

# Throughout the World of Labor

## Christmas for the German Workers

In spite of the sloppy, smeary weather, Christmas is coming. St. Nicholas' ruddy face beams out of holly-trimmed store windows; and papers encourage gift-buying. Every day it rains, and soft winds suggest spring rather than winter.

It will be a sad Christmas for millions in Germany this year. With one blow Krupp laid off 1,100 men only a week ago. The Phoenix Steel Corp. follows this "rational" example, knocking off a few hundred more. Some plants of the Edel Stahlwerk in Bochum have been shut down. Other industries report hard conditions.

It is estimated that unemployment this winter will reach nearly 3,000,000 in Germany—a much larger figure than last winter's.

The mines are enjoying their usual spurt of winter activity, with slight depressions noted due to the unusually clement weather. Building is practically at a standstill, and textiles work only a few hours weekly, with the exception of a slight hump in the curve of the silk demand, which keeps silk mills humming on a reasonable schedule.

But millions of people will depend on

Kerenskiade and the Chinese Kuo Min Tang, the Right as well as the Left, Urbahns shyly hums the melody struck up by Radek in the question on which the fate of the whole East depends. It is not for nothing that Urbahns prints the extremely superficial and banal articles of Radek's on the question of the permanent revolution, while maintaining silence on his own position on this question\*.

It is not a matter now of repeating disfigured quotations from the year 1905 on the permanent revolution. The Zinoviev, Maslovs and others have been sufficiently engaged in these forgeries. It is a matter of the strategic line for the whole East and for a whole epoch. It must be clearly established whether a special democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants is possible and how it would differ from the dictatorship of the Kuo Min Tang on the one side and the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other. This brings forward the question: Can the peasantry have an independent policy in the revolution— independent from the bourgeoisie and from the proletariat? Marxism, enriched by the revolution in Russia and in China, answers: no, no, no. The peasantry marches under the leadership of its upper section and the petty bourgeois intellectuals, with the bourgeoisie; then arises a Social-Revolutionary movement, a Kerenskiade or the Kuo Min Tang. Or else it marches, led by its lower sections, the semi-proletarian and proletarian elements of the village, with the industrial proletariat. Then it is the road of Bolshevism, of the October revolution (that is, the permanent revolution). It is on this question—precisely on this one—that Stalin and Bucharin twisted the neck of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Revolution. Zinoviev, Radek, Smilga and Preobrazhensky wavered between Stalinism and Marxism, and this wavering brought them to shameful capitulation. For the countries of the East, this question forms the line of demarcation between Menshevism and Bolshevism.

\*By the way: Radek's article contains a monstrous bit of gossip that in Alma Alta I held back the exposures on the negotiations of Bucharin with Kamenev out of a desire to form a bloc with the Right. Where does this come from? From Yaroslavsky's snuff box? Or from Menzhinsky's (head of the G.P.U.) notebooks? It is hardly likely that Radek himself invented it. Comrade Urbahns, however, has so much room that he can print not only novels of Sinclair but even the gossip of Yaroslavsky-Radek. Had comrade Urbahns loyally applied to me for information, I would have explained to him that I received the news of the negotiations between Bucharin and Kamenev simultaneously with the report on the ambiguous declarations of Urbahns on a bloc with Brandler. I answered this with an article on the absolute inadmissibility of unprincipled blocs between the Left and Right Oppositions. This article was published a few months ago by Brandler and only then reprinted in Volkswille.

Continued

unemployment stipends for their Christmas joys. Three times weekly the unemployed of each city must personally register at the town office. Once each week they draw their money. This is usually based on their last wage rate, but the average is around 17-19 marks (\$4.25-\$4.75 weekly).

The army of the unemployed is subject to draft. Street cleaning, and other public work is done by men recruited from the jobless ranks, who are compelled to accept the jobs offered them, at wages arbitrarily fixed, and frequently below the wages usually paid for such work. The penalty of refusal is loss of the weekly insurance income.

The unemployed are very dissatisfied with this "drafting". Many are men of learned trades, unaccustomed to crude work in raw weather. But they have no choice.

Newspapers chant the coming of Christmas, and kids may be seen pressing their faces against store windows laden with toys. But for millions of men this will be a lean Christmas, and the New Year's bells will hardly suggest to them the coming of greater blessings next year. For with every year the situation grows worse.

ED FALKOWSKI

Krefeld, Rhineland.

## Native Resentment in South Africa

While General Smuts was pronouncing a homily at Oxford on the policy to be followed in South Africa towards the natives, and acted the good apostle, Reuter communicated to the press a dispatch from Durban saying that a large force of police accompanied by an armed detachment with machine guns and tear gas bombs had invaded the district inhabited by the natives on the pretext of arresting natives who refuse to pay personal tax. Six thousand natives were questioned and finally six hundred of them were placed under arrest. Tried forthwith by special tribunals, they were condemned to pay the tax or undergo a month of imprisonment.

This police and judiciary mobilization underlines in an impressive manner the uneasiness prevalent at the moment among the South African natives, an uneasiness provoked by the government's policy of repression and violence.

British loyalists of Natal and violent republican Afrikaners of Transvaal who formerly carried on a rabid struggle amongst themselves, always find themselves in accord when it is a matter of exploiting and brutalizing the natives. The minister of justice, Pirow, an Afrikaner, is the principal instigator of this policy of repression; it is he who directed the armed attack upon the native district, composed of huts. This great performance of the police had as its avowed aim to facilitate the vote on a draft law depriving the natives of the electoral franchise.

Mr. Pirow has been obliged to justify his coup de force. He has made a declaration in which, from the beginning to end, he accuses the Communist International and expatiates at length on a meeting of natives held at Johannesburg, November 10.

This meeting, organized by the native section of the Communist Party, had gathered about 1,500 in the audience and was concluded by the arraignment of the minister of justice, deservedly made responsible for the measures taken against the natives and those with which they knew themselves to be threatened. The "judge" decided that the effigy of the minister be burned while the "jury" cried: "Burn the swine! Burn the oppressor! Burn this tool of British imperialism!" Previously, many speakers had accused General Herzog of "seeking a refuge under the wing of British imperialism".

The liberal journals show some uneasiness on the subject of the brutal and exceptional measures of the government. They recognize that the situation is serious, seeing that there are 40,000 natives in the huts of Durban, subject to a lively excitement. But they fear that the way of force will only succeed in aggravating the situation. It is possible that Communist "agitators" sent by the Communist International are to be found among the natives, but their propaganda would be in vain if there did not exist a profound discontent. From which they conclude that a wise policy of appeasing the natives by according them adroitly contrived satisfactions would be more effective than ministerial declamations

against the Communist International.

The mining problem has taken on an unforeseen development. The Miners' Federation, at the suggestion of A. J. Cook, who has become a very reasonable man after having declared himself "an humble disciple of Lenin", has decided to content itself with the government project whose essential provision is to change the working day from eight hours to seven and a half. The decision was carried by a majority, the representatives of the two mining districts: Yorkshire and Forest of Dean, remaining irreconcilable. The government project, in actuality, brings absolutely nothing to the miners in the districts where the working day is now seven and a half hours, and Yorkshire is one of those.

Immediately after the vote of acceptance, the president of the Federation, Herbert Smith, who has been the leader of the Yorkshire miners for years, tendered his resignation. He has been replaced by T. Richards.

Discontentment is always lively in the ranks of the Independent Labour Party towards the policy of the government, and especially on the subject of the proposed modifications of unemployment insurance, which are in actuality very far from that which the Laborite candidates promised during the elections. On one point, they even worsen the existing stipulations, Maxton, the chairman of the I.L.P. is leading the discontented, but is cast off by his own troops. He had prepared an amendment and received thirty-three signatures. A meeting was held in the House of Commons which was very lively and lasted more than two and a half hours. All the speaker deplored the insufficiency of the government project but it was nevertheless decided, finally, by 41 votes against 14, to vote for it. The "rebels" of the I.L.P. against the directing Laborite clique never go very far. They hang fire along the road: Additional vexations must not be created for the comrade ministers.

London, November 25, 1929

—S. B.

## Tardieu's Attack on Humanite

The Tardieu government has just proceeded to a new attack against the central organ of the French Communist Party, Humanite. The latter was many million francs in debt to the Banque Ouvriers et Paysans (Workers and Peasants Bank). Through the medium of the legal administrators placed in the B. O. P. by the government, it demands that Humanite immediately turn over about 2,600,000 francs. It is a means of putting Humanite into bankruptcy and makes it possible for anyone who wants it to buy it back. The thousands of workers of the Parisian region who read Humanite are aroused against this governmental attack.

Humanite calls itself "the journal of the working class." If this means that it is the journal that the revolutionary workers read, it is true. There is none other that appears daily. If this means that it is a journal that defends the working class properly, we say No.

Humanite carries on a policy that is almost never correct and which we denounce and will continue to denounce each time it is practised. On most of the national and international problems, its position, which is the one the executive of the International imposes upon it, is wrong. It is constantly deceiving the working class. It serves as a means of superficial agitation, but by no means of propaganda. Nevertheless, it occupies itself with the interests of the workers. In spite of its continual errors, its circulation is considerable. Every revolutionary worker, even he who already understands the constant and gross errors of Humanite, reads it. That is what must be taken into account. Tardieu knows it well, and that is why, after having done so much to exhaust and mangle the Party, he directly assaults Humanite. But the workers will not permit him to do it. They will show that they want to defend Humanite.

But we will not hide from them the responsibility of the Party and Humanite in the crisis that torments them today. How could Humanite have a deficit of many millions in the B. O. P. without its readers being informed of it? Why does the government undertake its maneuver against Humanite today, that is, at the moment

when the Party is weakened, when the masses follow the Party with difficulty, and when a certain passivity prevails among the workers? It is because Humanite and the Party consider the opinions of their supporters only when it is necessary to ask them for their pennies! Because the only work that the Party asks of its members today is to collect money for it to replace that which is frittered away in functionaries, publications, and so on, without any control whatsoever! In a word, this state of affairs is the result of the whole internal policy of the Party for the past number of years.

To the comrades who contribute their mite for the defense of Humanite, we say: Comrades, that is not enough! It is not enough to give money for saving a journal whose whole false policy drives it under the blows of Tardieu and Co! What is needed is a thorough house-cleaning: men, methods and policies. In defending Humanite against the government, in defending against the bourgeoisie a journal to which the workers have given so much of their support and their strength, it is necessary to assume the obligation of defending it against those who are leading it to its doom by running it without control, by having it carry out a wrong policy, which does not educate the proletariat, which sows falsehoods in the working class.

For Humanite, Yes! But for a Communist Humanite, relieved of the whole apparatus that distorts it, Humanite must be the Communist journal which really guides the workers, instead of flinging them into a blind alley and making them commit mistakes. Tardieu will not dare to touch a Communist Humanite.

Today is not the first time the governmental attack against Humanite has been made. But, after each alarm, those who supported it went to sleep again, they left the bad leaders at the head of their journal, they did not organize the control from below, they did not demand the rendering of the necessary accounts. A few fine words and all was done.

In defending Humanite today, every worker must say to himself that once the alarm is over, a new administration must be demanded in Humanite, a new policy, honest information. The Communist Opposition must be helped to conduct its fight against the bureaucratized cadres of the party, against their methods, against its policy of compromise, against its actions which do not do what they should to rally the working masses but, on the contrary, frequently discourage and demoralize them.

Humanite does not cease saying that Tardieu is striking because the awakened working masses are threatening bourgeois power. That is wrong. Humanite should know, on the contrary, that if the working class had not been previously weakened, Tardieu would not dare to attack it so impudently.

The Communist Opposition calls the workers to strengthen their activity by a correct proletarian policy, devoid of bluff, but vigorous and exact. Then the workers will be able to recreate a Humanite which will really be their journal, and which will lead them successfully in the struggle.

For a genuine Communist Press! That is what the workers want. From Humanite, they demand, together with the Opposition, a new policy. That is the only condition that can render their aid effective for the future of the revolutionary movement.

—VERITE

Paris, November 29, 1929.

## The BULLETIN of the Russian Opposition

The Latest number just received contains articles by L. D. Trotsky, Christaln Rakovskiy, V. Kosslov, M. Okudjava, N. Muralov, F. Dingelstaedt, and others.

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