

EDITORIAL

Facts for Speakers

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AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST LEADERS BARGAIN WITH FASCISTS.

Below we reprint the facts already analyzed in last week's World Events section. We reprint them because of their importance for an outline for our speakers, to be used at forums and other meetings.

Again, with tragic loss to the working class, Socialist leaders gave the way to Fascism. In the heat of the Austrian workers' heroic defense against Dollfuss' Fascist attack recently, Otto Bauer, leader of the Austrian Social-Democrats and Dr. Julius Deutsch, head of the Socialist armed forces, have made admissions which cry aloud their guilt of wretched betrayal against the Austrian workers. "At the beginning of April he (Dollfuss) passed over definitely to the Fascist camp," says Bauer; yet the Social-Democratic leaders in office, (again quoting Bauer),

... offered to make the greatest concessions that a democratic and socialist party had ever made.

"We let Dollfuss know that if he would only pass a bill through Parliament we would accept a measure authorizing the government to GOVERN BY DECREE WITHOUT PARLIAMENT FOR TWO YEARS, on two conditions only — that a small Parliamentary committee, in which the government had a majority, should be able to criticize decrees and that a constitutional court, the only protection against breaches of the constitution should be restored." (Emphasis ours).

In other words, Bauer, in this interview with a New York Times reporter, confides that he proposed Fascist dictatorship if only the Socialists could participate in it.

The Daily Worker points out that their support of Dollfuss was the support of one group of imperialists who preferred Dollfuss who represented those who desired alliances with Italian, French and British imperialism instead of with Hitler of Germany.

AUSTRIAN WORKERS ALERT TO NEED FOR STRUGGLE.

But the Austrian workers keenly saw that they must prepare against Fascism gaining the upper hand in Austria (as it did in Germany with the help of the Socialist leaders), and so Bauer complains that:

"The dissatisfaction and agitation of the workers against the conservative policy of our party committee grew as the government provocations increased. The workers said the government was making itself more powerful militarily, was wearing down our spirit and was choosing its own time to attack us. Excitement rose to a feverish pitch during the last weeks."

SOCIALIST LEADERS STRIP WORKERS DEFENSE OF ARMS.

Nevertheless, not only did the Socialist leaders NOT prepare the workers against the open Fascist attacks but instead, quoting Dr. Deutsch (A. P. dispatch, New York Times, Feb. 17):

"For years I have offered to disarm the Republican Guards. If others would do likewise and prohibit weapons for any others than the regular branches of the government's armed forces."

The Republican Guards (Socialist armed defense) were disbanded last July. The Fascist forces of the government were heavily armed. The rank and file workers, however, resisted and managed to keep their old guns brought home from the world war. They refused to part with their weapons despite orders from the Socialist leaders.

And then, but two days before the Fascist attack on the workers of Linz, Bauer states that:

"In Vienna a comrade coming from Linz warned me that the workers of Linz were highly indignant and alarmed over the Heimwehr action and had declared that if any further action were taken to deprive them of their arms they would defend themselves for the sake of the republic."

And Bauer's attempt was still to maneuver these weapons out of the hands of the workers by sending "urgent messages to the workers to keep cool" and he admits that he "was alarmed by this spirit" and

... arranged for them to be told that if we in Vienna could submit patiently to an arms search in Party headquarters they must try to do the same."

Yet Norman Thomas, in the New Leader (Socialist paper in N. Y.) brays: "Fortunately the workers were well prepared." Brazen lie. Despite their being armed with only their old guns the Austrian workers fought, barricading themselves in their very homes against the Fascists who attacked with howitzers, machine guns, cannon, fire-brands, and bayonets.

SOCIALISTS ADVISE TO COUNT NOSES.

And still the Socialist leaders prate of a "peaceful way" to Socialism. The Socialist leaders here are no different. Norman Thomas, at a debate in S. F. last October, said that he sees

"There is a possibility of Fascism (in the U. S.). I do not mean to imply that in the United States there is a possibility of an exact importation of Fascism of the Hitler brand. It may be worse — it will be different."

Maybe he prefers Mussolini's brand or perhaps a 100% American brand because at no point do the Socialist leaders present a program of struggle against Fascism. Their only advice is to peacefully "count noses". It matters not to them that they be dead workers' noses.

The Communists call on all the workers in the Socialist Party to leave the Socialist leaders now, and join in the real revolutionary struggle against Fascism and to organize for the defensive struggle to wipe out the capitalist dictatorship and establish a workers' dictatorship.

WHY COMMUNISM.

The pamphlet "Why Communism" by Comrade Olgin is off the press and in the first week more than half of its 10,000 copies have already been sold. It is a neat, readable, 96-page pamphlet, and sells for 5c—in lots of more than 100 for 4c, express prepaid west of the Rockies. Have you found difficulty in convincing some fellow worker? Let him read this pamphlet. It is the best teacher and recruiting agent we have yet published.

How soon do we sell this edition completely?

READ THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THESES.

The Theses of our Central Committee for the coming convention of our Party has already been printed in the Feb. 23 issue of the Daily Worker. Sections of it will be reprinted in the Western Worker. All Party members and all who look to the Party for leadership should read and study it. It is a review of the Communist Party's experience since the crisis started, and the tasks for the coming period are outlined.

A SCHOOL FOR AGRICULTURAL WORKERS.

A school for militant agricultural organizers and agitators

is being planned in California for the period of March 19 to April 20th. There will be room for about 20-25 students.

For the month following there is a possibility for another school for farmer organizers. Both will be full-time schools. Students can qualify through their local union or other revolutionary organization.

Before the year is over we hope to be able to announce similar full time one-month schools for the other concentration industries, namely, marine, railroad and oil.

Fundamentals of a Communist Political Education

Lesson 6

Economic Decay and Cultural Decay — Capitalism Increases Insanity — Break-up of the Family — Unnatural Life and Imperialism — Back to the Dark Ages.

DESIRE FOR LIFE—

If it is these factors also, which eventually take away from the people their desire to live. Sci-

ence teaches that all bodies have a natural tendency to perpetuate themselves, both as individuals and as a species. Thus, the human being as a person, natu-

ANY QUESTIONS?

QUESTION: L. E. L., San Francisco, Cal.—The Communist Party wants to do away with all private property. Does that mean that no one will be permitted to own his own house or automobile?

ANSWER: The phrase "the abolition of private property" is really incomplete and therefore gives demagogues an opportunity to frighten timid people with the danger of having to use, in a Communist society, community toothbrushes and underwear. The Communist program stands for the abolition of private property IN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. In other words, factories, mines, ships, etc., which are now used as a means of exploiting the workers to make profit for the owners, will be turned into social property for the benefit of all. But even in this case, immediately after the overthrow of capitalism only the large corporation enterprises will be confiscated. On the land for example, that would include ranches such as Tagus, California Packing Corp., California Lands Corp., Libby McNeill, Del Monte, etc. But it would not include the thousands of small farmers who think that the solution of their problem is to free themselves from debt. For them all debts would be cancelled, and the poorer farms would even be exempted from paying taxes. In the Soviet Union 35% of the farmers, the poorest peasants were thus exempted from taxes. Eventually, however, by demonstrating the superiority of large scale farming these farmers would be encouraged to join collectives. This is now going on in the U. S. S. R. In the cities a similar plan would be followed for small tradesmen, people who "work for themselves" such as the neighborhood tailor, etc., who would soon see the superiority of social production and surrender his miserable livelihood as an individual worker.

QUESTION: E. J. G., Hollywood, Cal.—Can you tell me where in Marxian literature I can find explicit refutation of the bourgeois theory that historical changes can be explained in the terms of "great personalities"? **ANSWER:** That individuals can play a great role in bringing about historical change is not

un-Marxian. But that the bringing about of these changes depends purely on the thought, ideas, and abilities of these individuals, is capitalist nonsense. The history of society has its basis in the changing methods of production. The briefest exposition of this is in the Communist Manifesto. But Marx himself, gave a brilliant exhibition how to interpret the role of "great personages", in his "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte". Here he summarizes his theory as follows: "Man, makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds at hand. The tradition of all past generations weighs like an air upon the brain of the living". Read that book. It is probably Marx's most brilliant work. The question of the role of "great personalities" is also tied up with the question of "free will". Here it is well to read Historical Materialism by Bucharin, Chapter 2, called Determinism and Indeterminism, also Chapter 8, especially section 4, called "Class, Party, Leaders".

QUESTION: J. S. B., Berkeley, —A certain author who claims to be a Marxist says that Mind and Matter are the reverse and obverse sides of the same coin. Yet Lenin says that matter is primary, and mind secondary. Who is right?

ANSWER: The "reverse sides of the same coin" is such a vague and uncertain formulation it is impossible to judge the author's work. If you will send us detailed quotation or the original work we will be glad to briefly review it. Mind does not appear until matter has reached a certain high state of organization. Thus matter clearly precedes mind. Mind then becomes an inner function of matter and forms an inter-acting unity with matter. For the simplest discussion that exists on this subject in the English language I would suggest Chapter 3 in Bucharin's "Historical Materialism". This chapter is called "Dialectic Materialism" and is a good deal easier to understand than its title indicates. The best discussion is contained in Lenin's works, Volume XII, called "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism". The only works of Engels purchasable today on this are "Feuerbach" and "Socialism From Utopia to Science".

ally not only wants to survive, but also has an instinct towards reproduction, so that his kind may survive.

Capitalism, however, especially in its present decadent stage, has created such an unnatural condition that it is increasingly destroying these natural instincts to perpetuate ourselves, and our species. If we take the last decade alone, from 1920 to 1930, we find that there was an increase of suicides of from 12 per hundred thousand of population, to 20 per hundred thousand population. This doubling of suicides is for 10 so-called normal years. If we considered the year of 1933, which was a year of especially intense crisis, then the statistics show that in the United States alone, there were an average of 55 suicides for every day of the year.

All these figures are smaller than the real facts, because they are taken from government reports, and tens of thousands of people disappear yearly, and it is never known that they were suicides, and are therefore not reported that way. The number of people filling state and federal prisons and reformatories increased from 1910 when it stood at 55.5 per 100,000 to 105.5 per 100,000 population.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE FAMILY—

These same tendencies of disintegration are shown in the pride of capitalist culture—the family. The whole capitalist class rages against the Communists with the accusation that we want to break up the family. Yet, as a matter of fact, it is capitalism that is destroying the family life. In 1890 for every thousand marriages, there were 62 divorces. This increased in 1930, only forty years later, to 170 divorces for every thousand marriages. Again we must say this, development did not take place because husbands and wives suddenly lost their ability to satisfy one another sexually, but because the whole mal-adjustment of capitalism, day work for the husband, and night-work for the wife, or unemployment for both, and the need for sending the children to work, the insecurity of home life, the exhaustion of the husband after a day at the factory, and his inability to satisfy his wife's cultural desires because of his exhaustion, and her inability to satisfy his cultural desires because of her endless occupation with the kitchen and the household. All these things together, eliminate all joy there might be in their companionship, and they seek an escape in divorce. The capitalist courts always establish that the wife or husband is to "blame" in divorce, but as a general phenomena (allowing for exceptions), the social decadence and neurosis of capitalist life is responsible.

Capitalism is trying to solve its problem by a return to religious superstitions. They hope to kill two birds with one stone—first to hold the masses in ideological bondage and obedience to their masters and secondly to halt the cultural decadence.

Literature and Book Reviews

"COMMON SENSE ABOUT MACHINES AND UNEMPLOYMENT" by Morris P. Taylor, published by Winston Publishing Co., Philadelphia, Pa. Price, \$1.50.

The last five years of crisis have brought a flood of books attempting to explain the weaknesses in the structure of capitalism that brought on the crisis. 95% of these books were, of course, not only wrong as to their conclusions, but even wrong as to their observations.

These writers made the same error that was made by the official economists of the "prosperity" period, that is, they started with the premise that capitalism is an ever-lasting and good institution, and the crises were caused by extraneous factors.

It must be said that Mr. Taylor in his book "Common Sense about Machines and Unemployment" is better able to observe the operations and weaknesses of capitalism than any bourgeois economist that we have yet read. He does not make Marxian analysis, and therefore of course cannot present an altogether correct point of view. However, he does grasp the essential contradiction of capitalism, namely, the conflict between continual expansion of industry, and the relative and absolute reduction in the real purchasing power of the masses. As a result, Mr. Taylor provides some very interesting factual material for the student of economics. This is especially true of his chapter called "The Period from 1922 to 1929".

But after having stated these essential contradictions of capitalism, Mr. Taylor concludes that one can correct the situation without abolishing capitalism. Like the typical Roosevelt-Tugwell School of Economics, he says:

"The writer is not one of those who believes that it is necessary to abandon our social and economic structure and start in on an entirely new basis. Undoubtedly the future developments will be away from the traditional laissez-faire of capitalism, and will considerably modify the competitive system."

Roosevelt and his economists recognized this fact about 25 years after the Marxists already recorded it, and they seem to think that its mere recognition solves the problem for American capitalism. In point of fact, the "laissez-faire" policy was abandoned with the end of industrial capitalism at the end of the 19th century. The development since has only aggravated the worst features of capitalism, and intensified the crisis and its consequent wars and revolutionary struggles.

Mr. Taylor's book also has the shortcoming that it does not differentiate between the ultimate solution of crises, and temporary measures to alleviate it. In his discussion of unemployment insurance, for example, he does acknowledge the class interests involved, but poses "unemployment insurance versus public works" as a means of breaking the cyclical crisis. This, of course, is a fallacy. Unemployment insurance cannot break the crisis for capitalism. As the Communist platform proposes, unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and government, is a gain for the workers and a loss to the capitalist class. The question has significance only from its class angle, that is, the working-class trying to get a large share of the totality of production; it can have no significance as a proposed solution of the crisis.

This book, on the whole, is a refreshing change from the nonsense written by the theoreticians of technocracy, but it is still a long way from a Marxist-Leninist understanding of capitalism. For the economist, its chief value will be the factual data it contains concerning the division of total production, the relation between machines and unemployment, etc.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS RECEIVED—

"MURDER IN CAMP HOHENSTEIN" and Other Stories. A cross current of the Hitler regime, by Johannes R. Becher, G. P. Ulrich, Peter Conrad, A. S. Gies, Hans Scheer — Illustrations by Griffel. Price 25c.

FOUR WEEKS IN THE HANDS OF HITLER'S HELL-HOUNDS. —The Nazi Murder Camp of Dachau, by Hans Beimler, member of the Reichstag; Leader of the Southern Bavarian District, Communist Party of Germany. Price 10c.

"LENIN ON THE JEWISH QUESTION". Here are outstanding items in the work, each one itself an important lesson on theory and strategy; Lenin's speech against pogroms of the Jews and other racial minorities in Tsarist Russia; documents issued by the Soviet Government, one releasing at a blow the nationally enslaved peoples immediately the Soviets took power, the second document, issued at the height of the civil war, branding as a counter-revolutionary crime any attempt at pogromism. An important section of the foreword relates Lenin's teachings on self-determination to the Negro question in the United States. Send advance orders now! Price 5c.

"BEHIND THE SCENES OF THE 53rd ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE A. F. of L." — Price 5c, published by A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief.

"FARMERS UNITE THEIR FIGHT" — Price 15c. Published by Farmers Second National Conference held in November, 1933.

"TACTICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN INDIA AND INDO-CHINA".

For International Womens Day, we will have "Women Who Work" by Grace Hutchins, 5c; in which we learn of the condition of women workers in the U. S. and their struggles. "LENIN ON THE WOMAN QUESTION", 5c, and "REMINISCENCES OF LENIN" by Clara Zetkin, 20c, in these we learn the fundamental reasons for the position women occupy in capitalist society. In Zetkin's pamphlet, we learn of the Leninist positions on such questions as morals, youth, culture, etc.

Any workers desiring more recommendations of literature on the above subjects, can get them by ordering through the Workers Book Shop, 37 Grove St., San Francisco.

But that very return to religion is a retreat from capitalism's earlier revolutionary achievements in science and is a sign and a prophesy of greater cultural disintegrations.

Thus this current stage of capitalism, the last stage, is in a period of economic and social decadence, which is accompanied by fierce struggles within the

country, cultural decay, and imperialist wars. It is also the last stage of capitalism, because in this stage, the contradictions of which we have previously spoken, reach the breaking point, and a solution must be found to the situation if the human race is to survive.