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The Spanish Revolution On the Order of the Day for the Left Opposition

The course of events today puts on the agenda an imposing question on the subject of which the Left Opposition can and must say its word. I speak of the Spanish revolution. It is not a question now of a criticism after the event; it is a question for the international Left Opposition of an active intervention in the events in order to prevent a catastrophe.

We have few forces. But the advantage of a revolutionary situation consists precisely of the fact that even a small group can become a great force in a brief space of time, providing that it gives a correct prognosis and that it issues correct slogans in time. I allude not only to our Spanish section, directly involved by the events, but also to all our sections, because the further the revolution advances, the more it will draw the attention of the workers throughout the world. The verification of the political lines will take place before the eyes of the world proletarian vanguard. If we are really the Left wing, if we are really strong through our correct revolutionary conception, we must show this strength in a particularly sharp manner during a revolutionary situation. If we are really internationalists, we must do this work on an international scale.

Two Basic Questions

Two fundamental questions must be put squarely by us: (1) the question of the general character of the Spanish revolution and the strategic line that flows from it, and (2) the question of the correct tactical utilization of democratic slogans and of parliamentary and revolutionary possibilities. I endeavored to say everything essential on these questions in my last work on Spain. Here I want only to express myself summarily on the totality of the questions on which we must pass over to the offensive along the whole line of the Communist International.

Ought we to look forward in Spain to an intermediate revolution between the accomplished republican revolution and the future proletarian revolution, a so-called "workers' and peasants'" revolution, with a "democratic dictatorship"? Yes or no? The whole strategic line is determined by the reply to this question. The official Spanish party is sunk up to its neck in an ideological confusion on this fundamental question; a confusion which was sown and is still being sown by the epigones and which finds its expression in the program of the C. I. We have here the possibility of unmasking from day to day before the proletarian vanguard, in the light of living facts, the whole emptiness, the whole absurdity and at the same time, the terrific danger represented by the action of a middle-of-the-road, intermediate revolution.

The leading comrades of all the sections must have in mind that it is precisely we, as the Left wing, who must place ourselves upon a solid scientific basis. Thoughtless dabbling with ideas, journalistic charlatanism in the style of Landau and Co., are contrary to the very essence of a proletarian revolutionary faction. The fundamental questions of the revolution must be studied in the same way that engineers study the resistance of matter or doctors study anatomy and pathology. The problem of the permanent revolution, thanks to the events in Spain, has now become the central problem of the international Left Opposition.

Democratic Slogans

The questions of democratic slogans, of the utilization of the elections and, later on of the Cortes, are questions of revolutionary tactics subordinated to the general question of strategy. But the most correct strategic formulae are worth nothing if one does not find a tactical solution to these formulae at every given moment. However, matters look very bad in Spain from this point of view. The French newspapers communicate the news according to which the leader of the Catalan Federation, Maurin, was to have said in his Madrid speech that his organization will not participate in the elections because it does not believe in their "sincerity". Is it possible that this be true? It would mean the Maurin is not approaching the problems of revolutionary tactics from the point of view of the mobilization of the forces of the proletariat, but from the point of view of morality and party bourgeois sentimentalism. Two weeks ago I would have believed that the bourgeois press is recounting stupidities; but after having acquainted myself with the platform of the Catalan Federation, I am obliged to acknowledge that this news monstrous as it may be, is nevertheless not impossible and must not be excluded in advance.

On this line, we must inaugurate a pitiless struggle in our own ranks. It is entirely absurd and unworthy to quarrel with various groups on the subject of the functions, the rights and the

prerogatives of the Secretariat at a time when we have no common basis in principles with these groups. I have in mind above all the "Prometeo" group which is in disagreement with the Bolshevik-Leninists on all the fundamental questions of strategy and tactics. Nobody must be allowed to stifle these profound divergences by noisy quarrels on organizational grounds and by unprincipled "bloes" which degenerate inevitably into intrigues behind the scene.

The Lessons of China

Following the Russian experience, the question of democratic slogans in the revolution was posed anew in the course of the struggle in China. However, all the European sections did not have the possibility of following all the stages of this struggle. Thanks to this fact, the discussion on these questions had a semi-academic character for certain comrades and for certain groups. But today, these questions are the very incarnation of the struggle, of life. Can we permit ourselves to be bound hand and foot at so important a historical turning point? Just as during the Sino-Russian conflict which threatened to let loose a war we could not lose ourselves in discussions over whether it was necessary to support the Soviet Union or Chiang Kai-Shek so today, face to face with the Spanish events, we cannot even admit an indirect responsibility for the sectarian, semi-Bakuninist superstitions of certain groups.

My practical proposals are summed up in the following:

1. All the sections must place the problems of the Spanish revolution on the order of the day.

2. The leaderships of our sections must form special commissions which should have as their tasks to gather material to go deeply into the questions, and above all to follow attentively the activity of the official parties and the manner in which they pose the problems of the Spanish revolution.

3. All the important documents of Spanish Communism (of all its tendencies) must be communicated regularly, at least in the form of extracts, for the information of all our national sections.

4. After a necessary preparation, each national section of the Opposition must open the attack against the policy of the Comintern in the Spanish revolution. This offensive can have different forms: articles in the paper, critical resolutions, open letters, intervention at meetings, individual work, and work by groups, etc. But all these forms must be rigorously coordinated.

5. Following upon a certain preparatory work in the national sections, as well as in the international Secretariat it is indispensable to work out a Manifesto of the International Left on the Spanish revolution which should be done in the most concrete manner possible and in intimate collaboration with the Spanish section. This manifesto will have to be given the largest possible distribution.

These are the concrete proposals. I beg you to discuss them and at the same time to send a copy to all the national sections so that the discussion will follow simultaneously in all of them.

June 18, 1931

Relief and Defense for the Striking Miners

The coal operators and their government have acted concertedly against the miners who are conducting so heroic and militant a struggle. It is the task of every worker, throughout the country, to come to the immediate aid of the strikers, to give all they can to help bring about a victory.

In Harlan, Kentucky, 17 miners are being held on trumped-up charges of murder. Every worker knows what this means. No effort should be spared to defend them. Funds to assist them in fighting a legal assassination should be sent to the General Committee of the I. W. W., 555 West Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

In Pennsylvania, Tom Myerscough, organizer of the National Miners Union, faces trial soon for "manslaughter" following the killing by thugs of a strike sympathizer. Others are in prison already in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Funds should be sent to the International Labor Defense, 80 East 11th St., New York, N. Y.

Desperately needed relief—clothing and funds—should be sent to the Penn-Ohio Striking Miners Relief Committee locally or at 611 Penn Ave., Room 205, Pittsburgh, Pa. ACT NOW!

Rank and File Illinois Miners Ready for a New and Militant National Movement

Events are moving fast in the mining industry of the country at the present time. Miners fight with guns in Kentucky. Pennsylvania and Ohio miners courageously fight against some of the worst odds ever encountered. Thousands of West Virginia miners answer a strike call against starvation conditions and in support of the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners. Two thousands miners in Franklin county, Illinois, strike against starvation while working. Rumblings are heard from the Colorado coal fields. Rank and file miners in convention unofficially talk of the calling of a general strike in Illinois soon. The coal miners of America seethe with revolt against the tyranny and hunger that prevails within their midst. Is it an awakening to action that will finally set the miners of America into a powerful movement after 12 dreary years of suffering smashing defeats?

Important events are taking place in Illinois while this is being written. 33,000 miners are in session, attending a rank and file miners' convention. Called for the purpose of rehabilitating their union and cleaning out the fakers, the miners that have responded to this call are motivated by greater ideas than the selection of a new set of officers. The rotten starvation conditions that stalk throughout the country are not absent in Illinois. The rank and file miners' convention embodies the last frantic efforts of a group of miners, miners who have been organized solidly since 1897-98, to save their union and fight against the bosses and their agents who would completely reduce them to the level of the unorganized fields. Events in the Eastern states further bring hopes to the miners of Illinois.

The report of the credentials committee of the convention shows that 230

Acute Crisis Shakes Germany and Central European Lands

Whole Communist Movement of Europe Now Put to the Test

The latest reports arriving from Germany indicate that the adoption of the Hoover plan has not achieved the task it proclaimed for itself. The internal situation, instead of being relieved has been greatly aggravated. The delay brought about by the negotiations between the Americans and the French has called forth an unprecedented flight of capital from Germany, nearly \$500,000,000 leaving the country within the period of the last few weeks. The collapse of the Danat Bank, the financial institution most intimately bound up with the rise of German imperialism and the subsequent bank holiday have brought in their wake something resembling a little earthquake in central European finances. The mark is not being quoted at all on several exchanges. In Belgium, Hungary and other European countries, es-

pecially in Central Europe where national banks are also crashing, German currency is not accepted for payment.

What the adoption of the Hoover plan did perhaps achieve, is the postponement of the formal and immediate downfall of the Young Plan which would have brought into sharp view a whole series of international entanglements of a catastrophic nature. As matters stand at present, the Brüning government, feeling that for the time being its external hardships are over, is preparing for an intensified campaign on the internal front. The relief brought about by the suspension of reparation payments, has been amply offset by the withdrawal of foreign private credits and by the continued export of capital. The situation in the Reich is even more serious than it was a month ago.

All hope of foreign aid is gone. The government is concentrating every effort towards the exploitation of internal "resources" by extending the already existing emergency decrees. Despite the promises made on the basis of the moratorium, the decree reducing the last crumbs of Unemployed Insurance stands and a whole string of even more outrageous anti-working class political measures are being contemplated, involving all round wage cuts, more indirect taxation and more reduction of social benefits. In view of all these planned steps, the Brüning government has already, within the last few days suspended all Communist publications, according to dispatches, and prohibited all open air meetings. The reactionary Hjalmar Schacht, the former president of the Reichsbank and an avowed representative of the Hugenberg-Hitler National Bloc is being mentioned for the post of extraordinary Finance Commissioner, to be especially created for him. That this means a decisive step toward a dictatorship cannot be disputed. Whether the United States capitalists would consent to the establishment of a German Fascist dictatorship, with all the neo-imperialist German ambitions that it involves and all the unrest that would inevitably follow it on the scale of the entire continent, is another question entirely.

In the meantime, the crisis is tearing on at a high pitch. All the political factions are re-arming feverishly in the contest for state power. While the government is steering to the Right, the population as a whole is moving toward the Left. The fascists are devoid of any stable mass basis, the social democracy, which has followed at the tail of the reactionary Brüning government for the past sixteen months, is regarded with suspicion by broad sections of the working class. The Communists who, according to the admissions of the capitalist press itself, are the only political group with a definite plan of action, are once again, as several times in the past,

facing the test: Can they make their program, the program of the proletarian dictatorship that means an end to all imperialist treaties and agreements, that institutes the socialized planning of industry and abolishes crises and unemployment—can they make this program the program of the oppressed and disinherited masses?

—S. G.

I.L.D. Sabotages the Opposition Defense

How the present leaders of the International Labor Defense have privately sent out deliberately misleading information, to the point of downright lies, in connection with the case of the two Philadelphia Oppositionists, Morgenstern and Goodman, who have just been convicted in court of "sedition", is made clear from some letters which the Communist League of America (Opposition) now has in its possession.

The two militants were arrested and held a number of months ago in Philadelphia for distribution of a leaflet of our organization on the question of unemployment.

The leaflet was the evidence introduced by the prosecution which brought about the finding of guilty against them. From the beginning of the case, the two workers, persecuted under the same Flynn Anti-Sedition Act and for the same reasons as other Communist workers have been, appealed to the Philadelphia I. L. D. to take over the defense of the case, to organize public protest meetings, agitation, legal aid, and so forth. The I. L. D. refused to give the two militants any assistance. On the contrary, it forcibly ejected the two of them from a united front Scottsboro defense conference to which their organization had delegated them.

The solitary reason why the I. L. D. has sabotaged the defense from the very outset is that the two workers belong to the Left Opposition, that they have political views differing from those of the I. L. D.'s present officers and the Communist party leaders who control them. This scandalous violation of the statutes and the traditions of the I. L. D. naturally brought down upon the heads of its officials a protest from all sides. Unable to defend their sabotage, the I. L. D. officials instead lied about their position.

Engdahl's Falsehoods

On March 10, the following letter was sent by the I. L. D. to Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union:

"Dear Comrade:
"In reply to your letter of March 9, addressed to George Maurer, will state that the International Labor Defense both in the Philadelphia District, and through our national bureau, has voted to defend Goodman and Morgenstern, in connection with the other cases it is defending under the sedition law.

"We are wondering whether the Civil Liberties Union has taken any steps with regard to this case. I intended to speak to you about this matter yesterday, but it slipped my mind.

"Very sincerely
"International Labor Defense
(Sgd.) "J. Louis Engdahl
"General Secretary."

On March 11, in reply to the protest of a Brooklyn worker, Benjamin Gross, the I. L. D. not only repeats the falsehood about its alleged willingness to handle the case, but asserts that it "has taken over" the defense. The letter in full reads:

"Dear Comrade:
"In reply to your letter of March 7, we can only say that you are very much in error regarding the defense of Morgenstern and Goodman. Our organization in the Philadelphia District, has taken over the defense of these two workers, giving them the same protection as all the other workers facing persecution under the Flynn Sedition Law in Pennsylvania.

"With comradely greetings,
"J. Louis Engdahl
"General Secretary."

Thus, on March 11, Engdahl announced that the I. L. D. had already "taken over the defense". Yet on March 25, the I. L. D. replied to a protest from a member of its National Committee, Gerry Allard, by writing:

"Dear Allard:
"We have your long letter concerning the case of the two Philadelphia workers, their arrest, and the attitude of the

Combine the Miners' Struggles into a United Front!

In the July issue The Stalinists Are Pursuing a Sectarian Policy Which Keeps the Insurgent Movements Separated

In the July issue of the party's theoretical organ, *The Communist*, William Z. Foster writes about the Pennsylvania-Ohio coal strike in the following words: "It is too early to speak of the mistakes and shortcomings of the strike." With this sentence, Foster achieves an involuntary frankness which must be examined before it is "too late" to speak of the principal mistake which is being made by the leadership of the tens of thousands of miners who are fighting such a magnificent battle in the Eastern coal fields.

Is Foster looking forward, as has become the custom in the official Communist movement, to such a fatal outcome of the struggle as will require that type of "self-criticism" which a contented bureaucracy has made so odious—the type of "criticism" which repeats mechanically that "our line was correct" but it "was not applied correctly" by functionary A or committee B or rank and file C? Every recent action of the party, every struggle it has undertaken or led, has wound up with this sorry epitaph. Every important action, at whose commencement it was "too early to speak of the mistakes and shortcomings" found its tragic conclusion in the columns of the party press, filled with lamentations, with criticisms of what was wrong, with blustering apologies calculated to "place the blame" on anybody or anything, so long as the principle of the infallibility of the leadership of the day is preserved intact.

On the present occasion, far too much is at stake to allow such contemptible horse-play to pass for sagacity and leadership. The situation is rife with splendid opportunities for the militant labor movement. A combination of circumstances is at hand which has not been there for a long time past. Now more than ever is a correct course imperative. A mistake in policy is trebly and tenfold disastrous in such a big situation. That is why Foster's whole approach to the problem of the "possibly" wrong policies in the strike is so dangerously false. It is not too early. We must speak out now while there is still time to act.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE COAL FIELDS?

To know what to do, we must first be clear about what is. Driven under the lash of a desperation induced by terrific suffering and accentuated by a series of wage cuts, tens of thousands of miners in Western Pennsylvania went out on strike, the working miners joined in intimate solidarity with those thrown out of work. Under the influence of their resistance, thousands of other miners from the coal fields of Eastern Ohio and Northern West Virginia have joined in the walkout. The strike is almost entirely under the leadership of the National Miners Union and the Rank and File Committee organized by it. The militancy and solidarity of the strikers

—men and women, Negro and white—are in the best tradition of the glorious struggles of the American miners in the past, and are excelled only by the murderous ferocity and abominations with which the coal operators and their armed forces have answered the resistance of the workers.

But the movement guided by the N. M. U. does not complete the picture of what is happening in the American coal fields. There are at least three other distinct, active movements in other parts of the country.

In Harlan, Kentucky, thousands of miners have been out on strike for weeks. The N. M. U. and the Communists are not leading that strike and up to the present, at least, have virtually no influence upon it. The strike, as militant in every respect as the one in Pennsylvania, is led by the local organization of the United Mine Workers of America, and, from fairly reliable reports, the I. W. W. has an appreciable influence among the strikers.

In the mining section around Kanawha, West Virginia, some 23,000 miners went on strike last week in this field of bitterly fought battles and betrayals. Here too, the influence of the N. M. U. and the Communists is negligible. The strike is under the leadership of the independent Miners' Union of West Virginia, which split away from the rotten bulk of the Lewis U. M. W. It is led by such former U. M. W. leaders as

Frank Keeney, Mooney and others, and is more or less intimately associated with the Muste movement, one of whose spokesmen, Tom Tippet, is in charge of the relief at Charlestown. The grievances of the long-suffering men are those of the Pennsylvania, the Ohio, the Kentucky miners, of the miners throughout the country.

In the Southern Illinois coal field the resentment and dissatisfaction of the miners continues to make itself heard with growing insistence. Unfortunately dominated by confusion and lack of certainty as to the way out of the morass into which the coal operators and their labor agents have dragged them, they are nevertheless groping for a solution. Deeply indicative of ferment among them are the various rank and file conferences which are held for discussion and action. Both the Lewis and the Fitchwick machines are so thoroughly discredited that they dare not put in appearance. For its blunders of the past and of today, the N. M. U. has little influence here as well. Worse yet, political sharpers, smooth demagogues, hungry aspirants to office, concealed henchmen of Lewis or Farrington—all rub shoulders at these conferences with the reformists of the Muste school, each seeking to capitalize upon the discontentment of the miners.

All these movements have a common root: the attempt of the coal barons to load the burdens of a sick industry upon the shoulders of the miners, and the

(Continued on page 4)

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

GERMANY

The Latest Decree Against the Workers

The Bruening government has issued a new emergency decree. Every emergency decree of this government leads to a further worsening of the position of the toiling masses. The disbursements of unemployment insurance and crisis provision are cut down further. The youth under 21 is henceforth robbed of any support. The duration of support of seasonal workers is cut down, the insurance provisions are reduced. The voluntary obligation to labor, which means nothing but forced labor is raised to the level of a law. The agrarian tax usurers remain untouched, sugar is made increasingly dear. The salaries of the small and middle class officials are cut down, but the high pensions, on the contrary, remain unchanged. The war invalids, the poorest of the toilers, again have their support reduced. The Emergency decree contains still other provisions which signify new burdens for the exploited. An end is made to the already feeble remnants of communal self-administration.

Policy of German Bourgeoisie

The policy of the Germany bourgeoisie is unceasing. Without any democratic hindrances, it continues its robber policy towards the proletariat. The deficit of the country is to be born exclusively by the toilers, but the bourgeoisie must at the same time increase its profits. What is the genuine meaning of this decree?

The German bourgeoisie is striving to destroy with all the means at its command, the positions still remaining to the working class and to suppress it completely. The realization of this aim is given over to Fascism. But aside from Fascism, the possibility is still left to the bourgeoisie to realize its plans with the aid of the Bruening government which is supported by the social democracy. This road cannot be accompanied by such dangerous convulsions as would be the case with a Fascist uprising. Bruening's road is still the surest one. It does not take from the working class all its political, economic, cultural and social rights at one blow. By this tactic of the bourgeoisie, the social democratic leaders gain the possibility to continue their betrayal not only of the historical interests of the working class but also of their daily interests, without any great obstacles in their path. On this road, it is easier to talk the masses into the notion that the decree must be issued for emergency reasons. With the announcement of each emergency decree, the workers only protest, but for the moment they do not yet rebel.

In every emergency decree the main point is directed against unemployment support. Is this done out of reasons of emergency, of economy? Is this really the main reason? The bourgeoisie knows clearly that thanks to the organization of the working class, its policy of exploitation is subject to certain limits. The experiences of the former and the recent economic struggles have showed that while the betrayal of the reformist bureaucracy is incessant, at the same time, however, regardless of the generally bad economic situation and the enormous unemployment, no or almost no strike-breakers appear. In order to achieve wage reductions of from thirty to forty percent, however, the bourgeoisie needs the support of a strike-breakers' guard. The industrialists know that the reformist bureaucracy, which will betray strikes in the future too, will then have still better arguments for keeping the workers back from struggle. Through the reduction of unemployment support, the bourgeoisie hopes to demoralize and to disorganize a part of the working class, to make them a reservoir of strike-breaking for the future.

The Aims of the Decree

Since the young workers under 21 have not yet had the possibility to gain a firm class consciousness through political and trade union training, since they still have few traditions of struggle, the bourgeoisie believes that it can sooner yoke them to its policy. The young will follow the old. The next emergency decree will reduce the support of additional categories. The bourgeoisie wants to abolish the wage scale system. The present emergency opens a free road. The bourgeoisie calls it: "Re-establishment of the freedom of motion of private rule." In reality, the introduction of coöperative wages is to be attained in this manner. The working class need have no illusions on a change of this policy without struggle. The policy of the bourgeoisie in this question is systematic and conscious of purpose. The aim of all the emergency decrees is to destroy the still existing ability of the working class to struggle, to create the conditions for an enormous exploitation policy of finance capital.

To hold back their own adherents, who are being radicalized under the lash of the crisis, from the struggle against the present system, the Wesels, Severings, and similars paint for them a picture of the danger of a Fascist overturn. Therefore, better the Bruening government, "the lesser evil"! And the slogan has up till now still kept back the S. P. workers. In the days of the crisis in Berlin.

—F.

Clearing Away the Petty Bourgeois Fog

On the Road to the Proletarian Revolution in Spain

With the falling of the monarchy, there begins in Spain the revolutionary destruction of the capitalist state. Spain is one of the nations which, like the Russia of the czars, preserved the monarchical form of the state until the epoch of the final crisis of the bourgeois system of property. Passing through the historical period of the bourgeois revolutions, capitalism, indifferent to the form of government, was introduced and developed in Spain in a parasitic manner, living by the graces of the despotism of a ruling bureaucracy which the monarchist autocracy had maintained until then with the last resources of a colonial empire and with the drawn blood of a brutalized and hungry peasant mass. Spanish capitalism was at no time the natural product of the development of the native petty bourgeoisie. Hence the possibility for the monarchy to succeed in prolonging its life to the present day, due to the fact that capitalism, from its first steps onward, made the monarchist state its own. If today we see the destruction of the monarchy, it is not just because of the impulsion of the "ideological forces" of the petty bourgeois intellectual, but rather of the irresistible pressure of the exploited masses of town and country for whom, on the clock of history, the hour of their revolution has finally struck. It signifies nothing that for the moment it is the ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie, the republican-socialist (!) bloc which is apparently on its high horse. These poor illusionists, reactionary utopians will not have long to wait in order to receive for themselves the sad lesson of the events.

The petty bourgeois intellectual is profoundly deceived thanks to his gross error in perspective and appreciation of historical forces. Nothing is more stupid and futile than the ignorant and charlatanist abuse that Marcelino Domingo and others of those who make up the present provisional government practise by comparing historical situations in order to establish a system of foolish analogies, devoid of any content. Contrary to the belief and to the "theory" of the petty bourgeoisie which "rules" today, the revolutionary duel in Spain is being engaged in not between the feudal state and democracy, but rather between the capitalist state and the industrial proletariat allied with the exploited peasant masses. The petty bourgeoisie, the social foundation of the ideology of the gov-

ernment, although numerically pretty considerable, is completely lacking in political and economic independence and its historical future is absolutely nil. Its effectiveness as a leading force of social destinies is a thing of the past, before either capitalism or its natural consequence—the proletariat—had made its appearance on the scene. The inevitable fate of the petty bourgeoisie in this critical period of the destruction of capitalist civilization is to serve as assistant to one of the two great forces which completely fill the palisades of history, the proletariat and the big capitalist bourgeoisie. With the former, it goes to the proletarian revolution (Russia), with the second, to fascist counter-revolution (Italy). This is the dilemma, without any possible middle-way for the petty bourgeoisie. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only solution offered by history to enable humanity to rise to a superior type of civilization, socialism. Fascism is entirely contrary to a historical solution; it only retards the effective solution of the same problem, since Fascism is nothing but the last resort to a ferocious dictatorship by a degenerated capitalism without a future.

The fact that the Spanish state, until April 14 last, retained the form of a despotic monarchy, is enough for the cowardly coterie of intellectuals who "rule" today to conclude that it is a question of a feudal state. Naturally, this "small" manifestation of a historical

mirage leads straight to a consideration of the rest of the population as a mass of slaves and future "citizens" engaged in overthrowing the tyranny in order, at the next stage, to polish up the sacred "rights of man and the free citizen". Alfonso XIII is Louis XVI; Zamora is Necker; Prieto is Danton; Marcelino Domingo is Robespierre . . . and so on down the line. Alcala Zamora and Miguel Maura represent the Girondist faction. A bit ungrateful is the end of the first act of this "tragedy", seeing that these operetta Jacobins so gallantly assisted the "despot" to flee across the frontier, carrying with him the people's millions. And lastly, we have still to hear the sound of "The Girondins have betrayed us! To the lantern with them!"

In this false historical analogy, the product of a complete ignorance of the real content of the revolution is rooted the multitude of democratic illusions of the petty bourgeois intellectuals who, like a thick mantle of fog, veil the social reality and prevent the clear examination of the genuine character of the struggle and the forces at hand. The narcotic effects of this kind of ideological opium is felt not only in the sector of the petty bourgeoisie but also influences the attitude of the working masses, lacking in critical judgment and wanting a political leadership of its own in tune with the state of historical evolution. All this contributes heavily to the insolent vanity of the intellectual nucleus of the petty bourgeoisie which

FOR THE SPANISH OPPOSITION PRESS

The events in Spain follow in rapid succession. Each day brings news of the proletariat awakening to a realization of its strength. Every struggle, every strike of the workers brings them into sharper conflict with the bourgeoisie whom they helped to power against the monarchy. The process of disillusionment with the ruling power and of enlightenment as to their own historic mission is sinking its roots deeply in the consciousness of the masses. Only the Communists can hasten this process and place themselves at the head of the proletariat for their final victory. In this magnificent work, the Left Opposition in Spain has taken its place at the very head of the movement. Reviled, slandered, persecuted, it is yet forging ahead to the best of its power. It needs the aid of every militant throughout the world. Its press, the organ through which it speaks to the class conscious workers, must be strengthened immediately. The Militant appeals to all its readers to give the most generous aid to our Spanish comrades. Funds are urgently needed. Send all you can to this great cause of the revolution. All contributions will be receipted and announced in these columns. Send all moneys to comrade A. Gonzales, care of the Militant, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

Against the view of petty bourgeois ideology, theoretically represented in the provisional government — theoretically and no more, since it has been proved in practise to the hilt that there is no place in contemporary society for a directing function of the petty bourgeoisie; every government that is not the direct embodiment of the historical interests of the proletariat, is an instrument of the capitalist dictatorship—we, Marxian critics, the theorists of the revolutionary proletariat, assert roundly that the Spanish monarchy is not at all a feudal state. This is the political lie of the "revolutionary" democracy which, in order to counterfeits a struggle for an emancipation which does not exist creates a fantasy with which to divert the popular masses from the real road of the revolution. It is a question of a maneuver through which the ruling bloc tries to hide its reactionism in the service of big capital. They believe, these ignoramuses, that it is possible to scoff at historical intentions, juggling the tremendous social truth by means of exercises in lyrical sleight-of-hand. (To be continued.)

Bilbao —ESTEBAN BILBAO.

ARGENTINE

Uriburu Dictatorship Strangles Labor

The political and social situation of Argentina is at a standstill just now. The rule of General Uriburu is a failure so far as the well-being of the country is concerned. Even at the time of the last war there was not so much unemployment as there is at the present time; the farming population this year got the biggest knock it ever had, with millions of tons of grain unsold. The big bugs try to put the blame on "Russia's dumping"—but nobody seriously believes it.

Mum is the word in the labor and social movement. The biggest crime anybody can commit now is to criticize this government, so the socialist Vanguardia is the only one that comes out as usual. Of Communist and Anarchist papers there is no sign, since all their leaders are dispersed.

Of course, the advanced labor movement is supposed to be ready in face of the reaction, such as the closing of the labor halls and unions, suppression of the newspapers, denial of permits for meetings and conferences, etc. But the revival of the procedure of czarist Russia is something new in South America. For the social and labor movements there is now no law but the military law—that is, the secret law of some generals and officers. A man is taken from his house or on the street and is invited to go over to the police station or to the barracks. From there he is sent to the jail or to the military tribunal. Then he disappears—perhaps exiled, deported sent to jail or to Ushuaia (convict settlement in Tierra del Fuego). All this without a word to anybody. His friends and relations don't know where the man has gone to; the newspapers are silent. We don't know the number of men so dealt with, but it must run into the hundreds by this time.

That is why there is a dead calm in the labor and social movements in Argentina. Everything is paralyzed—but men are thinking and resentment is growing.

The Conservatives are uneasy; the general elections have been put back to November 8; the probabilities are that by that time this military government will tie itself into a knot.

—R. G.

Buenos Aires.

The British Scene

MacDonald and Rationalization

Has the MacDonald government any "solution" for England's crisis? Oh yes! But in reality its proposed "solution" is identical in content with that of the British financial interests, although quite different in form and in the phrasology of its presentation.

Its proposals are the overhauling of the industrial machinery—rationalization—which means closing of "unprofitable" mines, mills and factories; more labor saving machinery; more speed-up; greater output, and thus more goods at lower costs of production for the already overstocked world markets. These proposals are already being carried out and from them flow the inevitable conclusion—increased unemployment and wage cuts. The royal cabinet similarly proposes further mergers of establishments within industry and finance. This also has its sinister significance in greater monopoly, and larger and more powerful combines to dictate more effectively working conditions.

It will be recalled that more than a year ago, when, British financial interests, following in the footsteps of its two most powerful competitors, their kin of the United States and Germany, went in for rationalization, the Bank of England employed at a royal salary a rationalization dictator. His specific duty was to lay down terms for rationalization, when applications for loans were made by industrial enterprises. The "labor" government became an effective handmaiden in these schemes. The results are, as already stated, mounting unemployment and drastic wage cutting.

A Campaign of Wage Slashing

To lend emphasis to the extent of present wage cutting just a few examples will prove illuminating: During the month of April, about a million and a half British workers in some of the biggest and most vital industries accepted a reduced standard, cajoled into acceptance by their reactionary leaders who held the whip over their heads of threats to break any resistance. The railway unions, embracing some 450,000 men, received a cut, decreed by the National Wages Board, of two and a half percent for those earning less than \$8.00 weekly and five percent for those earning more than \$8.00 weekly. Of the clerical grades, those earning more than \$500.00 yearly received a seven and a half percent wage cut. This is how the semi-governmental agencies—of the "labor" government—function to help overcome the crisis.

In the building trades the employers demanded wage cuts and changed gradings involving further reductions for 800,000 workers. Because of a threatening strike situation, the union leaders induced them to accept a six months truce, hoping meanwhile to more effectively prepare the actual cuts. In South Wales an "independent" arbitrator finally rendered an award calling for a reduction of \$1.75 a week for 162,000 coal miners. Here also, when a strike became threatening, the union leaders again succeeded in cajoling them into acceptance on the promise of asking the government for the passage of a new minimum wage law—whatever that will mean.

In the pottery trade, on the main steamship lines, and in the ship building yards, wage cuts are demanded by the employers. About 1,000,000 men in the engineering trades (machinists and metal workers) have accepted a new agreement involving reductions of standards and working conditions. These examples are sufficient to present a picture as to how the British workers fare under the rationalization of industry by the "labor" government.

It should now be clear also why these pious christian gentlemen of the MacDonald government, in service to their capitalist masters, demand and promulgate mergers of industrial establishments. Their Coal Miners Act of last year established a state supervising organization based upon a regional division of the industry; and, since the proof of the pudding is in the eating, in this instance it was presented in the arbitration wage cut decree to the Wales miners. Now the union leaders of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation propose to ask the government to bring the industry within the control of a public utility corporation. Their efforts will likely not prove unavailing, the same as can possibly be said for the efforts and loud clamors of Jimmie Thomas in the negotiations for the wage cuts to the railroad workers for mergers of the existing roads.

With an overhauling of industrial machinery, accomplished primarily at the cost of a lower working class level British capitalism nourishes its hopes of still maintaining a leading position in the world market. Although compelled to proceed from a greatly contracted basis it will undoubtedly fight desperately for its diminishing ration. One section is focussing its attention upon the growing market in the U. S. S. R. While these upper circles are torn with

the conflict between further extension of trade relations with the Soviet Republic or prosecution of its hypocritical fight against "dumping" what they really want is to change the present adverse balance, which has obtained ever since the re-establishment of trade relations. According to the figures of the British Customs House, during the first quarter of 1931, the Soviet Union sold goods to England to the value of \$31,266,635; while goods sold by England to the Soviet Union amounted to only \$6,921,189. The conflict was quite clearly expressed by Sir Geoffrey Clark a director of shipping and other companies, when he proposed the two alternatives. "One," he said, "is united action to restrict the import of Russian goods, which is not easy to effect, especially as certain great countries are now reaping a harvest from Russian orders. The other method is to adopt a system of barter whereby Russian goods would be paid for in the goods of importing countries on the principle of balanced exchange." Yes, not only balanced exchange but if possible to get in on that harvest. In this respect, the British capitalists are not the least sentimental.

Extension of trade relations with the Soviet Union in successful competition with the other capitalist powers, however, involves the granting of large-scale, long-term credits of which the workers' republic is in need. And just a couple of days ago, Thomas Johnson, with the exalted title of Lord Privy Seal, announced the intention of granting long-term credits for an expected order of up toward \$50,000,000 for heavy machinery material. The gigantic strides of the youthful Soviet industry will yet for some time to come require a growing trade with the capitalist world, a growing import of machinery to build the industry toward a socialist level. With long-term credits from the capitalist nations this task could undoubtedly be immensely facilitated. Unemployment is steadily mounting in England and there would seem to be a special opportunity to set the British workers into motion around the slogan of "granting large scale credits to the Soviet Union." To demand from the capitalist rulers to furnish such credits and to increase production in England of machinery to the Soviet Union. This special opportunity belongs to the British Communist Party. It would afford the means of creating a powerful movement around a specific demand upon capitalism at home. It would afford the means of making the British workers real participants in the building of Soviet industry.

Alas, this slogan, proposed by the International Left Opposition, has been declared counter-revolutionary by the Stalin Comintern regime. Thus by another paradox growing in the wake of

In France

Economic Crisis and the Strikes

France is one of the last of the European countries to be gripped by the economic crisis. In possession of an absorptive internal market and at the same time a cheaply producing refining industry which opened the foreign markets to it, capitalist France looks back upon a prosperity period, which lasted into the second half of 1930. Only in the autumn of 1930 and the winter of 1931 did the crisis make itself felt heavily in France too. The development of the agrarian crisis and the price fall of finished goods threw French industry into a difficult position, whose after-effects the working class felt quickly and for a long time. Unemployment assumed a great scope, relative to French conditions: instead of the up to then prevalent shortage of labor, which led to the immigration of foreign-born workers, hundreds of thousands of workers now found themselves either thrown out of a job completely or put upon part time. At the same time, a stubborn offensive of capital set in to diminish the wages and the general standard of living of the workers.

How did the French proletariat reply to this attack? In general, the proletariat has not yet taken up the defense energetically. Because the policy of the revolutionary organizations, the Communist party and the C. G. T. U. (red trade union center), as a result of the

Centrism, MacDonald can today appear almost unchallenged as the defender of recognition to Soviet Republic; as the defender of trade relations with it and as the sponsor of extension of these relations. The Stalin regime prefers to go the road of back-door dealings to obtain credits rather than boldly to proclaim the slogan. This method lends its assistance to bolster up the shaky government of liberal labor politicians. It strengthens the social reformism of the despotic Fabian brand of MacDonald in the face of the inevitable British working class revolt. The alternative would undoubtedly strike an immense sympathetic chord among the British working masses who have before proved their readiness to support the Soviet Union. It would help to make them real defenders of the Soviet Union and become a source of strength to the British Communist Party. But the leaders of the party true prototypes of Stalinism, self-contented bureaucrats who have gradually decimated the party, are using their powers to prevent this possibility.

—ARNE SWABECK.

The first big struggles broke out in August and September 1930, in the period of transition between the waning prosperity and the incoming crisis. For years the French bourgeoisie was accustomed to see a meek proletariat before it. A strike of 4,000 to 5,000 workers was looked upon as very important: most of the labor conflicts were limited to a few hundred participants and slight rises in wages sufficed to send them back again. The bourgeoisie carried through the rationalization of the factories without encountering any noteworthy resistance. To consolidate the apparatus of power it introduced—under the pretext of protecting the workers against certain evils—social insurance which burdened them with a tax on wages in the form of compulsory contributions under Draconic conditions. On July 1, 1930 the law came into force: at the same moment, a ferment set in throughout the country which finally broke out openly in August in the North of France in a movement which embraced close to 200,000 textile and metal workers. Some smaller movements in other parts of the country (for example, in the Lower Seine department) flared up only to be extinguished again. The labor struggles in the North lasted for weeks.

(To Be Continued)

Paris

PIERRE FRANK

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT

Rank and File Illinois Miners Ready for a New and Militant National Movement

(Continued from page 1)

foreign-born local and state leaders. This will convince many of those who doubt the present sincerity of the rank and file movement, for bitter opposition of this kind is not directed at fake movements. However, it must be pointed out that there is still a strong Lewis danger, caused by several leading individuals who have not aggressively attacked the Lewis gang and have been shielding it under the pretense of majority rule.

The appointive power was completely done away with. Every officer and every committee of the convention was elected from the floor. Ray Edmondson of Ziegler was elected president of the convention. William Keck of Belleville was elected secretary. Committees on Rules and Order, Resolutions, Constitution, Appeals and Grievances, etc., were elected. The convention was thrown into hot debate over the question whether to invite Walker and Lewis to appear before the convention. The difference of opinion did not center on the question of supporting either of these two fakers, but rather deviated to the minor argument of: (1) not being afraid to face the wreckers and to put them on trial before the convention, or (2) the argument against, that this was a rank and file convention and that those that the miners were opposed to had no place within the miners affairs.

The question of supporting the International union or not, came before the convention in a resolution form. This was the most important immediate matter to come up before the rank and file movement. Those in charge had launched a bitter fight against the district gang but they had failed to take a definite step against the international organization. The cry of unity was the unanimous opinion of the miners; since the "re-organized" U. M. W. A. vs. "regular" U. M. W. A. fight, the miners of Illinois had been torn into two factions. These two factions never had any deep political disagreement, merely a personal fight. To see who was going to continue to rob the miners, was the real issue involved. However, the Illinois miners for a period of two years had foolishly let these misleaders split them into two hostile camps. Rows that ended in fierce fights and gunplay were often the case. Yet when pressure came about, the court injunctions subsided and the notorious compromise was enacted, leaving the miners of Illinois once more to bite the dust. The whole struggle has now culminated in a powerful rank and file movement. By decision of the convention, the miners of Illinois recorded themselves solidly against the International and district unions, calling upon the miners of Illinois to refrain from sending dues to these two branches of the organization, looking at the same time to the immediate possibility of calling a National Convention where the many different forces of the American coal miners may be amalgamated.

The Policies of the Stalinists

The policy of the Stalinists relative to the National Miners Union has been dealt with many times. In this convention, after having officially and publicly denounced the rank and file movement, the National Miners Union, entered as a faction within the convention. The first step of not wanting to win over the miners was the circular they put out attacking the convention and Ray Edmondson, the chairman. Many of the delegates took affront at the position of the official party and demanded that these statements be withdrawn. After a refusal to withdraw the charges against the convention and its chairman the convention went on record against the National Miners Union and refused to give aid to the striking Pennsylvania and Ohio miners, although they did allow the floor to a striker of the National Miners Union from the Allegheny fields of Pennsylvania. The provocative, disrupting cocksure tactics of a group of self-styled "little Lenins" has driven scores of the best fighters of the Illinois miners temporarily away from the Left wing. A strong group of former league and party members that were ready to support the line of the party became distrustful by the system used in dealing with plain and simple trade unionist and reformist followers. To give exact detail would require a special article. However, the strongest Stalinist supporter, Mike Rukavina, a member of my local union told me and the entire No. 1 Orient delegation that he was not in agreement with these tactics. Thultz, the signer of the official circular, said that he also was not in sympathy with the tone of the attack against the leaders of the rank and file convention. The harshness of the party against workers who do not unhesitatingly carry out

the decisions of crazy, suicidal disorganizers is best illustrated by the expulsion from the party of Dan Winniger, of Indiana, because he supported the line of the Left Opposition at the St. Louis convention. Concrete cases where scores of miners can be won to the Left wing cause are plentiful, only to be destroyed by the irresponsible functionaries of the party who strut at large with a self-satisfied attitude of "Oh well, we have the support of the Russian working class to our cause."

While at this time the Illinois miners are still deliberating the issues before them, the relations of other district to Illinois, the present strikes throughout the East, etc., are of special importance. The movement in Illinois suffers from the lack of a solidly organized Left wing. The group of former party and league members that dropped out due to many circumstances and cases, formed quite a large number of the delegates. Fifty percent of the delegates were former N. M. U. members. A substantial majority of the delegates would follow a Left wing group. The Muste forces that controlled the St. Louis convention were very much weakened in the convention. A leaflet pointing out its policies and good fights by several of its delegates was about all that they did. A. J. Muste personally appeared before the convention and spoke in the name of the West Virginia Miners Union that was calling a strike for the same day the convention opened. The line presented in the last issue of *Labor Age* was the line pursued by Muste. One thing that is incomprehensible is the fact that the Muste followers in many conferences and conventions refused to accept any kind of responsibility in any sort of work. The Illinois miners that led the Muste St. Louis convention are away from the fight at the present time (Daech, Johnston, etc.). The program proposed by the Musteites was very clear and, being better "strategists" than the average two-by-four Stalinist organizer, the Musteites were able to form the only definite group around them in this convention.

With the West Virginia miners' present response to a strike call issued by the West Va. Miners Union, the strike of Pennsylvania and Ohio is greatly fortified. Never has the situation been as favorable as now for a national strike. The party at present pursues an erroneous policy in an attempt to unite the American coal miners. The policy of the party is not one of convincing the miners who follow various tendencies to realize the ability of the party to lead them successfully, but rather is a policy that tends to impress the miners of the country that they will not participate in any movement of the sort unless it has complete hegemony. Illinois and West Virginia stand prepared through a correct policy of united front to amalgamate the present forces throughout the nation under one centralized leadership. Speaker after speaker at the Illinois rank and file convention pointed out the immediate need of forming national unity with the rank and file miners of the nation. The Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia miners' strike were correctly pointed out as of supreme importance to the miners of Illinois at the present time. Due to the provocative measures of the Stalinists, a powerful Left wing that had firmly developed itself around a class struggle program at the beginning of the rank and file convention was blown to smithereens. When the question came up of sending delegates to the national conference of the National Miners Union July 15-16, many of the Left wingers voted against the proposal. The proposal to send delegates was defeated.

Immediate Task of the Left Wing

The Left wing miners of Illinois must take the immediate, necessary steps to guide properly the rank and file movement toward correct lines. Only through an uncompromising struggle against the two thieving wings of the United Mine Workers of America, will unity be possible among the miners of Illinois. The miners of Illinois must immediately close their ranks against their common enemy, the coal bosses. The strike of the Franklin county miners, appearing at a time when the Eastern miners are conducting a sweeping strike, assumes tremendous importance. The attack of the Chicago, Wilmington and Franklin Coal Company against the miners of the two large Orient mines is an attack of the Illinois Coal Operators Association against the present rank and file movement. The answer of the Illinois miners must be a **GENERAL STRIKE** throughout the state. The strike must be launched against the intolerable starvation conditions existing in the industry and as a step in solidifying the strike of the Eastern miners and objectively the issuance of a call for a **NATIONAL STRIKE** throughout the land where coal is dug. The Left wing has a great task before it. The destiny of the Illinois miners and the coal miners of the country falls upon their shoulders. The mistakes of the official Communist party must be immediately overcome. Let us hope that the great struggles the miners are at the present time engaged in will force the official party away from the sectarian policy. Only through the unity of the Left wing forces throughout the industry will the present strike reach proportions where the coal industry will be effected in its producing capacity. To fail to realize the necessity of rank and file unity at this time means the starving into defeat of the heroic efforts of the Pennsylvania miners. To continue an erroneous suicidal sectarian policy at this time means the disintegration of the miners movement for years to come. Let us hope that events throughout the coal mining industry will soon weld the miners of America into a powerful force. To this end, the Left wing miners who support the policy of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in the mining industry pledge their whole-hearted support.

In the New York

A. F. of L.

It would be hard to conceive of a more stagnant and completely bankrupt body of so-called representatives of labor than the present Central Trades and Labor Council of New York. The unemployment crisis had come and continued unabated, yet raised not a ruffle in the cesspool of reaction in which float the vast majority of the delegates to this clearing house of labor action.

When, after months of delay, the question of unemployment was finally brought up on the floor, it was handled in the most shamelessly hypocritical manner. For example here is one of the resolutions drawn up and passed to meet the demands of the situation:

"Whereas, the present unemployment is due to overproduction, wages not having increased, nor working hours decreased, in harmony with mechanical progress, be it therefore

"Resolved, That the C. T. L. C. go on record in favor of increased wages and the shortening of the working day to keep pace with mechanical progress in production."

Just how wages are to be increased and the working day shortened, what means are to be used, remains a deep mystery. But, of course, all the delegates voted heartily in favor of the resolution.

Another sample:

"The C. T. L. C. hereby goes on record against the company union."

Taking the past record of the A. F. of L. in class collaboration into consideration, this resolution can only mean that the A. F. of L. fakers would like to maintain a monopoly in the collection of dues.

"Whereas the 18th Amendment has closed numerous breweries and thereby increased the unemployment army, we favor light wines and beer so that all brewery workers may get back their jobs."

The question of what is to become of the men engaged in soft drink manufacture, when the slump of trade is shifted to that industry, was evidently not of concern to the framers of the resolution.

One more gem:

"Resolved, That the C. T. L. C. go on record as leaving the question of unemployment insurance in the hands of the A. F. of L. Executive Council."

This resolution was the only one that really roused the delegates to the point of discussion on the general question of unemployment, its causes and its cure.

But alas! after listening to the various lines of argument and proposals from the floor, the writer was forced to come to the conclusion that the atom is not the smallest unit of matter after all—the brains of most of the delegates must be smaller still. However, after a proper amount of crocodile tears had been shed and the sweat of intellectual toil wiped off the fat faces of the delegates, the resolution was duly passed and the regular order of business resumed.

At this point we may ask ourselves a pertinent question: How many Communists and Left wingers of the labor movement in New York were present at this performance? Answer: Exactly one, and he a member of the Communist League, not the Communist Party. Now why is it that the Communists are content to leave an important body like the C. T. L. C., one holding sway over all the labor unions of the metropolis, entirely in the hands of the labor fakers?

The reason can only be: The idiotic policy of the party leaders, the criminal tactic of isolating Communists from the ranks of the conservative unions. Ten years of Communist activity in New York—and only one Communist in the C. T. L. C. to combat the fakers. Where are the 50-60 Communist delegates of a few years ago?

When one thinks of the possibilities of Left wing work in the C. T. L. C. and how they are being ignored by the Communist party leaders in the following out of a blind and stupid policy of isolation, one is forced to the conclusion that either they are traitors to the fundamental principles of Marx and Lenin, or they are just plain fools. In either case, the first duty of every sincere Communist in the party ought to be to seize a broom and do his part toward sweeping these misleaders of workers into the political rubbish can.

—GADFLY.

Belleville, July 12, 1931

I.L.D. Sabotages Class Defense of Goodman and Morgenstern

Continued from page 1

I. L. D. in that connection. Our Philadelphia district was from the beginning willing to handle the case, and were reminded of their responsibilities in the matter, even though that was not necessary.

"The facts as presented to us are that the two workers or their friends handled the case entirely apart from the I. L. D., and gave our organization no chance to take part in their defense."

"Fraternally yours,
"International Labor Defense
"George Maurer
"Assistant Secretary."

What happened between March 11, when Engdahl claimed that the I. L. D. had already "taken over the defense" and March 25, when it found out that it was given "no chance to take part in their defense"? Or even assuming the latter contention, which is absolutely absurd and false, did the I. L. D. stop its campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti because of the isolationist treachery of the defendants' spurious "friends" of the Boston Committee? Did the I. L. D. stop its movement for Mooney at the time when the reaction-controlled committee denounced the I. L. D. and the Communists? Of course not! And, we repeat, assuming that the Left Opposition would not give Engdahl and Maurer a "chance to take part" in the defense, can that explain or justify the treachery of the I. L. D. officials?

But this assumption is exactly 100 percent unfounded. Immediately upon their arrest, Morgenstern and Goodman sought the aid of the I. L. D. They were put off with evasive answers. They called upon the I. L. D. to initiate a movement for the defense. They were rebuffed. They appealed for legal aid. But no I. L. D. attorney ever appeared at any stage in the case! The two workers had to obtain their legal aid from the Civil Liberties Union. The I. L. D. was given every opportunity was urged to take over the defense. Our proposal was, and still is, that the case of the two Oppositionists be connected with those of the other Communist workers in Pennsylvania who have been and are being persecuted under the Flynn Act, that a united front movement in their defense and

for a fight against the notorious act, be inaugurated. The I. L. D. has consistently rejected our proposals.

If the Left Opposition gave the I. L. D. "no chance to take part in their defense", then at least let the I. L. D. bureaucrats answer:

Who has prevented the *Labor Defender* from mentioning a single word about the case in a single one of its issues up to now?

Who has prevented the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit* from printing a word about the arrests, the trials, or even about the conviction?

Why did Engdahl lie when he wrote to Gross that the I. L. D. "has taken over the defense of these two workers"?

What did Engdahl mean by saying that the I. L. D. is "giving them the same protection as all the other workers facing persecution"?

Is silence in the press, failure to let the defendants speak at Anti-Flynn Act meetings, violent ejection in the presence of Engdahl of the defendants from I. L. D. conferences, failure to provide even an attorney—is this Engdahl's "protection"?

Every Communist worker, every member of the party and the I. L. D., must raise his voice immediately to demand that this black stain be erased from the shield of the I. L. D. The Engdahls want to destroy the organization by adding to its slogan of "Defend the Victims of the Criminal Syndicalist Laws" the words—"Except the Victims belonging to the Left Opposition". Such conduct is a crime against the working class and its revolutionary movement.

We have proposed the initiation of a united front movement to defend all the victims of the Flynn Act—Lawrence, Ryder and others as well as the two Oppositionists. Until the bureaucrats are compelled by the militants in the ranks to change their despicable course, a Morgenstern-Goodman Defense Committee has been set up in Philadelphia with Leon Goodman as temporary chairman and K. M. Whitten as secretary-treasurer. Funds are urgently needed to help the defense movement and should be forwarded immediately to comrade Whitten at 2041 Appletree St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Organization Notes

NEW YORK—With a new branch executive recently elected efforts are being made by the New York branch to systematize better its activities. One by one, a check-up is made on the individual member's work, such as each taking his place in a workers' mass organization and thus doing his part more effectively in the class struggle. Each member is also being required to take a certain amount of literature to dispose of. With the *Militant* appearing weekly, newspapers are being solicited by the members to place the paper there for a period of time prior to them being enrolled in the regular list which is now supplied by the Militant branch agent. And, of course, on a whole this branch holds the record of most literature distributed.

Last Sunday a very successful picnic was held bringing out attendance and netting a little financial surplus for future work. Many sympathizers came and joined the membership in greeting the weekly *Militant*. Street meetings with large attendances have been held regularly by the branch, mostly a couple per week. Efforts are now being made to increase it to three weekly meetings on the basis of the branch membership being divided into three groups each taking care of a meeting. With the fall approaching preparations are under way for more effective conduct of the regular open forum and study classes.

CLEVELAND—Our two New York comrades who are working in Cleveland for the time being, report continued successful meetings on the City Square. Efforts of the local Stalinists to create a hostile atmosphere came to nought and those attending the meetings are becoming more interested as some of the questions of dispute within the Communist movement become clearer to them. This is best expressed in the increasing distribution of our literature. Our comrades have so far held two such meetings weekly.

PHILADELPHIA—George Saul has returned from a busy week in Philadelphia, helping in the first organization steps for the defense of our two comrades up for "sedition", among other things, he spoke at street meetings in the Negro district and in the working class section of New Kensington. These meetings are still being continued

THE MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE (OPPOSITION)

TO HOLD A PICNIC
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WEEKLY MILITANT
SUNDAY, JULY 26th AT
GLENWOOD PARK GROUND NUMBER No. 3

ALL WORKERS URGED TO ATTEND AND PARTICIPATE IN THE PROGRAMME OF GAMES AND ENTERTAINMENTS. REFRESHMENTS WILL BE SERVED ON THE GROUNDS.

THE SPEAKERS: C. R. HELLUND AND V. R. DUNNE WILL DEAL WITH THE HOOVER DEBT PLAN AND THE WORLD CAPITALIST CRISES AND THE ROLL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS.
COME EARLY AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS. GROUNDS OPEN 11 A. M.

That the interest and devotion is still as high as ever is best proven by the following report of funds received:

New York	2,000—	
Expan. Pro.	\$21.35	
New York		
Cannon	4.00	-1.750
New York		
J. Ross	5.00	
New York		
Howman	10.00	
New York		
Berman	5.00	
New York		
S. C.	2.00	1,500—
New York		
Zarda	1.00	-1,250
New York		
J. B.	3.30	
Cleveland		
A. Brody	2.00	1,000—
Los Angeles		
T. Bolnsert	6.00	-750
St. Louis		
H. Sobol	1.00	
Youngstown, Ohio		
H. E. M.	1.00	
Boston		
Konikov	10.00	500—
South Africa		
M. Lopez	2.86	
Kansas City br.	10.00	-250
Toronto br.		
S. Green	2.00	
Toronto br.		
Maltman	2.00	
Toronto br.		
O. Yelle	1.00	Anonymous 1.50
Toronto br.		
R. Schwartz	1.00	Total \$114.01
Toronto br.		Previously reported 080.40
Joe Roth	1.00	
Toronto br.		
M. Popper	1.00	Total to date \$1,103.41
Toronto br.		

Ban «Class Struggle»

Following the attacks by the Post Office authorities upon the *Revolutionary Age*, organ of the Lovestone group, the Spanish Communist paper, *Vida Obrera*, and the organ of the Young Communist League, *Young Worker*, in which they were barred from the second class mails, the most recent victim of the anti-Communist government attack has been the organ of the Weisbord group, the *Class Struggle*. In the last case, the authorities took refuge behind the petty pretext that the paper did not have a sufficient number of subscribers to warrant granting it second class mailing rights. The fact of the matter is, of course, that it was banned because it was a revolutionary working class paper and as a part of the general campaign—revived for the first time since the end of the war—against all the Communist press. The selection of the Communist press for the first victims of a new wave of Burlingtonism is not accidental but premeditated. The bourgeoisie aims to gag the mouth of the militant section of the working class as part of its task of strangling the labor movement as a whole.

Regardless of the fact that Weisbord's paper has since been suspended, it is imperative that the sharpest protest be raised everywhere against the high-handed despotism of the postal authorities who seek to re-establish in full bloom the regime of Burlington and Mitchell Palmer. The right of the labor movement to a free press, uncontrolled by the reactionary arbitrariness of the capitalist government, must be ardently defended. It is not the Communist press alone but the whole labor press which is involved—as was shown during the repressions of the world war. This danger must be met by a compact united front movement of all the organizations directly or indirectly involved. The failure of the party to initiate and organize such a movement has not only reacted to the disadvantage of the struggle against suppression, but has given the Right wing liquidators the opportunity to establish a spurious unity with discredited and anti-Communist elements for "freedom of the press".

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EDITORIAL NOTES

EVEN A BROWDER CAN LEARN

We have always maintained, in contradiction to the Right wing, that Centrism is not a stable and consistent political tendency and certainly not a stubborn and incurable "ultra-Left" policy. The long-lasting bloc of Centrism and the Right wing—during which the expulsion of the Left Opposition was carried out—is in itself a sufficient disproof of this contention. The adventurist plunges of the "third period" did not disclose a new face of Centrism. They only rounded out and confirmed the basic thesis of the Opposition: that Centrism is a policy of staggering between the classes which yields to the pressure of the moment and is characterized by wide swings to the Right and adventurist leaps to the Left. The attempts of the Centrists to exorcise themselves from the absurdities of the "third period" have been noted before, particularly in unemployment work and in the trade union question. Now we are witnessing an awkward somersault in the policy of the mine strike. It is needless to mention that the leading acrobat in this turn is Browder. He was the noisiest shouter of the pseudo-Left season. That qualifies him, according to the ritual of Stalinism, to be the first to make a turn of 180 degrees, without, of course, saying anything about the falsity of the discarded policy.

Browder will be remembered as the impetuous revolutionist who was through forever with "progressives". He proved—to his own satisfaction—that they had become "Social-fascists", and from this he drew the conclusion that the tactic of united front was out of date. As far back as February 27, 1929, that is, before the crisis and its consequent sharpening of the class relations, he wrote in the *Daily Worker*:

"We will no longer waste our energies and time in disastrous attempts to work with these fake progressives."

In the *Militant* for March 1 of the same year we explained, in our counter-revolutionary way, that Browder would have to change his mind about that. He did not disappoint us. After more than two years of rumination over the question—and a blow in the face from the actualities of the mining situation—the same Browder comes forward with an amazing discovery: that "we cannot decline to have relations" with . . . the Mustelke, Keeney, Browder could not keep such wisdom to himself. Fired with the zeal of a convert, the great man made a speech, to which—if the *Daily Worker* for July 11 does not lie—the "party leaders" had to listen. There he announced a new revelation:

"The Keeney group has the hegemony in Southern West Virginia. This requires that we have a tactic of maneuver in regard to these people. We cannot merely decline to have relations with whatever group comes out of this field, whether it is Keeney personally, or Keeney's representatives. The fact remains that one of the roads to the miners in this territory is maneuvers with this outfit."

From this it can be seen that even a Browder can learn something, if he is allowed enough time. The elementary idea, explained as far back as the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921, that we cannot decline to have relations" with reformists has finally penetrated the thick skull of the Trotsky-killer, and that alone testifies to the power of the idea.

And along with that Browder has assimilated another simple and obvious conception and, as was to be expected, he also made a speech about it. Before the crisis, and after, our hero saw the "offensive of the workers" and the "revolutionary upsurge" rising high enough to drown him. But since then he has found a dry rock to sit on and collect his thoughts. The result of this cogitation is embodied in a speech to the Convention of the Young Communist League, reported in the *Daily Worker* of July 14th. The erstwhile fire-eater shakes the finger of caution at the assembled hot-heads and warns them:

"It is therefore clear that it is absolutely wrong to speak of the 'offensive of the working class and the counter-offensive of the capitalists'. 'The beginning of the mass actions has primarily a defensive character.' 'We witness a most vicious offensive of the capitalist class against the working class.'"

And so on. All of which is Browder's way of conveying the impression that the present struggles of the workers are defensive. This is, of course, a correct appraisal of the situation, as the *Militant* has pointed out a hundred times. The idea itself is not new; it is Browder's sudden comprehension of it that provides the day's sensation.

These incidents demonstrate, as has been said, that Centrism is able to change its mind a little; that the analysis of its policy as chronic ultra-Leftism is false; that even a Browder can learn. But from this we draw no optimistic conclusions, for the process takes too long, they do too much damage in the meantime and they correct one error only in order to commit a dozen more. Centrism is not consistently Leftist, but it is constantly false and consistently dangerous to the proletarian movement.

OUR REVOLUTION

The more clearly the unfolding of world events demonstrates that the conception of socialism in one country—the common theoretical bond of Centrism and the Right wing—is a strangulating noose for the international proletarian revolution, the more evident does it become that the banner of revolutionary internationalism belongs to the Left Opposition which has been forged in the struggle against the new revisionism. And by that increases the greatness of its historic responsibility and the magnitude of its tasks which brook no delay and take no heed of the weakness of our forces.

Blocked in Russia during the Chinese revolution and the English general strike, the Opposition had to confine itself to criticism and counter-proposals within a closed circle and was deprived of direct influence on the events themselves. The new rise of revolutionary development coincides with a decisive change in the internal relations of the Communist movement. The Opposition, beaten down with the defeats of the international proletariat which flowed from the ruinous policy of the Right-Centrist bloc, had awakened to new life with the revolutionary revival and confronts them with a world-wide organization and with all its fundamental principles confirmed in living experience. It is now endowed with the possibility, and the inescapable historic necessity, of bringing these principles to the fore as a direct influence on the developing revolutionary events. Every section of the International—our own among them—must put its ranks in shape for this grandiose international endeavor.

From this point of view we should greet in the warmest manner, and in deeds as well as in words, the proposals of comrade Trotsky in regard to the Spanish revolution which stands today in the center of the stage. To intervene directly now, and on an international scale; to study the basic questions down to the bottom; to stir the Communist ranks with discussion over the problems of the Spanish revolution and mobilize international aid in time; to expose and drive out the revolution-destroying policy

presence of a degenerated caste of labor skates who have written for the miners a long list of treacheries and sell-outs. But despite their common root, these four movements have not made common cause. It is in this absence of unity and solidarity in action that lies the greatest obstacle to the advancement of the militant miners' movement.

WHAT SHOULD THE LEFT WING DO?

Confronted with this rounded picture of the situation, what action should be undertaken by the Left wing and the Communists, represented in the National Miners Union? They must immediately raise the banner of unity, of the consolidation of all these movements. It is particularly in times of stress, when they are fighting—like the miners—with their backs to the wall—that the workers feel most acutely the need for unity. Divided ranks, separated movements only serve to discourage them, to lower their morale and fighting spirit. A new accretion of forces, unification with other workers' groups the breaking down of the barriers that divide the workers and strengthen their enemies—these serve to hearten the workers, to make them feel their strength, to increase their enthusiasm, their endurance, their combativity. It is especially under present conditions that the workers look with just suspicion upon those who spurn the proposal for

of Centrism and bring forward the Marxist alternatives in the heat of events and directly upon them—such are the tasks envisaged for the International Left Opposition in comrade Trotsky's letter which we print in the current issue of the *Militant*.

We have reason to hope that our detachment of the Marxian Internationalists will do its part for the Spanish revolution. To a certain extent at least we have seen the huge vista opened up by the events in Spain and understood that our weight in the scale might not be without influence in the final summing up. We have ventured to believe that, not because we deceive others or ourselves about the forces at our disposal, but because our strength is the strength of the Marxian doctrines cry-

unity, who stand in the way of its consummation, who block its achievement by petty tricks or pettier excuses. They will deal with such foes of labor with impatient speed—providing these foes are uncovered in a manner that enables the workers to see their real color plainly.

That is why it is an absolutely unpostponable duty of the N. M. U. to take the initiative in calling for a joint conference of all these striking and rebellious groups, to take the initiative now, to strike while the iron is hot. It would be a conference of equally represented workers, convoked for the purpose of coordinating the movements, of solidifying them under one head, and—this is highly essential—of expanding the movement to other fields.

The present policy is simply to call upon the other insurgent groups "from below" to join the conference which the N. M. U. is calling. But this is a ridiculous caricature of what should be done. The other groups have no intention of dissolving themselves into the N. M. U. at the blowing of a trumpet. The conference cannot be a "clever maneuver"; it must be called for the purpose of mobilizing all the miners, regardless of their affiliations or beliefs, against the offensive of the coal operators and their agents. Such a conference can become the initial step in a move to amalgamate all the various independent and separate insurgent movements with the N. M. U. into a powerful and militant

stallized in the international nucleus of the Opposition. We have not seen the Chinese revolution as a subject for abstract historical study. The international class struggle, in its dynamic development, is posing the questions anew in Spain and raising the principle line of the Opposition against the line of Centrism more insistently than ever. That is the way we see it. That is why we must strain every resource to make our mark on the situation while it is alive and fresh.

The Spanish revolution is our revolution. It is our task to make it the revolution of the American workers and to inspire them to fight for it on the soil of America as our comrades fight for it on the soil of Spain.

—J. P. C.

industrial union of the miners a force to be reckoned with by the operators and in the labor movement, a powerful impetus in building the Left wing movement everywhere else.

Who will reject and sabotage such a unity conference? The agents of the operators among the miners, the false leaders, the windjammers, the proprietors of "vested interests" in the miners. The Left wing can reject it only at its own expense and at the cost of the miners. It is in the process of fighting for the unity of the workers that they will be able to separate the wheat from the chaff, to judge who is right, who is for them, who is against them. The Left wing has nothing to fear from this process. Like the miners in general, it has everything to gain—providing it acts promptly and resolutely, providing it drops the futile policy of ignoring the other movements (this ostrich policy has been followed by the *Daily Worker*, which thinks to solve a problem by remaining silent) or of confining itself to mechanical denunciations of everything and everybody outside its ranks.

DO NOT BE DECEIVED BY CHEAP PHASES

The worst thing the Left wing can do is to grow intoxicated with an inflated idea of its own strength or position. It is not leading the whole miners' movement, but only a part of it. It can win its way to leadership if it pursues the right policy now—and not after the strike in the "self-critical" articles of the press.

The Left wing dares not be deceived by cheap phrases, by boasting, by ruinous self-contentment with the big achievement it can legitimately record now. Do not be blinded to the correct policy towards the reformist organizations by Foster's chatter about "the growing fascistization of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy" because it is doing "everything possible to hinder the strike". Lewis and Co. have been engaged in their trade of strike-breaking before "social-fascism" was ever invented. Do not be talked into dizziness about "the highly political character" of the Pennsylvania-Ohio strike because of capitalist terrorism—the terror of the bosses or the state does not make a strike "political". The strikes are desperate defensive actions of the miners which do not "require a high politicalization of the struggle".

(Foster, page 507), but the immediate, genuine application of the united front policy.

Do not be deceived with empty talk about the "correctness of the line". Foster may write for another year that "the Lawrence strike gave a first demonstration in the United States of the correctness of the R. I. L. U. line" (page 595). The Browners, in their "self-criticism" after the event will write about the same Lawrence strike, in the same issue of *The Communist* (page 611), that "a small measure of organizational success was secured"—which coming from the source it does, means that virtually no success was the result.

THE MISTAKE IS BEING MADE NOW — CORRECT IT NOW!

Will the party have to draw up its balance sheet when the coal strike is concluded with the limping, apologetic remark that "a small measure of organizational success was secured"? Will the party leaders be allowed to speak of the "mistakes and shortcomings of the strike" when it is "too late", when it is over and the magnificent opportunity has been missed? We repeat: It would be fatal to permit such a state of affairs. The time to act correctly is now. Now is the time to correct the mistake in policy. The party is pursuing a course of concealment, of separatism, which is false and unworthy of Communists. Its leadership of the miners can not only be extended but made firm and lasting. The tens of thousands of miners in West Virginia, in Kentucky in Illinois—and the other sections which can be won on the basis of the appeal for unity and solidarity—must not be ignored. They cannot be won simply by calling upon them to join the N. M. U. That course was tried in Illinois with miserable results. It must be cast aside before it brings the same results in the present situation.

The miners need a revolutionary leadership which is intelligently awake to the requirements of the situation. The proposals of the *Left Opposition* meet these requirements. They should be adopted and applied. The official party policy is wrong and does not meet the requirements. It must be rejected. The mistake is being made now. Now is the time to correct it.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

U. S. Crises - - Past & Present

Many people say, "This crisis is only another one of the crises which capitalism has gone through periodically since its inception; hard times have always come and gone and capitalism has always gone on to new heights after each crisis". In the following paragraphs we shall review briefly the history of the major past crises of American history from the standpoint of determining what factors made it possible for capitalism to recover after each of them, based on specific economic forces and not on any mystical "recuperative power" inherent in capitalism. If the factors which have pulled capitalism out of its hole in the past turn out to be no longer applicable now, the only alternatives left would be (1) a new, hitherto unheard of stimulus to capitalist development, or (2) the further development of capitalism must be looked on as degenerative rather than progressive.

While this study is based primarily on the facts of American economic history, we do not for a moment lose sight of the world-wide interconnection of capitalist interests and consequently of the pathological symptoms of capitalism in the form of crises. The very first of the major crises of the United States, that of 1837, was in part precipitated by an increase in the discount rate of the Bank of England in the effort to halt the flow of English capital into American speculative ventures. The timing of crises throughout the world, in fact, is becoming increasingly uniform. We limit the study of crises in this article to the American field purely for the sake of not packing too much material into a limited space.

The Early Crises

The two earliest crises of American history, the post-revolutionary crises of 1785-6 and the post-war crises of 1815-19, bore the stamp of an undeveloped economy—the principal concerns were currency inflation, primitive banking methods, excessive imports, insufficient crops to supply an export surplus with which to pay for them. Early in the latter crisis, however, a major step toward developed capitalism was taken when the tariff act of 1816 was passed, to encourage manufacturing industry. The "American system" of pre-Civil War politics, combining tariffs with internal improvements, chiefly waterways and highways, was an early manifestation of capitalist politics; territorial expansion into the Louisiana Territory and Florida furnished new markets, the steamboat was just coming into its own, and American shipping was carrying an increasingly important part of the foreign trade. In the old South, the development of the cotton gin changed cotton cultivation from a placid patriarchal mode of life, where-into, as discussed by "advanced" Southerners, into a hectic, speculative business with profits running up to 50 percent or more a year, the soil was henceforth mined, not cultivated; millionaire planters were now not uncommon, and slavery became an institution consecrated by the Bible itself.

The present article in the series of reviews of the position of American economy deals with crises of capitalism in this country in the past and the temporary solution found in years gone by to the present crisis. The problem of foreign trade and the possibilities for its development, as well as the problem of war in connection with American imperialist expansion will be dealt with in detail by the author in coming articles. Ed.

By B. J. Field

Prosperous virgin wheat in the West, prosperous cotton in the South, and prosperous tariff-supported manufacturing in the East solved the crises of 1819. The growing proletariat began to organize itself into trade unions, and by 1833 the first Council of Trade Unions met in New York City.

The normal course of capitalist development led to the crises of 1837, preceded by a wild banking, land and railroad boom. Again the solution was found in territorial expansion into Texas and the Oregon Territory; in record increases in crop cultivation, in an enormous increase in immigration and in population growth (from 1830 to 1860 population increased one-third each ten years, from 12,860,000 in 1830 to 31,443,000 in 1860, a rate which if maintained could have made the present population of the United States 236,000,000, nearly twice the actual figure).

The labor movement began its wanderings in the political wilderness by the organization of "Know-Nothing", "Locofoco" and other parties which acted as tail to the kite of the major parties.

The definite victory of American capitalism over the one serious opponent which it has ever had, the Southern agricultural aristocracy, in the Civil War, unleashed another roaring boom period in 1865. Railroad mileage doubled in eight years, and absorbed more capital than any other industry, a good deal of it from Europe. The Bessemer process introduced in 1865 for the first time made steel a cheap, mass-production commodity; coal production quadrupled from 1860 to 1873. Agriculture boomed too—cotton production, at first hard hit by the Civil War, recovered by 1877 and reached as high figures as ever, at 4,500,000 bales, to go on to an average of over 6,000,000 bales in the next sixteen years and 10 millions in 1894. The first of the big mergers arrived in oil, coal, railroads. New resources were discovered in oil, copper, natural gas. Export trade still consisted primarily of foodstuffs and raw materials; the percentage of manufactured goods to total exports hardly changed between 1870 and 1890.

The Panic of 1873

The panic of 1873 was severe and complicated by government deficits and silver currency problems. With such an industrial background, however, it went through the classic course of the crises of a "healthy" capitalism: a sharp drop in prices, a call by banks for repayment of loans, or in the language of that day, "hard money instead of paper"; widespread bankruptcies, unemployment, reduction of industrial output, a strengthening of the financial position of banks and individuals because of the sharp

deflation, low money rates, easy terms for borrowers of new capital—one or two good crops, and the business cycle was ready to revolve again.

The labor movement reached a new high plane in the organization of the Knights of Labor and the development of bigger and better trade unions.

The next crisis came in 1893. The growth of capitalism had reached a point where internal contradictions between the great and the small bourgeoisie were beginning to compel the granting of concessions to the latter in the form of restrictions on the former—the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. Crops were still setting new high records, but agricultural crises were taking the form of agitation against the representatives of finance capital, leading to an unsuccessful bloc between farmers unable to pay their mortgages and unemployed labor, cut off from the escape to the West from low wages, long hours and insecure jobs by the filling up of the farm country. The tactics of the bloc, depreciation of the real value of bankers' claims by inflating the paper currency (Greenbackers, Populists), or by free coinage of silver at higher than its real value (Bryans and the Democrats, 1896-1904), succeeded in diverting proletarian and agrarian discontent from any revolutionary outlet in spite of such militant manifestations as the Homestead strike of 1892 and the Pullman strike of 1894.

The solution of the immediate problems of the crises of 1893 was based on a continuation of the post-Civil War trends—more intensive manufacturing, the creation of large industrial combinations culminating in the great trust-building era from 1899 to 1901, extension of agricultural production, and increased export trade stimulated by a series of wars including the Spanish-American, Boer and Russo-Japanese wars.

Railroad expansion had come to a climax in the ten years ending 1890, when 70,000 additional miles were constructed. After 1900 new construction slowed down sharply, but great new industries are now expanding—the electrical industry since 1890, automatic industrial machinery on an unheard-of scale, great new natural resources in oil, copper, silver, iron ore; bumper wheat and corn crops, a tripling of coal production in twenty years' time, all signified that capitalism was still on the upward trend.

The great crisis of 1907, like preceding crises, simply corrected the tempo of this development. Real estate speculation, which had resulted in overbuilding, was curbed, and an antiquated banking and currency system again showed its

deficiencies when it was necessary for banks in New York to issue clearing-house certificates among themselves as a form of emergency currency. The bumper crops of the next two years, however, sufficed to restore "normalcy", helped by a rising long-term trend in prices due to the increased production of gold from rich American and South African fields, and by the demands of the Balkan wars of 1911-13.

World War and 1914 Crisis

The crisis of 1914 was nipped in the bud by the world war, which meant to American capitalism a great speeding-up of the normal development, together with a huge influx of gold, an enormous stimulation to agriculture, with a modernized form of banking under the Federal Reserve Act.

The war left the United States with the most gigantic contradictions in its history—on the one hand, the largest manufacturing nation in the world, on the other, the largest producer of raw materials with which to feed competitive manufacturing nations, both branches of production striving avidly for export outlets. At the same time, the United States remained the depository of the world's largest stock of gold, and also a holder of billions of dollars of paper obligations payable in gold, which compelled America's debtors to stimulate their exports in competition with America to enable them to pay their debts. The inter-governmental debts outstanding at the end of the war were aggravated by the epidemic of American loans abroad by private investors, adding further burdens to European capitalism yet forcing it to redouble its efforts.

One of the century-old solutions for America's crises, to raise bigger crops, was still effective as late as 1919. In that year the farm production rose to the figures of the war boom year 1915, and with the prices then prevailing, reached the greatest value for any crop year in American history, before or since. A new high record for size of crops was made in 1926, but by that time the agrarian problem had reached a point where it could no longer be solved by such methods. The big crops of 1926 merely broke the price of farm products, and led to lower production in 1927. In the following year, 1928, bumper crops again brought prices down to a point where the aggregate value of the farm production was less than that of the smaller crops of 1927. The American farmer is being crowded out of world markets, and is faced by the dilemma—big crops and low prices, or small crops and not much better prices?

The manufacturing industries after the post-war boom of 1919, did not seem to be facing this dilemma. Tremendous sales of manufactured goods to Europe and South America, financed by foreign bonds floated during a violent securities boom, the rapid expansion of a group of industries including electrical equipment, automobiles, building construction (which had been held back during the war and hampered by high interest rates during the 1919 boom), the radio, movies and other such minor in-

dustries, for a time masked the increasing difficulties in which the great staple industries such as steel, lumber, copper, oil, coal, textiles and others found themselves during all this period. The prosperity of the period from 1924 to 1929 was not widespread and did not extend to many basic industries until the final phases of the boom, just before the collapse. The absence of real prosperity was shown by the increasing difficulty of finding markets, which had to be forced by expensive advertising, high-pressure selling, installment financing, etc., the increasing difficulty for men of fifty or over in finding jobs, the immigration restrictions, which revealed a real inability of capitalist development to handle an increasing population on the scale of the pre-Civil War days, and the decreasing percentage of the population engaged in industry in spite of the ability of capitalism to draw on new strata of the population, such as women and dispossessed farmers.

The labor movement, which had assumed an acutely militant phase following the 1919 crisis, slowly lapsed into lethargy because of the increasingly acute contradiction between the leadership and the objective conditions, of a failure of capitalism to make real progress during an apparent boom between two great crises.

This is the first time in the history of capitalism in which this has happened, and is confirmed by a study of per capita consumption of major commodities which show little net gain for the past fifteen years, but merely substitutions of one material for another, as for instance, less coal but more electricity, less meat and wheat but more sugar and dairy products, less lumber but more steel.

"Solutions" in the Past

Summing up, capitalism has found a "solution" for all former crises in the United States through one or more of the following means: territorial expansion, bigger crops, larger manufacturing facilities, foreign loans, railroad expansion, wars (particularly among foreign countries), technological improvements (including mergers), increasing exports, new industries.

Territorial expansion, apart from wars of conquest, is closed; bigger crops, as was proven in 1926 and 1928, no longer mean bigger farming income; larger manufacturing facilities are a burden, not a salvation, when the automobile industry has a capacity for producing 8 million cars with a home demand in "good" times of 4 million and exports of another 500,000, and radio set facilities more than three times the best year's sales; foreign loans are unsalable in any quantity because most of the possible borrowers are poor credit risks, as evidenced by their existing bonds selling far below par; railroad expansion has been a closed chapter for nearly a generation; technological improvements, as analyzed in a preceding article, simply aggravate the problem of the domestic market; the only new industries in sight appear utterly inadequate for any mass consumption boom—the outposts of business talk hopefully of television, home refrigeration in summer, steel construction for small houses, but there is no conviction in their voices.