WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

EMILITANT



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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 proclamashake hands.

SMITH MAY KEEP HIS SHIRT ON

When Al Smith, lost leader of the Democratic Party, issued his expected state-ment pledging fealty to the Democracy in general and to the party in particular. cases of mutual fights between Communication, and so far as the Socialist party ocratic Party, issued his expected statement pleaging realty to the Democracy in A stern warning throughout the party lists and social democrats (at meetings, is concerned, Hillquit owes more to the the election campaign, he avoided mention of the presidential candidadte as if Franklin D. Roosevelt were Martin Luther running on the platform of the Prohi. er running on the platform of the Production of the Production Party. Four years ago when Al know that the Communists being blameless either. Such "overcoming our isolation", must call a his way to confer with President von got the nomination at the Houston convention, William Gibbs McAdoo, his old vention, William Gibbs McAdoo, his old any responsibility for street fighting of of the counter-revolutionary leaders of takable terms. The lessons of 1925 must on what was to be done about the carnrival, announced that he was going to any kind between workers. 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 Leftist line of the party leadership, or take the initiative for a final elimination seriously concerned with the movement bidding local police authorities to allow the weather got cooler in the United ignally inspired by the Comintern of such phenomena, which naturally pre- will repeat the warning of the past and demonstrations and meetings unless they States. If the working class voters who chiefs themselves, produced the inevit-supposes the good will of the social dem- demand that it be heeded today. work themselves into a lather over the ably disastrous results for the party. The ocratic workers." confidence men of the capitalist parties party had become increasingly isolated With little change, this entirely sound fighting between workers of different took of their coats to work for Com- from the non-Communist masses. A and necessary advice of 1925 applies to views! Burn such a disgraceful method munism in the election campaign and all huge wall had been erected between the the American party at the present time. out of the revolutionary movement! 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 CHICAGO. Weekly People, write an open letter to the powder barons. Of course she proba- Young Communist League, and the exclu- believe in Leninist democratic centralism bly believes that the bourgeoisie of this sion of one more, for refusing to de- have been expelled for country, like the ruling classes of all nounce the Left Opposition as countertimes will not surrender their power revolutionary, and for conducting a fight without a violent struggle, but just a against the paralyzing bureaucratism in letter from the editor of the Weekly the League follows right after the expul-People might induce those dynamitic sion some months ago of comrades Satir, gentlemen to step down gracefully. Per- Gould and Andras. Unable to refute the haps they manufacture dynamite in order to provide employment, and promote eaucratism, in the League, the petty fun-It is too bad people get killed in the reply: expulsions. The ideas of the Left process. It is also too bad Mrs. Johnson Opposition, which the Stalinists have did not make her appeal to the exploited sought to repress by force, are making 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 revolution for payment but their patriotic efforts were of no avail and we must announce with great regret that those boys (hic, hic, horray) who fought for their country in STATEMENT OF THE EXPULSIONS 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 TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG the Legionaires 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 the Y. C. L. a group of comrades preof it if my spies correctly report on him, and in a fight between a bunch of patriots who were organized to smash the and condemned the bureaucrats activlabor movement and their bosses who lities of the leadership. These criticisms organized them but now refuse to pay were confirmed by the Young Communist them for their patriotism, I am some what like the Irishman who was neutral in the late war, "I am not for England | it condemned the Satir group by name, nor against Germany."

THE RASCALLY POOR SIMPLY WON'T BE GOOD

drive for funds but there is reason to exposed and that they might remain at believe that the moral turpitude of the their sinecures. 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 in wholesale expulsions but also in the is raising a fund and in the press agent's exclusion from membership of Dave report that I have on my desk, or what- Farefield. ever you want to call it, the heart appeal | The latest victims of the bureaucratic is the most bastardly year in the history Bern, Yetta Barchevsky, Dave Farefield of this country. We have no objection and H. Hankin. to the bar sinister at all. In fact before Phil Sold, organizer of the Lake Street our respectability became so shocking we Unit and vey actve among the young used to quote with great gusto the axiom | Negro workers was expelled six months used by a Monarch of England when he ago for fraternizing with Satir and Gould, were kings in those days. But any- He has applied for readmitance, and upon how the working class should have more maintaining his stand was refused reinsympathy for the Salvation Army than statement. they seem to have.

A WARNING OUT OF THE PAST

our best professors are devoting their of party members have attempted to the party. brains to serious thinking. The French break up meetings of the Left Opposi-Academy of Science, than which there is tion-only quite recently at Wilkins and none more savantic, approved by a maj- Intervale Avenues, Bronk. At the same of the Communist International was com- the socialists in power have not hesitated ority vote that it is safer from the hygi- corner, a number of nights later, a vio- pelled to refer to it publicly, before the a moment to crush the Communists unenic point of view to osculate than to lent battle took place between members of whole working class of Germany, in its der an iron heel. At the same time, the shake hands. The learned doctors blam- the Communist and Socialist parties at famous Open Letter to the German party falsifications in the official party press ed this hygienic deviation on the unfor- an S. P. meeting. On another evening, in the middle of 1925. We quote a sig- about the increasing encounters do not tunate germ who is unable to speak up a similar fight took place at a socialist for himself but we dare to state that the meeting at a downtown corner of Second doctors simply prefer to kiss than to Avenue in New York. In still other places, meetings of the Lovestone group of opponents.

> Should such a course be perpetuated, towards the socialist workers, must imme-

There has recently been an increase in Communist and socialist workers—to the It is quite ludicrous to read the lamentathe number of violent physical encounters tremendous satisfaction of the socialist tions of the socialist press about the between members of the Communist leaders. Innumerable cases were re- party's disruption of S. P. meetings, esparty on the one hand, and members of corded of fights in the streets and halls pecially when it is remembered that the other labor organizations on the other. between both sides, which only further Hillquits were the first to introduce tions there are indications that some of On several occasions, organized groups alienated the socialist workers from violence as a means of settling their dis-

> become that the Executive Committee under their control; and further, that nificant passage:

ocratic workers, a struggle must be ently initiates and organizes them. Workhave been disrupted by organized groups launched against thosee excesses which or- ers who are moving towards Communism was conducted with arms in hand. The file Left wingers in the S. P.—are reit can bring only the greatest discredit greatest harm to the cause of the work- pelled from the party by such conduct. and harm to the Communist cause in ing class is brought, for example, by They are caught once more by the resocial democrats are to blame without the know that the Communists will not take mutual fights play right into the hands halt immediately, openly and in unmis. Hindenburg at Neudeck in East Prussia the German social democracy, and there not be allowed to pass by without leav- age in connection with the election cam-In 1925, a severe crisis broke out in leaders naturally instigate deliberately ing clear traces on the consciousness of paign, Carl Severing, the Prussian Inthe German Communist party. The ultra- such a struggle. The Communists must the Communist workers. Those who are terior Minister, issued orders today for-

putes with the Left wing, not only inside So harmful had such a development the party in 1919, but in the trade unions conceal the well-known fact that the "In order really to find a path to the party not only encourages hooligan disbest section of the German social dem- ruption of opponent meetings, but frequiginate in the period when the struggle -non-party workers as well as rank and

Put an end to hooliganism and street

Socialist Edict Paves Road for Hitlerites

Communists Must Form United Front Now

While the danger of a Fascist victory | home for all participants as well as rein Germany becomes increasingly accen- strain them from committing acts of tuated, the social democrats are playing violence after the meeting's dispersal. 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, The party which talks today about Reich' minister of the Interior, was on were sure that a sufficent 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

"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 checkmated 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

At the same time, the Stalinist leaders are playing a dangerous game of hideand-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 ac-I have before me the June 4 number cordingly. The situation cries out imof the Paris Magazine Monde. Monde is peratively for clear-cut policies. The

In some sections, the party has made a the convocation of the "great Anti-War shamefaced turn towards the united front Congress". On the third page of this policy. In Berlin, it has gone so far as magazine there is an extract from an to address itself to the social democratic appeal by Romain Rolland and Henri party. Why in Berlin and not nationally? Barbusse. The character and spirit of Does "social-Fascism" hold good federthe prevailing method within the League. the appeal are sufficiently clear from the ally but not locally? Can a real united No discussion of problems facing the following words: "We call upon all peo- 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 Then follows a passage from a letter had to declare to the ultra-Leftists in

"The Red Front Fighters League must address an open letter to the Reichsbanin this struggle should be occupied by struggle against the monarchists. Our (2) To demand the reinstatement of the working class. Still further, we slogan is: Wherever you will fight against ecratic workers, emphasizing with all strength the readiness of holding back This is followed by an aphorism from much of what separates the Communist party from the social democratic workworkers that the main thing is the approachment to the social democratic workers in the factories". (Imprecort,

> While some of the formulations contained here are not entirely accurate, the French Communist party, l'Humanite, of spirit applies a hundredfold stronger to the present situation A plain, public, call of Romain Rolland and Henri Bar-busse for participation in the Interna-tical Completely away from the miserable theory of "social-Fascism". A recognition in full of the Opposition's In the last issue of La Vie Ouvriere, proposal for a united front of the Communist and social democratic parties that will mobilize the million-masses of pressed with the initiative taken by Rol- Hitler and Co., but also against the treacherous policy of the socialist lead-

> > It is not too late yet but neither is

Five Expelled from Y.C.L disloyal, rude, underhanded method befitting only a degenerated bureaucracy. The Communist movement under the guidance of Leninism had a system which

Chicago Communist Youth Fight Campaign against Opposition

telling charges of incompetence and burwars with the same worthy aim in view. ctionaries have resorted to their classic wage slaves of Du Pont. They would 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

> 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.

OF PERN, BARSHEVSKY, SOLD, AND HANKIN AND THE EX-

CLUSION OF FAREFIELD COMMUNIST LEAGUE:

Last July at the District convention of sented a series of criticisms regarding the intolerable situation in the League International in its resolution on the American League. The Y. C. I. although 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 The nawsty report is hitched on to a so that their incompetence might not be

- 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

Communists who have proven themselves lars in advertisements, begging, pleading,

active sincere fighters since pioneer The expulsion of four members of the age, and who have been brought up to tralism is;

> (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 counterrevolutionary comrades who have proven themselves sincere fighters. (Satir and

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

ship had failed to prove the incorrect- aries, even unit organizers, are appoint- upon all forces and all mass organizaness of certain policies of this group.

after being convinced by members of the Tuley fraction 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 Farefield 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-rev. olutionary tendencies or activities of the comrades lay, they insisted that Farefield condemn Bern and Barshefsky as counterrevolutionaries.

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 ne was expelled as a white chauvinist

is the opposite of bureaucracy: that of democratic centralism. Democratic cen-

(1) All questions are discussed in detail for an adequate length of time so Dear Comrades: that it might be understood by the entire membership.

taken and the minority must submit to the majority.

(3) All leaders are elected by the members and under the control of the rank and file.

Bureaucracy, the contrary to this, is (4) These two comrades refused to League; decrees are delivered from above; condemn the Left Opposition as counter- the membership's duty is to obey, never tical affiliations and all labor organizarevolutionary since the Y. C. L. leader- to question or understand All function- tions-cultural, social and trade unioned, seldom elected. For any serious cri- tions! Let all join us in the Interna-Dave Farefield, a young comrade who ticism the cost is expulsion. The result tional Congress of War against War." is an impotent inactive idealogical level.

We the undersigned call upon all sincere Communists

- tion of the League.
- cussion of all points raised.

an open membership meeting.

(Signed) PHIL SOLD

IRVING BERN DAVE FAREFIELD H. HANKIN.

Hoover&Unemployment Republican Party Platform Ignores Vital Problem of Jobless

the pavements of plentiful America, out them employment. of work, with no hope of finding employment. Both the conservative De-

increase of the jobless army

Jobless in Extreme Need

Two years ago unemployment meant land and Barbusse. partment of Labor and William Green, the loss of a few luxuries. One could The picture is now perfectly clear. ership. The party leadership which has president of the A. F. L. corroborate manage to exist without a radio and an The French Communist Party and the already accumulated a menacing heap these high figures of unemployment. All automobile. But as the crisis continued, trade union organization led by it, stand of blunders, must be driven to the wall data published to date point to a daily the lack of a job forced the worker to behind the initiators of the Congress. on the question. The Communist workmake payments on his home, and tens of Behind French Communism stands the ers in this country must lend their sup-It is no longer a matter of being job- thousands have gone under the auction- leadership of the Comintern. What is port to the policy we advocate. less for a few weeks. These weeks have eer's hammer. Whatever savings the involved is the danger of a new world turned into months, and the months are worker possessed have either been used war. In the struggle against this danger there too much time. Events are movis based on the amazing fact that this and terroristic lash are Phil Sold, Irving rapidly becoming years. The prospects up or have passed into the bankers' hands it is necessary to utilize also the fellow- ing with express speed, and the party's for work are as slight as the greatly in the innumerable bank crashes. For travellers, who appear or may appear policy must be changed accordingly. reduced wages. The crowds at the fac- some time, thousands of jobless have been to be, to a certain extent, the most hon- Fascism must be crushed now! tory gates are dwindling into mere hand- kept afloat by assistance from more for- est and determined in the ranks of the fuls. Even the brazen lies of Henry tunate friends and relatives. But this petty bourgeois pacifists. However, this Ford, of putting thousands back on the situation is coming to an end, if it is is in any case a question of tertiary or job attract far less attention from the not already concluded. The proletarian still lesser importance. The initiative was repulsed by the daughter of the Earl whom he considered revolutionaries of unemployed than they did some months friends and relatives have been cast into in this matter, it would seem, should munist League of America will hold a is no more the bosses who ask for "help". of some sort. The picture is changing. of the working masses of the Second and tend. Bern and Barchevsky, both young Today the workers spend their last dol- The unemployed are ceasing to look for the Amsterdam Internationals. As a Keep the date open. Watch The Mill. (Continued on page 2)

BARBUSSE CONGRESS

(2) After the discussion a vote is published by Barbusse and serves at the Stalinists are fooling around. present time as the central organ for ple, all groups, regardless of their poli-

addressed by Rolland to Barbusse: "I am the German party, in connection with the wholly of the opinion that the Congress Hindenburg-monarchist danger, which should be open to all parties and non- was far from being as acute as the (1) to further the fight against the partisans on a common basis of sincere Fascist danger today: rotten, bureaucratic, opportunist, and determined struggle against war." careerist, adventurist leadership | Further on, Rolland expresses his agreewhich is the cause for the stagna- ment with Barbusse, that the first place ner with the proposal for a common

all expelled young revolutionists. read the first list of those who have the monarchists, we shall support you (3) To demand an open democratic dis- joined the Congress. It consists of rad- unconditionally . . . It is necessary to ical and half-radical French and German adopt a new tone towards the social dem-(4) To study the question of the Left writers, pacifists, members of the League Opposition before taking any posi- of the Rights of Man, and so forth.

(5) To demand the right to study the the well-known Emile Vandervelde. question of the Left Opposition. | "Everywhere war gives birth to . . . ex- ers in the name of the common strug-Furthermore we extend a challenge to plosions of revolutionary dissatisfaction gle against the monarchist danger . . . the leadership to debate our position at on the one hand and the rabid reaction It is necessary to make clear to all the of fanatical nationalism on the other. members of the German C. P. and all It is of the utmost necessity that the In-YETTA BARSHEVSKY ternationals unite their forces closely in order to prevent war."

Finally, after these words by Vander- June 16, 1925.) velde, quoted from the socialist journal Le Peuple of May 29, 1932, we read a quotation from the central organ of the May 31, 1932: "Reply 'Present!' to the tional Congress at Geneva."

More than 13,000,000 men pound imploring some kindly capitalist to give the central organ of the Unitary General against the Fascist danger, a united front cle in which complete agreement is ex-Germany's proletariat not only against

(Continued on page 4)

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC The New York Branch of the Com-

of Warwick. "A king's bastard is a high standing and for refusing to conhouse's pride", quoth he. Yes, there demn without study the Left Opposition. these deceptive statements with suspicion. their wages have been cut so low, that tional proletariat, by the Comintern and day, August 7th. It is planned to get One finds the curious anomaly in the not only is assistance impossible, but Profintern. The most important problem all members, friends and sympathizers of want ad sections of the newspapers. It they themselves are in dire need of relief is the successful attraction to our side the Left Opposition in New York to at-

tant for further information.

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 unemploy. ment. 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.

the promise of eternal prosperity. One awakening to a new life, is still far from a state overturn from the Right unleash ion. No; there was no lack of that, be an intolerable neighbor. We remem- which in our opinion will help material-

For almost a year following the stock crash, with industry shutting down and blind alley into which Europe, Balkanized lay-offs rising to the millions, their main at Versailles, has now run finds a conoccupation was pulling the wool over the centrated expression in Germany, where power, he would be compelled, in order eyes of the people. There was no crisis, it has taken the political form of "Na- to get a free hand within his own coun-Hoover said. It was only a temporary tional-Socialism." In the language of try, to begin with an oath of loyalty to fluctuation. Then-when it became im- social psychology this political tendency Versailles. Nobody on the Quai D'Orsay possible to deny what was so obvious, might be described as an epidemic hys- has any doubt of that. Moreover, it is Hoover had another gag. It would all teria of despair among the intermediate well understood there that a military be over in 60 or 90 days. Or if these pre- classes: the ruined small trader, crafts- dirtatorship of Hitler, once it was firmly dictions proved false-then prosperity was man, and peasant; in part, too, the un-established in Germany, might become around the corner. Like Diogenes who employed proletarian; the officer and non- a considerably more reliable element in looked in vain for an honest man, the commissioned officer of the great war, the French hegemony over Europe, than American workers are searching for still wearing the symbols of distinction the present German governmental sys. this corner.

Hoover's Grand Scheme

them. He embarked on a "grandiose pro- pay. The papers were full of it for lief bill" that -\$300,000,000 will only give jobs to a mere one hundred thousand

The next publicity scheme (the only thing the unemployed got out of the Republican administration) was the "stagger system". The Republican platform says that this scheme of "part time employment—limited unemployment". It fact if he came into power he would be forces which history has known, France task of intervention in the Soviet Union. 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 the bosses are thankful.

To the Hunger March on Washington And to give force to his statement the Capital was surrounded by the militia agogue. armed with all the weapons of modern

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 ralroads. 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 soundidng title of "overdue liabil-

Relief "Un-American"

The Republicans say in their platform that federal relief is un-American; only

devoted to unemployment. To the de- ful methods-which may safely be exmand for social insurance, the Repub- cluded from things possible—he would licans give lectures on "rugged American | find it necessary just the same, in order individualism". To the cry for relief to inaugurate a Fascist regime, to break they answer with platitudes about "cour- the backbone of the Communist party, age, fortitude and patence". Starve-the social democracy, and the trade-unbut starve quietly! They boast to their ions. And this is a very painful and and social disturbances" under their re- himself, of course, understands this. That gime. 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 which they represent. We must vote Communist as a sign that we understand the first task in our historic mission.

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

Entered as second class mail matter alysis must begin. November 28, 1928, at the Post Office a: New York, N. Y. Under the act of German workers will naturally seek sup-March 3, 1879.

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See War With Germany

focal points unusually remote from each sudski's help, or at least his friendly inclined to "pacifism", because they dread A war against the Soviet Union would other: one on the Mukden-Pekin line, neutrality, will be infinitely more im- the revenge of the conquered. the other on the Berlin-Munich. Either portant to Hitler, absorbed in the Fas- A Fascist regime—a thing which could fatal necessity. one of these points of infection is enough cization of Germany, than the liquida- be realized only at the price of bloody to destroy the "normal" course of events tion of the Polish Corridor. How insig convulsions and a new exhaustion of However, the day-by-day work of the and indeed the whole question of the an invaluable element in French hegediplomats and official politicians looks as boundaries of Germany-in the midst of mony. From the side of the Nationalthough nothing unusual were happening. his bitter struggle to get the power and Socialists France and her Versailles sys-It looked the same along in 1912 during to keep it! the Balkan War which was the overture to 1914.

an intelligent bird-people call this an Even now there are voices heard in the But exactly for this reason Hitler in ostrich policy. The ornamental decision Manchurian question is a document of by Hitler!" To be sure the official press, the Soviet Union. impotence without equal even in the his- led by Le Temps, takes a hostile attitude tory of European diplomacy: no self- to the National-Socialists. But this is than once in recent years about an aprespecting ostrich could possibly sign his not because the masters of fate in contemname to it. This blindness-in some porary France take Hitler's martial ges- Soviet Union. The author of these lines tempo.

Germany is a different matter. The ing about—and quite justifiably, too. but without rations; the clerk of the tem, whose mathematical formula conclosed-up office; the bookkeeper of the sists almost entirely of unknown quan-But even if thousands of workers at bankrupt bank; the engineer without octities. the start, might have been inclined to beat cupation; the journalist without salary the start, might have been inclined to beautiful in the shams of the "great en- or prospect; the physician whose clients war would be inevitable gineer", he himself placed no stock in are still sick but have forgotten how to

\$500,000,000 was invested in a about his domestic program on the patrons of a Fascist Germany would be secrets at all. However, we are not hegemony over Europe is a result of the cles Hitler declares war on the Versail- not participate in the victory, although military stores! stay of French imperialism.

wages in half. And you may be sure, Yet they flow inexorably from the logic ductive forces, her national income—all coming years. To make intervention post the more free to say how in my opinion both living and dead, of the international income—all coming years. To make intervention post the more free to say how in my opinion of the European and international situation and international situation these are obviously inadequate to sup-sible, a great, highly industrialized, and the Soviet government ought to act in we will appropriate the sup-sible and the soviet government ought to act in we will appropriate the sup-sible and the soviet government ought to act in the soviet government ought to tion when correctly analyzed—when the port her lordly position. The Balkaniza- moreover continental European empire case of a Fascist state revolution in Gerthat demanded unemployment insurance, analysis starts, that is, from the basic tion of Europe, the stirring up of anta-would be needed—one which would de-many. Upon receiving the telegraphic Hoover responded with an emphatic No. factors of politics, and not from phrases, gonisms, the struggle against disarmal sire, and be able, to take upon itself the communication of this event I would, gestures, and the other trash of the dem-

HITLER WILL NEED ALLIES

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 internamany, it is necessary to weigh briefly

these elements of the problem. The relation between Fascism "Marxism" is sufficiently clear from the experience of Italy. Mussolini's program, local relief is permitted. Hardly a month up to the day of the operetta march on had passed since the platform was adopt- Rome, was no less radical and no less ed and a bill is passed giving federal mystical than that of Hitler. The realrelief to states in need, to the tune of ity turned out to be merely a struggle three hundred million dolars. And this against revolutionary and oppositional is to be divided among the unemployed forces. Like its Italian protoype, Gerand their families who total over forty man National-Socialism can come to million people. Even if all the red tape power only after breaking up the workwere eliminated it would amount to ers' organizations. This, however, is no scarcely ten dollars per person. And simple task. Civil war lies on the road between the National-Socialists and the In a platform of more than twenty power they seek. Even if Hitler should thousand words hardly a hundred are get a parliamentary majority by peacemasters that there have been "few strikes prolonged surgical operation. Hitler is why he is not at all disposed to accommodate his political plans to the uncertain destinies of German parliament-

arianism. While covering himself with phrases about legality, Hitler is awaiting the op-Republicans and the capitalist system portune 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 powerwhether 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 an-

In their struggle against Fascism the port in the Soviet Union, and they will find it. Can you imagine for a moment that in these circumstances Hitler's goveign \$2.50. Five cents per cepy. conflict with France or Poland? Between the proletariat of a Fascist Germany and

World politics have at present two the Soviet Union stands Pilsudski. Pil- querors, as history testifies, are always tradictions of the international situation.

Pilsudski would be for Hitler a bridge For some reason-grossly slandering there were no other bridges closer by.

overcome all obstacles and arrive in

To imagine that the ruling circles in long the hegemony of France.

on our planet for years—for decades. nificant this question will seem to Hitler Germany—would be for that very reason tem have nothing at all to fear.

Would Hitler in power, then, mean toward friendship with France-if indeed peace? No, Hitler in power would mean a re-enforcement of French hegemony. French press—as yet only in its secondary power would mean war—not against adopted by the League of Nations on the organs—"It is time to steer our course Poland, not against France, but against

The Moscow press has spoken more proaching military intervention in the cases, of course, quite voluntary - to tures seriously. No, what frightens them has more than once objected to this kind

> border or simple landing operations. Even Churchill, according to his own proud problems, the problem of reparations. boast, mobilized "fourteen nations" against the Soviet Union. How happy RUSSIA MUST BE PREPARED 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 Hitler has refused to answer questions France would be "embarrassed" to act as that money. If at that time, in the first days. \$500,000,000 was invested in a ground that it is a military secret. He quite childishly naive. France is now Red army was sill walking in its baby huge "public works" scheme. Millions of salvation to his polimen were to be returned to work. Result | Secret methods of salvation to his poli- | Yugoslavia, three countries ruled by a nothing on its feet at all!—the troops —a huge fizzle. And the jodies army tical enemies. This is not very patriotic, military dictatorship! Is this accidention of "fourteen nations" could not win the kept growing. Wall-Street-Hoover aumits but it is clever. In reality Hitler has no al? Not in the least. The present French victory, how much less hope there is now, when the Red Army is a mighty here concerned with domestic policies. fact that France still remains the sole force, with a victorious tradition, with In the matter of international politics inheritor of the victory of the United young and yet experienced officers, with his position seems at first glance a little States, Great Britain, Italy, and herself. inexhaustible reserves raised up by the more definite. In his speeches and arti- (I do not name Russia here since she did Revolution, and with sufficiently opulent

ment, support to military dictatorships- principal weight of a holy pilgrimage in their place, sign an order for the sailles. By "Marxism" they mean two ridor. In the language of Versailles, than that, a Fascist Germany would have himself, conclude the necessary alliances, churia, swears to God that she seeks ated to France and consequently to such a colossal danger. tional role of a National-Socialist Ger- peace, this only means that she stands for semi-vassal states as Poland, the Fascist and reduce it to chaos. Immoderate con- its own bankruptcy, and out of the con-

grow out of these circumstances with 7 Chariton Street

by LEON TROTSKY

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 object tion 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.

There s hardly a politician worthy men- cannot help understanding that she is and in the Party press. tioning who now imagines that the So not in a position to keep Germany perviet Republic could be settled with by manently disarmed. The French policy means of armies improvised along the will be to turn Fascist Germany against the East. That will offer an escape Winston Churchill no longer believes valve for the national indignation against that, notwithstanding the very wide the Versailles regime, and—who knows? gamut of his political vocal exercises. An —maybe we will have the good luck to experiment of this kind was more than find along this road new sources for the well made during the years 1918-20 when

set aside for the Fascization of Germany Watch for it! -for crushing the German working class, The book will run to about one huncreating a Fascist militia, and restoring dred and eighty pages and will be both the cadres of the army. Along about paper and cloth bound. It will be up 1933-34, then, the conditions for a mili- to our publishing standard in appearance tary intervention in the Soviet Union and work. Arrangements are being made would be adequately ripe.

it, let them sing it staccato.

Whichever of the two might happen going fast. to take the formal initiative, a war between a government of Hitler and the Soviet Government would be ineviable, things to burn up would be the Versailles order but we will try. treaty.

-L. TROTSKY.

YOUTH NOTES

JULY ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS

Spartacus. Order a bunddle and ddistribute 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 ity! We are of the opinion still that no in the Chicago Young Communist League

NEW YORK

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 at Tibbetts Brook Park failed to raise H. Capelis will lead a discussion on the any substantial sum of money. A num-"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. and the Mexican comrades last Sunday comrades invited.

Opposition Challange Still Unanswered

June 25, 1932.

Communist Party.

New Jersey District 7.

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 what is preparing in the Far East, has is the path by which Hitler can alone of snap prognosis—not because he In all these respects, the position of behalf of the party. We therefore re-What have the Republicans done for at least this mitigating circumstance: come to power—the path of civil war, a thought that there was in Europe, or on Hitler's Germany would be fatally dif- quest that you appoint a committee to the jobless? One word can sum up their that events there will develop at a com- thing whose outcome cannot be predict- the rest of the planet, any lack of the ferent. An external success would be meet with our committee and make ardeeds—nothing. They were elected on paratively slow pace. The East, although ed by anybody. May not his policy of evil will to war against the Soviet Un. necessary to it. The Soviet Union would rangements for organizing this discussion year passed and their prosperity bubble the "American", and even the European, a revolution on the Left? That is what But for such a risky undertaking the ber how long Pilsudski hesitated before by to clarify the confusion that exists the ruling circles in France are worry- disagreements and resistances were too signing the pact of non-aggression with in the Communist ranks with regard to great, not only between the different Eur. Russia. Hitler side by side with Pilsud- the policies of the Left Opposition which But one thing is clear: If Hitler did opean states, but still more within each ski-that alone almost answers our have been slandered, misrepresented question. On the other hand France and distorted by the Party leadership

> 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 If you take on faith the assertion of confident that we are going to hang up a the Fascist prophets that they will come record for quick sales. We are making to power during the first half of 1932- every effort to achieve this result. In though we are far from believing these next week's issue we expect to be able years of the Soviet Republic when the people on their mere word—it is possible to make a significant announcement to lay out m advance a sort of political about the price which will make our calendar. A couple of years must be first expectation almost a certainty.

to ship them out against orders immedi-This "calendar" of course assumes ately they come off the press.

Coming on the heels of the Problems cles Hitter declares war on the versalisation of the Soviet Union Coming on the heels of the Problems les Treaty, whose creature he himself is, she paid for it with the greatest number. The united forces of the encircling nawill be meanwhile patiently waiting. The united forces of the encircling nawill be meanwhile patiently waiting. He specializes in terms of abuse direct- of human lives.) From the hands of the tions, even if they could be dragged into My relations with the present Moscow tion of What Next marks a high point ed against France. But as a matter of most powerful combination of world the adventure, would be small for the government are not such that I have in our publishing activities. But we are come one of the chief pillars of Ver- has received an inheritance which she Japan is too far off for an independent to its intentions, about which I, like ment. We are already preparing for sailles, and would turn out to be a main- will not let go of, but which is too heavy military role against the Soviet Union, every other reader and man of politics, our next publication. From this time for her narrow shoulders. The terri- and moreover the Mikado's government can judge only on the basis of all the forth we expect to issue a steady stream These assertions may seem paradoxical, tory of France, her population, her pro- will have troubles enough near-by in the information accessible. But I am all of works by the teachers and leaders,

BOUND VOLUMES Our small supply of the bound volumes

these are the methods necessary to pro. against the Soviets. To be more accur- mobilization of classes. When you have of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets is getate—a country would be needed which a mortal enemy before you, and when ting steadily smaller. In these bound The forcible splitting-up of the German had nothing to lose. A glance at the war flows with necessity from the logic volumes are contained three earlier works The German Fascists declare that they have two enemies: Marxism and Verhave two enemies: Marxism an nation enters into the system as a link political map of Europe will convince of the objective situation, it would ge by comrade Trotsky which are out of "Corridor" is the name given to an operation which other people call removing a rib from a living organism. When time, having revealed its bankruptcy in the language of versatines, to receive the necessary help, work out a plan of concentric military actions—not of social-Fascism; World Unemployment only from the west bt from the east—
and the Five Year Plan, which deals with the question of economic collaboration France, while supporting Japan in Man- all domestic problems, having capitul- and thus grow up to the dimensions of the question of economic collaboration with Soviet Union; and The Draft Program of the Comintern which deals with Hitler's shock troops are already sing- the question of socialism in one country. the inviolability for her own hegemony— regime would be inexorably compelled to ing all over Germany a marching song We may reprint one or all of these works. that is, her right to dismember Europe seek some sort of gambling way out of against the Soviets, composed by a cer- If we do it will be some time in the futain Doctor Hans Buchner. It would be ture. In the meantime the only opporimprudent to let the Fascists drawl this tunity our comrades and readers have to martial air. If they are destined to sing read and study these important works is in the bound volumes. And these are Publications in Foreign Languages

A number of the works which we advertise in England are also obtainable and that too at a very early date. The from us in Jewish, Russian, Italian and consequences of this war would be in- Spanish. Comrades who read English calculable. But whatever illusions they with difficulty or feel more at home in might cherish in Paris, one thing could their native languages should apply to be confidently asserted: In the flames of us for information about these publicaa Bolshevik-Fascist war, one of the first tions. We may not be able to fill every

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 remittee free a copy for himself. This offer holds until further notice. It ap-Send for the July issue of Young plies, 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 opportunworker who has a dollar can refuse to buy this work when all its qualities are explained to him. Our experience here The Spartacus Youth Club at its last confirms us in our opinion. If you go to it you can do it.

> ber of youth comrades and friends were there but few adult sympathizers coop-

> 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 The picnic held for the Spanish youth of the 125th St. ferry at 6:30 P. M. All

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 give here fnor 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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Independent Clothing Workers Union Formed in Canada

In the July issue of the Advance, offi-| directly through Hillman's offices. cial organ of the Amalgamated Clothing So what has become of all these great regret that they could not succeed with Workers Union we read a report of a "achievements" and the class collaboraten percent wage cut put over on the tion methods which are responsible for Philadelphia membership through the de them? Have they failed? Has Hillman cision of the "Impartial Chairman", decided to discard the "civilized" meth-Judge Stern. This wage cut is one of ods and turn to more union power", to the seasonal wage cuts that are foisted the "court of last resort"? Does he upon the membership of the A. C. W. by really intend to "square accounts", even official agreement with the Clothing though "only in the future"? If anyone Manufacturers' Association, in addition thinks so on the basis of the hypocritical to the unceasing wage reductions in the shops that are not recorded.

It has been the accepted theory and novice. practice of the A. C. W. that all disputes between it and the clothing manufacturers are settled by arbitration. Hillman all the things mentioned above are alhas made this system renowned, as the ready too well known and properly evalulast 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 turers and gained a high reputation, pres lowing ponderous editorial remarks:

Hi!lman's New "Militancy"

The Philadelphia manufacturers, of ers. There is hardly a clothing center, it as an advertising device. They can get a taste of Hillman's "civilized" union out better quality goods for the same in a direct and efficacious manner. money or the same quality for less The Amalgamated bureaucracy feels money. So they get the advantage and the bankruptcy of its "higher labor use it. And there the vicious circle be- strategy" It feels it considerably and gins. First Chicago and Rochester wanted substantially. It feels it financially and reductions to enable them to compete organizationally. Its prestige is falling with New York and Philadelphia. They precipitately: both with the manufacturgot what they wanted. Now Philadel- ers and the workers. Its banks are crashphia must have a further wage reduction ing. Local unions and centers are re to be enabled to compete with Chicago | belling. They openly break away from Rochester and New York. The next in the A. C. W. decaying body. The Hillline is New York! It must compete with man bureaucracy is experiencing a sink-Philadelphia. Then presumably Chicago ing of the foundation under its feet. It and Rochester will folow. . .

er or later. Perhaps later will be late and Hence the hypocritical references to the industry will have gone to the dogs. struggles . . . "in the future". This is The game will not be stopped by holy in- essentially the purport of the ponderous vocations or righteous indignation. It is remarks of the mandacious, hypocritical up to the union and the union only. It sheet, paradoxically called Advance. It may not be in a position today, so it is perfidy multiplied by crass insolence. must prepare for the task-today, tomor- It will not misead anybody. row, every day. Not impartial arbitration but more union power is the court of last resort. Accounts will be squar- the Advance, a slanderous attack is made of what has been accomplished during red even though it may take time and on the new Clothing Workers Union re- this period. What have been our gains? effort.'

the cooperative houses (where dwellings zation. are provided for the union officials and business people); the unemployment in-

labor unions. fifths of their average wages (and their ship in Montreal had sunk. wages, as you know are very high). The The attacks on the All-Canadian Cloth- Philadelphia longshoremen's strike, in and it doesn't matter. But we bet they'll with backbones, not fish bones.

pronunciamentos of his lickspittle editor on the Advance, he is simply a fool or a

Collapse of "Higher Strategy"

The Hillman bureaucracy feels that ated, especially by the A. C. W. members themseves. The "higher labor strategy" of the Hillman bureaucracy, which so closely tied it to the clothing manufacabove wage cut in Philadelphia the fol- tige and medals for Hillman in the bourgeois world, have brought starvation, slavery, demoralization and despair to "It is all turning in a vicious circle. the tens of thousands of clothing workcourse, want the wage cut for whatever here or in Canada, where the clothing cash vaue it has. But they also want workers have not had the opportunity to tell the trade press and the buyers that methods. And many of them are allabor now being cheaper, they can turn ready beginning to react to these methods

must seek a way of rescuing itself. "The game will have to be stopped soon. Hence this talk of a change of tactics.

On the same page of the same issue of cently formed in Montreal, Canada, out What our losses? What influence have What has become of that "higher labor of the former Amalgamated locals. This strategy" to which are attributed all the new union was born in the open revolt of and longshoremen?. What has actually 'achievements" of the A. C. W., and on the membership against the A. C. W. burwhich Hillman prides himself on every eaucracy for their granting of wage cuts, occasion? Has not Hillman by the grace their terroristic methods, expulsions, and of this 'higher labor strategy" gained re- so forth. The patience of the membercognition and prestige among manufac ship reached the breaking point. First turers, politicians, judges senators, the the pressers threw into the face of the clergy et al? The monumental achieve. A. C. W. officialdom their union "protecments of the A. C. W. in the sphere of tion" and the benefits of the A. C. W. "civilization" are recalled with pride by and quit the union. They were followed Hillman and his lieutenants not only on by the operators and tailors who jointthe pages of trade union journals but ly organized themsleves into the Allalso, and more so, in the capitalist press. Canadian Clothing Workers Union. This The Amalgamated "Labor" banks (which new union has practically succeeded in serve loans to the clothing firms and wresting control from the Amalgamated thereby assume responsibility for their in the clothing centers of Canada and is stability at the expense of the workers); proceeding with further plans of organi-

Hillman Sunk in Montreal

The strategy of the Hillman bureausurance schemes (which serve as a means cracy did not avail. The manufacturers to insure the high salaries of the offici- have not long enjoyed the benefit of the als): and above all the famous "impar- wage cuts, releived from Hillman as the tial machinery" to settle disputes in the prire of union recognition. Of no avail industry and avoid strikes,, are held up were also the terror and the shrewd, by Hillman and the bosses alike as a tricky maneuvers of the Hillman agents years on the waterfront there are not poor; and not the least, Thornton Wilder, know how to get what we want, not model to be copied by the rest of the who sought to save their dominance over five functioning ship committees in the who now treads the Bridge of San Henri the swivel chair leaders, the Minks, the are still working have had their wages I recall an editorial that appeared in in order to save the sinking Amalgam- committee whatever. No fraction in re-: We ask: Why not the four Marx Broa New York liberal paper some time ago ated ship, at the eleventh hour made formist I. L. A. or any of the other thers? Why not Eddie Cantor, Albertina bor workers must get busy. There is a unemployment insurance was cited as an protection only to keep the tailors from elsewhere. example of a successful solution of the leaving the Amalgamated, it was already unemployed problem. According to that too late. The tailors had already crossreceiving as mch as eighty percent, four-back was impossible. The Amalgamated

editor, of course, obtained his information ing Workers Union have, as it is evil the New Orleans strike; in the strike on put on a much better show at Geneva.

dent, been conceived out of the impot- sult of this incident, was reduced. Hillency of the Hillman bureaucracy to save man's agents ran the show in Montreal its hold on the Canadian organizations by vicious terror . . . The subterranean and are naturally expressive of that opposition in the Amalgamated has only mood That is why it accuses the new been organized a year ago. Why had union of granting bigger and better wage the opposition to be secret? . . . cuts to the manufacturers! (They only ployer!" (Does it really do it?)

present policies of the Amalgamated and the Executive and Joint Boards. impossible. One might think that in pointed by a Hillman agent" and Montreal, at least, the A. C. W. pursued forth. different tactics. But here we read in following:

your attention to this example:

price of the garment, however, as a re-

Autocracy in the Union

"More than four years ago the Amsuch methods.) "Obviously", writes the algamated leadership had made a pogrom Advance, "our organization cannot com- on all the Left and progres ive tailors. pete in this policy of unlimited reduc- They were thrown out of the union and tions. We are not interested in being deprived of their jobs. When the Lefts a preferred company union." (They pre- had been chased out of the trade, the fer to have the monopoly.) "It is the problems in the union still remained. business of the union to play a protective The Left-baiters became the persecuted part in the bargain between the union of tomorrow for their open criticism of and the employer and not merely to be the self-rulership of the Amalgamated sanctioning every demand of the em- bureaucrats . . . Democracy was abolished! Elections for local officials were a Has the editor forgotten what he has farce. Workers had to vote for candidwritten in the previous column about the ates of the cliques. This was only for the "vicious circle" the Amalgamated is elections for paid officials had been held in, due to these policies? But this is for the last five years. They were ap-

The lies and slanders of Hillman and the declaration of the Committee of 50 his sycophants of the Advance will not that conducted the struggle against the stop the revolt of the tailors in Canada A C. W. bureaucracy in Montreal, the and elsewhere. Their deeds are already too well known. As regards the new un-. . . If you are not familiar with ion in Canada we may hope that the the methods of the Hillman agents, give tailors there have learned enough from their experience with the Hillman bur-"Samuelson's is an open shop. Some eaucracy and its "civilized" union methtime before the boss was paying \$3.25 ods of class collaboration not to let themfor making a garment. The business selves be led into a new swamp by the agent of the A. C. W. came along and leaders of the All-Canadian Congress offered the boss to cut the price to \$2.25. with which the new union has been af-The condition was that the employed filiated. They must remain on guard for force the workers to join the Amalgam- their interests and build a foundation ated and collect dues from them. The for a real class struggle union. Only boss' lawyer demanded a written agree- then will they have achieved a great ment. The union did not sign the agree- historical task in the interests of the ment because the firm is still in posses- masses of tailors and the labor movement sion of an injunction procured against in general. Only then will their revolt the Amalgamated some time before. The against the A. C. W. be fully justified. -ALBERT ORLAND.

The Civil War in Chile

Motive Forces Behind South American «Revolutions»

revolutions" in Chile, expressing them- baggage of the various factions fighting selves in the overthrow of several gov- for power? The answer to these quesernments. First of all, the military, ul- tions, we find in the semi-colonial charactra-reactionary dictatorship of Ibanez ter of the national economy of Chile, was supplanted by Montero. The latter's which has been going through a veritably regime was overthrown, in turn by Davila | catastrophic downward development in in conjunction with part of the military recent years as a consequence of the deep camarilla of which Col. Marmaduke Grove is one of the outstanding representatives This economic crisis has been transform-Constituting itself a "revolutionary" junta and declaring itself to be a "social-penetrated the entire life of the nation. ist" government, the Davila clique later Discontent is extending to all parts of renounced their original views as too ra- the population. In order to be able to

Marmaduke Grove, who has been emof an "anti-imperialist" character, for a economy and the effect of the world crisis 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 Chiean household. On the one hand, he plays around with ideas cent of its total exports and copper 34 of a fake working class and "socialist" per cent. This shows us to what degree character. On the other, he has initiat- the national economy is dependent upon ed a most brutal persecution against the these two products. 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

We have witnessed recently a series of demagogy which makes up the political world crisis in the capitalist system. ed into a sharp political crisis which has give a better grasp of the real import of the present situation in Chile, we shall ploying even more demagogical phrases review in brief the state of its national on it.

Chile is one of the most industrialized countries in Latin America, but the structure of its economy bears a semicolonial and mono- productive character. The basic industry of the country is the nitrate industry. Copper is next in importance. Nitrates represent 46 per

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 overdome this crisis lunder 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 culnitrate industry took place under the themselves: What are we heading for leadership of the Cosach trust, dominated under the present leadership? What has in turn by American capital. The govbecome of the militants who built up the ernment ceded to this trust all the nitrate International Seamen's Club, the Marine fields owned by the state, at the same Workers League and founded the Indus- time exempting it from the export tax. the time has come when it is absolutely (Not to Speak of Greta Garbo) trial Union? Why is Harvey, for in- These privileges granted to the Cosach stance, in the coal fields? Harvey is a outfit by the government made possible seaman and his place is on the water- the existence of enterprises standing outfront Why is McGrath in the Soviet side of the trust. In this manner the Union? The seamen are organized one British, Jugoslav and Chilean, etc. comhundred per cent over there. They panies were forced to enter into the trust. don't need any organizers from the U. S. Production which had increased consider-A. We need all the organizers we can ably in the first years of the Ibanez dicget. We are suffering at present from tatorship, 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. of jobs.

While the nitrate industry is divided up among the capitalists of the various entirely in the hands of Yankee capital capacity. Prices have fallen in alarming proportions. Thousands of workers have

been thrown out of work and those who

reduced 40 per cent.

The nitrate and copper crisis has been converted into a national crisis. The in which the Amalgamated system of promises of union democracy and better existing unions in New York City and Rasch and Dorsha? Why not Greta lot of organizing to do, if we are to es- situation in the other industries follows Garbo and the Hall Johnson choir? Why cape the threat of starvation that stares closely along the same lines. The crisis The Minks and the other bureaucrats not George Gershwin and Minnie the us in the eye. The way to do it is by has gripped with just as disastrous conwill point to their success with the Moocher? And what about Amos and establishing rank and file control. Get sequences the coal and the transport ineditorial the A. C. W. membership were ed the threshhold. To make them come River Boat Men of Stockton, California. Andy, Felix the Cat, Israel Amter and into the union and let us all get to- dustries. Commerce and agriculture are

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 represenparticipate. The heterogeneous character of the ruling class further aggravates the vacillations of the political power torships and reactionary regimes known for their fierce persecution not only of tical adversaries in the contending bour-

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 of the class struggle also explains the imperialist" phrases employed by the difreached the point of clear class consci--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 executors are poor,"

The Stalinists and the Waterfront Work

NEW YORK .--

have been functioning on the waterfront good militant marine workers no matter 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 Why not the 4 Marx Bros.? among the seamen and harbor workers, necessary seriously to take an account we got over the seamen, harbor workers 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?

mit, can be given only in the negative. We must then ask ourselves, why haven't we any substantial influence? What is

Has our policy toward the seamen the correct answer is, no The piecards er treats with respect. As if this were not real militant, industrial union. and bureaucrats will say: We have got enough to form an anti-war center to Beware of the Andersons and the other

ter-revolutionary Trotskyists, etc. Fiasco of Bureaucrats

explain away the fact that after five baton; Lillian Wald, who also pities the But we must organize correctly. We the workers. When the Hillman agents, whole U. S. Mercantile Marine. No dock Barbusse.

the Clyde line a few weeks ago, their what their political beliefs may be. These For the last five years the Communist shameful desertion of Soderberg, Bunker facts cannot be side-stepped. And the minated in the reorganization of the party and the Trade Union Unity League and Trajer, who were seamen after all, workers in the M. W. I. U. must ask

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, anonunces 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 least, their tacit support, there are also you with a bowl of greasy

too much talk about revolution and too little action about organizing.

For a fighting Opposition

The seamen and harbor workers ought the revolutionary movement against im- to ask these questions at the next meettions, everyone involved will have to aderal historian for the petty bourgeois | machine cannot be allowed to continue Scripps chain; Upton Sinclair, well- wrecking what has been built up by the known supporter of peace in peace times militants with their sweat and blood. A and of war during war times; Robert | fighting opposition has got to be organ-Morss Lovett, another petty bourgeois pro- ized, a machine that will counter the fessor; and Corliss Lamont, the only one machine of the Stalinist wreckers. That As a consequence of all this, more than and harbor workers been correct? Again of the noted family whom the Daily Work. is the one way of making our union a

influence, but times are bad. Take no which the Stalinists give, at the very Lovestoneite hangers-on who try to buy countries, the copper industry is almost Alla Nazimova, who is undoubtedly a re- like union men, the union rightly belongs As a result of the crisis, this industry markable tragedian on the stage; Leopold to you. Organization is the need of the is working at about two thirds of its Answers like these will not, however, Stokowski who wields a nifty orchestral hour, among the seamen as everywhere. Andersons, etc. The class conscious seamen and har-

But they cannot cover up thereby their Betty Boop-Boop-a-Doop? We don't gether to run out the pie-cards and bur- likewise caught in its grip. fiasco in the criminal handling of the know if they're all against war or not, eaucrats. We have got to choose leaders

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

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

party, which began after the grain crisis of the Comintern that the working masses the victory of "Bolshevization" and ership in condemning any rumors about a picture of an entirely different charthat followed the Fifteenth Congress of throughout the world were becoming "monolithism", at a time when the very disagreements in the Russian party lead- acter. A violent and muffled struggle is the C. P. S. U. at the end of 1927, was "more and more radicalized". The warn- basis under the various "Bolshevisk lead- ership as "Trotskyist slanders" In a developing all along the line. Factional and create the ground for military dictavery soon projected in a direct line to ings against this light-minded conception erships" imposed upon the national sec-special report on the subject made by groupings, large and small, revealed themthe whole of the Communist Internation- of an automatic, horizontal progress of tions was being undermined. In 1928, Stalin himself to the Council of Elders seves at the Congress in the delegations al. This flight of the frightened bureau- the revolutionary movement, were of the most violent internal struggles were at the Congress, he repudiated all rumors from Germany, England, Poland, the the working class but also of their policrats from yesterday's rank opportunism no avail, for they were uttered by the being fought behind the scenes of the regarding differences in the Russian United States, Rumania, Juglo-Slavia, to adventurism is embraced in what has Opposition. And comrade Trotsky's clear- "unified Communist International". The Political Bureau. He empathically den- etc. The delegation of the U. S. S. R. geois cliques. become known as the "third period"

The Turn at the Ninth Plenum

tected, but only the first signs. The vote of bureaucratic Centrism. cast for the Communist parties, particuand the United States.

ing the precise stage of development of Communism since that time. the international labor movement, proventurism, and announced from the mouth was proclaimed to be right ahead. In gress tribune. In this manner, the for found to rise and shout that the king

The ultra-Left zig-zag in the Russian of Thaelmann and the other spokesmen Fascism". The Fifth Congress celebrated Congress", he nevertheless took the lead- set up by the editorial censors) presents sighted analysis of the real status of the gress, but even more definitely at the His study on this subject, nevergress, but even more definitely at the 9th Plenum of the C. I. early in 1928, theless remains the first work written Imperialist League and the "Peasants' which declared: At that time the first signs of a working against the superficial exaggerations and International". The Sixth Congress, for class resurgence in Europe could be de- ultra-Leftism of the post Right wing per-

The Sixth Congress in the middle of cast for the Communist parties, parties phrases employed by the dif-larly in Germany, was increasing, but 1928 carried the Ninth Plenum a few established the slogan of the "democratic Elders of the Congress that they most sent, the Comintern is basing itself on ferent bourgeois camarillas to shunt off with it, also, the vote cast for the so- steps further in absurdity. Formally, it dictatorship of the proletariat and pea- emphatically protest against the circula- a bloc composed of the Right and the the strong militant sentiments of the with it, also, the vote cast for the strong militant sentiments of the cial democracy. In a number of other marked the culminating point of the col- santry" (that is, the Kerenskiad or the tion of rumors that there are dissensions Center, or to speak more precisely, of working class along harmless channels. cial democracy. In a number of other land the Kuo Min Tang tragedy) as an iron law among the members of the Political Bur- the opportunist faction. The situation Unfortunately, these sentiments have not either writhing in the pain of a still Right wing (Stalin and Bucharin). Acunsurmounted defeat, as in China, or else tually, it incorporated into the foundapassive under the soporific effects of a tion of the next period a mixture of temporary high conjuncture, as in France opportunist premises and ultra-Left de-

claimed the rise of a "new and higher" of similarity with the Fifth, which was mous. Its value may be estimated from was simply lying with a straight face; stage of the Chinese revolution (not held in 1924 after the defeat in Ger- the fact that such a struggle was pro- but unlike the boy in the crowd of obedistage of the Chinese revolution (not many. In 1924, no defeat was acknow-claimed by the international leader of ent and respectful subjects through whom its blanket endorsement to guerrilla ad- ledged; on the contrary, the revolution the Right wing, Bucharin, from the Con- the king was passing, nobody could be

was made with regard to the Chinese preserved and used to cover up the bit- Ata. Trotsky summed up this aspect of revolution. In the period of the Fifth ter internal dispute. It is instructive to the Congress in a letter to a comrade: Congress, Stalin made the novel discov- observe that at the very time that Stalin "The theses announce a Bolshevization ery that the "social democracy was the was busily engaged in sapping the ground and internal consolidation" of the parties all its endorsement of adventurist conon three-quarters of the earth.

Stalin and the Right Wing

1928, virtually the same atrocious error mal unification of the ruling bloc was was naked! From his exile in Alma-

cently the Fifteenth Congress of the arin. Everybody at the Congress knew Russian party, was platonic and anony- the truth; everybody knew that Stalin sence of 'important political differences'.'

most moderate wing of Fascism". In under Bucharin and Co., going so far of the Comintern and the 'suppression of 1928, the Sixth Congress laid the basis as to organize an unofficial congress of the internal struggle' The Congress, for the unique philosophy of "social- his own, simultaneously with "Bucharin's however, (even as seen through the bars tatives of the various imperialist powers Fifth Congress, with all its ultra-Leftist led that there were any Right wingers naturally was no exception. On the movement was not only passed over in palaver, contained not merely the germs or Right wing views in the Political contrary, it is the one which transplants The arbitrarily defined period does not silence at the Sixth Congress to which of a brief spurt to the Left but also a Bureau or even the Central Committee, schisms into the other parties. In a commence in the Comintern's history it was presented, but it was not even protracted swing to the Right, to the per- and, to confirm his assertions, introduced multitude of speeches, complaints were with its proclamation at the Sixth Conthe Chiang Kai-Shek alliance, the Anti-other member of the Political Bureau which are not justified by any serious a sharpening of the class struggle, expolitical differences'. No one took the pressed in strikes and working class de-"The undersigned members of the Pol- trouble to ask himself how these faction- monstrations. This state of development itical Bureau of the Central Committee al struggles devour' the 'internally consoclusions, consecrated the revisionist of the Communist Party of the Soviet lidated Communist International'. The "proletarian" demagogy and the "antitheory of socialism in one country and Union declare before the Council of answer is nevertheless clear. At pre-

governing the doctrines of the revolution eau of the Central Committee of the C. in the U. S. S. R. and the regime in the P. S. U." Needless to say, the assem. C. I. have retarded the development of ousness. bled marionettes listened solemnly and the differences of opinion between these The struggle against the "Right dan- approvingly to this criminally ludicrous groups, whereas the class struggle makes ductions which have been at the root of ger" launched at the Sixth Congress, deception of the Communist Internation- their coalition, shot at from all sides, The Ninth Plenum, instead of establish- all the confusion and defeats suffered by which Bucharin had resisted only as re- al, concocted jointly by Stalin and Buch- insupportable. That is where the bitter factional struggles come from in the ab-

(Continued in next issue) -SHACHTMAN.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

Aftermath of Lausanne

European Powers Seek United Front Against United States

claw's grasp from the throat of their Teuton competitor.

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 proletar-

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 British Foreign Minister inform the Dawes and the Young plans. The pay- House of Commons of the action taken, ment of the remaining \$750,000,000 is to so that no debate would be possible. take the form of bond issues which are Immediately after Sir John's announcenot to be redeemed for more than three ment, all sorts of "interpretations" came years. The Germans are thereby granted a greater concession than ever before. A new alignment of the imperialist forces is in the offing.

Wall St. government a compromise with of the treaty. regard to their own war debts, amounting | It is altogether unlikely that the Eurto some \$10,000,000,000 at this date.

restrict themselves to gestures, nor do The conflicts on the continent are too they store great hopes in the good faith deep-rooted and much too dependent upof their American creditor. Perhaps on national consideration for a solid ineven more sensational and more impor- ternational front to be established. The tant than the settlement made at Lau- American colossus still holds the fate of sanne is the new entente that has been many of the lesser countries in the balformed or rather, reformed by Great ance. An agreement like the present can Britain and France "in the spirit which be prompted merely by temporary neceshas inspired the Lausanne agreement", sities. The Lausanne accord still re-The entente provides for coordination in mains tenative to decision by the various the efforts of each country to obtain a national legislative organs. It is only favorable deal on war debts from Wash. the threat of proletarian uprising, with ington. It further proposes to find a com- Germany as the power house, that forces mon "solution for the disarmament ques- the imperialist robbers to bring their tion which will be beneficial and equit- heads together in parley. able for all the powers concerned". That | The German working class has gained

Contrary to expectations, the European of European governments in opposition to powers did manage to come to at least the hypocrytically pacifist (for the other a temporary agreement on reparations at powers) plans of the Hoover administra- class against the Fascist menace is a Lausanne. Faced with the perspective of tion. Finally, the official statement and struggle of international significance. a bankrupt and politically tottering cap- nouncing the entente expresses the The victory of the German working class italist Germany, the Allied vultures have "hope that other governments will join alone will open the road for a solution agreed for the time being to release their them in adopting their procedure", an of the impasse on the continent by obvious feeler extended to the Germans, paving the way for a Soviet United Staconsidering that this organized coopera- tes of Europe. Only a Soviet United Sta-The German Junker delegation at Lau- tion will also preoccupy itself with the tes of Europe can help the old world to sanne spoke hard words and came off "practical preparation of the world eco- ward off the shackles of Wall Street domnomic 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 pouring in from Downing Street. In Paris, a similar atmosphere was created.

All these indications point to the conclusion that the European front is be-It is well known that American press- ing organized against the American raure had a great deal to do with the ac tion master. As a confirmation of this cord finally achieved. Herriot, the lead- conclusion can be considered the fact er of the French delegation has admit- that the official announcement of the new ted as much in his report before the Franco-British entente followed only af-Chamber of Deputies. American private ter the American Secretary of State had capital has some \$6,000,000,000 dollars denied any and every sort of participaat stake in Germany not counting various tion of the Washington administration trade advantages, concessions, etc. The in the agreement accomplished at Lauaction of the European powers was, in sane. It was really Stimson's statethis sense, a gesture to draw out of the ments that called forth the publication

opean united front against Yankee cap-But the continental imperialists do not ital will reach the point of realization.

is, it advances the idea of a united front 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 ination and save it from degeneration into barbarism.

--SAM GORDON.

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In Preparation WHAT NEXT?—VITAL QUES-TIONS FOR THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT

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The «Bonuseers» at Washington By withholding or misrepresenting homes. Those of us who have homes are

the facts, by refusing to "advertise" the going to lose them because we can't pay cause of the soldiers, the bourgeois pa- the taxes. If we turned back there'd be pers thought the bonus movement would nothing to do out bum around and beg. die a natural death. The notices in the We've got some pride. We'll stick topress would give you the impression that gether. There's hope in that." the ex-soldiers are acting as their own pallbearers

What are the facts? There are now 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, going out at least ten are coming in and they are watching to see what the and more are coming in. For every one In all, about 200 have returned homemost of them sick, their nerves all shot. Those known to be well are given the "grand razzberry" and marked "yellowbellies."

Veterans Stick

the \$100,000 appropriation which would provide for each one of them a railroad food from the fact that hundreds of the ticket to go home and 75c for food for each day's traveling. This amount ex- from diarrhea. The children—there are pended would be deducted from the bonus 200 of them—are especially hard hit bewhen it is due, in 1945. This insult is cause of the difficulty of getting sufficient being buried by the curses of the soldiers. fresh milk for them. Out of the bars of the "Veterans Administration" ticket window in Union Sta- to me. "They better come across. They tion, the idle clerks stare blankly.

hide and seek with these men who "bumroll in the mud and s..., it's beginning blows of a terrific crisis, the masses be tobacco, food, etc., show a decline in in the general administration of city, of our class will cause sections of our ernment officials are trying to palm them Afraid, eh? Let them call the militia. off as pleasantly as possible for benefit | In one minute we've got more experience of tourists. About a hundred feet away than they have with all their training!" from the camp, they have put up about It is now almost seven weeks since the thirty army tents. Though condemned marchers entrenched themselves in Washby the army commission, they are comington. Of all the sections of the workparatively neat and clean looking. They ing classes, they have been hardest hit. are set up in the form of a right angle They have been compelled by the class that holds, as it were, within its span, struggle to take this means of demandand at the same time hides from the ing relief for themselves. True, they are vehicular approach, the squalor of the not yet class conscious. But they are becamp. Police Commissioner Glassford ginning to think a little of their enemies, personally took a hand in putting up these as witness in the camp the mock graves

graphers have been ordered not to show men on top of the graves). "Millions anything of the soldiers which would for war; starvation for the soldiers", arouse other veterans to join them, or reads one of their slogans. create for the marchers favorable public The bourgeoisie will find this situation other disturbances!)

put it over on the men.

until decent relief is provided. 'What less army for another. It's safer. would be the use of our going home", said Whatever the plans, what they want one of the soldiers. "There's not a day's to do is to win them over to the reac-Russia, For the defense of the Soviet work to be gotten. Many of us have no tion.

Bonuseers Still Deluded

But still pumped up with some of the ourgeois 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 "leaders" will actually do for them.

to send out committees to "chisel" meat reaction. The ex-soldiers have thumbs down on from this butcher, lard from that grocer, etc. You will know the quality of the

"We must have relief!", said a soldier of Hoover, Mellon, Reed, and Dawes, Not only this. The newsreel photo- (the sculptured images of these gentle-

opinion. (However, the photographers a hard nut to crack. They will resort are to be ready to take riot scenes or to all sort of tricks and maneuvers to priori leadership, by a display of verbal buy the soldiers out at the lowest possi- fireworks, by wanting "officially success-Observe how they're arranging the ble price. When the government is con. ful" isolated demonstrations irrespective "show-window" for display. It pays to vinced of their determination to stick, of time and circumstance. Such vulgar advertise. But the advertisers reckon it may institute some plan to pay them theatrical Leftism will not do. without their "product", the soldiers a pittance, getting the money back for themselves. The officials will have to re- example thru a special bonus tax; or centrate your strength to enlighten them. sort to a couple of other tricks, and they may have a plan to give them 2 or Fraternize with each contingent. Root there's no doubt they've got them up their 3 days work a week, provided by each yourself amongst them. Win them over. sleeve. But it will be a tough thing to state. These jobs to be open to them by Consolidate the employed and unemployed firing those now working on relief jobs. around them. And fight: For cash relief, The 30,000 soldiers are there to stick So they may try to substitute this job. For unemployment insurance, For the six

So there they are in this squalid camp. the church (which has set up tent in able to work as gainfully employed re- farm owners. The poor farmer, middle cruits. Government officials urge them to be the Right. A mute turn, to be suret, gardless of the six million workers unfarmer and rich farmer have their dif-Government officials urge them to be the Right. A mute turn, to be suret, gardless of the six million works.

clean:—to be clean in a garbage heap solation"), together with the liberal mispensive a filthy river! The food supply leaders, are allied and linked together in taken.

Our task is to win the working class ferences. Some of the petty bourgeois and with this class pressure to force want to turn the wheels of industry back-layers of the petty bourgeoisie to supply layers of the petty bourgeoisie.

What Is Our Task?

strong.

the initiative of millions of workers.

For this a patient, persistent preparatory work is necessary. The class conscious soldier must mingle with the to class consciousness. Thus he will be census: 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

Patient, persistent explanation. Conhour day, For extension of long term credits and resumption of trade with Union! --G. D.

The Barbusse Congress Against

(Continued from page 1) stances to develop the policy of the unagainst the danger of war.

But the Cominten is silent. The Profintern is silent. The initiative is surconduct a struggle against its bourgeoisie epigone school revealed its unprincipledin the case of a war declaration, be it ness, its ideological shallowness and its tics, and the other—Barbusse—is a pacifist and a mystic, a Communist or one expelled from the Communist party, but at any rate an adverse an adverse and at any rate any adverse and at any rate any adverse and at any rate any adverse and at any rate and at any rate any adverse any adverse and at any rate and at any rate any adverse any adverse any adverse any adverse and at any rate any adverse any adver at any rate an advocate of the complete than this crawling of official Communism before petty bourgeois pacifism?

In Germany, it is declared impermissibie 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 their own hides. One must be in a state will find the orbit of Centrism.

of complete bureaucratic idiocy to refuse | History is at a breaking point. The

rendered to two pacifist writers, one of war declaration, be it whom—Romain Rolland—is undoubtedly a great writer and a prominent person, but a man who is not engaged in poli-specific aim the exposure of the decelt.

In the case of a war declaration, be it even against the Soviet Union, is entirely excluded. The revolutionary campaign less a manner as this.

Bolshevik-Leninists! The symptoms are the decelt.

ocracy and its imperialistic master.

together prohibited, on the international great events is inevitable. perialist League acted. We are faced where, with a repetition of a Kuo Min Tang | Bolshevik-Leninists! You will be chargworld scale.

There are pedants who doubt if we 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 turned to the Right, its tail still strongly fate of the U. S. S. R. and the world inclined towards the Left. Draw a line proletarian revolution. salaries, of state privileges and even of uniting its nose with its tail and you June 13, 1932

means to this end the policy of the un- to utilize correctly and systematically the whole world is at a breaking point tofted front can be of great service. The great, sharp contradictions between day. And so is Centrism. In the U. S. last session of the Executive Committee Fascism and the social democracy in the S. R. the Stalinists still continue to of the Second International pronounced interests of the proletarian revolution. prattle about the abolition of classes in itself against Japan and "for the defense In the question of war, however, it five years and at the same time they of the U. S. S. R." We know the weight is an entirely different matter. War are restoring the free market. The ultraand the value of this defense inasmuch does not at all constitute a direct threat Left tail does not yet know that the as the decision of the leaders is con- to the reformist organizations, particu- wise opportunist head has decided. In cerned. But the very fact of the adop- larly to their leaders. On the contrary, the domain of cultural policy in the U. tion of this decision is an indication of experience has shown that war opens S. S. R. a sharp turn has been made to the force of the mass pressure (the crisis up dizzying careers for the reformist the Right. The mute turn, to be sure. and the danger of war). The Comin- leaders. Patriotism is just that ideology without any commentary, but a so much tern was duty bound in these circum- which most closely ties the social dem- the more threatening one. The same ocracy to its national bourgeoisie. If it has taken place in the policies of the ited front on an international scale, i, is possible, even inevitable, that the so- Comintern. While the luckless Piatnite, to propose to the Second and the Am. cial democracy will be forced in some zkys are still showing the remnants of sterdam Internationals openly before the form or other, within certain bounds, to the ultra-Leftist cud, the Manuilskys world proletariat a definite, carefully defend itself against Fascism, when the have already been ordered to turn their weighed program of practical measures latter will seize it by the throat, (and it heads to the Right without regard for will seize it), the possibility that the their spinal vertebrae. Never as yet in social democracy of any country should the nine years of its practise has the

But what does the Comintern do? It destiny of our faction. Already we are fusion of the Communist parties with the prohibits the utilization of the absolutely charged with tasks of truly great hissocial democracy. "Join us", say Rolland, real and deep antagonism between the torical significance. The struggle against and Barbusse. Answer "Present!", l'Hu-| national social democracy and national war means above all a struggle against manite joins in the refrain. Is it possi- Fascism, while it attempts to grab hold pacifist masquerading and Centrist burble to imagine anything more monstrous, of the illusory, hypocritical antagonism eucratic quackery. It is necessary to more capitulatory and more criminal between the international social dem- launch a pitiless campaign to expose the contradictions of the Stalinist apparatus, If in Germany the united front is al- whose bankruptcy in the impending

scale the united front is from the very The defense of the U. S. S. R. is not beginning given a decorative, masquerad- a parlor phrase with which the not auing, deliberately deceptive and rotten ways disinterested friends of the Stalincharacter. Exploiting the idealistic naiv- ist bureaucracy parade The internationete of the absolutely sincere Romain Rol- al defense of the U. S. S. R. is becoming land, all fakers and dirty careerists, re- increasingly more dependent upon the intired social democratic ministers and can-ternational revolutionary struggle of the didates for the ministry will declare: proletariat. Where the blood and fate of "Present!" For this gentry the Congress millions are at stake, the greatest clarwill serve as a sanatarium where they ity is needed. Nobody today is rendering will improve their somewhat besmirched better service to the class enemy than reputations in order to sell themselves at the Stalinist apparatus which in the a higher price. This was the manner in struggle for the remnants of its prestige, which the participants in the Anti-Im- is sowing confusion and chaos every-

and an Anglo-Russian Committee on a ed with an enormous task. Weeks and months are approaching when every revolutionist will have to show what he is are correct in defining the international stellinist faction as Contries. These who

-LEON TROTSKY.

The Census Report and the Middle Class

The government has just released the The fifteen million non-workers gain- this class on the basis of Marxism; Stal-1930 census figures of the gainfully em- fully employed make up the exploiting nism is incorporating petty bourgeois ployed. These figures list workers own- class and their office boys. Over four- policies which cause this class to flock analyzed before they are of value for well as the line of march of this class these non-Marxism policies of Centrism. the working class. These figures pre- is as varied as ther rainbow and is con- Under Stalinism the workers are not sent a decline in the number of foreign- stantly changing colors.

to the division of distribution. Farming, they are capable as a class of leading the increased class pressure, under Commun-The marchers are approaching the bor- lumbering, fishing and mining show a workers. men, and children too, are suffering ders of class consciousness. We must decline of labor power employed at The more one considers the middle layers of the middle class are forced to The task is most difficult. The ex-listed under distribution show an the workers, the more one can realize increases, new layers of workers brought soldiers and the rest of the American increase. Manufacturing and transportathe vacillations and different layers at into action will force up new layers of working class has no deep-rooted revolu- tion show a total gain due to population juxtaposition to each other. The van- allies. Only on this basis can allies be tionary traditions. It has had no long increase but basic occupation divisions guard of the workers must be able to of value to us. sustained revolutionary activity, due to of this total show a marked decline. utilize this division within the enemy. think us bums. Yes, but they better the country's comparatively steady eco. The light industries such as: dressmak. In America the parliamentary structure While the press is playing a sort of come across!—When women and children nomic expansion. But now under the ing, tailors, millinery, upholstery, leather, gives the middle class great advantages

An ebb or defeat in the line of march gin to awaken to class consciousness. The labor power. In heavy industry: iron, county, and state politics but the whole allies to withdraw and often turn on American worker is extremely slow to steel, metal, molding machine, boiler- structure is well organized to leave the us. We cannot regain these allies by change. But when he does change, he making, lumber, and railroad transpor- determining forces of the government in compromise, as Stalinism does in all moves in quick tempo. And he changes tation show a decline. These figures pre- the hands of the dominating imperialist parts of the world. We can only regain sent the effects of the contradictions group. In so far as we enlighten these ex- capitalism is moving in, with increased soldiers, awaken them, in so far as we production and a permanent army of unarouse their class initiative we arouse employed, 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. others in their camp, fraternize with The following is a list of the non-worker them, be devoted to them, awaken them gainfully employed taken from the

Non-Workers Gainfully Employed

221,504
245,008
138,707
83,525
258,340
1,703,522
6,012,012
3,541,562
600,513
•
1,179,760

Foreman, overseers, etc. 595,029

Gainfully employed Total

Non- workers

14.750.504

48,829,929

14,750,407

34,079,522

ward. Others trail behind the industrial-These figures show a shift of labor ist, others behind the financier, and some do we want the middle class as a class power from the division of production behind the workers, but all of them think ally. With increased class struggles and

production while those occupations class, pressed between the capitalist and support our position. As the struggle

Middle Class in U. S.

The middle class within the American the developing working class. It takes level suitable for the task, enabling us organizational forms in many ways, from to maintain our position and to strike farmer-labor parties to Anti-Imperialist out in new class battles for new posi-Leagues; from craft job control to antipolitical action; from a struggle to re- The Communist League of America duce the cost of living to the fight to cannot ignore the large middle class in obtain a glass of beer under the leader. America as a valuable ally or bitter enship of Green and Walker.

The Communist can only utilize the class is to learn from the blunders of petty bourgeoisie against the bourgeoisie, Stalinism, replace it with a Marxian line if this class is considered in its manfold and give our full energy to our own divisions and sections and not as a homo- class, the working class. The Commungeneous mass. In the class struggle the ist must point out the road for the workmiddle class must always be considered ing class. The greater the numbers of as fellow travelers. Individuals of this workers we move into action against capclass, who leave their class, who throw italism the broader is our class base and overboard their ideoogy, who learn Marx- the greater will be the layers of allies ism, are an entirely different problem forced to move in our line of march. Withfor us. The petty bourgeoisie as a class out this class base, the class guarantee cannot lead and can only be of value is lacking, and the allies will lead the if they follow the proletariat in the workers to defeat. Such is the logic of struggle against capitalism. The main Stalinism in Germany in 1923, in China danger of the working class is to trail in 1927; and such is the road their line behind the middle class. Our key to of march is leading to in America. The this problem is the program, policies and Communist worker must fight against the tactics of the Communist party. Centr- Stalin stranglehold for Marxism, for the ism has failed in this task. Today, Stal- Marxian policies of the Left Opposition. inism is not winning individuals from

ers, bankers and managers. Like all teen million of these make up the "great" to the banner of "revolution". The Milistatistics of the capitalist, they must be American middle class The ideology as tant from week to week elaborates on

brought to the movement on the basis born workers. The native white and Negro workers show an increase, but this struggle against the chain stores react of opportunism, adventurism, and petty can be accounted for by the natural poputhan the managers of the chain stores bourgeois ideas. Under such a regime lation increase and not the influx of who carry on the business for the own- these workers do not and cannot shake workers into industry. There are 7,411,- ers. The personnel of the industrialist off completely their bourgeois ideology. 127 foreign-born "employed", 5,503,535 see things somewhat different than the Under a Marxian leadership the "green" Negro and about a half a million Spanish- personnel of the financier. The tenant worker is assimilated in the Bolshevik The government, the press, the cinema, Americans. The census lists all who are farmers do not view matters like the current. Stalinism warps the new re-

ist leadership, having a Marxian policy,

these allies by regaining our own class position first. Necessary steps must be taken, reorganization or retreat, to constructure is able to press heavily upon solidating our own class forces at a

emy. The best way not to ignore this