

REVIEWING THE NEWS

That Omniscient "Zack Tendency"

"Under the leadership of the Communist International with the best disciple, Stalin at the head" the Communists of the entire capitalist world were withdrawn from the regular trade union movement and set the task of building revolutionary unions. In the United States in 1930 the A. F. of L. was said to be openly Fascist and the Party in resolutions, articles and speeches stated, "The most fundamental task in mass work is the building of revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L." In England the new line of Stalinism was so well carried out that good rank-and-file members of the trade unions considered the Party to be anti-trade unionist. (Harry Pollitt admitted this in the English Daily Worker.)

The result of this policy was everywhere the same, isolation and defeat. This has finally become evident to Browder himself in America and so we have resolutions, open-letters and plenums, all taking up the situation. Not for the purpose of finding where the fault was and laying the blame. No, not at all. Every child knows that the C. I. with Stalin at the head is responsible.

Rudolf Hess Defends Hitler and Murder

Rudolf Hess who succeeds the homo-sexual Roehm as the closest associate of Hitler, delivered a speech last Sunday. A few extracts from the speech will indicate that in shooting his former intimate companion, Roehm, and securing a new one, Hitler, like Henry VIII, was not in search of brains.

Speaking of the slaughter of his associates by Hitler, Hess says "Who could suppose that every one of the Hitler Youth would not regard the leader as his idol since, especially in the last few days, he has acted the part of the boys' ideal hero."

Describing Hitler's "superman" activities on the first day of the murders, Hess tells how Hitler arrested Roehm and others and goes on to say, "Then he went over to the Brownhouse . . . and out of tremendous tension he poured forth a speech of great historical importance. Again in his workroom the leader pronounced the first sentences of death. Without a pause he worked on . . . he dictated a letter for the new chief of staff and went on dictating the views of the National Socialist Party on the events of the day and on his own actions. From time to time he gave additional orders for arrests of individual persons." (If Hitler could also have dictated the views of the rest of the world on the events of the day and his own actions, his work would have been complete.)

Starting News

Head of 100,000 American trade unionists endorses sub drive of Daily Worker. Yes sire, believe it or not. Andrew Overgaard, head of the Trade Union Unity Council, which counts 100,000 members (Mike Gold system of counting) has come out flat footed behind the Daily Worker. The Daily prints Overgaard's picture and record in their Labor Who's Who column. His picture was almost recognizable. His record completely so. Just imagine, if you can, Andy in the name of "100,000" refusing to endorse a "D.W." drive or a Browder decision. How the gaps in that record would fill out!

"Holy Joe" McKee and Patriotic Whalen

Joseph McKee, "that honest man of sterling character" and Grover Whalen, the fire-eating patriot, are again in the news. "New York's Finest", who never hesitated to crack the skulls of striking or unemployed workers at the orders of former Mayor McKee and former police chief Whalen, have a Police Relief Fund. Or to be more exact they had such a fund in 1929. Now they are not so sure. In 1929 the fund amounted to about \$3,000,000, all in liquid assets. Holy Joe and Patriotic Whalen were in charge. They sold \$1,000,000 worth of Liberty Bonds and "invested" the proceeds in the certificates of a mortgage company. That was in the Fall of 1929. Other funds were also "invested" The mortgage certificates turned out to be worth as much as an NRA pledge to labor. And today the \$3,000,000 fund looks like 30 cents. Legal action is proposed against Whalen and McKee. Some cops should begin to realize that they cracked the wrong skulls in 1929.

New Features in Second Strike Wave

With the world-wide crisis still rampant the first year of the NRA finds American labor taking the aggressive. The significance of this year's events are here summed up in a simple tabulation:

- 1. Every important strike or threat of strike involves direct intervention of the state. (Political action by Federal government.)
2. Already a militant attitude is being shown by workers toward the machinery of governmental intervention—against its evasion, delay, suppression, and support of company unions and the boss class.
3. Specifically the trick Ta clause is recognized as such by the workers. It is safe to say the workers are ready to break up existing company unions at the first opportunity.
4. The rank and file have also learned (though not fully, it is true) to distrust the old guard A. F. of L. leadership and to insist on action.
5. It is very easy still to underestimate the aroused militancy of the masses against the terrific pressure of the crisis.
6. The "settlement" of strikes and threatened strikes are not settlements at all but postponements of wider outbreaks. Workers are forced to demand and fight for substantial gains.
7. Strikes spread and grow under present conditions with inflammatory ease. Strikes evolve almost spontaneously and without distinct leadership.
8. A new leadership is bound to spring up representative of this militancy.
9. Fundamental to and clinching the above points is the objective situation. Either extremely centralized "remedies" (fascism) or the direct brutality of big business, or war, is the way out for capitalism. Labor is compelled to learn more rapidly and fight more vigorously and unitedly every day.
10. The world situation: the return of Germany in the reckoning of the imperialists as a re-armed rival (a year of German fascism) postpones somewhat national outbreaks "at home" (France) and prolongs somewhat the preliminary maneuvers of national and allied forces for war. Russia has plunged into this diplomatic prelude. However, these maneuvers are proceeding with the greatest speed under the pressure of serious trouble inside the boundaries of each national government.

11. The Communist Party, by its self-inflicted isolation from the revolutionary interests of the working class, stands, or rather falls, condemned by objective events and the party's impotence therein. (Russia will build socialism, workers in other countries will "neutralize" the bourgeoisie, then Russia will defeat capitalism; a paper union is better than an A. F. of L. union, a Stalinist united front is better than a Leninist united front, etc. etc. Germany, Austria, France, Cuba, America in depression, etc. etc.)

The immediate opportunities and duties of leadership in this period and on the basis of the above considerations line up as follows:
1. Spread all strikes. Meet the militancy and solidarity of the rank and file with aggressive leadership and broad organizational unity. Turn half-steps into full strides, passives into an organized class. Fight delay that weakens or withholds the available blows of the workers.

2. A strike in a major industry like steel should be a signal for the labor movement to meet the military aggression of the bosses with a national strike in steel and national solidarity throughout the movement.

3. Thwart fascism in America by increasing the militant mass pressure of the workers against the bosses. Assure the movement a leadership which guarantees a broad aggressive march upon reaction. Preclude despair by giving the fighting spirit of the rank and file a leadership that also fights. Let labor learn its power.

4. In general, America presents the contradictions of capitalism in their extreme form (a world-dominating nation and a labor movement politically unorganized, to take the example nearest to this point), and just as in the past strikes often became civil wars on a local or regional scale, and as, too, in the present crisis the apex of American industry and its collapse coincided in point of time, so also now, in view of the inevitable stringency of the crisis and in spite of the political backwardness of American labor, cataclysmic struggles are absolutely to be expected in this period—struggles of immediate and rapidly expanding political significance. The rapidity of developments in this period, including political action of the masses, must be recognized.

—M. B.

QUESTION BOX

Send questions to "Question Box Editor", c/o the Militant. State the name under which you wish your answers to appear.

COMRADE H.M.N., New York.—Your contention that the unemployment figures compiled by the A. F. of L. are low is probably correct, and is borne out by U. S. Government statistics. (Senate document No. 124) as the following comparison shows:

Table with 3 columns: Year, U.S. Gov't., A. F. of L.
1930: 5.3, 3.9
1931: 9.7, 7.4
1932: 14.4, 11.4

The A. F. of L. figures for unemployment for May of this year is 10,267,000. Allowing for about three quarters of a million young workers who come to age each year, a figure around 14 million is probably nearer the truth.

We have the following data on speed-up. According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, a "kosher" capitalist institution, the output per man-hour in manufacturing industries, taking 1929 as 100, was as follows: 1930, 104; 1931, 112; 1932, 121; and 1933, 127. The comment which follows, "Little of the increased productivity since 1929 can be credited to the introduction of new machinery" indicates that there has been an average speed-up of about 27% since 1929.

Theoretically, the "sixty cent" dollar of Roosevelt would raise prices 67% higher than they were at the time the United States went off gold, provided that in the meanwhile the value of all commodities remained the same. Actually, the average price of all commodities is about 40% higher today, indicating that if the same gold standard of price had been maintained, average prices for all commodities would be lower today than in March of 1933.

YIPSEL, Boston.—Yes there were draft riots during the American Civil War, but this does not refute our statement to you of several weeks ago that the war was popular. Out of a total force of 2,128,948 men in the Union army only 119,954 (6%) were drafted. The population of the North was between 21 and 22 million so that about 20% of the total male population went under arms willingly.

Where did you get the idea that "Marx's dialectic is the same as Hegel's"? At least Marx disagrees with you: "My dialectical method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, i.e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea', he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea'. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." (Introduction to Vol. I of "Capital").

By no means do we stand on the same theoretical ground as the Lovestonites. It is, of course, impossible here to go into the matter in any detail but suffice it to say that the Lovestonites support the theorem of "socialism in one country", which we reject, and maintain that the 3rd International can be reformed, whereas our position is summed up in the slogan for a 4th International. The Lovestonites, internationally, have for some time been attempting to crawl back to the C. P. For the latest on this subject see the article in the New Internationalist for July called "Brandler on the Road to Canossa."

So you still do not see the difference between the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany since "all are dictatorships". Just ask yourself, "Who owns the means of production in these countries?" and the difference becomes apparent. The capitalists still own the factories, etc. in the Fascist countries; the workers own them in the Soviet Union.

Your difficulty, as is shown by this and your previous questions of several weeks ago flows from the fact that you permit the class nature of society to be obscured by forms.

FOODWORKER, New York.—"Isn't it necessary to build strong national parties before we can begin building an International?" We think not, and see no reason for counterposing the tasks. Our enemy is international capitalism, and we therefore must construct an organization to cope with this problem, building the national parties and International simultaneously. Your logic, if carried to a conclusion, would require that you ask: Isn't it necessary to build strong locals in every city before you can begin building a national party? The very posing of such a question is ridiculous. Why make the same mistake because of the existence of national boundaries?

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Fierce Trade War Grips Entire World

The leading capitalist nations are now entering a period of intensified trade wars that shift in emphasis and political expression almost every week. The ramifications of the struggle for markets is so great that it is difficult to follow the battle line on all fronts. But what can be pointed out is the general trends and the main antagonisms.

This struggle for markets by the imperialist powers finds its political expression in clashes between imperialist powers and in open class war within the countries or industries of the nations which cannot find outlets and markets for over-production and capital investments.

The economic isolation of Germany and the Anglo-Japanese trade war are two of the main pivotal points of this struggle for markets. Within these two struggles the interests of all the imperialist powers are at stake to say nothing of the interests of the U.S.S.R., and the world proletariat. The United States has up to the present managed to stay in the background of this fight, but in reality is one of the main contenders in these two struggles and is taking a most energetic part in them.

Japan has challenged England in an effort to obtain a bigger slice of world trade. England is ready to strike back in an open trade war and in maneuvers to defeat the Japanese demand for naval parity. This Japanese challenge is aimed just as much at the United States as it is against England. But the unfavorable economic position of England forces it to adopt different measures than those taken by America. The United States is working overtime on the question of naval parity and the trade war even though it is acting covertly.

U. S. imperialism occupies the most difficult position in the Anglo-Japanese trade war. Every retaliation measure adopted by England against Japan becomes a blow at the United States. This forces America to strike back at both nations, and most often with the heaviest blows against England.

Each step Japan takes in opening up new markets with cheap products forces England to counter attack with more effective measures. This forces America to adopt suitable measures against both Japan and England in order to retain her world position. What is true in the struggle for markets is even more pronounced in the armament race between the nations. It can be said with certainty that in the end the Anglo-Japanese trade war will become an Anglo-American trade war.

What can be said of the Anglo-Japanese trade war can also be

said of the German-French struggle. Only in this case not only America is involved but the whole of Europe as well. What seemingly starts as a German-French trade war struggle ends by involving the imperialist powers of the world and the lesser nations also.

Germany's economic crisis is worrying the statesmen of the world as well as bloody Hitler. The fate of Europe and mankind hinges to a large degree on the solution of this crisis. The debt repudiation wave that has followed the wake of the world crisis finds Germany taking similar measures. But her difficulties cannot be solved in this manner.

The boycott against Germany has intensified this unfavorable condition. Germany must find an outlet for her highly developed productive apparatus. Otherwise the internal class war will tear the present structure to the ground. But there are no markets for Germany. The victorious imperialists need what they have and are looking for more. This compels Germany to use the most drastic methods in the competition for markets. England, France, the United States and the other nations must follow suit or be pushed out of the race.

In turn the whole trade war is sharpened. Nothing fundamental is solved. The nations that obtain new markets plod along a little better and can beat back opposition at home more effectively, while the nations that lose confront increased internal class war.

The German trade war with an internal economic crisis growing worse daily, is the most decisive and will come to a head with greater repercussions before the Anglo-Japanese struggle matures.

America's stakes are directly bound up with both of these conflicts. Although her favorable world position gives her a point of advantage it does not, however, insure the United States against the European and Asiatic trade wars. America's action to overcome her own crisis only aggravates these already difficult conditions and in turn pulls America deeper into the whirlpool.

All of the internal and international measures under the New Deal taken by the Roosevelt administration to improve its economic conditions and market relations will be in vain unless the problem of trade wars is taken in its broader aspects. It will postpone but not solve the problem. Therefore, American imperialism is speedily preparing for war, which the United States and the other nations know is the logical conclusion of the trade wars now ranging throughout the world. —HUGO OEHLER.

MARCH OF EVENTS

War Rumors

Rumors are notoriously unreliable except insofar as they reveal what is creating the greatest anxiety in capitalist society. In the case of war rumors the world press has been unceasingly filled with them since the Japanese seized Manchuria. If one went in for predicting he would surely be on the side of greatest probability in predicting that the next imperialist war would break out in the Far East between Japan and Soviet Russia. That is why any rumors bearing on the tense situation in Asia are given close attention for the earmarks of truth and actuality. One item that appeared recently in the British press seems to bear such earmarks.

The Public Ledger of London, a financial review, discloses that Japan approached Turkey last March for a secret alliance directed against the Soviet Union. The Turkish ambassador to Japan was invited to see Minister of Foreign Affairs Hirota who informed him that war was certain in 1935. Would Turkey care to join with Japan in the war against the Soviet Union? At the same time the Japanese Admiral Matsumura visited Ankara on the same mission. To help blockade the Russian Black Sea fleet, Turkey was promised "compensation" in the shape of territory in the Russian Caucasus. Japan would sell (in actuality give) men-of-war to Turkey, would send her naval instructors and supply technical assistance for the fortification of the Bosphorus against the Russian fleet.

England, Where Do You Stand?

Simultaneously, the English paper reveals that Washington is most interested in Great Britain's stand in the next war. In fact Washington has inquired concerning England's exact attitude in the event of a Russo-Jap war. Japan's diplomacy has been directed, ever since U. S. recognition of Soviet Russia, at either breaking off this too dangerous friendship between her potential enemies, or balancing the U. S. with England. In this scheming of diplomats to build up balances of power is clearly indicated the way in which modern capitalism was inevitably take on a world character and convulse the entire planet, since all the major rivalries of the capitalist nations come to the fore and demand "solution" by the method of force.

Stalinist Comments on the German Events

The comments of the Stalinist Russian press on the German events hardly take the trouble any longer to carry on the pretence that there exists a powerful German Communist Party. Events preclude such stupidity and reveal the true depths of the lying propaganda that attempted to cover up the betrayal by Stalinism of the German proletariat. One would look in vain for any even remotely concrete directives from the Stalinists to its "German section" in line with the view that the Communist revolution would inevitably follow the fascist counter-revolution. The Stalinists reveal their utter "remoteness" from the German events and from the German working class. Only the stupid American party caught up the sensational mongering of the bourgeois press that a Communist revolt was about to take place in Germany. As was to be expected when millions of workers are betrayed by their parties (the social democratic and the Stalinist) and lose their faith in their revolutionary role, the German masses have become apathetic as is now casually acknowledged by those responsible for this apathy.

Pravda says: "The economic condition of Germany is growing worse and must result in accelerating the change of attitude of the masses from passivity toward the robbery and the oppression they are now enduring to an open class struggle on a mass scale." Radek covers with phrases that echo hollowness the same theme in Izvestia: "As yet only the Communist vanguard is actively opposing fascism but all the proletariat is opposed to fascism." He goes on to say that there are ten million workers not in the Nazi party who have not yet capitulated to fascism! Then why is not the "heroic" Communist party leading them in struggle? And further: "The tempo of Germany's historical development has turned out to be more rapid than was to be expected." But Comrade Radek, does that mean that you expected Hitler to remain in power very much longer without any crisis in his own ranks, or without any difficulty at all? What has happened to the thesis that Hitler was only a short interlude before the advent of Communism? Only the paper For Industrialization drones out, being careful to delete all reference to time: "A Bolshevik Revolution will inevitably follow the fascist counter-revolution."

—JACK WEBER.

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Militant Builders

Two More Weeks for Special Drive. Buy Your Cards Now.

The Club Plan (4 six-month subs for \$1) was initiated for the purpose of giving an opportunity to those workers who cannot afford the full rates. This drive, which is an extension of the first, ends on August 1. After that date the subscription rate for a six-month sub will be 50c. We urge every branch and sympathizer to take advantage of this opportunity and invest a few dollars in these cards before August 1st. The subs will be honored as they come in, but the purchase of them must be before August 1st.

Local New York bought 20 cards the past week and will probably get another 20 before the drive ends. Boro Park Branch of New York bought 4 cards. Chicago branch got 8; Davenport, Philadelphia and Youngstown branches each bought 4 cards. A total of 44. The following excerpt of a letter is indicative of how the Militant is being received by the leftward moving Socialists. We have a few more letters expressing the same sentiment: "Gentlemen: Inclosing \$1 for 4 6-month sub cards. Will try and

put some Militants with men who need same—but please no publicity for me. I admire your attitude to the S. P. where I got my first light, and am connected there now—you have many friends in same (S.P.) here. Sincerely, A. Low Rumble."

Complete Record

Table listing branches and card counts: Local New York 76, Chicago Branch 44, Minneapolis Branch 40, Cleveland Branch 38, Los Angeles Branch 36, Philadelphia Branch 16, Davenport Branch 12, Youngstown Branch 8, Boston Branch 8, Chicago Friends of the Militant Club 8, San Francisco Branch 8, Constance N. 8, New Haven Branch 8, Toronto 4, Berkeley (Kogan) 4, Ben. L. and I. Porter 4, Leewer 4, New Castle Branch 4, Newark Branch 4, Oakland Branch 4, Springfield Branch 4, St. Louis Branch 4, Osborn, Frisco 4, Toronto Branch 4, Toronto Youth Club 4, Wankegan Branch 4, Row Moran 4, A. L. Rumble 4, Jefferson Hall 4. TOTAL 374

Books by Leon Trotsky

Table listing books and prices: PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION (Cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00), THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION (Cloth 1.00), THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION (.25), GERMANY—WHAT NEXT? (Cloth 65c, paper .35), THE ONLY ROAD FOR Germany (Cloth 65c, paper .25), COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM (.15), THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER (.15), PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. (.15), SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER (.10), IN DEFENSE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (.05), THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (.10), MY LIFE, (publishers price \$5.00) 2.50, THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 3 vols. (publishers' price \$10.00) 8.50, WHITHER ENGLAND .90, TEN YEARS, History and Principles of Left Opposition —by Max Shachtman .10, I ACCUSE STALINISM—by Maria Reese .05, GERMANY AND RUSSIA AT BREST LITOVSK .25. PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 84 East 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

Blending the Old With the New

In Roosevelt's latest political pronouncement, the President compared the "New Deal" and the present system with changes which are being made in the White House, during his vacation.

"We are going to include in this addition and in this renovation modern electric wiring and modern plumbing and modern means of keeping the offices cool in the hot Washington summers. But the structural lines of the old executive office building will remain.

"The architects and builders are men of common sense and of artistic American tastes. They know that the principles of harmony and of necessity itself require that the building of the new structure shall blend with the essential lines of the old. It is this combination of the old and the new that marks orderly, peaceful progress—not only in building buildings but in building government itself.

"Our new structure is a part of and a fulfillment of the old."

Let us look at some of the "modern plumbing, electrical and cooling systems" (he did not mention gas) introduced by the "new deal" which will blend and harmonize with the "essential lines" of the old. First we have the huge increase of profits for industrialists and financiers, which will supply the means for cooling sea breezes for the "rugged individualists" and their families. In this we have a perfect blending with the old. The big naval building program harmonizes with the "big stick" of other days. Another new innovation is vomit gas to go with tear gas, bayonets, bullets and

clubs against strikers. The dead and blinded in Toledo are eloquent testimony of how this blends with the old methods and along the same "essential lines" as Homestead, Haymarket and Centralia.

Plowing down crops, killing of sows ready to farrow, numerous other "farm relief" measures, millions on the verge of starvation, hundreds starving to death, lynchings, police terror, deportations, jailings and outright murders—that's the record of the past year. How well the course of capitalism in decay blends with its early days and stormy growth.

And on the other hand, the growth of organization, the militancy and fighting ability of the workers of America, also follows the "essential lines" of their fighting past. The strikes in Minneapolis, Toledo, and the Pacific Coast testify to that. A new Communist Party that will blend that militancy and the fighting tradition of the American working class with the theory and practice of the international revolutionary movement is needed now, not to renovate and redecorate the present social system but to end it and build the new—the Socialist Society. —BILL.

WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TO APPEAR SOON

The theses of the International Secretariat of the League of International Communists on "War and the Fourth International" is ready to go to press. This long awaited pamphlet which deals with the most vital problem of contemporary society will soon be available for every revolutionary worker. Every financial obstacle but the coverage for paper for the pamphlet has been met. To overcome this difficulty at once we urge you to send your contributions and advance cash orders at once to Pioneer Publishers.

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