossed the threshold. To make them come back was impossible. The Amalgamated ship in Montreal had sunk.

The attacks on the All-Canadian Clothing Workers Union have, as it is evi-

dent, been conceived out of the impotency of the Hillman bureaucracy to save its hold on the Canadian organizations and are naturally expressive of that mood. That is why it accuses the new union of granting bigger and better wage cuts to the manufacturers! (They only regret that they could not succeed with such methods.) "Obviously," writes the *Advance*, "our organization cannot compete in this policy of unlimited reductions. We are not interested in being a preferred company union." (They prefer to have the monopoly.) "It is the business of the union to play a protective part in the bargain between the union and the employer and not merely to be sanctioning every demand of the employer!" (Does it really do it?)

Has the editor forgotten what he has written in the previous column about the present policies of the Amalgamated and the "vicious circle" the Amalgamated is in, due to these policies? But this is impossible. One might think that in Montreal, at least, the A. C. W. pursued different tactics. But here we read in the declaration of the Committee of 50 that conducted the struggle against the A. C. W. bureaucracy in Montreal, the following:

" . . . If you are not familiar with the methods of the Hillman agents, give your attention to this example: "Samuelson's is an open shop. Some time before the boss was paying \$3.25 for making a garment. The business agent of the A. C. W. came along and offered the boss to cut the price to \$2.25. The condition was that the employed force the workers to join the Amalgamated and collect dues from them. The boss' lawyer demanded a written agreement. The union did not sign the agreement because the firm is still in possession of an injunction procured against the Amalgamated some time before. The price of the garment, however, as a re-

sult of this incident, was reduced. Hillman's agents ran the show in Montreal by vicious terror. . . . The subterranean opposition in the Amalgamated has only been organized a year ago. Why had the opposition to be secret? . . .

Autocracy in the Union
"More than four years ago the Amalgamated leadership had made a pogrom on all the Left and progressive tailors. They were thrown out of the union and deprived of their jobs. When the Lefts had been chased out of the trade, the problems in the union still remained. The Left-baiters became the persecuted of tomorrow for their open criticism of the self-rulership of the Amalgamated bureaucrats. . . . Democracy was abolished! Elections for local officials were a farce. Workers had to vote for candidates of the cliques. This was only for the Executive and Joint Boards. No elections for paid officials had been held for the last five years. They were appointed by a Hillman agent" and so forth.

The lies and slanders of Hillman and his sycophants of the *Advance* will not stop the revolt of the tailors in Canada and elsewhere. Their deeds are already too well known. As regards the new union in Canada we may hope that the tailors there have learned enough from their experience with the Hillman bureaucracy and its "civilized" union methods of class collaboration not to let themselves be led into a new swamp by the leaders of the All-Canadian Congress with which the new union has been affiliated. They must remain on guard for their interests and build a foundation for a real class struggle union. Only then will they have achieved a great historical task in the interests of the masses of tailors and the labor movement in general. Only then will their revolt against the A. C. W. be fully justified.

—ALBERT ORLAND.

The Civil War in Chile

Motive Forces Behind South American «Revolutions»

We have witnessed recently a series of "revolutions" in Chile, expressing themselves in the overthrow of several governments. First of all, the military, ultra-reactionary dictatorship of Ibanez was supplanted by Montero. The latter's regime was overthrown, in turn by Davila in conjunction with part of the military camarilla of which Col. Marmaduke Grove is one of the outstanding representatives. Constituting itself a "revolutionary" junta and declaring itself to be a "socialist" government, the Davila clique later renounced their original views as too radical.

Marmaduke Grove, who has been employing even more demagogical phrases of an "anti-imperialist" character, for a short time succeeded to power in place of Davila. Whereupon the latter broke with the "revolutionary" junta altogether and prepared another coup d'Etat which was crowned with success. As we are writing these lines, Grove and his followers have been exiled and Davila is master of the Chilean household. On the one hand, he plays around with ideas of a fake working class and "socialist" character. On the other, he has initiated a most brutal persecution against the proletarian revolutionary organizations. The Communist party and the red trade unions have been declared illegal and according to information furnished by the bourgeois press, hundreds of Communists have been arrested and deported.

We must pose before us the question: What are the reasons for these continual "revolutions" resulting in changes of regime of such an instable character? And what are the causes for the "radical

demagogy which makes up the political baggage of the various factions fighting for power? The answer to these questions, we find in the semi-colonial character of the national economy of Chile, which has been going through a veritably catastrophic downward development in recent years as a consequence of the deep world crisis in the capitalist system. This economic crisis has been transformed into a sharp political crisis which has penetrated the entire life of the nation. Discontent is extending to all parts of the population. In order to be able to give a better grasp of the real import of the present situation in Chile, we shall review in brief the state of its national economy and the effect of the world crisis on it.

Chile is one of the most industrialized countries in Latin America, but the structure of its economy bears a semi-colonial and mono-productive character. The basic industry of the country is the nitrate industry. Copper is next in importance. Nitrates represent 46 per cent of its total exports and copper 34 per cent. This shows us to what degree the national economy is dependent upon these two products.

The nitrate industry has been badly shaken for years. The international agrarian crisis has exercised a strong check on the nitrate market through the decreased demand for fertilizers. Another cause is the high development in the production of synthetic nitrates. The coup d'Etat of Ibanez in 1927 was an attempt on the part of the national bourgeoisie to overcome this crisis under the leadership of American imperialism by introducing methods of rationalization in production, leading to the shifting of the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the working class. To this end, Ibanez applied a fierce persecution against even the most elementary organizations of the proletariat.

The brutal rationalization which culminated in the reorganization of the nitrate industry took place under the leadership of the Cosach trust, dominated in turn by American capital. The government ceded to this trust all the nitrate fields owned by the state, at the same time exempting it from the export tax. These privileges granted to the Cosach outfit by the government made possible the existence of enterprises standing outside of the trust. In this manner the British, Yugoslav and Chilean, etc. companies were forced to enter into the trust. Production which had increased considerably in the first years of the Ibanez dictatorship, has suffered of late, an enormous decrease, in which overproduction is the determining factor, although the intentions of the trust to maintain the price level also have their effect.

This can be seen from the following figures. In December 1922, production stood at 285,000 tons. In September 1930, at 185,000 tons. We have no recent data on hand, but there can be no doubt that with the sharpening of the crisis, production has decreased much more yet. As a consequence of all this, more than half the workers in the industry are out of jobs.

While the nitrate industry is divided up among the capitalists of the various countries, the copper industry is almost entirely in the hands of Yankee capital. As a result of the crisis, this industry is working at about two thirds of its capacity. Prices have fallen in alarming proportions. Thousands of workers have been thrown out of work and those who are still working have had their wages reduced 40 per cent.

The nitrate and copper crisis has been converted into a national crisis. The situation in the other industries follows closely along the same lines. The crisis has gripped with just as disastrous consequences the coal and the transport industries. Commerce and agriculture are likewise caught in its grip.

The unstable economic structure of Chile, which must depend upon its external market so lavishly, is manifest in the present economic crisis and its political implications. The struggle between the imperialists, the weakness of the national bourgeoisie, the parasitic role it plays as the prostitute servant of whatever imperialism has more to offer, also calls forth the instability of the governmental camarillas, the "revolutions", the constant intrigues in which the representatives of the various imperialist powers participate. The heterogeneous character of the ruling class further aggravates the vacillations of the political power and create the ground for military dictatorships and reactionary regimes known for their fierce persecution not only of the working class but also of their political adversaries in the contending bourgeois cliques.

This accounts for the continual "revolutions", not only in Chile but in all of Latin America. In Chile it merely came to a sharper point than elsewhere. The crisis is more acute there and results in a sharpening of the class struggle, expressed in strikes and working class demonstrations. This state of development of the class struggle also explains the "proletarian" demagogy and the "anti-imperialist" phrases employed by the different bourgeois camarillas to shunt off the strong militant sentiments of the working class along harmless channels. Unfortunately, these sentiments have not reached the point of clear class consciousness. —ALBERTO GONZALEZ.

(To be continued)

CORRECTION

In the sixth paragraph of comrade Trotsky's article "Stalinism in Straits; Opposition on Upsurge," on page 1 of our last issue, an unfortunate typographical error was made. It reads: "The general line is incorrect, but the executives are poor." It should read, of course: "The general line is correct, but the executives are poor."

The Stalinists and the Waterfront Work

NEW YORK—

For the last five years the Communist party and the Trade Union Unity League have been functioning on the waterfront in New York and the other ports of the U. S. A. The writer has come to the conclusion that after five years of work among the seamen and harbor workers, the time has come when it is absolutely necessary seriously to take an account of what has been accomplished during this period. What have been our gains? What our losses? What influence have we got over the seamen, harbor workers and longshoremen? What has actually been achieved?

Have we a strong, fighting, industrial union? Have we engaged in important struggles? Do the seamen and longshoremen come to us for leadership in their struggle? Are they ready to fight under our banner?

A truthful answer to the above questions, everyone involved will have to admit, can be given only in the negative. We must then ask ourselves, why haven't we any substantial influence? What is wrong?

Has our policy toward the seamen and harbor workers been correct? Again the correct answer is, no. The picarons and bureaucrats will say: We have got influence, but times are bad. Take no notice of these social-Fascists and counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, etc.

Fiasco of Bureaucrats
Answers like these will not, however, explain away the fact that after five years on the waterfront there are not five functioning ship committees in the whole U. S. Mercantile Marine. No dock committee whatever. No fraction in reformist I. L. A. or any of the other existing unions in New York City and elsewhere.

The Minks and the other bureaucrats will point to their success with the River Boat Men of Stockton, California. But they cannot cover up thereby their fiasco in the criminal handling of the Philadelphia longshoremen's strike, in the New Orleans strike; in the strike on

the Clyde line a few weeks ago, their shameful desertion of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer, who were seamen after all, good militant marine workers no matter

Why not the 4 Marx Bros.? (Not to Speak of Greta Garbo)

The event for which the American working class has searched the horizon like a stranded mariner, has finally been announced in the public prints. The *Times* of July 15, announces the formation of the American section of the "World Congress Against War" organized by Barbusse and Rolland as a pacifist masquerade for the Comintern. The American Committee is characteristic. Here are the names of some of the people who are to constitute the organizers of the revolutionary movement against imperialism: Harry Elmer Barnes, liberal historian for the petty bourgeois Scripps chain; Upton Sinclair, well-known supporter of peace in peace times and of war during war times; Robert Morss Lovett, another petty bourgeois professor; and Corliss Lamont, the only one of the noted family whom the *Daily Worker* treats with respect. As if this were not enough to form an anti-war center to which the Stalinists give, at the very least, their tacit support, there are also Alla Nazimova, who is undoubtedly a remarkable tragedian on the stage; Leopold Stokowski who wields a nifty orchestral baton; Lillian Wald, who also pities the poor; and not the least, Thornton Wilder, who now treads the Bridge of San Henri Barbusse.

We ask: Why not the four Marx Brothers? Why not Eddie Cantor, Albertina Rasch and Dorsha? Why not Greta Garbo and the Hall Johnson choir? Why not George Gershwin and Minnie the Moocher? And what about Amos and Andy, Felix the Cat, Israel Amter and Betty Boop-a-Doop? We don't know if they're all against war or not, and it doesn't matter. But we bet they'll put on a much better show at Geneva.

what their political beliefs may be. These facts cannot be side-stepped. And the workers in the M. W. I. U. must ask themselves: What are we heading for under the present leadership? What has become of the militants who built up the International Seamen's Club, the Marine Workers League and founded the Industrial Union? Why is Harvey, for instance, in the coal fields? Harvey is a seaman and his place is on the waterfront. Why is McGrath in the Soviet Union? The seamen are organized one hundred per cent over there. They don't need any organizers from the U. S. A. We need all the organizers we can get. We are suffering at present from too much talk about revolution and too little action about organizing.

For a fighting Opposition
The seamen and harbor workers ought to ask these questions at the next meeting of the M. W. I. U. The bureaucratic machine cannot be allowed to continue wrecking what has been built up by the militants with their sweat and blood. A fighting opposition has got to be organized, a machine that will counter the machine of the Stalinist wreckers. That is the one way of making our union a real militant, industrial union.

Beware of the Andersons and the other Lovestonite hangers-on who try to buy you with a bowl of greasy stew. Act like union men, the union rightly belongs to you. Organization is the need of the hour, among the seamen as everywhere. But we must organize correctly. We know how to get what we want, not the swivel chair leaders, the Minks, the Andersons, etc.

The class conscious seamen and harbor workers must get busy. There is a lot of organizing to do, if we are to escape the threat of starvation that stares us in the eye. The way to do it is by establishing rank and file control. Get into the union and let us all get together to run out the pie-cards and bureaucrats. We have got to choose leaders with backbones, not fish bones.

—B. F.

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Ultra-Left Zig-zag in the Comintern and the «Third Period»

The ultra-Left zig-zag in the Russian party, which began after the grain crisis that followed the Fifteenth Congress of the C. P. S. U. at the end of 1927, was very soon projected in a direct line to the whole of the Communist International. This flight of the frightened bureaucrats from yesterday's rank opportunism to adventurism is embraced in what has become known as the "third period"

The Turn at the Ninth Plenum

The arbitrarily defined period does not commence in the Comintern's history with its proclamation at the Sixth Congress, but even more definitely at the 9th Plenum of the C. I. early in 1928. At that time the first signs of a working class resurgence in Europe could be detected, but only the first signs. The vote cast for the Communist parties, particularly in Germany, was increasing, but with it, also, the vote cast for the social democracy. In a number of other countries, however, the working class was either writhing in the pain of a still unsurmounted defeat, as in China, or else passive under the soporific effects of a temporary high conjuncture, as in France and the United States.

The Ninth Plenum, instead of establishing the precise stage of development of the international labor movement, proclaimed the rise of a "new and higher" stage of the Chinese revolution (not counter-revolution, but revolution!), gave its blanket endorsement to guerrilla adventurism, and announced from the mouth

of Thaelmann and the other spokesmen of the Comintern that the working masses throughout the world were becoming "more and more radicalized". The warnings against this light-minded conception of an automatic, horizontal progress of the revolutionary movement, were of no avail, for they were uttered by the Opposition. And comrade Trotsky's clear-sighted analysis of the real status of the movement was not only passed over in silence at the Sixth Congress to which it was presented, but it was not even given to the assembled delegates. His study on this subject, nevertheless remains the first work written against the superficial exaggerations and ultra-Leftism of the post Right wing period of bureaucratic Centrism.

The Sixth Congress in the middle of 1928 carried the Ninth Plenum a few steps further in absurdity. Formally, it marked the culminating point of the collaboration between Centrism and the Right wing (Stalin and Bucharin). Actually, it incorporated into the foundation of the next period a mixture of opportunist premises and ultra-Left deductions which have been at the root of all the confusion and defeats suffered by Communism since that time.

The Sixth Congress had many points of similarity with the Fifth, which was held in 1924 after the defeat in Germany. In 1924, no defeat was acknowledged; on the contrary, the revolution was proclaimed to be right ahead. In

1928, virtually the same atrocious error was made with regard to the Chinese revolution. In the period of the Fifth Congress, Stalin made the novel discovery that the "social democracy was the most moderate wing of Fascism". In 1928, the Sixth Congress laid the basis for the unique philosophy of "social-Fascism". The Fifth Congress celebrated the victory of "Bolshevization" and "monolithism", at a time when the very basis under the various "Bolshevik leaderships" imposed upon the national sections was being undermined. In 1928, the most violent internal struggles were being fought behind the scenes of the "unified Communist International". The Fifth Congress, with all its ultra-Leftist palaver, contained not merely the germs of a brief spurt to the Left but also a protracted swing to the Right, to the period of the Anglo-Russian Committee, of the Chiang Kai-Shek alliance, the Anti-Imperialist League and the "Peasants' International". The Sixth Congress, for all its endorsement of adventurist conclusions, consecrated the revisionist theory of socialism in one country and established the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" (that is, the Kerenskiad or the Kuo Min Tang tragedy) as an iron law governing the doctrines of the revolution on three-quarters of the earth.

Stalin and the Right Wing
The struggle against the "Right danger" launched at the Sixth Congress, which Bucharin had resisted only as recently the Fifteenth Congress of the Russian party, was platonic and anonymous. Its value may be estimated from the fact that such a struggle was proclaimed by the international leader of the Right wing, Bucharin, from the Congress tribune. In this manner, the for-

mal unification of the ruling bloc was preserved and used to cover up the bitter internal dispute. It is instructive to observe that at the very time that Stalin was busily engaged in sapping the ground under Bucharin and Co., going so far as to organize an unofficial congress of his own, simultaneously with "Bucharin's Congress", he nevertheless took the leadership in condemning any rumors about disagreements in the Russian party leadership as "Trotskyist slanders". In a special report on the subject made by Stalin himself to the Council of Elders at the Congress, he repudiated all rumors regarding differences in the Russian Political Bureau. He emphatically denied that there were any Right wingers or Right wing views in the Political Bureau or even the Central Committee, and, to confirm his assertions, introduced a resolution, signed by himself and every other member of the Political Bureau which declared:

"The undersigned members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declare before the Council of Elders of the Congress that they most emphatically protest against the circulation of rumors that there are dissensions among the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U." Needless to say, the assembled marionettes listened solemnly and approvingly to this criminally ludicrous deception of the Communist International, concocted jointly by Stalin and Bucharin. Everybody at the Congress knew the truth; everybody knew that Stalin was simply lying with a straight face; but unlike the boy in the crowd of obedient and respectful subjects through whom the king was passing, nobody could be found to rise and shout that the king

was naked! From his exile in Alma-Ata, Trotsky summed up this aspect of the Congress in a letter to a comrade:

"The theses announce a 'Bolshevization and internal consolidation' of the parties of the Comintern and the 'suppression of the internal struggle' The Congress, however, (even as seen through the bars set up by the editorial censors) presents a picture of an entirely different character. A violent and muffled struggle is developing all along the line. Factional groupings, large and small, revealed themselves at the Congress in the delegations from Germany, England, Poland, the United States, Rumania, Juglo-Slavia, etc. The delegation of the U. S. S. R. naturally was no exception. On the contrary, it is the one which transplants schisms into the other parties. In a multitude of speeches, complaints were heard about sharp factional battles 'which are not justified by any serious political differences'. No one took the trouble to ask himself how these 'factional struggles devour' the 'internally consolidated Communist International'. The answer is nevertheless clear. At present, the Comintern is basing itself on a bloc composed of the Right and the Center, or to speak more precisely, of the opportunist faction. The situation in the U. S. S. R. and the regime in the C. I. have retarded the development of the differences of opinion between these groups, whereas the class struggle makes their coalition, shot at from all sides, insupportable. That is where the bitter factional struggles come from in the absence of 'important political differences'.

(Continued in next issue)

—SHACHTMAN.

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Aftermath of Lausanne

European Powers Seek United Front Against United States

Contrary to expectations, the European powers did manage to come to at least a temporary agreement on reparations at Lausanne. Faced with the perspective of a bankrupt and politically tottering capitalist Germany, the Allied vultures have agreed for the time being to release their claw's grasp from the throat of their Teuton competitor.

The German Junker delegation at Lausanne spoke hard words and came off with a sigh of relief. The governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium have decided to give German capitalism a breathing spell on the external front so as better to be able to entrench reaction within the country and to prepare the crushing of the internal enemy—the awakening German proletariat.

What the Agreement Consists of

The agreement arrived at by the diplomats in the conference reduces the original reparations sum demanded of the Reich—\$33,000,000,000—to a mere \$750,000,000. \$8,000,000,000 of the original sum had already been paid under the Dawes and the Young plans. The payment of the remaining \$750,000,000 is to take the form of bond issues which are not to be redeemed for more than three years. The Germans are thereby granted a greater concession than ever before. A new alignment of the imperialist forces is in the offing.

It is well known that American pressure had a great deal to do with the accord finally achieved. Herriot, the leader of the French delegation has admitted as much in his report before the Chamber of Deputies. American private capital has some \$6,000,000,000 dollars at stake in Germany not counting various trade advantages, concessions, etc. The action of the European powers was, in this sense, a gesture to draw out of the Wall St. government a compromise with regard to their own war debts, amounting to some \$10,000,000,000 at this date.

But the continental imperialists do not restrict themselves to gestures, nor do they store great hopes in the good faith of their American creditor. Perhaps even more sensational and more important than the settlement made at Lausanne is the new entente that has been formed or rather, reformed by Great Britain and France "in the spirit which has inspired the Lausanne agreement". The entente provides for coordination in the efforts of each country to obtain a favorable deal on war debts from Washington. It further proposes to find a common "solution for the disarmament question which will be beneficial and equitable for all the powers concerned". That is, it advances the idea of a united front

of European governments in opposition to the hypocritically pacifist (for the other powers) plans of the Hoover administration. Finally, the official statement announcing the entente expresses the "hope that other governments will join them in adopting their procedure", an obvious feeler extended to the Germans, considering that this organized cooperation will also preoccupy itself with the "practical preparation of the world economic conference".

The Significance of the New Entente

Just how serious this newest step of the diplomats actually is, can be gathered from the manner in which they proceeded. Immediately after the adjournment of the Lausanne gathering, rumors of a Franco-British accord began to spread. At first, there were vigorous denials by both parties concerned. Things went so far that even the parliamentary bodies of the two powers were not informed of the affair. Only one hour before Parliament was dissolved for the summer period did Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Minister inform the House of Commons of the action taken, so that no debate would be possible. Immediately after Sir John's announcement, all sorts of "interpretations" came pouring in from Downing Street. In Paris, a similar atmosphere was created.

All these indications point to the conclusion that the European front is being organized against the American reaction master. As a confirmation of this conclusion can be considered the fact that the official announcement of the new Franco-British entente followed only after the American Secretary of State had denied any and every sort of participation of the Washington administration in the agreement accomplished at Lausanne. It was really Stimson's statements that called forth the publication of the treaty.

It is altogether unlikely that the European united front against Yankee capital will reach the point of realization. The conflicts on the continent are too deep-rooted and much too dependent upon national considerations for a solid international front to be established. The American colossus still holds the fate of many of the lesser countries in the balance. An agreement like the present can be prompted merely by temporary necessities. The Lausanne accord still remains tentative to decision by the various national legislative organs. It is only the threat of proletarian uprising, with Germany as the power house, that forces the imperialist robbers to bring their heads together in parley.

The German working class has gained nothing by Lausanne. There is not a

thought in the minds of the German reaction to release their stranglehold on Germany's workers. The lease of life which German capitalism has received on the international front will surely instigate an even harder drive than before to push Fascism into power.

The struggle of the German working class against the Fascist menace is a struggle of international significance. The victory of the German working class alone will open the road for a solution of the impasse on the continent by paying the way for a Soviet United States of Europe. Only a Soviet United States of Europe can help the old world to ward off the shackles of Wall Street domination and save it from degeneration into barbarism.

—SAM GORDON.

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The government, the press, the cinema, the church (which has set up tent in the light. A mute turn, to be sure, solution"), together with the liberal misleaders, are allied and linked together in this task of winning them over to the reaction.

What Is Our Task?

The marchers are approaching the borders of class consciousness. We must help them over the border.

The task is most difficult. The ex-soldiers and the rest of the American working class has no deep-rooted revolutionary traditions. It has had no long sustained revolutionary activity, due to the country's comparatively steady economic expansion. But now under the blows of a terrific crisis, the masses begin to awaken to class consciousness. The American worker is extremely slow to change. But when he does change, he moves in quick tempo. And he changes strong.

So far as we enlighten these ex-soldiers, awaken them, in so far as we arouse their class initiative we arouse the initiative of millions of workers.

For this a patient, persistent preparatory work is necessary. The class conscious soldier must mingle with the others in their camp, fraternize with them, be devoted to them, awaken them to class consciousness. Thus he will be able to fight more effectively for free speech in the camp, for direct rank and file control of the officers, etc.

But he will not be able to fight for influence among the men by wanting an a priori leadership, by a display of verbal fireworks, by wanting "officially successful" isolated demonstrations irrespective of time and circumstance. Such vulgar theatrical Leftism will not do.

Patient, persistent explanation. Concentrate your strength to enlighten them. Fraternize with each contingent. Root yourself amongst them. Win them over. Consolidate the employed and unemployed around them. And fight: For cash relief, For unemployment insurance, For the six hour day, For extension of long term credits and resumption of trade with Russia, For the defense of the Soviet Union!

—G. D.

The Barbusse Congress Against War

(Continued from page 1)

means to this end the policy of the united front can be of great service. The last session of the Executive Committee of the Second International pronounced itself against Japan and "for the defense of the U. S. S. R." We know the weight and the value of this defense inasmuch as the decision of the leaders is concerned. But the very fact of the adoption of this decision is an indication of the force of the mass pressure (the crisis and the danger of war). The Comintern was duty bound in these circumstances to develop the policy of the united front on an international scale, i. e., to propose to the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals openly before the world proletariat a definite, carefully weighed program of practical measures against the danger of war.

But the Comintern is silent. The Proletariat is silent. The initiative is surrendered to two pacifist writers, one of whom—Romain Rolland—is undoubtedly a great writer and a prominent person, but a man who is not engaged in politics, and the other—Barbusse—is a pacifist and a mystic, a Communist or one expelled from the Communist party, but at any rate an advocate of the complete fusion of the Communist parties with the social democracy. "Join us," say Rolland and Barbusse. Answer "Present!", *l'Humanite* joins in the refrain. Is it possible to imagine anything more monstrous, more capitulatory and more criminal than this crawling of official Communism before petty bourgeois pacifism?

In Germany, it is declared impermissible to apply the tactics of a united front to the mass organizations of the workers, with the aim of exposing the reformist leaders. At the same time, a united front on an international scale is being applied, of which the first steps are turned into a boosting campaign for the worst of the gallery of reformist traitors. Vandervelde is surely "for peace". He reckons that it is more advantageous and convenient to serve in the ministry of his king in time of peace than in time of war. And thus, the impudent aphorisms of this social patriot, whose signature, if I am not mistaken, appears on the Versailles Peace Treaty, are made into a program of the huge anti-war Congress. And *l'Humanite* gives its support to this treacherous and pernicious masquerade.

In Germany, it is a question of warding off the Fascist counter-revolutionary pogrom, which immediately and directly threatens not only the working class but its reformist organizations and even its reformist leaders. To the social democratic gentlemen, it is a question of salaries, of state privileges and even of their own hides. One must be in a state

of complete bureaucratic idiocy to refuse to utilize correctly and systematically the great, sharp contradictions between Fascism and the social democracy in the interests of the proletarian revolution.

In the question of war, however, it is an entirely different matter. War does not at all constitute a direct threat to the reformist organizations, particularly to their leaders. On the contrary, experience has shown that war opens up dizzying careers for the reformist leaders. Patriotism is just that ideology which most closely ties the social democracy to its national bourgeoisie. If it is possible, even inevitable, that the social democracy will be forced in some form or other, within certain bounds, to defend itself against Fascism, when the latter will seize it by the throat, (and it will seize it), the possibility that the social democracy of any country should conduct a struggle against its bourgeoisie in the case of a war declaration, be it even against the Soviet Union, is entirely excluded. The revolutionary campaign against war has as its particular and specific aim the exposure of the deceit and the putrefaction of social democratic pacifism.

But what does the Comintern do? It prohibits the utilization of the absolutely real and deep antagonism between the national social democracy and national Fascism, while it attempts to grab hold of the illusory, hypocritical antagonism between the international social democracy and its imperialist master.

If in Germany the united front is altogether prohibited, on the international scale the united front is from the very beginning given a decorative, masquerading, deliberately deceptive and rotten character. Exploiting the idealistic naïveté of the absolutely sincere Romain Rolland, all fakers and dirty careerists, retired social democratic ministers and candidates for the ministry will declare: "Present!" For this gentry the Congress will serve as a sanatorium where they will improve their somewhat besmirched reputations in order to sell themselves at a higher price. This was the manner in which the participants in the Anti-Imperialist League acted. We are faced with a repetition of a Kuo Min Tang and an Anglo-Russian Committee on a world scale.

There are pedants who doubt if we are correct in defining the international Stalinist faction as Centrism. Those who have been poisoned by ill-digested texts, are incapable of learning from living facts. Here you have ideal, classic, universalist Centrism in full bloom: its nose turned to the Right, its tail still strongly inclined towards the Left. Draw a line uniting its nose with its tail and you will find the orbit of Centrism.

History is at a breaking point. The whole world is at a breaking point today. And so is Centrism. In the U. S. S. R. the Stalinists still continue to prattle about the abolition of classes in five years and at the same time they are restoring the free market. The ultra-Left tail does not yet know that the wise opportunist head has decided. In the domain of cultural policy in the U. S. S. R. a sharp turn has been made to the Right. The mute turn, to be sure, without any commentary, but a so much the more threatening one. The same has taken place in the policies of the Comintern. While the luckless Platinizkys are still showing the remnants of the ultra-Leftist cud, the Manuilskys have already been ordered to turn their heads to the Right without regard for their spinal vertebrae. Never as yet in the nine years of its practice has the epigone school revealed its unprincipledness, its ideological shallowness and its practical knavery in so naked and shameless a manner as this.

Bolshevik-Leninists! The symptoms of a great historical turn are accumulating in the world atmosphere. This turn is bound to have its effects on the destiny of our faction. Already we are charged with tasks of truly great historical significance. The struggle against war means above all a struggle against pacifist masquerading and Centrist bureaucratic quackery. It is necessary to launch a pitiless campaign to expose the contradictions of the Stalinist apparatus, whose bankruptcy in the impending great events is inevitable.

The defense of the U. S. S. R. is not a parlor phrase with which the not always disinterested friends of the Stalinist bureaucracy parade. The international defense of the U. S. S. R. is becoming increasingly more dependent upon the international revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Where the blood and fate of millions are at stake, the greatest clarity is needed. Nobody today is rendering better service to the class enemy than the Stalinist apparatus which in the struggle for the remnants of its prestige, is sowing confusion and chaos everywhere.

Bolshevik-Leninists! You will be charged with an enormous task. Weeks and months are approaching when every revolutionist will have to show what he is worth. Carry the ideas of Marxism and Leninism into the ranks of the advanced workers. Help the international proletarian vanguard extricate itself from the which has lost its head. What is involved is no small matter: It is the fate of the U. S. S. R. and the world proletarian revolution.

June 13, 1932

—LEON TROTSKY.

The «Bonuseers» at Washington

By withholding or misrepresenting the facts, by refusing to "advertise" the cause of the soldiers, the bourgeois papers thought the bonus movement would die a natural death. The notices in the press would give you the impression that the ex-soldiers are acting as their own palbearers.

What are the facts? There are now (and this is a conservative estimate) 30,000 ex-soldiers in the camps. In one camp alone there are 15,000 men, an increase of a 100 per cent over last month, and more are coming in. For every one going out at least ten are coming in. In all, about 200 have returned home—most of them sick, their nerves all shot. Those known to be well are given the "grand razzberry" and marked "yellow-bellies."

Veterans Stick

The ex-soldiers have thumbs down on the \$100,000 appropriation which would provide for each one of them a railroad ticket to go home and 75c for food for each day's traveling. This amount expended would be deducted from the bonus when it is due, in 1945. This insult is being buried by the curses of the soldiers. Out of the bars of the "Veterans Administration" ticket window in Union Station, the idle clerks stare blankly.

While the press is playing a sort of hide and seek with these men who "bummed" their way to Washington, the government officials are trying to palm them off as pleasantly as possible for benefit of tourists. About a hundred feet away from the camp, they have put up about thirty army tents. Though condemned by the army commission, they are comparatively neat and clean looking. They are set up in the form of a right angle that holds, as it were, within its span, and at the same time hides from the vehicular approach, the squalor of the camp. Police Commissioner Glassford personally took a hand in putting up these tents.

Not only this. The newsreel photographers have been ordered not to show anything of the soldiers which would arouse other veterans to join them, or create for the marchers favorable public opinion. (However, the photographers are to be ready to take riot scenes or other disturbances!)

Observe how they're arranging the "show-window" for display. It pays to advertise. But the advertisers reckon without their "product", the soldiers themselves. The officials will have to resort to a couple of other tricks, and there's no doubt they've got them up their sleeve. But it will be a tough thing to put it over on the men.

The 30,000 soldiers are there to stick until decent relief is provided. "What would be the use of our going home", said one of the soldiers. "There's not a day's work to be gotten. Many of us have no

homes. Those of us who have homes are going to lose them because we can't pay the taxes. If we turned back there'd be nothing to do out bum around and beg. We've got some pride. We'll stick together. There's hope in that."

Bonuseers Still Deluded

But still pumped up with some of the bourgeois prejudices, the ex-soldiers are passive. They still believe that toleration of the Waters' leadership is best for getting them what they want. But under this passivity is deep resentment and they are watching to see what the "leaders" will actually do for them.

So there they are in this squalid camp. Government officials urge them to be clean—to be clean in a garbage heap beside a filthy river! The food supply is running out. The men are compelled to send out committees to "chisel" meat from this butcher, lard from that grocer, etc. You will know the quality of the food from the fact that hundreds of the men, and children too, are suffering from diarrhea. The children—there are 200 of them—are especially hard hit because of the difficulty of getting sufficient fresh milk for them.

"We must have relief!", said a soldier to me. "They better come across. They think us bums. Yes, but they better come across!—When women and children roll in the mud and s . . . , it's beginning to be time to do something about it. Afraid, eh? Let them call the militia. In one minute we've got more experience than they have with all their training!"

It is now almost seven weeks since the marchers entrenched themselves in Washington. Of all the sections of the working classes, they have been hardest hit. They have been compelled by the class struggle to take this means of demanding relief for themselves. True, they are not yet class conscious. But they are beginning to think a little of their enemies, as witness in the camp the mock graves of Hoover, Mellon, Reed, and Dawes, (the sculptured images of these gentlemen on top of the graves). "Millions for war; starvation for the soldiers", reads one of their slogans.

The bourgeoisie will find this situation a hard nut to crack. They will resort to all sort of tricks and maneuvers to buy the soldiers out at the lowest possible price. When the government is convinced of their determination to stick, it may institute some plan to pay them a pittance, getting the money back for example thru a special bonus tax; or they may have a plan to give them 2 or 3 days work a week, provided by each state. These jobs to be open to them by firing those now working on relief jobs. So they may try to substitute this jobless army for another. It's safer.

Whatever the plans, what they want to do is to win them over to the reaction.

The Census Report and the Middle Class

The government has just released the 1930 census figures of the gainfully employed. These figures list workers, owners, bankers and managers. Like all statistics of the capitalist, they must be analyzed before they are of value for the working class. These figures present a decline in the number of foreign-born workers. The native white and Negro workers show an increase, but this can be accounted for by the natural population increase and not the influx of workers into industry. There are 7,411,127 foreign-born "employed", 5,503,535 Negro and about a half a million Spanish-Americans. The census lists all who are able to work as gainfully employed regardless of the six million workers unemployed at the time the census was taken.

Labor Shifts

These figures show a shift of labor power from the division of production to the division of distribution. Farming, lumbering, fishing and mining show a decline of labor power employed at production while those occupations listed under distribution show an increase. Manufacturing and transportation show a total gain due to population increase but basic occupation divisions of this total show a marked decline. The light industries such as: dressmaking, tailors, millinery, upholstery, leather, tobacco, food, etc., show a decline in labor power. In heavy industry: iron, steel, metal, molding machine, boiler-making, lumber, and railroad transportation show a decline. These figures present the effects of the contradictions capitalism is moving in, with increased production and a permanent army of unemployed, with a lower standard of living, and increased capital and wealth in the hands of fewer capitalist.

More light will be thrown on these figures when we divide them into classes. The following is a list of the non-worker gainfully employed taken from the census:

Non-Workers Gainfully Employed	
Finance, bankers, brokers, etc.	221,504
Industry, owners	245,008
Transportation	138,707
Wholesale, owners	83,525
Domestic, owners	258,340
Retail, owners	1,703,522
Farmers Owners and tenants	6,012,612
Professional, credit agents, etc.	3,541,562
Government employees	600,513
Managers, officials, inspectors, real estate agents, etc.	1,179,790
Foreman, overseers, etc.	595,029
	14,750,504
Gainfully employed Total	48,829,929
Non-workers	14,750,407
	34,079,522

The fifteen million non-workers gainfully employed make up the exploiting class and their office boys. Over fourteen million of these make up the "great" American middle class. The ideology as well as the line of march of this class is as varied as their rainbow and is constantly changing colors.

For example, the retail merchants in struggle against the chain stores react to the managers of the chain stores who carry on the business for the owners. The personnel of the industrialist see things somewhat different than the personnel of the financier. The tenant farmers do not view matters like the farm owners. The poor farmer, middle farmer and rich farmer have their differences. Some of the petty bourgeois want to turn the wheels of industry backward. Others trail behind the industrialist, others behind the financier, and some behind the workers, but all of them think they are capable as a class of leading the workers.

The more one considers the middle class, pressed between the capitalist and the workers, the more one can realize the vacillations and different layers at juxtaposition to each other. The vanguard of the workers must be able to utilize this division within the enemy. In America the parliamentary structure gives the middle class great advantages in the general administration of city, county, and state politics but the whole structure is well organized to leave the determining forces of the government in the hands of the dominating imperialist group.

Middle Class in U. S.

The middle class within the American structure is able to press heavily upon the developing working class. It takes organizational forms in many ways, from farmer-labor parties to Anti-Imperialist Leagues; from craft job control to anti-political action; from a struggle to reduce the cost of living to the fight to obtain a glass of beer under the leadership of Green and Walker.

The Communist can only utilize the petty bourgeoisie against the bourgeoisie, if this class is considered in its manifold divisions and sections and not as a homogeneous mass. In the class struggle the middle class must always be considered as fellow travelers. Individuals of this class, who leave their class, who throw overboard their ideology, who learn Marxism, are an entirely different problem for us. The petty bourgeoisie as a class cannot lead and can only be of value if they follow the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism. The main danger of the working class is to trail behind the middle class. Our key to this problem is the program, policies and tactics of the Communist party. Centrism has failed in this task. Today, Stalinism is not winning individuals from

this class on the basis of Marxism; Stalinism is incorporating petty bourgeois policies which cause this class to flock to the banner of "revolution". The Militant from week to week elaborates on these non-Marxist policies of Centrism.

Under Stalinism the workers are not brought to the movement on the basis of Marxism; they are won on the basis of opportunism, adventurism, and petty bourgeois ideas. Under such a regime these workers do not and cannot shake off completely their bourgeois ideology. Under a Marxian leadership the "green" worker is assimilated in the Bolshevik current. Stalinism warps the new recruits.

Our task is to win the working class and with this class pressure to force layers of the petty bourgeoisie to support our position. Only in this sense do we want the middle class as a class ally. With increased class struggles and increased class pressure, under Communist leadership, having a Marxian policy, layers of the middle class are forced to support our position. As the struggle increases, new layers of workers brought into action will force up new layers of allies. Only on this basis can allies be of value to us.

Regain Proletarian Base First

An ebb or defeat in the line of march of our class will cause sections of our allies to withdraw and often turn on us. We cannot regain these allies by compromise, as Stalinism does in all parts of the world. We can only regain these allies by regaining our own class position first. Necessary steps must be taken, reorganization or retreat, to consolidating our own class forces at a level suitable for the task, enabling us to maintain our position and to strike out in new class battles for new positions.

The Communist League of America cannot ignore the large middle class in America as a valuable ally or bitter enemy. The best way not to ignore this class is to learn from the blunders of Stalinism, replace it with a Marxian line and give our full energy to our own class, the working class. The Communist must point out the road for the working class. The greater the numbers of workers we move into action against capitalism the broader is our class base and the greater will be the layers of allies forced to move in our line of march. Without this class base, the class guarantee is lacking, and the allies will lead the workers to defeat. Such is the logic of Stalinism in Germany in 1923, in China in 1927; and such is the road their line of march is leading to in America. The Communist worker must fight against the Stalin stranglehold for Marxism, for the Marxian policies of the Left Opposition.

—H. O.