

Great Britain and the U. S. at Ottawa

The Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa, Canada, for the past few weeks is of the deepest significance. Gathered here are the representatives of the domains comprising the British Empire. The ostensible purpose of the gathering is to unite in closer bond the King's "minions". But as the conference progresses its object becomes clearer and all the more decisive. It is necessary to seek the driving force of the conference and for this we will divert for a moment from the actual proceedings.

The post-war period witnessed profound changes in the world economic and political situation. Upon the debris of the war arose unforeseen a new power, fresh and vigorous, unexhausted by the conflict. The United States of America became transformed then from a debtor into a creditor nation to whom the entire capitalist world is today indebted. In the course of a few years she dominated the European scene and opened war upon the world markets. Today America is the dominant world power.

America's Rise to Power

American capitalism, through her own enormous resources, without experiencing the long winding road from feudalism to capitalism but building fresh upon a capitalist structure, her industries the most modern in the world, her technique of the highest, drove ahead to the top-most pinnacle of capitalist development. She displaced England as the financial baron of the world. In the field of militarism she has also surpassed the Empire. World politics is now dominated by the United States. And most important of all, in the field of foreign trade she has also displaced Great Britain. It is only necessary to cite the relative changes in the world market to understand fully what this displacement has meant. Prior to the World War the United States had 12% of the world export trade and Great Britain 18%. Toward the close of the past decade the figure was reversed with America in England's place and England where America once stood.

Great Britain has not kept pace with this development of America. Her industrial technique for years remained unchanged. 19th century England could not keep abreast of the industrial apparatus of Uncle Sam. Her markets were grasped from her. Even her own dominions cast loving eyes to the United States. America invaded her South American markets seizing them one by one. Europe was already under the heel of Wall Street. In Asia the dollar penetrated deeply, ripping big holes in the British trade structure. And as has already been cited, in her dominions this same process took place.

It must be borne in mind, that the tremendous rise of American capitalism comes at a time when world capitalism is in decline. The hegemony of the United States exists at the expense of the rest of the world. Only by crushing Europe and putting her on rations has she been able to dominate there. By carrying on an intense assault upon the world market she was able to replace England. And there the conflict rages. The United States, seeks to perpetuate itself in power on the basis of domination of the world markets, made all the more necessary through her huge productive apparatus and by the contraction of the home market. England stands ready to defend her fortresses of world trade. Jarred and groggy she cannot stand many more steady blows.

Britain's Demands

The stage is set; the play goes on. Great Britain is seeking closer ties with the dominions. The industrialization of the dominions brought them in constant conflict with the mother country. They

The Struggle Between the Two Imperialisms

challenged the seniority rights of England. To avoid open rifts, the Imperial Conference in 1926 established and recognized full equality of the dominions. That conference diminished their subordination to Great Britain. But it hardly solved anything. While politically holding the Empire together, it could not and did not solve the hard economic problems. They exist today. Represented by Stanley Baldwin, Britain demands that the dominions establish greater trade with the Empire. It demands that the dominions give preference to British-made goods for which in turn preference will be given them. Britain will charge no duties on dominion goods if the dominions will likewise remove all tariffs on British goods. They plan to solve the crisis in that manner. But more than that the Imperial Economic conference is a direct challenge to the United States.

To establish a balance of trade within the Empire means to strike a blow against American capitalism. At present Canada is principally involved. The same condition however exists in the other dominions and in discussing Canada we speak for the general trends elsewhere. Of foreign capital in Canada, the share of Great Britain fell from 77% to 39% while that of the United States rose from 16% to 57%. The U. S. finds an outlet market here for 40% of her exports. On the reverse side of the picture 98% of Canadian imports come from the United States, as against 15.2% from Great Britain. Of 100 principle import items in 1930, Canada was supplied in the following ratio: The United States 79%, Great Britain 14%, and the rest of the world 7%. The following table of Canadian imports supplied by the United States is of extreme importance because of the key character of the industries:

Ratio of imports supplied by the United States to Canada in 1930:

91%	Electrical products
90%	Steel and Iron.
90%	Machinery.
99%	Automobile parts.
98%	Automobiles.
90%	Coal.
88%	Farm implements
78%	Crude petroleum
98%	Gasoline.
99%	Raw cotton.

Great Britain exceeded only in textiles. In money values the relative import trade in 1930 was as follows:

Total Imports:	\$1,248,273,532
United States	\$847,442,037
Great Britain	\$189,179,738
Dominions	\$63,523,066
Foreign	\$148,127,841

In addition it must be stated that of Canadian exports, 45% went to the United States. The aims of the conference become clear now. The conference aims at a general diminution of American trade within the Empire so as to allow for a general increase of Great Britain's trade as one of the steps leading out of her severe crisis. The steps already taken to curb American products such as steel, machinery, electric will fall however from reaching their mark. There are 1400 branch factories of American concerns in Canada. Any encroachments upon American trade will result in increased production of the Canadian plants to offset such restrictions as result from the conference. Almost the entire electrical industry in Canada is dominated or influenced by the United States. As soon as the announcement was made of an increase in the steel

trade between Canada and Great Britain, which would necessarily result in a fall of American steel trade, the U. S. Steel Corporation declared its intention of expanding its Canadian mills at Ojibwa. Similarly this would take place with the automobile industry, electrical supplies and machinery.

Effects of Crisis

Thus Britain's attempt to offset American trade in the dominions will be met with a powerful opposition. The crisis has had terrific effects on both nations. While America is adjusting herself for a big drive, Great Britain has already girded itself for battle. She is driving her first blow through the Empire. In the midst of the present crisis Canadian imports declined 27%. In this general decline American imports receded to 64.5% while that of Great Britain rose to 16.5%. The figures themselves while expressing the general effects of the crisis show the efforts of Britain to pull itself up by its bootstraps while the United States is acutely involved in the worst crisis of her history.

The loss of the immense Canadian market comprising 40% of American exports would indeed be a severe blow to the United States. While heretofore foreign markets absorbed only 10% of the surplus production in the United States, the present crisis has established this all-important fact: Imperialist America will open a planned and concerted drive upon the foreign markets of an immense character reinforced by the greatest military activity heretofore witnessed. There is no other way out for her. Her huge industrial apparatus which during the "prosperity days" functioned at only 60% of capacity, needs a far greater outlet than the shrinking home market. The absorption of surplus production must be sought elsewhere. It can find no place except in the field of foreign trade. The world markets continuing in a state of contraction are already divided. The United States arrived on the scene late: the division of the earth had already taken place. She must now win these from the other imperialist powers. And foremost of these is England.

In Europe she has already replaced her to a vast extent. She is dominant in Britain's own dominions. In South America the trend is toward the United States. During the years 1913-27, the U. S. share of South American imports showed an increase from 24% to 39%, while that of Great Britain declined from 25% to 16%. In the rest of the world the same trend. At the expense of Great Britain the United States has gained hegemony. To maintain this it will be necessary for her to expand even more. But further expansion can come only in continued struggle with Great Britain. That involves a deep conflict. It has been raging for almost a decade. It will become more tense now. The Imperial Economic Conference is an example of this fierce antagonism. Here lies its significance.

To transform this into the language of politics is the task of the Communists. Even today the Stalinized Communist International, warped by its nationalist orientation, fails to grasp and fully understand the changes in post-war capitalism. In 1923 L. D. Trotsky, already established this fundamental change. In his brochure *Europe and America*, a few years later, he explained these new factors, tracing the decline of Great Britain's power and its replacement by the United States. He pointed out that this significant change demanded the application of a policy on the part of the Communists concentrating specifically and orientating around this new situation. Had this been understood, it would perhaps in part have prevented such a mis-

erable debacle in recent Comintern history as we have seen.

The dollar displaces the pound. America versus Britain. That is the tune of the world struggle. And therein lies the importance of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa. —ALBERT GLOTZER.

The Vets in Washington

(Continued from page 1)

noon, of the fighting with the Hoover army on Pennsylvania Ave., they started in a body to the scene of trouble. But they were cut off when the bridge over the Potomac was raised.

But if they were impatient to meet their enemy, the enemy was still more impatient to meet them.

At 11 P. M. cavalry and infantry, a thousand strong, hove into sight. Several army plumes zoomed above the camp. In the camp, the women and children had already "retired"; the vets themselves were "turning in", when Federal planes and soldiers came to disturb their peace. It took them by surprise. It was a day of surprises.

Whistles were blown as an alarm. "Victorious" officers ordered immediate eviction from Government property. The vets didn't move fast enough. They were baptized with a shower of gas bombs. The sweet-smelling, smarting, blinding gas put the vets on the move. Women and children ran screaming and weeping: the men followed cursing.

"Victorious" General MacArthur was weeping—from the gas. The whole field was covered with gas fumes. Soldiers lit torches and were applying them to the shafts.

The next morning you could see a charred and ashy field, filled with twisted and crushed-in sheets of tin, burnt-down autos, broken, soot-black bottles of glass, broken, burned beds, sooty pots, pans, black heaps of tin cans, unburned heaps of stinking garbage, several half-burned dolls and even a plaster bust of Geo. Washington, "Father of his country", lying in the ashes with his nose, lips and chin knocked off.

The work was done against defenseless half-starved workers in the name of law and order, in the name of private property, so that Hoover and the bosses could continue their work of receiving "fair and legitimate return on their money."

Some "Strange" Facts

The work was done. But there were strange facts which cannot be overlooked.

Why could not the police, of whom there are 1400 in Washington, cope with the situation? Was there a shortage of tear gas bombs for them?

It is a fact that of the 1400 policemen, 1200 are ex-servicemen. They did not care for the dirty work. They passed the buck.

Not only the police. About 600 sailors were ordered to be ready for duty. They replied that they were sea fighters; if the authorities were to get a warship alongside of the camp, (which was out of the question), they would carry out the orders. In this way they passed the buck.

The sentiment of the marines at Quantico was similar.

One more thing. Why were the troops ordered to the main camp at night? Here it is a question of psychology. It was feared that if the vets and soldiers met in the daytime face to face, eye to eye, there might result a serious breach of discipline.

Here we see indications of the coming breach in the strongholds of the bourgeoisie. Hoover and the bosses have something to be uneasy about! —JERDICK.

Opposition Delegates for United Front at Party's Anti-Injunction Conference

The Anti-Injunction Conference called by the Provisional Committee of which John Steuben is secretary (appointed), held its first meeting at the Manhattan Lyceum, July 28. The new "turn" in the party's method of approaching the masses was much in evidence. Neither the Communist party nor the Young Communist League sent a single delegate to the conference! This was indeed to be a broad conference including particularly A. F. of L. locals and general working class organizations. Yes, the chairman (appointed) introduced the main reporter as BROTHER STEUBEN. All through the conference it was "fellow workers and friends", "brother so and so" and "I tell you, friends and fellow workers". A most disgusting and nauseating spectacle of attempts to fool oneself into believing that this was actually a mass conference.

The comrades of the N. Y. Branch of the Communist League, Saul and Weber, and Ruth Cannon and Herbert Capelis of the Spartacus Youth Club attended the Conference as delegates. They were unable to get the floor and make concrete proposals of work such as (1) immediate printing of 50,000 leaflets to be distributed by the organizations represented; (2) immediate sending of speakers to trade unions, political and fraternal organizations in a real attempt to 'broaden the conference through the united front tactic; (3) each organization to send delegates to assist the strikers on the picket line; (4) each organization to hold at least one open air meeting per week and popularize the fight against the injunction.

The meeting and discussion turned out to be, as usual, organized beforehand. The chairman seemed to know every speaker, even motioning to them individually to come to the fore as he called their names. When the report of the Credentials Comm. (appointed) came in, it was announced that there were 267 delegates representing 12 A. F. of L. locals, numerous trade unions and fraternal and mass organizations. All the organizations were read off, a long list of them; but when it came to reading the list of thirty "mass" organizations the reporter said it was too long and unnecessary. In this way they spared themselves the embarrassment of announcing that the Communist League (Left Opposition) and the Spartacus Youth Club had their delegates and were ready to support the conference with all the means at their disposal.

Then came the election of a Permanent Committee to build the Conference. To "facilitate" matters, the Provisional Comm. already had its list of thirty recommendations to compose the Permanent Comm. The chairman asked for additional nominees from the floor, and comrade Weber and Capelis were nominated. A vote was taken and many hands went up for their being added to the committee. Steuben, somewhat nonplused at this showing, took the floor and said this would invalidate the committee of thirty, which was already proposed and elected. Comrades from the floor objected and pointed out that this merely meant adding two.

Although we are not on the official committee, the Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club intend to support fully the activities of the Conference. The proposals enumerated above will be carried out and plans are already under way. The club will send as many members as possible down to the picket line and there demonstrate our solidarity with the striking workers. We hope the near future will witness a real unity of our forces with the fighting Left wing workers and the advanced revolutionary

workers of the party and its auxiliary organizations. —HERBERT CAPELIS.

League Manifesto on the German Crisis

(Continued from page 1) 4 position have brought positive results. In the province of Berlin-Brandenburg, the Committee of the C. P. G. after months of pressure from the ranks, made offers of united front demonstrations and action to the leadership, the Social Democratic Party there. The yellow socialists refused to accept the offers. The result was a tremendous increase of the Communist vote in Berlin-Brandenburg at the Reichstag elections of July 31.

Now is not the time to gloat over election gains. The struggle is proceeding in the streets. The lessons of Berlin-Brandenburg show the absolute correctness of the Left Opposition's demands. The Communists must repeatedly and constantly put the social democratic leaders on the carpet. They must push them to the wall on every available occasion. Their masks must be torn from their faces at every new step! The Communist Party of Germany must concentrate all its attention upon this task, it must speak out loudly in correction of the past mistakes. It must gain the full confidence of the workers by a frank and open change in policy from the top to the bottom. That is the way to establish the fighting united front class for revolutionary action.

The silence of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International, of the American party must be broken. Workers, revolutionists, bombard your Communist party and revolutionary organizations with demands that the Comintern speak out, that the Soviet leadership give its message in this hour of need to the working class of the world that the Communist Party of Germany act decisively!

Demand the complete and open adoption of the Leninist United Front! Demand that the Communist Party of Germany put the reformist leaders to the test in action! The day of big battles is right at hand.

United working class action of the Communist and social democratic organizations must be posed in an international manner: a most intimate and concrete collaboration between the German working class and the U. S. S. R.

Upon such a basis the working class of the world will be rallied against reaction. Unity in action will make the workers' front invincible. There is the way to defeat Fascism. There lies the road to proletarian victory.

Workers, show your international solidarity! Long live the World Revolution!

Communist League of America (Section of the International Left Opposition) NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

After the German Elections

(Continued from page 1) 4 still lies ahead of us.

The Fascist bands are murdering workers, revolutionists in the streets of Germany. Raids are taking place on the Communist headquarters in town and hamlet. The leading proletarian militants are massacred by Hitler's Brown Shirt assassins (remember Koenigsberg!). The white terror is in full swing. From his Munich citadel, the German Mussolini is planning the march on Berlin.

The economic crisis tears on unabated. The ranks of the unemployed are still swelling. The productive apparatus of German capitalism is choking in its own vise. Utter subjugation of the wage slaves—that is the slogan of the German bourgeoisie. That is why capitalism in Germany depends for its life on the daggers of Fascism, directed against the German proletariat.

Fascist Demands

The Fascists are demanding the suppression of the Communist party already. Von Schleicher, the de facto dictator of the Reich, the man who controls its military, is reaching out a hand to his Fascist friends, to help them into power. Civil war, war against the working class is on already. Fascism in power can and will legalize it, unfurl it in full and extend it to the borders of the Soviet Union with the aid of the world imperialists.

The Hitlerite coup d'Etat—the form, whether "legal" or open, is of secondary importance—is the threat of the hour. The establishment of the fighting unity of the German proletariat is a question of do or die. United working class action against Fascism can and must be achieved. The task of achieving it rests upon the shoulders of the German Communist Party alone.

The lesson of Berlin-Brandenburg forbodes success for the Communists in the application of the Leninist united front tactic. The Leninist tactic must be carried out in full. Not partially, not in isolated cases, but all over and everywhere. Not only in Berlin-Brandenburg, but on a national scale. Not once, but at every step and stage. The social democratic betrayers only last week urged "order and discipline" upon their followers, urged them to "concentrate upon the elections". The elections have solved nothing for the workers and they know it. The influence of social democracy in the German working class has been shaken as never before. For the workers realize that determined class action, militant and forceful, is the demand of the hour. —S. G.

Nine Years of Struggle of the Left Opposition

The Burning Questions of Bonapartism and Thermidor

History is rich in analogy and analogy is rich in instruction. The events of the day have their roots in the events of yesterday and the one can best be understood by understanding the other and making comparisons. And while events do not repeat themselves in the same manner, but under new conditions and with new social forces and people working to produce them, it is nevertheless true that only by knowing how to utilize the method of analogy can the processes of historical development be best understood.

In utilizing this method, one must of course know not only its great scope but also its limits. That it is sometimes abused is an argument only against the abuse of it. If it is rejected out of hand, then history has only the most narrowly academic significance. Every event must then be approached as if it were entirely unique, entirely dissimilar from anything that ever went before it, entirely disconnected from our yesterday, approached as if we were blind men groping for something without the benefit of the light thrown upon out of the past. Not only does such an approach make today unnecessarily difficult to understand, but it renders impossible an analysis of what tomorrow will bring.

Two Great Revolutions

An analogy, invaluable for an understanding of the powerful forces at work in the Soviet Union, is offered us when the Russian revolution is compared to the great French revolution of the eighteenth century. It is true that we live in a different epoch, that the Russian revolution is proletarian, that it has at its disposal far more vigorous and substantial forces to maintain its victory to the end than did the revolution of 1793-1794. But history, observed Lenin, shows degenerations of all sorts, and

there is no mystic, automatic guarantee that the Russian revolution cannot meet with the same tragic defeat that was suffered by the Jacobins in France. To proclaim such a religious doctrine, which is foreign to the objective Marxist spirit, is in reality to drug the revolution into a spirit of false security and to facilitate the operation of the forces inimical to its preservation.

The Ninth of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) was the day on which revolutionary Jacobins, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Couthon, Lebas—"the Bolsheviks of the French revolution"—were overthrown by a combination of the Right wing Jacobins, the vacillators and the royalist reaction. The guillotine which sent the 21 Jacobin intransigents to their death the next morning amid the insubling cries of the counter-revolutionary mob, thenceforth bit no longer into the reaction. On the contrary, the epoch of the Thermidorian Reaction was opened up, climaxed five and a half years later by the triumphant ascension to power of Bonapartism, the Eighteenth Brumaire of the ex-sansculotte, Napoleon.

The whole Thermidorian epoch is one of such sterility, such degeneration, such shame, that it is generally skipped over by historians, both revolutionary and conservative. Michelet as well as Kropotkin bring their histories of the revolution to an end with the Ninth of Thermidor. Yet this epoch of degradation is replete with illuminating lessons.

Thermidor is not the counter-revolution as it is ordinarily referred to—the naked, open counter-revolution of Napoleon, of Chiang Kai-Shek, of Kornilov. The Thermidorian transference of power to another class was accomplished by Jacobins, in the name of "true" Jacobinism, of the true revolution, presumably to save the revolution from its foes,

and banished, as "counter-revolutionists". Could an analogy be more startling? In a report he made on the Convention which condemned the Left wing Jacobins, Brival, one of the Right wingers, said:

"The intriguers, the counter-revolutionists who covered themselves with the toga of patriotism, sought to destroy liberty, the Convention has decided to put them under arrest; these representatives are Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just, Lebas, Robespierre the Younger." Do not all these one hundred and fifty year-old words and acts have an astounding modern ring? The "counter-revolutionists" the "few individuals", the "malevolent aristocrats", the "royalist agents" (in those days they were the "agents of Pitt" just as they are today the "agents of Chamberlain")—do these designations require much change to become identical with the slanders directed against the Left Opposition today?

Reasons for Thermidor

The Thermidorian reaction in France was made possible by a degeneration and corruption of the revolutionary party of that time—the Jacobin clubs. It was facilitated by the yearning for "peace and tranquility" of certain sections of the people and above all the politicians, wearied of revolutionary struggle, who were moving away to the Right. It gained impulsion from the pressure of royalists and reactionaries who had adapted themselves to revolutionary customs and speech to just the extent required by the times to save their hides from the wrath of the rising classes. The weak-kneed among the revolutionists yielded to the social pressure of the cunning among the reactionaries. The latter staked their cards upon the Right wing of the Jacobins to destroy the Left wing, and in the period of reaction which followed, all that remained of Jacobinism was destroyed and the Directory gave way to the naked and frank dictatorship of Napoleon.

The unwitting Thermidorians, the Right wing Jacobins who were blazing the trail for the genuinely counter-revolutionary Bonapartist dictatorship, denounced the men they executed, impris-

oned and banished, as "counter-revolutionists". Could an analogy be more startling? In a report he made on the Convention which condemned the Left wing Jacobins, Brival, one of the Right wingers, said:

—ALBERT GLOTZER.