## IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

## Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

### PLANNING STEEL! WAGE CUTS

(Continued from page 1) naces at the Gary and the South Chicago works, out of a total of 39 open-hearth most important documents on the situa- ritating national inequality which can be plosions of a part of the petty bourge- democrat—and there are no more sincere furnaces scheduled for 1930-31. Beth- tion in Spain so that our readers and compared with the caste inequality which oisie, with all its prejudices, without partisans of genuine democracy than the lehem bought a steel company on the comrades may be thoroughly informed existed in the Middle Ages between the movements of the barely conscious pro-Pacific Coast; in the same month U. S. on what is going on. Not only the docu- lord and the serf. Steel bought a Pacific Coast steel com- ments of the Left Opposition will be pany, both in January, 1930, before which published, but also those of other groups ment in Spain has risen with particular ical, monarchical and national yoke . . . in itself. As Lenin said, "the recognitime neither had had a plant on the in the labor and revolutionary move- energy in Catalonia and in Biscaye, that to think in this way means to renounce tion of the right to separation does not Coast.

through a series of mergers was making tional question adopted by the national the natural tendency of every bourgea bid for third place in the industry, and conference of the Spanish Left Opposi- oisie to constitute a state, and the strugthe National Steel Corp., organized by tion at Madrid on June 7, 1931.-Ed.] a group of ex-U. S. Steel men, through mergers and construction of new plant and defined form is a product of capital- tionary centralism of monarchical and (particularly at Detroit, which had nev- ist society. The countries which have semi-feudal Spain. er had a steel plant before although one not yet entered into the phase of capiof the greatest steel-consuming districes talist development cannot be considered pation is one of the aspects of the democratic struggle against local chauvinism and in the country) was bidding aggressively nations in the real sense of the word. for a place in the sun. There has been The progress of capitalism in a country more activity in mergers (involving new construction to round out plant facilities) than at any time since the great the whole of the civilized world, is the trust-building period of 1898-1901.

#### A Contracted Market

By the end of 1930, the industry had a capacity of 66,897,000 tons, and in the following half-year produced 15,259,000 tons of ingots. By the end of the year there may be an additional 1 or 2 million tons of capacity, with no markets in sight to take up the excess. Building construction, which took up 18% of last year's steel output, railroads, which took 16% and automobiles which took 14%, are contracting rather than expanding: oll and gas pipe-lines, which took 91/6 % (including water lines), will show sharp falling-off with the completion of the Texas-Chicago natural gas line and the flurry of pipe-line construction in the East Texas oil field. The possibilities of increasing markets for sheet steel, new uses for structural steel, and development of alloy steels (now 21/, % of the total), are not immediate enough to offer hopes of solving the steel industry's problems in meeting the crisis. Some development not now in sight might modify this conclusion, but on the basis of what is available at the present time, we see only limited possibilities at expanding markets for steel.

Another possibility, that of increasing prices, has been tried twice since the crisis began, and with the exception of an advance in sheets partially disguised by a reclassification of sheet specifications has been an utter failure.

There remains the possibility of re ducing costs of production, which in practise means cutting the wages of workers. The possibility of reducing costs through other means are: (1) Newer and more modern machinery. which has been done in connection with the increase of capacity in the last two years, but which is defeated by the and consequently of the ratio of pro- an escape from the wrath of the masses Beckerman's recent crimes against the duction to capacity.

in recent years. In the past ten years, ingot production per worker in the U. S. Steel Corporation rose from 57 tons to 79 last year, and in 1929 was as high as 97 tons. In 1923, with over 260,000 employees, the corporation produced less steel than in 1929 with 225,000. In 1930, it employed 211,000 workers on the average, a decline of 5% while it produced 11,600,000 tons of finished steel, against 15,200,000 tons in 1929, a decline of 24%

The success of speed-up methods in making profits is seriously limited, however, in a shrinking market. Speed-up results in more steel, which the market refuses to take.

#### Wage Declines

crisis on to the backs of the workers. behind them and whose plans Beckerman The steel companies have hesitated for a long time to cut wages, remembering the 1919-20 strikes. Last year, the U. S. Steel Corporation paid an average of \$5.84 a day to all employees exclusive a part of the exchange value represented of the general administrative and selling by labor power, with a universal stateforce, against \$5.80 in 1929, a cut of twothirds of 1%. The average wage has not varied more than 16 cents a day since 1923, when it was \$5.83.

declined steadily, during the same per- rechanized industry such as steel, opiod. In 1922, wages per ton were \$42.35, erating at a low percentage of capacity. from which they dropped to \$27.45 per ton by 1929; last year the company could not fire workers as fast as the demand for steel declined, and the average wage per ton rose slightly to \$31.69.

Corresponding to the steady decline in wages has been an increase in the proportion of profit to the gross sales of the corporation. As recently as 1924, the Steel Corporation paid out in wages 35 cents out of every dollar that it took in, and retained as profits 12 and a half cents. By 1929, the share of labor had declined steadily to 28 cents, and the share of the bondholders and stockholders had increased just as steadily to over 17 cents. Last year, because of the inability of the big corporation to adjust its activities rapidly to the shrinking market for steel, mentioned above, the share of labor was 35 cents and profits

alysis of the productive process is es- to engage in a drastic campaign of wageomic perspectives for labor in the steel strike on the order of the day. industry. Some comrades confuse the

IN SPAIN

# The Opposition and the National Question

Meantime the Republic Steel Corp. documentation with the theses on the na-

evokes the need of an appropriate state. The form which is "typical, normal, for national state" (Lenin) and not the multi-national state, "The most profound economic factors drive in this direction." The national emancipation movements express this tendency of the bourgeoisie.

2. The struggle of nationalities for their liberation has been synonymous in all points with the struggle against feudalism. The creation of large states has coincided with capitalist development, and in this sense has constituted an historically progressive fact.

In the great "prisons of the peoples" which the vanished Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires were, unity was, on the contrary, a reactionary fact: in these cases, the creation of the state preceded the development of capitalism, and the unity realized was an absolutist and despotic unity, characterized by an unheard-of national oppression, Spain was in a similar position. If in place of being a primarily agricultural country. economically backward, Spain had been a country of great industrial development, capitalism would have founded the various peoples of the peninsula on a its basis the hegemony of the large land- interested in it, adopt an attitude of disposed to struggle against the indeowners and the Church, the subjugation opposition which hides behind an abs- pendence of Catalonia by all means, inof the most vital, the most progressive tract internationalism and becomes in cluding armed rebellion. part of the country to the most back. practise a support of the policy of the ward part, a hegemony and domination reactionary centralism of oppression of artificial and despotic unity could main- ing of the small nations in the colonies the right to separation if it is the wish republics.

3. The national emancipation movements of Spain. We commence our is, in the two most important industrial the social revolution . . . Whoever hopes exclude the agitation against separation". centers of the peninsula, expressing thus for a 'pure' socialist revolution, will not The proclaiming of the right of peoples gle of the economically most advanced olution". 1. The nation in its most completed peoples against the assimilating, reac-

> 4. The struggle for national emanciocratic revolution and consequently is revolution. intimately bound up with the class struggle. Concretely, the struggle for selves unconditionally and clearly for It is only thus that will be established national emancipation is only one of the every democratic objective, the struggle a genuine community of all the workforms of the struggle between the bour- against oppression, the national emanci- ers. geoisie and feudalism. In it are found pation movement, are thus "the most again all the characteristics of the dem- determined and the most eloquent foes ocratic movement in general. In this of all oppression" (Lenin). But by all Catalonia and of Biscaye to give themstruggle, the bourgeoisie, at every deci- means they avoid identifying themselves selves the political constitution suited to sive moment, inclines towards capitula- with the nationalism of the bourgeoisie them, and will fight against every at tion, towards concessions to the enemy of the oppressed nation which seeks to tempt of the provisional government of (recall the whole policy of the Catalonian bourgeoisie led by Cambo), while the petty bourgeoisie holds to radical solutions (Macia and the "Catalonian classes of the dominating nation which, Action"), showing itself incapable moving practically to the very end.

5. National emancipation can no longer be the work of anybody but the great policy of national oppression. popular masses. It is upon them that the bourgeoisie supported itself in the onian-Balearic Communist Federation nineteenth century. Today, that is no longer possible because a new force has come forward, the proletariat, whose function in economic life opposes it to the bourgeoisie and impels it to exercize hegemony in all the great popular movements. That is why the bourgeoisie, at every decisive moment, surrenders and betrays the movement.

6. National emancipation is one of the demands of democracy and, for that tween the short-lived Catalonian repub-

and Orlofsky carried out. Orlofsky's and

them before the masses. But their old

man, the liberator of to-day, may be

the sad disappointment of his enemies.

The split in the organization, how

ever, has not been averted. Orlofsky

with their destructive plans against the

Hillman's calculations have proved

[We plan to publish regularly the tain itself further only thanks to an ir- and in Europe, without revolutionary ex- of the majority of the population. No letarian and semi-proletarian masses this principle. But one thing is to deagainst the landowners, against the cler- fend this right, and another is the thing see it, and is a revolutionist in phrases to dispose freely of their destiny signwho does not understand the real rev-

> The revolutionary proletariat must therefore pronounce itself clearly and categorically with regard to the ques-

7. The Communists, pronouncing themsubordinate the interests of the proletar- the republic to continue the traditions of ian class to the national principle, and the despotic centralism of the monarchy. with the nationalism of the exploiting of utilizing the legitimate feelings of the supra-national solidarity of the workers, wants to make them accomplices of its

That is why the position of the Catalwhich, in its theses on the national ques-Comintern, affirms that the revolutionary proletariat must make the nationalist movement its own, must "integrate the Communist party into the movement", is just as false as the position of the National Confederation of Labor which, at its last conference, at the moment of the intensification of the conflict be-

Communists must defend with all their class will guarantee the evolution of the which found their expression in the certain nationalities by others. "To im- energy is the recognition of the indis-"Asiatic despotism"-to use the term of agine that the social revolution is pos- putable right of nationalities to dispose their rights, the end to all oppression. Marx-of the Bourbon monarchy. This sible," said Lenin, "without the upris- freely of their destiny, without excluding and the establishment of a union of free

ifies that the Communists are against all unjust oppression.

In any case, the propaganda against separation cannot come from the Communists of the oppressing nation, but tion of nationalities, as it does with re- from those of the oppressed nation who bring to the fore the common interests of the workers of all the nationalities.

9. In the concrete case of Spain, the Communists will support the right of Such, principally, is the mission of the proletariat outside of Catalonia and Bis-

The Communists of the oppressed nations will denounce the inconsistency of the radical petty bourgeoisie, will fight against local chauvinism and by means of an active and patient propaganda will show that the bourgeoisie is incaption and in its recent open letter to the able of solving the problem of national-

10. The Spanish bourgeoisie, by it weakness, by the ties which bind it economically to the feudal forces of the country by its internal contradictions, is incapable of placing the various peoples into the powerful political unity which the interests of the economic development of the peninsula require. This unity can solid unity. Spanish unity has had as reason, the proletariat cannot be dis- lic and the central power, declared itself be realized only by a historically progressive class, essentially liberating, a unit which, above all the national differences, has a common interest: the proletariat, Only the victory of this peoples, the indisputable recognition of

GREECE

### THE ELECTIONS IN MYTILENE

After the surprising results of the election of Mytilene, where the Communist party, in collaboration with the Opposition, received about 4,700 votes (in the town of Mytilene itself, the C. P. had a majority of the votes, 1.700 out of 3.000), the Greek bourgeois press. without distinction of tendencies, has become frightened over the "threatening Communist danger".

As a matter of fact, it is the first time that the C. P. of Greece, since its foundation in 1920, has concentrated so large a number of votes in these regions. The island of Mytilene was rightly regarded as the unchangeable electoral fief of Ventzelism. Since 1912, the date of the attachment of the island to Greece, the population, composed in large measure of small townsmen and artisans, pressed on all sides by the royalist regime, always gave its votes to Venizelos.

If the economic crisis has affected all of Greece it has not spared Mytilene. The island of a once flourishing commerce, was cruelly struck by the catastrophhe which overcame Asia Minor in 1922, in which it lost an important market. Unemployment developed like everywhere else in Greece. The tax policy practised by the present government only worsened the position of the working masses of the island. It is exactly in these conditions that the election took place.

The C. P. came out of it greatly strengthened in the struggle, especially thanks to the combined efforts of the Opposition and party comrades. As soon as the results were known, the bourgeois press raised a great outery and demanded that exceptional measures be taken to repress Communism. The government was affected by it and threw all "responsibility" for the results obtained by the C. P. upon the royalist and republican opposition.

The latter did not fail to reply. Evidently, the bourgeois parties didn't expect these results at all. The leader of the Royalist opposition, Tsaldaris, in his declarations to the press, taised the immediate need of a close collaboration of all the bourgeois parties to ward off the Communist peril.

They are already speaking of the imminent formation of a bloc of the liberal and popular parties for the coming parliamentary elections of 1932, in order to eliminate the Communists.

The two principal bourgeois parties believe, by a formal collaboration, to be able to put a stop to the growing radicalization of the masses. But the administrative measures will in no way be able to remedy a situation which flows from the anarchy in capitalist production.

The Class Struggle, organ of the Communist Left Opposition (Archio-Marxists), analyzing the causes for the success of the C. P. in Mytilene, attributes this advance to the radicalization of the masses which is taking place here on a grand scale. In reality, this success of the C. P. could not be explained in any other way. The Stalinists have done nothing on the island to justify such a result. The laboring masses (the workers of Mytilene where the Opposition leads various trade unions) and the masses of the poor peasants have turned towards Communism.

Before the Greek Communists and above all the Left Opposition are posed today new tasks in face of the new great struggles. Repairing the errors of the man, there can be no doubt. This is ers must be kept up and organized to Stalinist bureaucracy, the comrades of exactly their line of defense. But of prevent such a betrayal. This can only the Opposition must work with perservbe done by organized activity of the ance in order to gain the working masses who are deserting the bourgeois parties for the revolutionary class organizations. They will succeed. Salonika, July 1931.

-OPPOSITIONIST.

# Split Threatens A.C.W.

(Continued from page 1) of tailors who were betrayed by him in membership are sufficient to condemn the last stoppage. The Orlofsky-Beckercreasingly applied to the steel industry man gang are the fitting scapegoat for the crimes will also count against them betrayal. Indeed, were they not the ones who have sabotaged the strike and even directly scabbed on the tailors? Have forgiven his "mistakes" of the past. they not been in the racketeering ring which held the cutters and expressmen locals in their grip, and through their power in those key poscitions helped the manufacturers to escape from New York and entrench themselves in the out-of- and Beckerman still have the support town shops? Has not Beckerman on his of hundreds of cutters and will proceed record the crushing of the Left wing and the terrible crime of forcing piece work on the tailors?

True, Hillman has not mentioned the latter crimes on the record of his dis carded tools and henchmen, not out of modesty, of course, but out of discretion. 3. Wage-cuts are clearly indicated as He would rather the clothing workers the tactics of the steel corporations in forgot those particular acts of the scountheir struggle to force the burdens of the drels because the tailors know who was

general truth that capitalism extracts surplus value by witholding from labor ment that capitalism at all times and places is essential in creating surplus value, that is, exchange values in excess of the minimum subsistence levels paid Only their active interference can miti-Wages per ton of finished steel have out in wages. In the case of a highly- gate its effects. the value in exchange of the production is actually less than the cost of the labor power which has been expended on them. The only alternative would be to assume that, since surplus value must be produced in every factory every day, the surplus values alleged to be created under present conditions in the steel industry must be "on the shelf", that is, actually existent but not in a form in which the capitalist can realize on them for the present.

> If this were the case, the capitalists would not need to exert any particular pressure on the workers for lower wages: they could simply pay out paper dividends to their stockholders, to be cashed in when the paper profits were realizable "off the shelf".

We do not accept this analysis, but rather conclude that in order to make At this point a correct Marxian and profits the steel companies are about

A. C. W. Hillman will be faced with to eliminate his competitors by compro-

mising the interests of the workers. Hillman publicly admitted that he was ready to compensate Orlofsky with a big sum of money or a high position outside of his local to avoid an open fight. That Hilman is prone to carry out such a policy, there is good reason to fear, judging from his actions in the past. If a split will be averted at the last minute in such a manner, Hillman's betrayal will be most brazen. Hillman is not likely, however, to resort to such a policy in the present situation, with the elements in his favor. The split will be an open one. The workers will pay the price for the fight between the cliques. Are they prepared to do it? Unfortun-

ately, this is not the case.

The Party Policy

The Rank and File Committee has seemingly adopted our slogan of unity and issued a call to the tailors and cutters to unite their ranks in the struggle against the cliques to safeguard the conditions and prevent the return of the corrupt officialdom to the organization. The tailors are warned against Hillman's treachery and Hillman's policies of serving the manufacturers. The policy of the Rank and File Committee is in general a correct one, but so far they have failed to develop activity and give this policy a concrete application, particularly in the Cutters Local. The Rank and File Committee has not advanced any practical program. The Cutters Local is today the scene of the revival of activity being the local directly involved for such unusual steps. The party bur-

policy and a practical program would, Orlofsky-Beckerman? Whom will such give the Left wing an opportunity to a policy benefit? There can be only one develop a broad rank and file movement. explanation. The party policy is to Without these, the Left wing will lose the prestige it has gained in its cour- ion". They are therefore making what ageous struggle against the corruption is tantamount to common cause with and terror of the overthrown officialdom. But of still greater danger to the situation is the attitude of the official party press. Conforming with the spurious theory of company-unionism, the Freiheit fails to see any opportunity for the development of a movement inside the A C. W. The Freiheit has manifested great interest in the situation but in the wrong correct to his own satisfactoin and to direction. All the Freihelt can see in the situation is the mere fight between the cliques, but it is entirely blind to he existence of masses of workers in the A. C. W. Oceans of ink have been spilled on its pages to prove what? That Hillman is more corrupt and therefore a greater danger than the grafters whom in order to bolster his prestige, pacify a rival racket and will undoubtedly seek he removed. That such propaganda is of great value to Orlofsky and Becker- tray them. The sentiment of the workwhat value is the mere exposure of Hillman without a clear program of action to the tailors and cutters? Such abstract propaganda can only impel some backward elements to cling to their removed officials, the Beckerman and Orlofsky gang, but it will not help the masses of tailors and cutters in their struggle against corruption in the A. C. W. The cutters in particular, who are directly involved in this struggle, have been entirely left out of consideration, and the general impression is conveyed that the cutters have been injured by Hillman's removal of their officials, which is obviously untrue. Such a policy only creates confusion.

Why has the Freiheit taken such a culation department. The subscription for stand? Why this "united front" with one year is two dollars, and one dollar

smash the A. C. /W. as a "company un Orlofsky and Beckerman in this fight. The present situation could be utilized by the Left wing to develop a wide movement among the A. C. W. members. The fight in the Cutters Local could be developed into a struggle against corruption in the other locals of the A C. W. The tailors are promised better conditions and more work by Hillman as the outcome of his fight against Or lofsky and Beckerman. Hillman is out to betray them again. The cutters have been given similar promise. Hillman is forced to make these promises by the growing restlessness among the workers, the workers and then continue to beworkers inside the organization, and not by mere abstract propaganda. But this means a change in the whole tactical line of the party and the adoption of correct Leninist tactics. This is too much to expect from the Stalinist bureaucracy-unless the comrades in the ranks get busy. -ALBERT ORLAND. If the number on your wrapper is 82 then your subscription to the Militant

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Morgenstern-Goodman and the I. L. Despite all they could do, the delegates Stalinist sabotage of the defense of our of the Philadelphia branch of the Com- comrades Morgenstern and Goodman, munist League (Opposition) were unable who have been indicted and convicted to get any information concerning the under the notorious Flynn Sedition Act. Philadelphia Amnesty Conference of the At the Scottsboro conference some time

I. L. D. Neither the time nor the place ago, the party bureaucrats were detercould be discovered. Three days after mined to have the conference broken up the conference, the Daily Worker gave rather than allow the two comrades to the first and only report or announce- speak. Both of them were finally rement of it! This is the second time, to moved from the hall by violence. Now it the knowledge of our Philly comrades, appears that rather than have our comthat such a procedure has been followed. rades present, the bureaucrats are ready And there seems to be a "good reason" in the shake-up. The Hillman forces in eaucrats are afraid of the effect that will "quiet" manner that nobody even hears the local rave thrown the membership a be produced on the workers when the about them and the Daily Worker menpromise of an honest election and a delegates of the Left Opposition are tions them only when they are concluded. sential to an understanding of the econ-

to go to the extreme of holding these "united front" conferences in such a taking this promise serioulsy. A clear more, if they raise the question of the Stalinist officials to such lengths!

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