Trotsky: Soviet Economy

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MARCH 6 AND AFTER

London Naval Debacle

The collapse of the London Naval Conference, coming on the heels of the fall of the French cabinet, bears out all contentions of the impossibility of the imperialists even to pretend at limitation of armaments. The attempt to mask itself as an apostle of peace for the world was a farce; the conference was made up purely of the leading imperialist powers -- to the exclusion of all others. The issue of parity strength proved to be not one of reduction, but, on the contrary, one of increased construction of naval armaments.

We have all along pointed out the impossibility of the capitalist powers to attempt to solve and patch up their differences through conferences and negotiations. We said further that the London conference was actually a session of the leading capitalist powers, jockeying for advantages in the world political arena, and preparing their allies in preparation of an impending conflict. Furthermore, it was obvious from the outset that one of the main objectives

Gold and God United Against Soviets

"Church of Wall St. Shows \$1,462,340 Income Last Year. Trinity reports \$15,000,-000 Realty.--Assets \$16,923,956."

With these headlines the Wall St. Journal introduces a story on the increasing capital owned by Trinity Church Corp., of New York, Tibs Episcopal Church of which Wm. T. Manning, now bishop of New York was formerly rector, is the wealthiest single parish in America. But other organizations in this denomination and in other churches boast of investments, steadily increasing in amount rolling up into millions of dollars. The \$17,000,000 of Trinity parish is only a small fraction of the total.

So when Bishop Manning called upon all religious bodies to join in a day of prayer as a protest against Soviet policy, the Friends of the Soviet Union arranged for the same date a demonstration "against the capitalist preparations for war on the Soviet Union under the guise of a religious campaign." The crusade of the churches against Soviet Russia, according to the friends of the workers' government, is a capitalist crusade against a socialist republic. The pope and Bishop Manning, leading the crusade, not only represent two of the richest religious bodies in the world, but also represent propertied interests-J. P. Morgan, Wall St. and organized capital, the critics say.

That American property holdings of the churches have vastly increased in recent years is revealed by the latest U. S. census figures on religious bodies. Church buildings are now valued at \$3,842, 500,000 as compared with \$1,676,600,000 in 1916. These billions pay no taxes.

More than 50 denominations reported property valued at over \$1,000,000,000. Six (Continued on Page 2)

of the conference would be to lay the plans for an alliance of the powers against the Soviet Union. In the Leginning, it was clear that nothing could be achieved in the way of diminishing construction and reduction of armaments, and that the conference would reach a blind alley in a short while.

These views have been substantiated. For over two weeks, the conference has lapsed. The pacifists and the Conference attempt to lay the blame for this on the collapse of the French cabinet. While this is a factor, it does not eliminate the fact that the whole conference was leading to a point where its further deliberations would be checked.

Issues at the Conference

At the beginning of the conference, the following conditions were the basis for the negotiations: The parity ratio between the United States and England. The demand for increased parity on the part of Japan from the original proposal of 5-5-3 to 10-10-7. The demand of France for a tonnage of 724,000 tons, and Italy's position calling for parity with France. This presented the curious picture of a disarmament conference with a program of increased naval construction.

The various issues during the first month of the conference whether or not battleships should be expunged from naval service, whether submarines were "humane instruments" during war, etc., were only confusing and played their part in delaying the discussion of disarmament. They allowed for time so that the various powers could obtain information on their opponents' strength.

The real obstacle remains unsolved what shall be the naval ratios of the participants? On this there is unanimous disagreement. While United States and England apparently agree to parity the remaining countries continue to disagree unless their commands are granted. France, which today has taken the place of pre-war Germany as the outstanding militarized nation, insists that her "freedom and interests" demand a naval tonnage of 725,000 tons, to be built for the most part by 1936. This means that France, in a short period, would have one of the largest and most modern navies in the world. Netither the United States, England, nor Japan agree to this. Japan on the other hand refuses, on the basis that she is an "island nation", to reduce her tonnage, and Italy continues to insist on parity with France, to allow protection of her interests in the Mediterranean Sea. Both France and Japan refuse to liquidate their submarine fleets, which are the backbone of their smaller naval strength against both the United States and England. The above was the condition prior to the opening of the conference, and on which the conference today has lapsed because of its failure to even make initial progress.

Each of the naval powers demand "security" and are willing (!) for reduction if the other begins it. That no progress

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The unemployment demonstrations on March 6th which, particularly in New York, Detroit and other industrial centers, assumed huge proportions, have proved in irrefutable language that unemployment is a living issue in the United States. They smashed the conspiracy of the ruling class to deny or minimize the unemployment crisis and sent them scurrying for measures of amelioration and fear of the coming storm. They proved that issues which directly affect the life interests of the masses are the ones which rouse them. The demonstrations compelled reformists of the socialist party and a section of the trade union movement who up till now have done little but echo the Hoover pronouncements, to come forward with independent proposals in an attempt to take over the leadership of the unemployed masses.

On the other side, the March 6th unemployment demonstrations were the signal for unloosing an unprecedented police brutality against the workers; a new wave of incitement by the capitalist press against the Communist organizers of the movement; an attempt to bury the issue of unemployment under a "Red Scare"; and an attempt to frame up the arrested leaders-in short a general offensive of the ruling class and the government designed to lay the basis for again outlawing the Communist movement. The New York capitalist papers, including the pseudo-liberal Telegram, are crying with one voice for the rigorous prosecution of the arrested Communists, who insisted that the right to parade the streets, always enjoyed without question by reactionary elements, should be taken for one day by the workers. The unemployment movement, which on March 6th marked a rise in the militancy of the masses, remains a defensive movement in the face of a continuing and intensified capitalist offensive.

Haitians Demand End of Wall St. Rule

WASHINGTON-In a public statement on the history of the so-called American treaty with Haiti, which never was ratified when secretly negotiated in 1917, the Patriotic Union of Haiti demands that American imperialism shall get out of Haiti and rid the country of military occupation,

"We denounce the Act of 1917," says the Union. "We protest its invocation before the civilized world, before the Congress of the United States, before the Investigating Committee, before President Hoover ... "

"To critics who might add 'revolution', we say: "Let it not be a repetition of the Aux Cayes affair, where innocent men, women and children were slaughtered by United States marines."

Hoover has been in office now one year, but military rule in Haiti remains as before. The masses of Haiti are just as determined in their demand for freedom from the economic, political and military bondage of U. S. imperialism. The Hoover Committee "investigates" and of course does nothing. The Haitian masses continue to protest the American occupation through demonstrations and other messures

The March 6th demonstrations which brought a period of preliminary agitation to a point, represent a beginning in the work of organizing the defensive struggle of the masses on issues which go to the very heart of their daily lives. It is necessary now to arrive at a realistic estimation of the actual strength of the unemployment movement, and the influence of the Communists upon it, in preparation for the next stages of the struggle. The spectacular demonstrations, magnificent as they were in many respects, are not, standing by themselves, alone a sufficient guide for this estimation. Scarehead newspaper publicity concentrated public attention on these events in such a way as to insure a big attendance in any case.

The question of how many were demonstrators, how many passive sympath!zers, and how many merely curious spectators, cannot be easily answered. It is self-evident that enormous numbers belonged to the latter two categories. To classify all who appeared at the demonstrations as real participants in the movement for relief of the unemployed would be an obvious mistake on which profound illusions would be based. Subsequent stages of development and the various forms it will necessarily take, will provide the criteria for measuring the extent of the actual movement.

This development must now take the form of organizing the forces set into motion, of consolidating and extending their strength. The success of this work depends on the further course of the economic situation in the first place, and on the tactics of the Communists in the second. These questions stand in the center of the revolutionary task.

Unemployment—a Permanent Phenomenor

Unemployment has become a permanent phenomenon of American capitalism. Ever such a cautious economic writer as Stuart Chase estimated 3,000,000 unemployed at the height of the Hoover prosperity in 1923. While exact figures on the present situation are not obtainable, there is plenty of ground for the assumption that the figure today stands at twice that number. This is a powerful force undermining the structure of American capitalism. Moreover the effect of unemployment on the workers is cumulative. As the savings and credits of the unemployed workers are exhausted and other resources and devices are used up, they become faced more and more with the stark problem of subsistence. Neither police clubs nor prosperity propaganda con do away with it. It is true that American capitalism has enormous resources at its disposal-a fact which must not be forgotten. These resources give a possibility-if they are fully extended-of ameliorating some of the most acute phases of unemployment, but they cannot reach the essential problem. Unemployment is a permanent cancer gnawing at the vitals of American capitalism.

The ensuing period will give the possibility of guaging the strength and tempo of the movement and of organizing it accordingly. The series of protest meetings against the arrests and police brutal-

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