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FOUR DAYS WITH TROTSKY

An Interview with the Bolshevik Leader who Was Exiled to Constantinople

"Then you do not recognize me?"

I had indeed remained without voice, as if speechless, when after a three days journey I found myself facing him in this hotel room.

How could I fail to recognize him despite the seven years gone by since our last meeting?

To be sure, the radiant hair has turned grey; the crease in the cheeks denoting the contraction of a powerful jaw is accentuated, and the smooth face—shaved on the boat that brought him to Constantinople—makes a contrast to the face popularized by so many photographs. But who could mistake it? Behind the large rims of the spectacles are the same magnetic blue eyes with their eagle's glance, the same monumental brow, the large wilful mouth and—I am not writing literature—there is still that same impression of a superhuman force. Yes, it is certainly Trotsky, it is the companion of Lenin, the chief of the October Revolution, and the encounter, after all the ordeals, leaves me without words.

My emotion, his own also—At last, a friend!—cannot express itself otherwise than in a fraternal embrace.

We speak indiscriminately. In hurried sentences, crammed with incidents. Tomorrow we will be more methodical, but how can it be arranged when there are so many things to talk about?

First of all, how is he, after that harsh year of deportation at Alma Ata, in the region chosen for him by Stalin as a place of exile, doubtlessly because "malaria shares its dominion there with leprosy and the plague."

Actually, malaria has taken hold of him, and if he speaks a bit cheerfully of his health, his wife and son, who share his exile and were themselves prey to the same fevers, told me that Leo Davidovitch made them very uneasy during a certain period when the illness assumed a very sharp form. To this day, malaria has not yet left Trotsky, but it seems to be weakening. Periodically, attacks of fever, accompanied by violent headaches, still come on to denote the virulence of the disease.

The malaria attacks an organism weakened by twelve incredible years of activity and hardships, twelve years of Revolution. It is added to a most persistent gout and a chronic inflammation of the colon which obliges our comrade follow a strict regime and to think, in short, of looking after himself.

At the moment these lines appear, the question of the visa will, I hope, be decided and Trotsky will be able to proceed to Germany to receive the care necessitated by his condition. Up to now, he has asked officially for asylum only from Germany where he can have recourse to the doctors who treated him previously. But in other countries, friends have already made obliging application and if the intrigues of Stalin should succeed in preventing Trotsky's entry into Germany, we can surely reckon that he will find a more hospitable welcome elsewhere—in Holland, perhaps. . . .

On the whole, our comrade has lost none of his power to work, but he will have to bring himself to rest for a while. This will be cruel, and one understands it when he knows the activity of a Trotsky. But will it not be better to decide to give this security to the future?

Brought by force from Odessa to Constantinople on the Soviet vessel, Ilyitch, under the escort of the G. P. U., Trotsky lived for the first three weeks at the Soviet Consulate.

He was formally promised, before he sailed, that in order to assure a minimum of security

By Maurice Paz - - Paris

two of his closest collaborators, Sermouks and Posnansky—now imprisoned in Siberia—would be permitted to rejoin him by the very next boat.

"And if you deceive me in this matter also?" asked Trotsky.

"Then in that case, you will have the right

to treat me like a scoundrel," replied the G. P. U. man.

"That would be," responded our comrade, "a pretty poor consolation for me."

Could one expect anything else but false promises from Stalin? One day, he was informed that Sermouks and Posnansky would not come; at the same time he was compelled to quit the Consulate at once. Aside from the

CONTINUED ON PAGE FOUR

Another Stalinist Pogrom in New York

The bloodiest and most criminal attack in the record of the terrorist campaign against the Opposition Communists took place Tuesday night, April 9, when an organized mob of Stalinist gangsters raided the regular weekly meeting of the Hungarian Opposition group at Hungarian Hall, 323 E. 79th Street, New York City. Fifteen comrades, six of whom were women, were present in the little hall when the trouble began. They had finished the business matters on the agenda of the meeting and were just starting a discussion of the Platform of the Opposition to be adopted by the National Conference, with comrade Louis Basky as the opening speaker. A gang of fifty or more Stalinists invaded the hall in a body. They were armed with blackjacks, brass knuckles, knives, lead pipes and clubs and were composed chiefly of Party functionaries and employees of various nationalities. Their leaders were Emerich Lustig, editor of the Hungarian Party paper, Uj Eloré, and Gustav Mayer, manager of the Party's Hungarian Workers' Home.

STALINITES BEGIN THE ATTACK

Upon a signal from Lustig, and without the slightest provocation, the mob of hoodlums threw themselves upon the assembled comrades whom they outnumbered by four or five to one. Comrade Basky, whose life has been threatened repeatedly, was struck across the face with a rubber hose welded by Lustig and was attacked from all sides by others. The speaker's 75 year old father, Lucas Basky, who has been in the revolutionary movement for decades, jumped to the defense of his son, only to be struck over the head with a sharp instrument which opened his scalp in two places and knocked him to the floor in a pool of blood. Six stitches were later taken in his wound by a police doctor. Numerous other of our comrades, including the women, were most brutally beaten, among them being comrade Edmund Fenyes whose scalp was also cut open by the hoodlums.

Our comrades defended themselves as best they could against the overwhelming odds, despite the fact that they had no weapons but their bare fists.

In the course of the fight, one named Michael Holzbauer was cut by a knife wielded by one of the Stalinites. When

the police arrived in response to a riot call, fifteen were arrested, including a number of our comrades and Holzbauer, who was later taken to the Hospital. Comrade Fenyes was held on a charge of assaulting Holzbauer, and was released Thursday afternoon on \$2,000 bail. The *Daily Worker* reports that Fenyes had been "identified." This is false. The frame-up against our comrade is all the more evident when it is known that his right arm has been treated by a doctor for some time, and was practically useless in any kind of a scrimmage.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE POGROM

The reports of the affair in the Party press, especially the *Daily Worker*, *Freiheit* and *Uj Eloré*, exceeded the already low Brass Check level to which the Stalinists have descended in their lies about the Opposition. By the most brazen perversion of facts they are attempting to work up a lynching spirit against the victims of the raid and to prepare the ground for other pogroms. They even try to conceal the fact that the leaders of the mob were all Party employees. They try to pass them off as obscure "militant workers" and make no reference to the fact that the raid was organized under party instructions, as all the similar affairs have been organized. The Stalinites had PREVIOUSLY ORGANIZED their hoodlums, armed them with the weapons of the underworld, and sent them to the meeting in a body with the express purpose of the physical attack. The presence in the raiding squad of party members of various nationalities at a Hungarian meeting is proof on its face that constructive discussion had no part in their purposes.

Our comrades were unaware of the approaching pogrom and were entirely unprepared for it. The Workers' Self Defense Guard which protected the last meeting of the Opposition so successfully had not been called, since this was simply the regular weekly meeting which has been held by the Hungarian Group in the same Hall regularly.

The fact that some Stalinites were also hurt causes them to raise howls of complaint, as though they expected our comrades to stand with folded arms while the gangsters cut them down in cold blood. People who raid a peaceful meeting of workers, who are capable of murderously assaulting women and an old man of 75 years with gas pipes and brass knuckles, definitely place themselves in the category of criminals toward whom "labor ethics" have no application. Every honest worker will uphold the right of self defense against them.

The defense of comrade Fenyes against the attempt to frame him will be a duty of the class conscious workers involving elementary working class rights. Another Centralia Case must not be permitted. At the same time the Oppositionists will refrain from any counter prosecutions. The capitalist courts are not our tribunal. Leave that business to the people like Lovestone, the witness for the prosecution who has already helped to send one Communist, Harry Winitsky, to prison.

LET THE WORKERS JUDGE THEM

LET THE WORKERS JUDGE THE FASCIST LEGIONAIRES OF LOVESTONE AND FOSTER! Expose the methods of gangsterism and their corrupting consequences before the working masses and fix the responsibility on their sponsors. Form a united front of all progressive forces in the labor movement against these methods. Organize a stronger Workers' Self Defense Guard to protect the meetings from them. This is the Communist way to fight and defeat gangsterism. This is the way of the Communist Opposition.

The Hungarian comrades are proceeding along this line by the organization of a Protest Meeting for next Friday night at the same Hall. A similar movement will be started generally. The truth must be told to the workers openly and fearlessly. The methods of the Stalinites against the Opposition are the methods of FASCISM! If they are not defeated and stopped they will inevitably lead to a horrible tragedy, to the discredit and disintegration of the movement. Only provocateurs or mad men can deliberately bring the movement to this pass. Let every class conscious worker, inside and outside the party, raise his voice against gangster methods in the labor and revolutionary movement and join in the struggle against them.

May Day MASS MEETING

TUESDAY, APRIL 30, 1929, 8 P.M.

at the
HUNGARIAN HALL
323 East 79th Street
(Between 1st and 2nd Ave.)

SPEAKERS:

James P. Cannon Martin Abern
and Speakers in Hungarian
and Italian

RICH MUSICAL PROGRAM

ADMISSION: 25c.

Workers Self Defense Guard will Protect the
Auspices: New York Communist Opposition
Meeting.

The Labor Revolt in the South

The revolt of the Southern textile workers, embracing mills in three states, lifts the lid on a seething cauldron of working class discontent generated by the intensification of the labor process and the multiplied exploitation which has been taking place under the formula of "rationalization." The capitalist dreams of a "strikeless America" are being shattered by the hammer blows of the class struggle in Tennessee and the Carolinas. These strikes are symptoms of the coming wave of struggles which will arise inevitably out of the whole condition of labor in the trustified industries. Besides that, they have a number of features which give them a special significance in themselves. The "New Unionism" will go through its fiery test in these battles and, if the correct tactics are employed, its foundations will be consolidated.

The strikers in the Carolinas are the answer of the cotton mill workers to the "stretch-over" system of speed-up introduced recently under the direction of efficiency experts and which was calculated to increase, and in some cases to double the number of looms operated by a worker for approximately the same pay. The miserable wage standards and long hours imposed on these unorganized workers had already provided the fuel for this fire. The report of the U. S. Department of Commerce, showing the average annual wage of all workers in North Carolina manufacturing plants to be \$774.20—about one half the average wage in the North—tells its own story. The full time weekly wage of women mill workers is \$12.32 in South Carolina and \$14.62 in North Carolina. For men it is \$15.46 in the former and \$17.41 in the latter. A fifty-five hour week is the rule in South Carolina and fifty-six hour week in North Carolina. Such conditions are the soil for a radical development of which these strikes represent only the beginning.

The present strike wave helps to demolish a popular capitalist myth, proclaimed in a million dollars' worth of advertisements—a myth not without influence even in the ranks of the left wing of the labor movement—about the "docility" of the 100 per cent American workers of the South and their immunity from strikes and labor unionism.

Native Americans in Revolt

The workers involved in the strikes for the most part are natives, without previous experience in labor organization, who have been lately recruited from the country-side by the rapid industrialization of the South. A special writer in the New York Times says: "The boast of the manufacturers of the Carolinas is the large supply of both actual and potential laborers of Anglo Saxon stock who are not, and never have been, successfully organized into unions . . . Coming without warning, the strikers have been a distinct shock." More of these "shocks" are in store.

The native American workers in the industrialized South (and not only in the South) will prove to be valiant fighters in the coming labor battles which will bring with them the establishment of the New Unionism. Indeed, as the movement gains strength and scope and becomes firmly fixed in the conditions of American life they will be the leaders of it. The ability to see and understand this fact, in all its implications, is a *sine qua non* for a cor-

rect approach to the developing new situation by the Communists and left wing. In this period which offers the prospect of the Communists playing an influential part in the American labor movement it is necessary that we take nothing for granted, that we put aside all preconceived prejudices and closely examine and re-examine our tactics at every stage of the struggles.

Communists have appeared in this hitherto "undiscovered country" as the organizers of the strikes—or of some of them—and in some cases have got the jump on the moribund A. F. of L. unions. And this is testimony to the vitality of the new union movement and of the Communists who are its driving force. The strikes are by no means a revolution nor even a conscious political demonstration, but the activity of revolutionaries in them is a perfectly natural phenomena. The complaint of the New Leader "that a great opportunity" has been "missed" because "A. F. of L. representatives have not acted promptly" is on the one hand a sour expression of wonderment and regret that Communists do not die when they are expelled, and on the other hand it is a confession that revolutionaries are the only clear and resolute fighters for reforms—for the immediate and pressing needs of the workers.

Tactics of the Communists

Communists are a small part of the labor movement; from a numerical standpoint a very small part. Nevertheless, they can play an influential, and to a certain extent a leading part in many of the strike battles of the proximate future, and in the shaping of new union movement, if they succeed in correlating revolutionary aims and consciousness with the realities of the situation and the workers' actual needs of the moment. It is a question of tactics. Slogans must correspond to the situation. It is worth while to repeat this truism because it is not always remembered, and situations are lost because of slogans and demands which appear too remote, and consequently fail to rally the workers in a given situation. What applies to slogans and demands holds good for all practical activities and conduct in connection with a concrete action or struggle.

These workers who are now entering the path of class struggle—many of them for the first time—will not pass over from political backwardness and passivity, from capitalist-mindedness, to Communism at one bound. Neither will their natural leaders, who spring out of the mass and express the mass, be full-fledged Leninists. Far from it. It is more likely that the typical man of influence will be a church member, a Moose or a consistent voter for the Democratic ticket. It is with such phenomena as this, which will arise in a thousand instances, that the Communists will have to learn how to deal as the slogan of organizing the Unorganized is translated into deeds. It is only by degrees, through patient and systematic work and through further development of the class struggle that these workers and their natural leaders will develop their class consciousness and political understanding and individual exceptions will be found. But we cannot go by them if we are thinking in terms of mass organizations.

Just in proportion as success crowns the work for the new unions, as substantial organizations take shape, so will the question of the united front, of Party relations with non-Party elements, of relations with "progressives", etc., become more insistent. The current theories about the monopolistic control of the Party over these unions will break on these rocks; or else the new unions will break.

Every honest militant will support the strikers and the new unions of the Southern textile workers with all his power. At the same he will watch their development from the standpoint of the questions mentioned above. They are decisive for the future. Upon the answer to them hinges the question whether we are driving ahead toward mass organizations

Philadelphia in Campaign for Weekly

Persistency and determination are the characteristics of the Opposition supporters in the campaign for a Weekly Militant.

Philadelphia and St. Louis have swung sharply into the campaign. Leon Goodman, secretary of the Philadelphia group, writes,

"We had a group meeting in Philadelphia last Saturday and we set our quota in the drive for a Weekly Militant at \$200.00. We have worked out the details to raise that amount. Our comrades have pledged themselves to a definite amount each week. We are planning a benefit together with the local American Negro Labor Congress. The April 1st issue of The Militant is the best ever! Great! . . . Morgy will speak next week before the Liberal League Forum on "The Youth and the Labor Movement."

The rapidly growing St. Louis group through secretary Martin Payer writes:

"At our last meeting we pledged \$100.00 in the campaign for the Weekly Militant".

St. Louis has also undertaken a subscription drive for The Militant. A number of subs have already been obtained there.

The drive in New York is taking on impetus and the group has just turned in an additional \$30.25. Subscribers to The Militant and sympathizers are being solicited by the members.

The New Haven group sends in \$13.00 through S. Gendelman, secretary, in opening its campaign to put over a Weekly. Varying amounts are coming in from numerous individual supporters and the groups. All recognize the decisive importance of a Weekly Militant to combat the growing bureaucracy and degeneracy of the official Party apparatus. At Chicago, Detroit, Bethlehem, Youngstown, Los Angeles and many other points supporters are doing their share.

The groups are exerting themselves in the Weekly Militant Drive in an endeavor to make the National Conference of the Opposition to be held in Chicago beginning May 17th, the touchoff for the Weekly. This is an aspiring aim. Let each comrade get energetically into the Campaign. Make individual contributions or loans. Reach the sympathizers and workers who want a genuine expression of revolutionary communism.

The results to date are:

Amount necessary to start	
Weekly	\$2,000.00
Previously acknowledged	\$562.70
Received since last issue	71.75
Tot. contributions to date	634.45
Balance needed	1,365.55

Send Contributions to

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of the workers or futile, sectarian, paper unions.

Another question of great importance in connection with the new strike wave, under the auspices of different organizations in different sections of the same industry, is that of the program for the unification of the struggles. The Communists must give a clear and correct answer also to this question. It is a subject for a separate article.

The Coming Elections in Great Britain

By Maurice Spector

For the Tory government the recent series of reverses in agricultural no less than in industrial constituencies spell the handwriting on the wall. A premonition of their political fate prompts one of their noted publicists to remark that "the ministerial dullness is like a processional dead march in anticipation of one's own funeral." Mr. Baldwin still sucks his pipe blandly but the Chinese poet must have had someone like the British Premier in mind, when his own life having been wrecked by intelligence, he prayed for a scion sufficiently dull to qualify for the tranquil career of cabinet minister. It may be doubted if a bushel of the reddest "Zinoviev" letters for the Orloff factory lately raided in Berlin, could steam up the "Great British Electorate" to drown the memories of the last four and a half years of Conservative futility.

On the hustings Baldwin continues to reiterate that "socialism is an economic dance of death" but the large and inescapable fact stands out that there are just a quarter of a million more unemployed on the register today than when the Tories took office with the biggest majority, barring one, in British parliamentary history. Other "achievements" of this regime are the lengthening of the miners' hours, intervention in China, rupture with the Soviet Union, suppression of the General Strike, and enactment of repressive legislation against trade unionism.

The Loyal Oppositions

The signs point to a second Labor government in the form of a more or less veiled "Lib-Lab" coalition, and guided by Ramsey MacDonald's precepts of "continuity". That is to say, his present indictment of the Baldwin Administration for its "inaction and reaction" will fully apply to his own. There will be no Marxian and Bolshevik "despotic inroads into property". The first Labor government recognized Soviet Russia grudgingly, carried out the cruiser program of their Conservative predecessors, bombed the natives of Irak for taxes, maintained the British Raj in India, avoided anything savoring of nationalization, and helped to put the Dawes Plan into operation.

Since then the British masses have tended more and more to the Left, have gone through the experiences of Red Friday and the General Strike, but the reformist bureaucracy has succeeded in transforming the Labor Party, structurally and in program, into a conventional social-democratic party, worshipping more and more zealously at the shrine of the Constitution and the Empire. Not only are the Communists excluded by chapter and verse but local labor parties suspected of "red" sympathies can be and are also excluded. Nationalization and the capital levy have been dropped from the docket of "practical politics". Philip Snowden, who may be presumed to know the intentions of his Party, goes so far as to commit himself to the thunderous iconoclasm of a Federal Reserve Banking system! (New York World, March 23, 1929.) Nothing is more certain than that the second MacDonald government will prove as helpless in the face of the stern realities as the parties of Capital. It has been truly observed that you cannot make a revolution with rosewater.

England's Economic Position

The chronic depression for the past six years in the British basic industries, coal, iron, steel, textiles, shipbuilding, is no pre-war cyclical fluctuation of "bad trade". That is why, during this whole period, successive British cabinets have achieved the impressive results of the members of the old German Club who sat around a table over the center of which was suspended an illuminated board bearing the device: "Es muß was geschehen". (Something must be done about it.)

England experienced a profound economic crisis and sharp class struggle following the Napoleonic wars, but that proved a crisis of growth, heralding an era of unexampled industrial expansion in a world where other countries were still in the grip of feudalism like Japan, struggling for national unification

like Germany, or pioneering like the United States. British pre-war prosperity was rooted in primacy and monopoly in the world market, and these advantages have since disappeared. In these circumstances, rationalization can as little avail as free trade or protection; it can only accentuate the dilemma of British capitalism in a world of increased productive power, intensified competition, and a diminishing market, and seriously enhance the danger of a second world war.

The Anglo-American antagonism has replaced the Anglo-German in the fateful role it plays in world politics. "We may as well face the fact," writes the London Economist, "that the United States in the 20th century is likely to be a much more formidable economic competitor than Germany was in the latter part of the 19th century. . . . A refusal on our part to make the possible and necessary adjustment would court political and economic disaster." On the point of how this adjustment is to be made, the Economist is not explicit but points to the pacific note struck by Hoover in his inaugural address. ("I covet for this administration a record of having further contributed to the advance of world peace.") Bourgeois pacifists generally hope for the elimination of the competitive causes of war through bigger and better production and sales agreements of international cartels. It was this same Hoover however, who as secretary of commerce formulated American economic policy in these terms: "The establishment of international price-fixing machinery will never be considered by the people of the United States. United States is more pledged to open competition than any other nation in the world." (U. S. Daily, February 31, 1927.) The United States Senate will sign the Kellogg Pact and pass the Cruiser Bill. The British cabinet will endorse the Locarno Agreement and arrange the Anglo-French naval compromise. The Geneva conferences will go up in smoke.

Weakness of Communist Party

In this changed position of British capitalism, the British working class has ceased to be the "bourgeois" working class it was in the description of Engel's letter to Kautsky in 1882. The basis of opportunism and "Liberal-Labor" politics has been profoundly undermined. But, unfortunately, despite the rich instructions of the capitalist offensive, of the great strikes, the general election finds the influences of the reformists strengthened and that of the revolutionaries weakened.

In the municipal elections of last year, the Communists lost even their three seats in Bethnal Green. The British Communist, R. P. Dutt, who is quite free from the taint of "Trotskyism", nevertheless makes this important admission: "At the same time as the leftward advance of the working class is going forward, in 1927, visibly in every direction, the Communist Party is not only stationary but actually going down." (Communist International, March 15, 1928.) At the last convention of the British Communist Party, its membership was actually down to 3,500. It is no pleasure to record this rout of British Communism but we are under no obligations to send Stalin war communiqués from the realm of Peter Pan trumpeting forth the heavy massacre of the enemy and our own trifling losses.

The impotence of the British Communist Party is the punishment history has meted out for the whole opportunist and centrist line of the Comintern since the Fifth Congress. At no point of its analysis has the Opposition led by L. D. Trotsky been vindicated with greater precision than its unflinching criticism of the subordination of the interests of the revolutionary movement to the requirements of the Anglo-Russian Committee (the bloc of the Soviet trade unions with the reformists of the General Council.) This policy was initiated in 1924 when Zinoviev, before his temporary break with Stalin, developed the idea that the avenue to the proletarian dictatorship in England might lie through the Purcells, Hickses et al.,

and not necessarily through the Communist Party, a revisionist conception against which Trotsky protested in his Lessons of October (1924).

It was continued under Bucharin who compared the proposal to withdraw from the Anglo-Russian Committee after the betrayal of the General Strike with the enormity of WITHDRAWING FROM THE SOVIETS IN 1917! Stalin on July 1926 before the Plenum of the Russian Central Committee defined the tasks of the Anglo-Russian Committee "to organize a broad working class movement against new imperialist wars, particularly against intervention in our country". To this the Opposition replied: "The more acute the international position grows, to that extent the Anglo-Russian Committee will become an instrument of British and international imperialism."

The Anglo-Russian Committee

The Anglo-Russian Committee became the Holy of Holies, which it was sacrilege to attack for inaction. The British Party leadership wanted to renew the agitation for a revival of the Anglo-Russian Committee after it had already become a carcass. In a "confidential" communication to the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. July 1926) the British C. E. C. PROTESTED AGAINST THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL AS "LACKEYS OF CAPITALISM". In the article of Dutt already referred to, he diplomatically reveals that "there is no doubt that there was some misunderstanding by Communists of the united front as a direct personal supporting and building up of the prestige of these treacherous pseudo-Left leaders, and their exposure only after the "event". The Bells, Murphys and Gallachers had drunk deeply at the well of the Stalin faction.

DID NOT TOMSKY PROPOSE AT THE 14th CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN PARTY THAT THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS SHOULD ENTER THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL? Does the membership of the Comintern know of Tomsky's famous telegram from Paris, May 12, to the Russian Polit-Bureau proposing that "the Communist Party of Great Britain should submit to the decision of the General Council" to break off the strike which in his view was to be considered as a "partial MORAL VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAT"? The so-called "new line" of the British Communists (independent political action and candidates) is too far at the tail end of events again to influence this election.

Trotsky on England

Towards the development of the British revolution, we of the Communist Opposition look forward with supreme confidence. "The entire world situation and role of the British proletariat in production and in society assure it of the victory provided its leadership be truly and resolutely revolutionary. . . . The Communist Party will prepare itself for the function of leadership only by a merciless criticism of the entire dominating staff of the English labor movement, only by a constant unmasking of the conservative, anti-proletarian, imperialist functionaries in all the fields of social life. . . . It would be a monstrous illusion that these 'left' elements of the Old School are capable of heading the revolutionary movement of the English proletariat in its struggle for power." These words were written by comrade Trotsky in his Whither England, in the heyday of the Anglo-Russian Committee and before the General Strike, and they are a golden text for working class strategy today. The second Labor government or Liberal-Labor coalition will collapse miserably under the weight of the contradictions of British imperialism, maturing still further the conditions for a mass Communist Party, capable of leading towards a revolutionary socialist workers' dictatorship.

The Lost Leader! The Strange Case of the Disappearance of John Pepper In Our Next Issue

Organize the Unorganized Communists

By James P. Cannon

One of the most outstanding weakness of the American Communist movement has been the failure to organize into the party ranks the great numbers of revolutionary workers who are sympathetic to Communism and to retain those who have joined in the past. The great disparity between the sentiment for Communism among the advanced workers and the organized strength of the movement is a striking feature of the situation which reflects the bankruptcy of the party leadership. The growth of the influence of Communist ideas on the one side and the decline in the number of organized Communists on the other presents a crying contradiction, a great evil in itself and the soil for the growth of other evils, among them a strengthening of bureaucratic and clique tendencies which are already developed to an enormous extent.

We do not speak here of the failure to produce a "Mass Communist Party" which is promised every six months in theses and proclamations. The conditions for a Mass Party in the true sense of the word have not existed in America. Our reference is to the failure to utilize the actually existing possibilities and to recruit into the organized Communist ranks the workers who belong there. A consideration of only a few of the most indisputable facts will suffice to show how really great has been this dereliction, and to confront the Communist militants with a number of serious questions as to what the future holds.

Some Membership Figures

Let us first take some available figures which show the trend of organizational retrogression. The National Office financial reports for the first eight months of 1928 show an average dues paying membership of 7,277. Compare this figure with the 1925 Convention report which showed an average dues paying membership for the first six months of that year of 16,325. Here is a loss of 9,048 members—more than 55 per cent. This is the first shocking reminder, in terms of membership figures, of what the present leadership of the party signifies. And the figures do not tell the whole story. Since 1925 we have had the experience of a number of important strikes, the great Sacco-Vanzetti movement and other opportunities to popularize our movement among the workers. Why did not the party double its membership in the past three years instead of decreasing it by more than half?

Go back further. In 1919 there were more than 100,000 members in the Socialist Party, and the Left Wing claimed a majority. Even James Oneal in his book on "American Communism" conceded 35,000 members to the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party at the time of the two conventions in September 1919. This figure is almost five times the number of the present party membership.

It may be argued that all these thousands of members of the Left Wing were not real material for the Communist movement and that the Palmer raids swept them away like chaff. Such a view brings us to a still more striking phenomenon. The report of the Unity Convention of the United Communist Party and the Communist Party printed in "The Communist" for July 1921 shows a dues paying membership of 12,028 represented in the convention. The underground movement nearly two years after the Palmer raids, conducting all of its work illegally, had 4,751 more members than the present party in the seventh year of its existence as a legal organization!

Loss of the Revolutionary Syndicalists

To the failure to retain more than a small fraction of the original members of the Left Wing in the Socialist Party and the failure to make as good a membership showing as the underground movement which worked under such great handicaps, must be added the inability to make any serious headway in recruiting from the tens of thousands of revolutionary syndicalists who should have found a place in the Communist ranks. Sympathy for the Russian Revolution which was and is the main spring of revolutionary tendencies in the labor movement was very strong among these work-

ers and remains so today. The Communist International regarded them as a necessary constituent part of the American Communist movement and included them in its invitation to the Second Congress. The theses of the Second Congress declared that the measure of success attained by the Communist Parties in gaining the support of the revolutionary syndicalist workers would be a criterion of their revolutionary effectiveness. The showing of the American Party in this respect is a dismal one indeed, and this has been a great loss to the movement. The repulsion of such genuinely proletarian elements has gone together with the facile attraction of petty bourgeois, intellectual and careerist elements. This two-sided process is reflected by the present leadership of the party.

These questions should have a prominent place on the agenda of the forthcoming National Conference of the Opposition. We are not merely waging a factional struggle; our responsibilities are deeper and broader. We must not only attempt to point out the right road for the future of the party, but we must ourselves take some positive steps on this road and undertake to carry out in practice the line which serves the interests of the movement. In the period that a corrupted bureaucracy forces a division within the Communist ranks—and in all our work we must acknowledge the actual existence of such a division—it is our duty to take upon ourselves directly all those tasks which we have the capacity to carry out.

Revolutionary Workers With Us

One of these tasks is to organize the unorganized Communist workers, to help to strengthen their grasp on basic Communist principles and to facilitate their training in the habits of disciplined organization. We have exceptional opportunities to make real headway with such an undertaking even now; and these opportunities will be multiplied as it becomes clear to the revolutionary workers that we are not held back from revolutionary duties by any organization fetishism or formalities.

One of the most significant aspects of the struggle which broke out into the open with our expulsion six months ago are the almost universal manifestations of sympathy for our cause which have been shown especially by the former members of the I. W. W.—true militants of the class war—who are sympathetic to the Russian Revolution and to the main ideas of Communism, but who have been alienated and repelled by the party regime. There are good reasons for this. The proletarian and revolutionary essence of the Opposition Platform, on an American as well as on an international scale, is obvious to these workers and they feel an instinctive solidarity with our fight. The same is true in general also of the rank and file of the non-party communistic workers who are the most free from bureaucratic influences and who have no axes to grind.

We ought to welcome this development and unhesitatingly facilitate their union with us. This is a many-sided task upon the accomplishment of which much of the future of the American Communist movement depends. It involves a program of practical activities in the class struggle which we must carry on without asking the permission of the party bureaucrats. It requires a widespread application of the tactics of the united front with these proletarian elements in joint activities and struggles of various kinds. It demands an approach to them as class brothers who have a rightful place in the movement of Communism.

For this a definite organization form is an absolute necessity. The direct recruitment of these workers into the ranks of the Opposition must begin and must be pushed forward with the greatest energy. It will be one of the most important duties of the National Conference of the Opposition to lay out the lines of his project and to decide on its organization forms.

Such a decision will turn a new page in the

American Communist struggle. The program of the bureaucrats is to split the movement.

The Program of the Opposition is the unification of the movement on the line of Leninism, against the corrupted bureaucrats and opportunists. The more militantly we wage our fight on all fronts, the more firmly we organize our forces and recruit new ones, the sooner we will win the victory and accomplish our aims.

The Interview with Comrade Trotsky

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

impossibility of finding lodgings in Constantinople right away, can one realize what it means for Trotsky, who was just the man who liberated the Crimea from Wrangel's army, to be literally thrown into this city where thirty thousand of Wrangel's men are located? It is pretty hard for Western comrades to grasp the full extent of this danger. I was convinced of it during my voyage.

Having no lodgings, the G. P. U. men chose a hotel for him. Under the threat of forcible expulsion in the middle of the night, our comrade was led to his present residence together with his wife and his son.

"I will tell all about this some day," he told me, "when I have the leisure for it. The comrades will see to what low police methods the struggle against the Opposition has descended."

In the meantime a burning question arises: How shall we provide for Trotsky's security? How shall we replace the protection that the presence of Sermouks and Posnansky would have provided?

In the course of these fruitful days where we confirmed our agreement by discussing the essential questions, the moments of relaxation were devoted to recollections. Recollections of the first years of the October. Recollections of Lenin, such abundant ones, where we perused some photographed letters (the originals having all been turned over to the Lenin Institute). Pictures of militants, of those who disappeared, of those also who rose in the harsh and thankless struggle of the Opposition, a Smilga, a Rakovsky, a Beloborodov and many others, young ones too, like Borish Lifshitz and Yakovin, who brought the contribution of their devotion and their work.

"You cannot imagine," Trotsky told me, "what the intellectual life of the deportees had to be to remain active. At Alma Ata, after the first few weeks, before the suppression of all correspondence and the rigorous isolation of recent times, we succeeded in establishing contact with many comrades, in spite of the fact that the G. P. U. was actively engaged in delaying letters, in intercepting them. All the great questions on the order of the day were taken up by our comrades, sometimes in simple letters, sometimes in serious, documented studies. What enthusiasm, what ardor in the discussion! (This is what Yaroslavsky, with the help of some stolen letters, interprets as the "decomposition" of the Opposition!) It is necessary that the comrades everywhere learn to know this movement of the deported Opposition, that they may know not only the repression suffered but also the work accomplished."

We will devote ourselves to this task.

... Very brief notes, written hastily since my return to Paris. I do not pretend to give here a writer's "impressions". I am not a writer and I do not feel the need of dwelling on the descriptive side of these days that will leave their mark in my life. I am a militant and I tell my comrades quite simply the emotion—the boundless emotion—that I felt on meeting again him who is our political chief.

Let this emotion be translated into work, into fruitful revolutionary action. That is the only thing that can interest my comrades.

The Illinois Miners Convention

By Arne Swabeck

Once again the corrupt officials in control of the United Mine Workers of America, Illinois District, have succeeded, through a packed convention, to squelch the opposition and further secure their domination of affairs for the next immediate period. While this union, due to the terrific attacks by the coal operators and treasonable conduct of its policies, has been cracked wide open and in many districts completely destroyed, in Illinois it still remains in firm control of all jobs functioning on a semi-company union basis.

The Weak Opposition

This convention (still in session at the time of this writing) showed the same manifestations as those of previous years. Despite the many expulsions of left wingers which have taken place and the outright packing with delegates representing nobody, there was considerable opposition to the bureaucrats, but it was entirely unorganized and even without a unified policy. So far its main fire has been directed against the corrupt practices of representation of blue sky locals, the election steals by the Fishwick machine last November, the union investment of \$150,000 in a West Virginia "open shop" mine and the falsification of last year's referendum vote on the wage cut agreement. On all of these issues the machine steam roller carried the day increasing its majority as it went along.

The Illinois agreement, signed by the officials last summer, is to remain in force until 1932. It contained a twenty per cent wage cut, practically abolished the tonnage basis on machine mining, and established what amounts to an arbitration commission to which the operators can appeal for further reduced day rates.

By a majority of 3 to 1 the rank and file defeated this agreement in referendum vote, but nevertheless it was declared carried. The result has been a further rapid mechanization of mining with a terrific speed-up system, a general reduction of the standard of living and increased unemployment. Although there are 12,000 less miners, production in 1928 increased by 340,000 tons over the previous year but with the average number of days worked by the miners reduced from 172 to 114.

The Status of the Left Wing

In return for this agreement the operators consented to retain the check-off system, the main instrument through which the control of employment is exercised. Thus the United Mine Workers and the Fishwick machine of officialdom, with all its filthy corruption, holds full sway in the Illinois coal fields. The National Miners Union, which today represents the left wing forces, has not yet been able to break or make an appreciable dent in this strangle hold. Nor has it by far shown sufficient energy in undertaking this task, despite the fact that conditions for growing revolt of the rank and file against the intolerable situation are not lessening but rather increasing.

While the whole leading and active stratum of the left wing has been expelled from the old union new opposition has developed with great possibilities of growth, but it is as yet entirely unorganized and without a positive program.

Wherever isolated activities have been carried on for the organization of the National Miners Union the response by the rank and file has not been lacking, as evidenced by the recent activities in the South, in Franklin and Saline Counties. Naturally the function of locals organized is primarily the one of progressive groups within the old union fighting for the program of the new. It cannot be otherwise so long as the job control of the U.M.W. of A. has not been broken.

The Task at Present

Moreover it becomes necessary for the left wing coal miners, in view of the existing conditions—the absolute job control exercised by the Fishwick machine—to devise the most practical, or most carrying on this parallel work of organizing the National Miners Union and

simultaneously utilizing all these forces in an organized manner and with a unified policy to again take up and intensify the fight for the militant program within the old union. There is no other solution to the problem of replacing the old semi-company union filled with corruption to the point of saturation.

This will require that these locals of the new union, while compelled to a degree to hide their identity to avoid expulsion, must immediately take the leadership in the struggle to redress all the grievances of the miners growing out of the present conditions. These grievances are numerous. The pressure upon these workers is becoming ever more intense. Unemployment is growing, and the continual growth of opposition shows the readiness to fight. It is the duty of the left wing to put forward positive slogans for this struggle and build a solid organizational basis. In addition to the slogans already given of breaking the Lewis-Fishwick company union and building the National Miners Union, there should be such as: fight against the speed-up system, division of work with abolition of the machine differentials, abolition of the check-off, cancelling of the company union agreement and the inauguration of the shorter work day (six hour day).

With the correct tactics and energetic organization work the possibilities for growing success in the Illinois coal fields are good.

The Splitters at Work

The I. L. D. and the T. U. E. L.

The Stalinite splitters in the Party are beginning to transplant their reckless course into non-Party organizations. The Lovestone-Foster clique are following a line, begun in the International Labor Defense and in the Trade Union Educational League, which can lead only to the complete disruption of the movement.

Removed from the I. L. D.

In St. Louis, Missouri, the Party fraction called a special meeting of the International Labor Defense and removed comrade H. L. Goldberg from the position of city organizer and comrade Elmer McMillan from the position as member of the City Committee. NEITHER OF THE TWO COMRADES WERE CALLED TO THE MEETING AND THEY WERE NOT PRESENT WHEN REMOVED! No charges were presented to them and they were given no trial. They were both removed for the sole and simple reason that they had previously declared their support to the Trotsky Opposition in the Communist Party. For their political viewpoint in the Party, they were removed from their positions in the I. L. D., an ostensibly non-Party organization.

Comrade Goldberg was one of the founders of the I. L. D., as was comrade McMillan. The latter is one of the defendants in the Michigan Communist case.

In Chicago, Illinois, comrade Arne Swabeck, one of the founders of the Party and of the Trade Union Educational League, has just been removed from the local executive committee of the T. U. E. L. His crime is the same as that of the St. Louis comrades. He supports the Opposition led by Trotsky. He is removed because of that alone from an ostensibly non-Party body. The vote of the executive committee that removed him was "unanimous"—since every member but one is a Party member and all are under discipline to carry out the instructions previously arrived at.

But even before the executive committee in Chicago removed Swabeck, the National Committee of the T. U. E. L. removed his name from that body's call for the Cleveland conference of the organization. Comrade Swabeck was unanimously elected to the National Committee at the last T. U. E. L. national conference in New York. He is now removed from the National Committee without charges presented against him, without a reason being given, and without a trial being held.

Attempt to Remove Voyzey

In the Illinois mine fields, the Party fakers are trying to repeat this criminal work with regard to comrade George Voyzey, who has been expelled from the Party for supporting the Opposition. Comrade Voyzey is one of the best known leaders of the left-wing miners. He was Communist candidate for president of the U. M. W. A. against Lewis in 1924 and would have been elected if the ballots had not been "counted" in typical Lewis style.

He is now President of the Illinois District of the National Miners Union, and his tremendous popularity among the miners makes even the Stalinite splitters proceed a little more cautiously with their attempts to remove him from his position in the Union. But the attempt is being made! Again no charges, for the crime of "Trotskyism" is sufficient. Voyzey was expelled by Lewis from the United Mine Workers of America for being a Communist. Is he to be removed from his post in the National Miners Union by the Stalinites for the same reason?

The ruinous, catastrophic results for the entire movement of such a policy should be clear to all workers. Such a course inevitably brings with it the narrowing down of the Party, and OF ALL LEFT WING ORGANIZATIONS, such as the I. L. D., the T. U. E. L., the new left-wing unions, TO A HOPELESS SECT! It will end in a policy of excluding ANY ONE AND EVERY ONE who is not a servile hand-raiser for Stalin, from any work in these movements. In the I. L. D. it will mean that members of the I. W. W., of anarchist groups, independent rank and file socialists, members of the Communist Opposition and other workers will be thrown out of or leave the organization. It will mean that in the T. U. E. L., the movement will be narrowed down to a narrow, tight circle of Party members only.

In the new unions under the direction of the Party it will mean that such a tight mechanical, arbitrary control will be established that the non-Party masses will be impossible to hold, and it will be even more difficult to attract and recruit new workers.

The policy of expulsions and removals from non-Party organizations for political views will, furthermore, strengthen the hand of the reformist, right wing fakers in organizations which they control. When they continue their splitting policy, the Party will be unable to protest effectively. The right wing fakers will say: "Don't kick. You are doing the same thing in the organizations you control!" The entire moral and political basis of the Communists and the left wing will be swept from under foot!

What Will Be the Result?

Every worker who has the interests of his class at heart will protest against this reactionary course of the Stalinites before it assumes larger proportions. We know where this course leads to unless a swift end is made of it: First, Communist workers are expelled from the Party; then from positions in the left-wing non-Party organizations; then from the left-wing unions and other bodies ALTOGETHER; will it end by them being driven off their jobs where the left-wing unions have control?

We are sounding a warning. Let every worker, the Communist workers in particular, stop and think. Sigman-Schlesinger-Shiplacoff-Beckerman and Company began the same way. First the Communists were expelled from the Socialist Party, then from the unions, finally they were removed from their jobs. The Stalinites have taken the first step of the Sigmans by expelling us from the Party. They are beginning the next step by removing our comrades from the non-Party organizations they control.

The workers must reply with a swift, loud "NO!" to this criminal course.

MASS MEETING IN TRENTON

On Sunday, March 31, comrade Martin Abern spoke to an audience of 150 workers at the Labor Lyceum in Trenton, N. J. The meeting was held under the auspices of a group of comrades in Branch 77, Independent Workmen's Circle. Comrade Abern spoke for two hours on "The Truth About Trotsky and the Platform of the Opposition" and then the interested audience put a number of questions to the speaker and participated in the general discussion.

The Draft Program of the Comintern

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE

It is not difficult to understand that the first stage of the coming third revolution can in a different and greatly abridged form repeat the stages which have already been passed, for instance, an imitation of the "common national front". But will that first stage be sufficient to give the Communist Party a chance to put forward and announce its "April" theses, that is, its program and tactics of the capture of power before the masses? What does the draft program say on this?

"The transition to the proletarian dictatorship is possible here (in China) only after a series of preparatory stages(?) only as a result of a whole period of growing over(?) of the bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution."

In other words all the "stages" that have already been gone through are not taken into account. What has been left behind, the draft program still sees ahead. This is exactly what is meant by dragging behind the tail. It fully opens the gates for new experiments in the spirit of Kuomintang rehearsal. Thus the concealment of the old solecisms inevitably prepares the road for new errors.

If we enter the new uprisings, which will develop at an incomparably more rapid rate than the last one, with a plan of "democratic dictatorship" that has already outlived its usefulness, there can be no doubt that the third revolution will be lost just as the second one.

4. ADVENTURISM AS A PRODUCT OF OPPORTUNISM.

The second paragraph of the same resolution of the February plenum of the E.C.C.I. says:

"The first wave, the broad revolutionary movement of workers and peasants which in the main proceeded under the slogans, and to a considerable extent UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, is over. It ended in several centers of the revolutionary movement with HEAVY DEFEATS for the workers and peasants, the physical extermination of the Communists and revolutionary cadres of the labor and peasant movement in general." (Our emphasis).

When the "wave" was surging high the E.C.C.I. said that the movement is entirely under the banner and leadership of the Kuomintang which even takes the place of Soviets. It is precisely on that ground that the Communist Party was subordinated to the Kuomintang. But that is exactly why the revolutionary movement ended with "heavy defeats." Now when these defeats have been recognized, an attempt is being made to delete the Kuomintang from the past as if it had not existed, as if the E.C.C.I. had not declared the blue banner its own.

There have been no defeats either in Shanghai or in Wuchang in the past; there were merely transitions of the revolution "into higher phases"—that is what we have been taught. Now the sum total of these transitions is suddenly declared to be "heavy defeats for the workers and peasants". However, in order to mask to some extent this unprecedented political bankruptcy of transitions and evaluations, the concluding paragraph of the resolution says:

"The E. C. C. I. makes it the duty of all sections of the E. C. C. I. to fight against the social democratic and Trotskyist slanders to the effect that the Chinese revolution has been liquidated (?)."

In the first paragraph of the resolution we were told that Trotskyism was the idea of PERMANENT revolution, that is, a revolution which is now growing over from its bourgeois to the socialist phase; from the last paragraph we learn that according to the "Trotskyists", "the Chinese revolution has been liquidated." How can a "liquidated" revolution be a PERMANENT revolution?

Only complete and reckless irresponsibility permits of such contradictions which eat up all revolutionary thought at its roots.

If we are to understand by "liquidation" of the revolution the fact that the labor and peasant offensive has been set back and drowned in blood, that the masses are in a state of retreat, that before another onslaught there must be, apart from many other things, a molecular process at work among the masses which requires a certain period of time the length of which cannot be determined beforehand; if "liquidation" is to be understood in this way, it does not in any way differ from the "heavy defeats" which the E.C.C.I. has at last been compelled to recognize. Or are we to understand li-

A Criticism of Fundamentals

By L. D. Trotsky

quidation literally, i. e., actual elimination of the Chinese revolution, that is, the very possibility and inevitability of its revival on a new plane? One can speak of such a perspective seriously only in two cases—if China would be doomed to dismemberment and complete ruin, for which there is not the slightest reason to think, or if the Chinese bourgeoisie would prove capable to solve the basic problems of Chinese life in its own non-revolutionary way. Is it not this last variant that the theoreticians of the "Alliance of Four Classes", who forced the Communist Party under the heel of the bourgeoisie, ascribe to us now?

The strength of Marxism lies in its ability to foretell. In this instance the Opposition can point to an absolute confirmation of their prognosis by history. At first concerning the Kuomintang as a whole, then concerning the left Kuomintang and the Wuchang Government, and finally, concerning the "deposit" on the third revolution, that is the Canton insurrection. What other confirmation can there be of one's theoretical correctness?

The very same opportunist line which by the policy of capitulation to the bourgeoisie, has already brought the revolution at its first two phases, the "heaviest defeat" "grew over" in the third phase, into a policy of adventurous attacks on the bourgeoisie, and made the defeat final.

If the leadership had hurried yesterday to leap across the defeats which it had brought about it would first of all have explained to the Communist Party of China that victory is not gained in one sweep, that on the road to an armed insurrection there is still a period of intense, untiring, and unparalleled struggle for political influence on the workers and peasants ahead.

On September 17, 1927 we said to the presidium of the E.C.C.I.:

"Today's papers report that the revolutionary army has taken Swatow. The armies of Ho Lun and Ye Tin have been marching already a few weeks. Pravda calls these armies revolutionary armies. But the question is what prospects does the movement of the revolutionary army which captured Swatow raise before the Chinese revolution? What are the slogans of the movement? What is its program? What should be its organizational forms? What has become of the slogan of Soviets, which Pravda suddenly advanced for a July?"

Without first organizing the Communist Party against the Kuomintang, in its entirety, without agitation among the masses for Soviets and a Soviet Government, without an independent mobilization of the masses under the slogan of agrarian revolution and national emancipation, without the creation, broadening and strengthening of the Soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants deputies in the localities, the rising of Ho Lun and Ye Tin, let alone their opportunist policy, could not fail to be an isolated adventure, a pseudo-Communist Makhno feat, which could not but clash against its own isolation, and it has clashed.

The Canton insurrection was a broader and deeper rehearsal of Ho Lun's and Ye Tin's adventure, only with immeasurably greater tragic consequences.

The February resolution of the E.C.C.I. combats certain putschist tendencies in the Communist Party of China, that is, tendencies in favor of sporadic action. It does not say, however, that these tendencies are a reaction to the entire opportunist policy of 1925-27, and an unavoidable consequence of the purely military commanding given from above to "change the step" without appraising all that had been done, without an open revaluation of the basis of the tactics, without a clear perspective. Ho Lun's march and the Canton insurrection were and had to be outbursts of sporadic action. A real antidote to putschism as well as opportunistism can be a clear understanding of the truth that from now on it behoves the Communist Party of China to guide the armed insurrections of the workers and poor peasants, the capture of power and the institution of a revolutionary dictatorship. If it will thoroughly assimilate the understanding of this, it will be little inclined to improvise military attacks on towns or armed

insurrections in traps or to chase humbly after the enemy's banner.

The resolution of the E.C.C.I. condemns itself to impotence by the fact alone that in arguing most abstractly concerning the inadmissibility of skipping through stages and the harmfulness of putschism, it entirely ignores THE CLASS CONTENT of the Canton insurrection and the short-lived Soviet regime which it brought into existence. We Oppositionists hold that this insurrection was an adventure of the leaders in an effort to save "their prestige" but it is clear to us that also an adventure develops according to certain definite laws which are determined by the structure of the social environments. That is why we seek in the Canton insurrection the features of the coming phase of the Chinese revolution. These features fully correspond with our theoretical analysis of the Canton uprising. But how much more imperative is it for the E.C.C.I. which holds that the Canton rising was a correct and proper link in the chain of struggle to give a clear class characterization of the Canton insurrection. However, there is not a word about this in the resolution of the E.C.C.I. although the Plenum met immediately after the Canton events. Is this not the most convincing proof that the present leadership of the Comintern, because it pursues a false policy, is compelled to play on alleged errors of the Canton insurrection of 1927, the meaning of which fully upsets the scheme of revolutions in the East which is outlined in the draft program?

TO BE CONTINUED

CANADA'S PROTEST AGAINST THE DEPORTATION

The Communist Opposition of the Canadian Party led by comrade Maurice Spector has just issued a four-page leaflet on the situation in the Soviet Union and the Comintern in connection with the deportation of comrade L. D. Trotsky. The leaflet, which is published simultaneously in English, Jewish and Ukrainian, appeals to the workers of Canada, particularly the Communists, to defend the Soviet Union against world capitalism and the Stalin regime, to support the Bolshevik Opposition and to protest against the deportation of comrade Trotsky. Thousands of copies of the leaflets have been distributed in the important centers of Canada.

L. D. TROTSKY

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A Criticism of Fundamentals

WITH AN

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To the Y. W. L. Convention

A Statement of the Expelled Communist Youth

Our expulsion from the Young Workers League, perpetrated by the Party bureaucracy and its counterpart in the League, took place because we announced our solidarity with the International Leninist Opposition and our intention to struggle for the line represented by it.

We view the campaign against the Leninist Opposition as the sharpest danger confronting the Comintern since such a struggle has had the effect—it could have no other—of strengthening the Right wing everywhere. The united attack "against the Left" (Stalin) by the Right and Center groups has only served to reinforce the Right-Centrist policies of the Comintern, and make more severe the difficulties of the Soviet Union. The Stalin faction, unable to solve these difficulties of the Soviet Union, on the basis of correct Bolshevik policy, has resorted to expulsions, imprisonments, exile and deportation as its "solution." The policy of the Opposition has been to maintain the foundations of Marxism-Leninism against all attacks. It has fought against all odds to uphold the revolutionary character of the Soviet Union and the Comintern. The crisis in which these find themselves today can only be solved on the basis of the correct political line of the Leninist Opposition.

The Struggle of the Opposition

The Opposition has conducted an energetic struggle against: (a) the revisionist theory of "building a complete socialist society in one country" (Stalin); (b) against the opportunist position of the Comintern in the Anglo-Russian Committee and their failure to break with the British trade union fakers following their open betrayal of the General Strike; (c) against the menshevik line of the E. C. C. I. in the Chinese Revolution, where an alliance was made with the national bourgeoisie in which the interests of the workers and peasants were sacrificed; (d) for a clear and determined struggle against the constantly increasing Kulak and Nepman danger; (e) for the establishment of Party Democracy on the basis of Lenin's resolution at the 10th Russian Party Congress, and against the bureaucratic regime, the means through which alien classes are exerting pressure on the Party and the Soviet apparatus.

These wrong policies of the Comintern leadership are reflected in the Young Communist International. Instead of being in the foreground in the struggle against opportunism, the Y. C. I. has been transferred into a rubber stamp which endorses the position of the Stalin faction on every occasion. The sharp decline in League membership throughout the world, and particularly in Germany, China and the United States, plus a noticeable weakening of the recruiting power of the Leagues, is testimony to the false line followed by the Y. C. I. in recent years. A woeful passivity, indifference and stagnation characterizes some of the largest sections of the Communist Youth.

The Situation in the American League

The situation in the American League merits the deepest attention of the entire movement. The League, reorganized legally in 1922, grew steadily until 1925, under the leadership which has now been expelled because of their adherence to the Opposition (Shachtman, Abern, Carlson, Edwards, Mass, etc.) In that period, free from faction struggle until the latter part of it when it was introduced by the Lovestone group. League units were organized in every part of the country. The third convention found a League with a member of more than 3,000. The *Young Worker* had been changed from a monthly magazine to a militant weekly newspaper, issued regularly. The influence, activity and ideological level of the League was on the increase.

The mechanical reorganization of the League's leadership, during which the leadership selected by the overwhelming majority of the membership was removed by the representatives of the C. I., and agents of the Lovestone faction put in their place, marked

the beginning of the decline of the organization. The League was thrown into a factional crisis from which the leadership has been unable to extract it to this very day. Incompetent and bureaucratic, divorced from the proletarian youth and regarding them with the superciliousness of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, the Zam-Herberg-Darcy (Lovestone) leadership of the League led the organization along the downward curve of development at a steady and hardly interrupted pace. This leadership, transferring the opportunism of their Party faction directly into the League, has been guilty of numerous crimes against the revolutionary youth movement.

The "Accomplishments" of the Present Leadership

Instead of unifying the split ranks of the League, the present leadership has led it from one factional crisis into another. Instead of increasing the membership of the League, it has driven away workers so that the League membership today is considerably below 2,000. Instead of proletarianizing the League, the percentage of intellectuals and students is today higher than previously, as even the Y. C. I. must admit. Instead of strengthening the press, it has been forced to retreat to a monthly paper—that is, back to where the League was in 1922-23. Despite all the boasting and self-praise, the League is today as organizationally chaotic as it was in its worst days, and the nucleus reorganization remains on paper. Shop campaigns are non-existent and trade union work is a formality in which a handful of functionaries participate. The anti-militarist work swings from bourgeois pacifism to the wild "leftism" of military training, uniforms, and demands—in the present situation!—for a workers' militia. The parliamentary activity of the League can probably best be characterized by the fact that the 1928 Election Number of the *Young Worker* did not appear until some time after Hoover's election! The level of understanding of the membership is at low ebb, and the political education of the young Communists is confined chiefly to cramming the falsifications of Stalinist revisionism down the throats of the membership.

The outstanding and incontrovertible fact is that, in spite of the far more favorable objective conditions, the struggles, and the experiences the League has enjoyed in the last four years over the previous four, the League today is weak, unimportant, stagnant and torn by factionalism. That is the balance sheet of the leadership of the League which has been instrumental in expelling many of the best and most capable comrades from the organization for their support to the revolutionary line of the Opposition.

The opportunities for growth have been many and frequent. The effects of rationalization and generally increased exploitation of the youth, the growing militarization of the country with its threat of imperialist war to the workers, the growing resistance of the workers expressed in the struggles in the coal, clothing, textile and other industries—all of these show that a fertile field for agitation and recruiting was open to the League. These can still be taken advantage of if a turn is made by the League members.

The Capitulators in the Minority

The struggle of the League Opposition was hampered in the past by the confusion and capitulationist ideology of a section of its leaders (Williamson, Harvey, and for a time, Kaplan). Attempting to make a mechanical separation of the struggle within the Party from that in the League, they weakly surrendered the principle struggle on one occasion after another. Done in "the interests of unity" it actually resulted in the further entrenchment of the Lovestone group in the League and the intensification of the factional situation. The futility of their "struggle" and their hopeless confusion and political cowardice has been fre-

quently demonstrated. The revolutionary youth must reject both the corrupt, dilletante Lovestone group in the League and the capitulationist minority. The latter, standing as it does on the platform of the Stalin faction, is waging a fight that is devoid of principal content. Its accession to leadership in the League would signify a victory for Stalinism, but not a victory for the proletarian revolutionary current in the Communist movement.

The differences existing in the League cannot be separated from those in the Party; those in the Party are vitally connected with the struggle in the whole International. The difficulties in the International cannot be solved on the basis of a bloc between the Right (Bucharin-Tomsky-Rykov) and the Center (Stalin) but only by the victory of the Leninist Opposition led by comrade Trotsky. To this victory we have devoted our efforts.

The comrades of the expelled Opposition have been active members of the League for many years, engaged in work in many spheres of League activity. The expelled comrades are proletarians who have in many cases played a leading part in the work of building the movement. The first condition for the unification of the League and Party is the immediate reinstatement of all the expelled Communists with full rights of discussion and clarification.

For the Opposition Platform!

The Platform of the Opposition, sent to the Sixth Convention of the Party, correctly says: "The main task of the League members is to fight relentlessly for the line of revolutionary principles now being defended by the Leninist Opposition. An additional pre-requisite is the eradication of all corrupt petty-bourgeois tendencies in the League, of opportunist following in the path of the Party faction regime, of 'smart-Aleckism', cynicism, and playing with the working class movement."

We stand on the line of the International Opposition and the Platform of the Communist Opposition in the United States, as the expression of the correct revolutionary course to be followed on an international and American scale. The League as a whole must adopt this line. We are determined to carry on the struggle for its victory.

SIGNED: Albert Glotzer, Mike Zalisko (Chicago); Joe Angelo (Springfield, Ill.); Gerry Allard (Christopher, Ill.); Martha Burns (Gary); Sam Curtis, Martin Payer, Charles Mahler, E. Carlson (St. Louis); Ruth Reynolds (Detroit); Carl Cowl, Sarah Avrin (Minneapolis); B. Morgenstern, Sol Lankin, Leon Goodman, Nathan Shanker, Joe Lesack (Philadelphia); Mac Kudler, Irving Spirengen, Joseph Fox, Harold Robins, Joseph Friedman, George Clark, John Justin, Sam Watts, Leon Dennenberg, Harry Stone, Louis Stone, Paul Green, Jean Tishman, Ben Gross, Kari Hall, (New York); Bob Green (Wilmington).

Where to Buy The Militant

The following is a partial list of newstands, bookstores, and Agents from whom *The Militant* can be purchased. The *Militant* is also obtainable from our Opposition Group Secretaries:

MALDEN, MASS.: Comrade Dubin, 15 Semmett St.
 BOSTON MASS.: Shapiro's Bookstore, 7 Beach St. near Washington.
 ROXBURY, MASS.: Charles Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.
 CHELSEA, MASS.: Charles Kleinfield, at 105 Shirliff St.
 NEW YORK CITY AND BROOKLYN
 At various newstands around Union Square & 14th St. & Broadway; Second & Third Aves. on 14th St.; newstands in the Bronx, and various stands in Brooklyn. Also, at *The Militant*, 340 East 19th St., New York City.
 TROY, N. Y., Allen's Bookstore, Hendrick Hudson Hotel.
 NEW HAVEN, CONN., S. Gendelman, 393 Sherman Ave.
 PHILADELPHIA, PA., Leon Goodman, 327 So. 11th St.
 CLEVELAND, OHIO., Joseph Keller, 3004 Vega Ave.; L. Bryar, 2211 East 55th St.
 YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, Denis Plarinos, 387 East Federal St.
 DETROIT, MICH., Barney Mass., 8720-12th St., Apt. 2; "Aidas" Book Shop, 1713-24th St.
 CHICAGO, ILL., Cheshinsky's Community Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Bornstein's Bookstore, 1326 So. Kedzie Ave., Albert Glotzer, 2610 Thomas Ave., Horsley's Bookstore, 1623 W. Madison.
 SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Joe Angelo, 431 No. Wesley St.
 SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., McDonald's Bookstore, 65 Sixth Street.
 LOS ANGELES, CALIF., Western News Stand.
 RICHMOND, CALIF., Rosa Powell 704 McDonald Ave.
 KANSAS CITY, MO., Buhler's Book Store, 220 W. 12th St.
 ST. LOUIS, MO., Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Avenue.
 MINNEAPOLIS: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
 SEATTLE, WASH., Raymer's Bookstore, 1616 Fourth Ave.
 TORONTO, ONT., Maurice Spector, 231 Palmerston St.; Goodman, News Vendor, Queen St. W.
 EDMONTON, ALTA., Labor News Stand, 9796 Jasper Ave.
 HAMILTON, ONT., A. Altman, 109 So. Catharine St.
 WINNIPEG, MAN., National Book Store, 441 Selkirk Ave.

A Page of Letters from the Militants

"HAVE BACKBONE IN PRINCIPLE"

Bethlehem, Pa.

Dear Comrades:

Enclosed find \$2.00 for one year's subscription to the Militant. The more I read the paper the better am I acquainted with the true situation concerning the Comintern, the Russian Party and our own Party in the U. S.

It is a shame how the Party press handles the most important matters and questions of fundamental principles and tactics of the Communist movement. I never thought that a Marxist-Leninist Party could degenerate itself so low through its professional, backboneless puppets, the so-called American "leaders". Well, I am old enough to withstand these shocks and young enough to understand and fight for the correct position in the labor movement.

I am with you 100%. I came from the DeLeon school in which I learned two important things: *to have backbone in principles and be honest about them.* I have come to the conclusion that our so-called "leaders" have neither of them.

Yours for self-criticism and organization,

K. CZAPKO.

THE SITUATION IN YOUNGSTOWN

Youngstown, Ohio.

Dear Comrades:

There is a strong and well-grounded suspicion among the comrades of our group here that the four detectives who attended our meeting today and the four uniformed John Laws on the outside were called there by some of the official Party members of this city.

Two of the "official" observers at our meeting threw up their hands and exclaimed: "See, Trotsky meeting held under police protection." However, the chief dick told us what he thought of things before he left.

This chief dick, a burly rummy-faced son of Saint Patrick, told us in unmistakable terms that both Trotsky and Cannon should be led to the whipping post and made to pay for their sins. So who called John Law?

King Israel Amter, the district organizer of District Six, was here last month. When he saw comrade Plarinos on the sidewalk talking to two of the Young Workers League members he felt as though the earth trembled beneath his feet. However, Plarinos could not see his way to swallow his majesty's peremptory commands and did not hesitate in telling him so. These commands were to keep away from the Workers Hall and so forth. Then Amter also issued instructions to the members here to keep all sinful renegades and counter-revolutionaries away from the hall and especially this Plarinos must be kept at a safe distance. But the members have so far refused to obey these instructions. Poor old lady "discipline" is waked and buried!

Comradely yours,

CHARLIE BYRNE

FROM A NON-PARTY REBEL

Dear Comrades:

Jamestown, N. Y.

I am sending you a check for \$1.05. That will be 30 cents to the good. I have been selling the Militant to workers here that are interested in the movement.

Last Wednesday we had the world's biggest liar here. He is the editor of the Ny Tid, the Party Scandinavian paper, and we had a discussion. I took the side of the Opposition. This is the first time it was discussed openly in Jamestown. I have fought the bureaucracy long before you were expelled from the Party and I am not a member of the Party just for that reason.

Yours for the solidarity of the workers.

ARVID S. CARLSON,

GREETINGS TO PROGRESS OF YOUTH

Christopher, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

Your circular calling for the National Conference at hand. I am of the opinion that it is highly imperative. Mainly for a brighter clarification on the perspective of the International Communist Opposition. What the developments are in Germany, France, Russia and elsewhere should, in my opinion, be the trend of our movement in America.

I am highly interested in advances of the youth movement. Much is to be expected from the younger Communists, in my

New Material from Trotsky

As this issue of the Militant goes to press, we have received some extremely important and timely material from comrade Trotsky. The first is an article by the exiled Bolshevik leader which we received via Paris, entitled "The Crisis in the Center-Right Bloc and the Perspectives". The article is a brilliant analysis of the present conflict between Stalin's faction and the Bucharin-Tomsky Right wing, information on which has been suppressed from the membership of the International. The second is an article received directly from comrade Trotsky in Constantinople. It is a letter written March 27, 1929, and addressed to the workers of the U. S. S. R. exposing the demagogic campaign of the Stalins and Yaroslavskys against Trotsky and the Opposition and explaining clearly to the Russian workers and those of other countries the reason for the publication of his series of articles in the bourgeois press.

The Militant will begin printing these articles with the very next issue. Watch for their appearance. Subscribe NOW to the Militant!

estimation. The response of several Y. W. L. members to our cause is gratifying. Especially when the facts have been suppressed from them, it shows healthy signs. Their alertness to the crisis in the Communist movement is a dynamic factor for future political victories.

I have just returned from Colorado and have only fairly reported on the situation to Swabeck. The Party appears very much dead with the National Miners Union doing very little work in spite of Corbushly's courageous work. In my next letter I will tell more. In the meantime send me the information on the results of the Party as I am absolutely cut off from all sources of news except the Militant.

GERRY ALLARD.

AN ANSWER TO GANGSTERISM

Paterson, N. J.

Dear Comrades:

Enclosed find one dollar subscription for the Militant. Please include the last two numbers.

I was present at the last meeting held on the 19th of the month, in answer to the first one I attended in February. I wanted to see whether the W. P. would act like organized gangsters.

I am subscribing to the Militant in answer to the Party's

The Expelled

Among the comrades recently expelled by the Party bureaucrats for supporting the standpoint of the Opposition is the following:

New York City

NATHAN BERMAN, Needle Trades Worker

Wilmington, Del.

BOB GREEN, Young Workers League.

Toronto, Canada

JOE SILVER, National Executive Committee, Young Communist League

THE OPPOSITION IN CLEVELAND

Comrade John Brahtin, of the Cleveland Opposition Group, spoke on "The Situation in Russia and the Platform of the Russian Opposition" before the members of the *Bildungsverein Eintracht* on April 4th.

Sixty-three Bolsheviks on Hunger Strike in Russian Prison

We have just received an appeal issued in Moscow, February 15, 1929, by the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition, addressed to all workers and members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It deals with the astounding facts of the hunger strike begun February 4 by 66 Bolshevik Oppositionists in the Tobolsk prison (in Siberia). Among them are comrades Dreizer, Gavsky, Grinchenko, Grinschtein, Raunov, Mino, Bronstein, Mazenko, Valentinov, Subrov, Ivanov and others. Deported to Siberia, they were imprisoned in Tobolsk. Their request for shoes and warm clothing was refused. The old Bolshevik Drobnis had both his legs frozen. The prison regime was intolerable. All mail was forbidden the prisoners. They were prevented from buying their own food. No exceptions were permitted, not even for comrade Wainov, who is gravely ill, or for comrade Turmann, who is in the seventh month of pregnancy.

To protest against this shameful regime, the comrades began a hunger strike. Twelve of them, including Drobnis who was twice decorated with the Order of the Red Army, are in a serious condition in the prison hospital.

The lives of all these comrades are in danger! Their only crime was their support to the struggle for Leninism in the Russian Party. The meanest criminals in the Soviet Union are not treated in this horrible manner. Stalin is venting his venomous rage upon these comrades for their devotion to the teachings of Lenin.

The appeal of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition calls upon the Russian workers to raise their voices immediately in the factory, in the Party, in the press, to the Party committees—everywhere.

The lives of 63 Bolsheviks who have sacrificed everything for the cause of the revolutionary working class are in the balance! *Protest!*

Gangsterism in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA—A gang of nine Stalinite hoodlums, led by one Steele, brutally attacked comrades Leon Goodman and Bob Green who were engaged in selling the Militant at the Philadelphia Workers Forum where Scott Nearing was lecturing on Sunday, April 7. The two Opposition comrades had been selling the Militant for quite a while, when Steele, a paid functionary of the Young Workers League, together with eight other hoodlums, swooped down and told our comrades "to beat it". Goodman and Green were pushed down the stairs to the sidewalk and then into the middle of the street. Attempts were made to tear the Militants from their hands and when they resisted, the Stalinite heroes (nine against two) began to beat them violently. Comrade Goodman's right eye was cut from a blow with brass knuckles and comrade Green was hit on the back with a club.

Steele, who joined the League from the U. S. Army, has found that the "knock-'em-down-and-carry-'em-out" tactics employed by hard-boiled sergeants and other officers against privates, is quite in conformity with the infamous spirit of gangsterism and hoodlumry brought into the Communist movement by the Stalin clique.

The Stalinites have not yet overcome their chagrin at being so decisively defeated at the Open Forum meeting at which comrade Cannon spoke in Philadelphia a few weeks ago. The gangster tactics which disgrace the movement will be actively resisted by our Philadelphia comrades.

policy. If comrades break through the side doors at comrades' meetings, it is time for all Communists to think. Why does not the Party have open meetings to discuss the differences?—

Comradely,

HELEN HORN.

FROM AN IOWA FIGHTER

Kellogg, Iowa.

Dear Comrades:

I have received the last copy of the Militant. I have read every word that was printed in this latest copy and gave its contents close consideration. I would be glad to receive it regularly. I do not belong to the Communist Party but I have supported it since its inception and I am, I believe, the oldest reader of the Daily Worker. I took the old Ohio Socialist before the division came at the St. Louis Emergency Convention and I see for the last number of months that the Daily is taking the same course as the Appeal to Reason used to. I am well informed about the revolutionary movement, and I can tell when the movement gets adulterated and when the officials run the Party in an opportunist and bureaucratic manner.

Always yours for the revolution,

I. A. BLASUTCH

Trotsky Cannot Enter Germany

"BERLIN, April 12 (Associated Press)—The German Cabinet after a brief meeting officially announced today that it had declined the request of Leon Trotsky, Soviet exile, for a visa to his passport, which would permit him to enter Germany."

The reactionary German regime of Stresemann and Hermann Mueller has finally made its negative decision on comrade Trotsky's request for permission to enter Germany. The Stalinite press here has maintained a significant silence about this decision. The united front of Stalin with the fascist dictator Kemal Pasha, based on the secret agreement between them to keep Trotsky a virtual prisoner in Turkey, with his life constantly menaced by the White Guard emigres in Constantinople, has been openly extended. This shameful united front now includes the reactionary heads of the German government, Stresemann and the "socialists" Hermann Mueller and Rudolf Hilferding, who have joined with Stalin to keep Trotsky from Germany where he might participate actively in the revolutionary labor movement.

What will the pen-prostitutes of the Stalin-Yaroslavsky school say now about the "counter-revolutionary united front with Trotsky"? They will continue their barrage of lies and slander in order to cover up the abominable unity of Stalin and the bourgeoisie against Trotsky. The truth will inevitably reach the workers.

STATEMENT

OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Militant published twice a month at New York, N. Y. for April 1, 1929.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Martin Abern who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Opposition Group, Communist Party of America, 340 E. 19th St., New York. Editor, James P. Cannon, 340 East 19th St., New York Managing Editor, none. Business Manager, Martin Abern, 340 E. 19th St., New York.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Opposition Group, Communist Party of America, New York, N. Y. James P. Cannon, Editor, 340 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y. Martin Abern, Assoc. Editor, 340 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y. Max Shachtman, Assoc. Editor, 340 E. 19th St., New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that these two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Martin Abern, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of March 1929. Henry J. Friedman. (My commission expires March 30, 1930.)