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Labor's Perspective in the Struggle for a Respite

American capitalism is endeavoring to ability of Communist leadership, find its way out of the present crisis. efforts give eloquent testimony to the ex- motion. That is also one of the signs of the party there are no signs whatever

from the general crisis period and to holds possibilities of success in so far what extent it can take advantage of as another upward conjuncture is con the possibilities still open for further cerned. But depending as it does in a expansion on the world market should large measure upon the degree of the not be judged a priori. Moreover, it can- reduction of this level, the attacks upon not be judged at all on the mere basis the workers can be expected to reach of such possibilities without regard to yet a much more acute stage. It is therethe problem of class relations. But for fore logical to assume a tenacious growth purposes of determining the general dir- of resistance in this upward conjuncture, ection and to work out a correct strategy] when the workers find more solid ground it is necessary to examine the economic under their feet, when the threatening and political processes.

experts have not as yet succeded in es- when the demand for Labor power betablishing any concrete evidence of a change in the cycle, there is evidence a- to assume in view of the fact that the plenty of preparations for the shifting of working class has experienced a rude its burden. None of these so far point shaking from its false sense of security, to acceptance of a condition of "stabili- induced by the capitalist "prosperity" zation" on a lower plane for American alone and, not having exhausted its capitalism. This is not yet the general forces in serious defeats, finds itself direction of the economic and political

To be sure, the general declining character of capitalism cannot be overcome. And any respite even for American capitalism will necessarily implies the lowering of the present level of the American workers as well as the reduction of the ration of other capitalist powers in world economy. This process is already in operation in both directions.

The American bourgeoisie is definitely aiming at replacing the bourgeoise of Europe and particularly that of England, primarily, in order to take possession of their markets. But what this implies comrade Trotsky has so aptly pointed out: "It is precisely the international strength of the United States and its unbridled expansion resulting from it, that compels it to include powder magazines throughout the world among the foundation of its structure-the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggles in Old Europe, uprisings of the colnial masses, wars and revolution."

We have witnessed, as ominous signs for the European bourgeoisie, a series of convulsive economic and political crises cupled with direct intervention of American capitalism within the most recent period. Notably so in England and Germany, with France not escaping pressure from both the Amercian colossus which in every instance emerged the victor, further strengthening its hegemony. Behind the apparent international action to assist the financially hard pressed powers, there develops the sharpened antaand keener competition for armaments. There have been rapid, frenzied swings from the rule of social democracy as an instrument of capitalism to that of open reaction, as these powers, each struggling more desperately for their diminishing rations in world economy, attempt to put ever heavier burdens upon their own proletariat and reduce its standard. Unquestionably there has been an immense which express the contradictions of capimore turbulent by America's ruthless just as stagment as ever. advance in Europe.

What are the prospects of development within the United States in this struggle for a respite? While the further ebbs and flows of the economic cycles taboo to discuss in the Y. C. I., namely may take place in strong leaps, seme of the important aspects of the course for the immediate period are already indicated. And most likely, within these leaps the attitude and the actions of the working class will become a factor of far greater decisiveness than during the past decades. The sharper and deeper the changes in the future cycles as well as in the general economic and political conditions, the sharper the actions of the much. The inner life of a typical unit masses will be. Its outcome, however,

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plosive character of the present epoch. of efforts toward an economic revival of other than those belonging to its career To what extent it can gain a respite American capitalism which, of course, clouds of large scale dismissals from While even the "best" of the bourgeois factories and shops seems to disperse and gins to increase. This is so much logical compelled to meet attacks formerly not dreamed of. Unquestionably the prospects of such broad economic struggles also holds prospects of new life to the labor movement in general as well as possi bilities for a rise in the level of class consciousness.

> Growing resistance of the workers at to analyze the crisis, stated: "Its effects ence as against that of the reformists. are broadening and deepening the counter-offensive of the exploited working masses." And further to make sure of no misunderstanding, it proceeded to list tion of the party and its policy becomes the evidences (?) of "the revolutionary upsurge of the working masses of the United States". How equally false were its strategical conclusions for the "conquests of the streets".

Yet, in this coming period of growstruggles, the workers, despite the false tions of its leadership? This, of course, analysis and conclusions of the leader- is what all the capitalist agents within ship, will move at an accelerated tempo toward the Communist party. And while formists and with them, although in a the impact of the struggle may for a different manner, the Right wing leaders ership. Moreover, at each decisive turn, favorable objective situation. A false gthening of our forces. of changes of objective conditions, the strategy running counter to the actual

With ever sharper turns and jerks depends decisively upon the extent and questions of strategy will again be posed developments of the working class move in full force-more so at each particular ment innicts a heavy punishment. And The process toward the reduction of mistake and failure recorded. And from The convulsions already recorded by its the working class level is definitely in the Centrist bureaucracy now in control

of false concepts and stupid blunders.

Unfortunately, however, the field for mass leadership is not left open exclusively for the Communists. There are yet the social reformists of various types and appearances to be taken into account While in certain advanced European capitalist countries we witness many strong manifestations of disintegration of the social democracy, that process has not yet reached such a point here. To what extent the workers here will pass a period of reformist illusions depends largely upon the objective developments and the ability of the Communists. It is therefore no accident that in recent strike struggles, as in the mine fields and in Paterson, where the party leadership failed in its greatest opportunities. the penalty became a strengthening of social reformist influence. It was to be expected that such would first be reflected in the trade union field and in economic struggles of resistance. But it is for the future. Particularly in the first zig-zags stages of masses moving Leftward, the most effective "Left" coverings, but when the beginning of this crisis or during its the masses make more definite demands, first rapid progress downward could not when the tendencies to go beyond the be expected. That was the period of bounds of reform appear and assume mass dismissals from the factories with revolutionary implications, they change the prosperity illusions still strongly im- their tune. It is precisely in this situabedded. How false was the party lead- tion, in these very first beginnings of ership's analysis when, already prior to such manifestations, that the party leadthe crisis, it proclaimed the "mass radic-| ership has shown itself utterly incapable it will be equally as unprepared when the alization" of the workers and in its of utilizing the united front policy which seventh convention thesis, in attempting would strengthen the Communist influ-

It can therefore not be too often asserted that with each step of development of present objective conditions, the posiof ever greater importance. Commensurate with this grows the importance of the role and function of the Left Communist Opposition. Has the party spent itself in its "Third Period" assaults upon a "revolutionary upsurge", existing resistance and sharpened economic ing only in the sphere of false evalualabor's ranks as well as the social re-

all the protestations of the Centrist leadership of great disproportion between the party's numerical weakness and its large ideological influence to the contrary notwithstanding, the workers have in many respects, since the early part of the crisis, cast an adverse vote in regards to the party. They have voted by their absence from its mass organizations, by their decreasing response to calls for demonstrations; their vote became decisively adverse in the mine fields and in Paterson after the party leadership's failur to become the proponents of a united front struggle.

Forced by the pressure of objective developments and by pressure of our correct criticism and intervention, the Centrist party leadership has found itself compelled to relinquish its "Third Period" analysis and conclusions. Has it come to a position more in accord with the actual needs of the mass movement? Has it come to a correct understanding of the Lenin policy of united front, which in this developing period will become so particularly essential? There is no such evidence. But there is also a portent of serious consequences evidence of the continuation of the of the past now turning toward the Right. The serious reformists also move Leftward, hoping effects of its adventurist position compel to lead them. They bring forward their it to turn in the opposite direction. This is also expressed first in the trade union field. Above all, the Centrist leadership stifles the party's ideological and political life; its continued tip-tilted position, in the opposite of the objective curves, keeps it from rapidly advancing the working class ideological level in a revolutionary direction. Because of this, masses move Leftward.

However, there will be new decisive jerks and turns also in the working class movement in the immediate future, perhaps of a convulsive character. This is clearly indicated in present perspectives, and at such decisive instances the questions of strategy will be posed in a forceful manner.

This imposes heavy obligations upon the Left Opposition. Our strength must first of all become the one of correct Marxian evaluations and conclusions. There will be plenty of decisive issues and situations and in all fustances our direction must be the one of all efforts toward the restoration of the party to its revlutionary path. It is our party, and this is our task. A concentration on time, as far as the masses are concerned, of the Lovestone camp would like to the decisive issues must first of all be relegate the questions of strategy to the have us believe. For us, however, it is our object, coupled with the most direct backward there will nevertheless be a pertinent to recognize the weakness of intervention. For that we still require growth of the problems of correct lead- the party's position despite the growing an immeasurable development and stren-

-ARNE SWABECK.

How the Life of the Y. C. L. Is Strangled

sharpening in existing class relations. omaly we have in the Y. C. L., namely plan" is something like that. The Dis-The objective situation is becoming in- a lot of "activity" but no results, nay trict E. C. (always from above, you see) of 1. W. U. and roung Decembers are the creasingly revolutionary. These results, even going backward. Time and again decides upon a plan for the District say excusave element represented. The District say we have "discussions" on what is wrong 150 members. The number itself is trict will property give neal for neglecttalism in general, are made so much with the Y. C. L. and as yet we are small, but-here is the rub-the em- ing 1. 1. D. work, not understanding that

The "Inner Life"

The discussion article of comrade G. Ray on "Education and Young Communists" drives home a point which is even the exact conception of what really the Y. C. L. should be. It is almost axiomatic that the Y. C. L. should train Communists and not be a Junior Communist Party as it is. At present we have no "inner life" nor any life for that matter. Gone into oblivion are the beginners' classes, study circles. Gone are wall papers, pictorials, etc., as "sheer nonsenses" although it is not said as consists of in a discussion at regular intervals on our tasks. One wonders why not read last year's or last month's speech, since they are so identical. A typical unit meeting lasts for several hours with tedious reports and bickerings on this and that failure. There is no enthusiasm at the meeting. The comrades yawn and clamor for adjournment At the present time the Y. C. L. "func-

.......... The Real Situation in Russia

tions" on a "three months' plan" basis.

By LEON TROTSKY

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on method of getting and most impor- club work should be all year round. tant keeping these new members. But no "not in this country". The D. E. C. activity, "full of sound and fury, signgives out the quotas "get so many from mying nothing", pervades. The members on the race instincts of the white workthe unit. The unit will of course accept feats? It is certainly not the fault of this lifeless planning, for, let it reject the young workers but that of our wrong the plan and form a new one and the approach in method and tactics. District will promptly reject it on the ground that it is not "concrete enough" The result of such a mechanical plan is that after a few meetings where mere reference was made to the plan, it is forgotten and plans for a new plan are being hatched.

When such a disastrous policy is applied to the so-called "mass work" it plays havoc and certainly injures our work.

Paradoxical as it may sound, as a result of 'planned activity' we spread whenever an opportunity occurs. Is there our activities in every possible direcany wonder then, that every unit can tion (the "third period", you know), tell a tale full of woes about bow it re- starting something here, something there, cruited such a number of real "Amer- and abidoning it just as quickly for a ican Young Workers" who vanished af | new field of concentrations. This charter two or three- meetings. It would acteristic prevails in every phase of our have been a miracle if they stayed there work. Just to take a few examples at listening to boring reports, and bureau- random, I want to describe how a Y. cratic orders. The unit meeting resounds C. L. unit does factory work. The unit with the echo of "you must do this "discovers" a "good factory" and like tonight, that tomorrow night, etc. No a bolt from a clear sky "shock brigades" provision whatever for a class or a study start "storming" the factory with Young Company. circle. The comrades finding themselves, Workers, Labor Unity leaflets of every overwhelmed with work grumble until description, etc. Contacts are made and out they go voluntarily or involuntarily. our league comrades are jubiliant, for the rank and filer expects results after his hard work. The contacts are called Were the results not so tragic in under- to a meeting. The young workers come mining the influence of the Y. C. L., it enthused thinking that work will be done but no policy is presented or if it is, it is as clear as mud. The workers get disappointed and after a few meetings they leave us for good. The unit then gets another factory with exactly the same process being repeated. Colonizing comrades in factories and then selecting one for work, seems to be relegated for the easier and more boisterous way of "storming". Thus, in many a section of New York the Y. C. L. recorded gains and even organized shop organization committees; now they are

> all gone. In our Negro work we see Young Liberators formed and disbanded. Scottsboro block committees, with the workers enthusiastic, but after a while we "cool off" and leave it for "better and more urgent work".

Hullabaloo and Noise

These cases can be multiplied manyfold. Conferences for Y. I. D. are called.

Somehow many a sincere League mem-, would be indeed a very comical specta-, preparations. But lo! the "united front ber begins to ponder over the curious an- cle. The life history of a "three months' conterences" are out snagows of conferphasis should be not on numbers but it is their lauk by not explaining what

Thus, in every pause of our work this here, so many from there" and, presto! get asscouraged, phiegmatic, carrying on The Unit Executive concretizes it by their work in a forced manner. Really deciding upon the places to concentrate, a picture not inspiring to outside young Everything is decided upon and the plan workers. The question for every Y. C. L. with nothing but figures is presented to member to ask is why these endless de-

-A LEAGUE MEMBER.

Wage Cut in Steel

(Continues from Pafe 1) press great regret and protound disappointment" (Mattnew Woll)!

Organized the right!

"It is inconceivable that the workers Will take this blow without resistance," adus Woll, and Sullivan "nopes it Will not tenu to stranulate the growth of radicansm". It is not hard to agree with won this tune. It is just us easy to say! that heither won nor any of his cromes Will Organize this resistence, it will have to be done by those numbereds of thousands of steel workers who showed their mettre in the magnincent steel strike of 1919 which was carried out in spate of the sabouage of Gompers and

That a national steel strike is the only possible answer to the wage cut announcement, is indisputable. But such a step would be prejudiced irremediably if it were precipitated artificially, without a previous organization of the necessary pre-requisites for it. (What the situation demands more than ever is a carefully conceived and executed fight against the steel manufatcurers, organized on a united front basis. Should the official Communist party pursue, in this situation, the narrow, sectarian, isolationist course it adopted in the recent miners strike, the results in the steel industry would be even more disastrous. It is the height of idiocy to proceed from the idea that the Communists acn have nothing to do with anybody who does not agree entirely with everything the Stalinist leadership puts forth as gospel truth.

The militancy of the steel workers, nobody can dispute. They proved that once and for all time in 1919. It is necessary to crystallize the bitterness of the workers, organize it carefully, direct it into struggle against the wage-slashers and their agents, and conduct a struggle which has every prospet of arousing Much hullaboo and noise accompany the the whole working class of the country to a realization of its task in the crisis.

Mobilizing the Labor United Front

gle will thereby become more effective and strike its mark.

The burning need of the hour, in the face of the torrentous onslaught of the old, experienced and crafty bourgeoisie, is the hermetic unity of the working class, which has yet to be achieved. Equally important is the ever watchful alertness of the party of the class, of the Communists, in directing the forces of the defensive.

Double Responsibility

Incomprehension of the perspectives facing the working class, a false analysis of the situation, failure to grasp the tasks involved, faulty preparations, are bound to prove costly not only to the Communist leaders of the proletariat, but to the entire working class as a whole. This double responsibility staring us in the face, these circumstances that constantly keep every revolutionist on edge today, alone force the Left Opposition to stress before the membership of the Communist party, one hundred fold the importance of the Leninist united front tactic, the necessity of returning to the principles of the International of Lenin and of Trotsky, and to increase our criticism of the Centrist bureaucrats blindly following the Stalinist apparatus, with all the greater impetus.

A working class divided, is an easy prey in the claws of the capitalist vultures. The fighting unity of the workars spells their end. The struggle for the conciliation of the backward laboring masses with their revolutionary vanguard is a struggle on many fronts.

Aside from the necessity of uniting the reformist with the revolutionary problems involved in constituting the workers' front. We shall deal here with only two aspects of the question of unity.

The bosses aim at breaking up the ranks of the proletariat is being carried on under various forms. One of the most vicious forms is that of pitting the white deep and serious is the turn of the Spanagainst the black workers. How they ish Stalinists, is another question. Morego about this is most easily demonstrated by a few Unemployment statistics. The siderable degree upon our policy. But Monthly Labor Review of the U. S. De- at any rate, the very fate of the turn partment of Labor quotes the following is a direct fruit of the criticism of the from a report on an investigation made Left Opposition . . . Only the faction by the Urban League:

"Wherever figures were given, the perentage of the unemployed among the Negroes exceeded their percentage of the total population and in some cases, the disproportion was very marked. Thus, in Baltimore they formed 17 per cent. of the Spanish Stalinists? On this

38%, etc.

ones to be fired when personnel is reduced, but very often they are replaced by white labor. The boss, by playing ers, in this manner tries to set up a barrier between white and black, from which he alone ultimately gains. Now the Negroes make up about 10 percent of the entire population of the United States. In very many industries, their percentage is even far weightier. In resisting the attacks of the bosses, who live from the labor of the white and the black workers alike, the inclusion of the Negro toilers in the ranks of the strug- has proclaimed a series of steps directed gle is indispensable. The unity of Negro towards the policy of the Bolshevik-Lenso much to make the Negro worker race the deeper into the confusion of opporconscious, which all the blabber of the tunism and petty bourgeois nationalism. Stalinists about "national minority" and The official party, heretofore, has done the Negro himself as well as before the ceptionally favorable possibility to diswhite workers. That is the only way of pel all misunderstanding. . . . achieving the solidarity of the white and | The Left Opposition should subject the the black workers against the capital- turn of the Spanish Central Committee ist enemy. All the frame-ups, all the to a serious analysis-without naive lynchings, all the massacres of Negro credulity, but also without sectarian preworkers in the street must be explained judices. Whatever is conquered by us and combatted from this angle. The fight should be clearly stated by us and taken against Negro persecution and for the into consideration. Where differences reunity of the white and the Negro work- main, they should be characterized withers can only be carried on under the out any softness and embellishment. banner of the class struggle.

Foreign-Born Workers

ers against themselves is the campaign Left Opposition, to the party, to the to deport foreign born workers. The la- Spanish revolution. bor faker Doak as secretary of Labor July 30, 1931 in the Hoover cabinet, announces 20,000 deportations of foreign born workers within the period of a few short months and hopes thereby to arouse the basest

Every day brings new indications of national instincts of the native workers. well prepared attacks against the work- When the native born worker considers, ing class by the leaders of American however, that the percentage of foreign capital, by the socalled "captains of in- born labor in the United States amounts dustry". If attention is given to the to about 15 per cent of the entire indevelopment of this campaign of attacks, dustrial population and more, it becomes the line of boss strategy, will become as clear to him that this whole business clear as daylight before all workers, and of deportations is merely a reactionary the organization of their defensive strug- ruse. Here are a few figures of the percentages of foreign born is different industries:

Iron and Steel manufacturing Bituminous coal mining Woolen and Worsted m'f'r'g Cotton goods Cfothing

The question of the unity of native and foreign born labor, is therefore, when we remember that foreign born labor amounts to about 9,000,000 workers in good, round numbers, a question of vital importance in the resistance of the American working class to the onslaught of capital. These hard figures are convincing enough to drive out primitive prejudices from the minds of the Amelican worker. They mean: Hanging together or hanging alone. .When the American worker understands this, he will undoubtedly raise his voice against the system of deportation, the cruelty and barbarism of which is enough to even make the conservative bourgeois intellectuals on the Wickersham Commission filled with disgust.

SAM GORDON.

A Letter About the Spanish Revolution

According to the information of comrade N., the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party has made a decisive turn in its policy. . . .

From the words of comrade N., it follows that the Spanish Central Committee, which formally retaining the sloworkers, there are a good many other gan of the "democratic dictatorship". changes its policy decisively on two points: first, it takes the road of struggle for democratic slogans; second, it is ready to apply the policy of the united front.

We have here a clear and an indubitable victory of the Left Opposition. How over, any answer to it depends to a conof the Left Opposition is a progressive force within Communism . . . Upon its successes depend the successes of Communism, and particularly the successes of the Spanish revolution.

But how shall we react to the turn

of the population and 31.5% of the un- score, we already have a serious experiemployed; in Charleston, S. C. 49% of ence, true, primarily an experience in the population and 70% of the unemploy- mistakes. When the French Stalinists, ed in Chicago, 4% of the population and to a considerable degree under the influ-16% of the unemployed, in Philadelphia, ence of our criticism, decided to retrent 7% and 25%, in Pittsburgh 8% and from the fantastic policy of the "third period", the old leadership of the Ligue Not only are Negro workers the first declared in advance that adventurism is being replaced by opportunism and that the Left Opposition should go its way as if nothing had happened. At the time, we criticized this formalistic and lifeless policy, which had as ias consequence the fact that the French Ligue missed a situation favorable to the highest degree for approaching the proletarian core of the party. Let us hope that this mis-

take will not be repeated in Spain. In a brief letter, comrade N. underlines two facts, having an exceptionally important significance for the policy of the Spanish Left for the present period: the official party has taken, or at any rate, and white workers is a matter of do or inists; on the contrary, the leadership die. The task of the Communists is not of the Catalonian Federation sinks all "self-determination" drives at, but much everything to identify the Left Opposirather to expose the class character of tion with the blunders of Maurin. At the oppression against the Negro before the present time, we are offered an ex-

The faster and the more decisively the Left Oppositin reacts to the turn in the direction of an approach to the party, Another method of dividing the work- the more advantageous it will be to the -LEON TROTSKY.

. . . .

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