

THE MILITANT

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Heavy Decline in N. Y. Jobs

Mill Bosses Plan Company Unions To Counteract Trade Union Drive

Federated Press

While right and left wing unions plan further organization in the south, the A.F. of L. unions by a "spirit of cooperation and friendship" for the employers, the National Textile Workers Union by militant class conflict, boss morale in the textile industry is bolstered by a January ideological "inventory" taken by Textile World, trade paper of the McGraw-Hill chain.

Surveying the "guide posts" needed by employers in turning back A.F. of L. overtures, even of the meekest type, this employers' organ urges more employe representation—company unions—and suggests "sound labor-extension" systems.

"Selling" Labor New Chain

It advises employers to develop company unions such as now keep workers in bondage in the great Amoskeag mills and Pacific mills, the latter with southern branches. And by "sound" labor extension it means the kind that can be fastened on the workers without evoking spontaneous strikes such as developed in the Carolinas last spring. It means preparing the workers minds in advance and properly "selling" them the new shackles.

A similar idea runs through an article on group insurance for textile workers appearing in the same issue. It suggests that this insurance should not be given workers as a gratuity but they should pay a little something for it, thus furthering "joint participation between employer and employe." The group insurance against sickness and disability, the textile organ declares, must be used to "create an entering wedge for real cooperation between employer and employe", in other words be the first step toward company unionism or "inside organization . . . useful from a social standpoint and also as a means of discussing labor problems and adjusting labor difficulties". The insurance plans are thus but a bait on the hook of the company union.

In order to get the worker to contribute "voluntarily" to other forms of inside insurance, Textile World advises that it may be necessary to have the company make a "gift of group life insurance to all employes who become members of the cooperative organization". And it is cheap at the price, it adds, being only \$4 to \$5 a year for a unit of \$500 of insurance, or less than the worker in the average cotton mill is robbed out of his pay envelope in a single week. This bribe of \$5 a year is expected to keep the spinner or weaver contented and loyal and efficient under the new stretch-out plans of operation. It is obvious from the article that by this small annual outlay the employe "indirectly benefits himself far more than he could by any other agency. The main object is to create greater productivity through establishing greater contentment."

"Moderization" Expected

Southern textile mill owners, who are specialists in the older forms of paternalism, such as cheap company shacks, controlled schools and subsidized parsons, are now expected to modernize their "employer employe relationships" by introducing the insurance features as more subtle but no less enslaving devices.

Insurance companies and powerful enemies of social insurance, state old age pensions and the like, are constantly pushing the company group insurance and more

1500 Unemployed Demonstrate in St. Louis Mayor Answers the Demand for Work or Relief by Arresting Two Leaders

By H. L. GOLDBERG

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—(By Telegram)—Under the leadership of the Communist League (Opposition), fifteen hundred unemployed workers marched through the downtown section of St. Louis to the City Hall. At a mass meeting there, demands were made upon the Mayor for work or relief. The answer of the mayor was the arrest of two of the leaders of the demonstration, Elmer McMillan, secretary of the local branch

of the Communist League, and Ralph Martin.

The numbers of St. Louis unemployed continue to grow by leaps and bounds, and thousands of workers have already scraped through an extremely bitter winter with no prospects for relief in sight, but rather a worsening of conditions. The reply of the Mayor to the demands of the unemployed shows what aid they will get from that source.

Tear Gas is «Popular» Weapon against Labor

By Harvey O'Connor

(FP)—Tear gas is becoming quite popular among sheriffs to disperse union pickets. Sheriff John J. Snyder of Northampton county, Pennsylvania, testified he used tear gas gun of the same type used by Sheriff Adkins in Marion, N. C. when bystanders insisted on watching him arrest seven union pickets at the Kraemer scab mill at Nazareth. When the onlooking Nazarenes failed to move on at the sheriff's order, he fired pointblank at them.

In all 26 pickets have been arrested for ignoring a court order that only two pickets are to be permitted in front of the Kraemer mill. Announcing that they considered this a violation of their constitutional rights, the strikers picketed anyway, the sheriff arrested seven, became angry when he found bystanders interested, shot tear gas at them and proceeded to make more arrests. Josephine Kaczor, union organizer, has been arrested so many times she has lost count; her face has been mugged for the rogue's gallery and her fingers printed for the Bertillon bureau.

It is hard to put the seriousness of the unemployment situation in the east into words. Pictures would tell the story better however. An enterprising labor photographer should be on hand in front of newspaper offices when the first edition with classified ads comes off the press. In Newark, for example there is a mob of 1,500 men in front of the Evening News plant daily, waiting to snatch the first copies from the newsboys. Groups of 50 to 200 building tradesmen can be seen standing by the four construction jobs in Newark, hoping they may be called. About the Central market, the labor cameraman could get shots of men, women and children digging into barrels looking for scraps of food.

35 Electricians Will Burn to Death in 1930

NEW YORK—(FP)—Thirty-five union electrical workers will burn to death on job-giving, death-dealing wires during 1930. That is the prediction of the Electrical Workers Journal, backed by the unimpeachable figures of the Brotherhood's insurance figures. Each year since 1922 has seen 29 to 45 deaths of union men by electrocution. Insurance statistics reveal moreover

thereby building a wall of defense against the demands for complete social insurance from the state that workers will make when they get organized. At the same time the adoption of these schemes is a part of the anti-union defense of the corporations throw up to meet the present crusades of the unions both north and south

Every Industry Reports Slump

ALBANY, N. Y.—(FP)—Not since 1920, the year of the severe panic, has any single month registered such sharp decline in employment in New York state factories as December, asserts the state labor department. The drop from November was 4% following an October-November decline of 2% in the number of jobs reported from 1,500 factories representative of all important industries.

Every industry reported the slump. All the metals showed general losses, with iron and steel mills cutting forces for the fourth successive month. Automobile plants were 15% under 1928. Machinery and electrical apparatus firms, all the clothing industries, and textiles reported workers dumped into the job market. Chemicals, glass, foods and even publishing and printing showed decline.

1929 as a whole marked an advance of four points in employment over 1928, due to the high level of industrial activity in the first three quarters of the year. The general index of employment was 98, based on the three year average of 1925-27. The average wage reached a top figure of \$30.47 in October.

Massachusetts Building Trades Workers Severely Hit

BOSTON—(FP)—Twenty-six percent the 48,000 union building trades mechanics included in state labor department figures were jobless on Dec. 2, according to a report just released. The percentage has been rising steadily from 17.8% in November and 15% in October. In December of 1928, also a bad season for building trades workers, 23.7% were jobless.

Unemployment is much worse now, recent estimates showing half of Boston's building tradesmen on the street. Even so state labor department statistics for early month of December showed 72% of union lathers jobless; 34% of painters; 32% of bricklayers; 26% of carpenters, and 26% of building laborers. These are the most important crafts.

In Lowell 57% of all building workers were out of jobs; in Holyoke, 49%; Springfield, 24%; Lynn, 38%; Lawrence, 31% and Salem, 31%.

5,000 FEWER JOBS IN BOSTON

BOSTON—(FP)—Despite New England Council ballyhoo that that section is not decadent and has no industrial depression from which to recover, the manufactures census of the state department of labor and industries paints another picture. Figures just tabulated for Boston show a decrease between 1926 and 1928 of 5,000 workers, of whom 2,000 were dropped in the second year. The boot and shoe industry is Boston's largest, with printing and publishing second.

POLICE CALLED OUT FOR JOBLESS

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—Seven police were summoned when more than 300 job hunters flooded the employment office of the Edward Budd Corp., auto body builders. The crowd rushed over when word was passed through the district that several men had been employed the previous morning.

NEW ORLEANS—Standard Oil of Louisiana is spreading the company union of its parent organization, Standard Oil of New Jersey, into this region. A conference has just been held by 12 representa-

that 50% of the deaths in the union result from occupational disease. Last year pneumonia—aftermath of exposure on crippled wire systems—took a higher toll than electrocution, with tuberculosis a high third. Falls from poles killed 26. Tuberculosis, pneumonia and heart disease, the Journal points out, are occupational diseases, part of "labor's dividends". Louis I. Dublin, statistician for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., is quoted as estimating that a worker pays eight years out of his life for the privilege of holding a job. His average span of life is eight years shorter than that of his employer, of bankers, brokers and white collar employees

Birmingham Big Open Shop Center

Unemployment Rife in South

By T. S. Rawlings

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(FP)—The city selected by the Charlotte A. F. of L. conference January 6 for campaign headquarters is the "Pittsburg of the South" and its main industrial center. Six million tons of iron ore were mined near Birmingham in 1929 and smelted in its great steel mills. Iron meets coal in this city to assure its industrial future. The textile industry, absolutely unimpeded by any laws restricting hours of labor for women and children thrives on the lowest wage scale in the country. One third of Birmingham's workers are Negroes, used extensively in the mines and steel mills.

Among the great industrial plants which line Jones Valley are Tennessee Coal and Iron, American Steel and Wire, Sloss-Sheffield, Republic Iron and Steel, Lehigh Portland Cement and Pullman.

Acute Unemployment

Acute unemployment prevails throughout Jones Valley. Of 125,000 workers in the district, 20 to 60% are jobless, according to various estimates. The Chamber of Commerce estimates 20% out of work; the Associated Industries, 33%; the Building Trades Council, 50%; and the Central Trades and Labor Council, 60%. The president of the Birmingham Building Trades Council told Federated Press that 90% of the union builders were idle.

Unemployment is spreading throughout the south, bringing wage cuts in its wake. The Piedmont mill in Gastonia, N.C. has reduced wages 20%, cutting the payroll \$1,000 a week. The mill is owned by the Goldberg Bros., operators of several mills in Gaston county. Spinners suffered reductions from \$14.30 to \$10.78; card hands from \$14.40 to \$12. Spinners piece rates have been cut from 18 cents a hand to 16 cents. Creelers and spoolers who formerly got \$15 now receive \$12.

Sixty-Hour Week

The 60-hour week, with five 12-hour night shifts, and five 11-hour day shifts plus five hours on Saturday, is the rule in the Goldberg mills. Women work the night shift, never leaving their machines, even for lunch.

Open shop Chambers of Commerce in Dallas, Tex. and Oklahoma City have announced that they mean to fight the new labor drive to the last ditch. They have reaffirmed, in language as emphatic as was used 10 years ago, that the chambers will actively support and work for non-union conditions. Their statement followed requests from central labor unions within cities that the open shop divisions within the chambers be abolished.

Attempt New Frame-Up in Gastonia

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—North Carolina justice is out for another victim to appease its appetite for revenge in the killing of Police Chief Aderholt of Gastonia. C. D. Saylor, organizer for the Natl. Textile Workers Union, has been thrown into Mecklenburg county jail and is held for \$10,000 cash bail, charged with Aderholt's murder, while the state seeks its only witness against him.

This witness is Robert Allen, a striker, who recently signed an affidavit that he had been forced to make a "confession"

against Saylor, implicating him in the shooting on the night of June 7 when Aderholt and a crew of drunken police raided the strikers' tent colony in Gastonia. Saylor was nabbed when he appeared for trial on a perjury charge, brought against him because he swore that former Congressman Bulwinkle and County Prosecutor Carpenter were in the mob that kidnapped him and two other textile organizers in September.

Allen has disappeared. The flimsy murder frameup is expected to collapse.

Bishop Demands Catholic Unions in Canada

By John Robur

OTTAWA—(FP)—Archbishop Forbes of Ottawa has issued a pastoral letter calling upon Catholics in the Ottawa diocese to form national Catholic unions. These unions already exist in the province of Quebec but have very little strength elsewhere. In the same pastoral the Archbishop directs Catholic farmers to form cooperative organizations along religious lines.

Canada, it is officially stated by the Department of Labor, is the only British country where there are trade unions de-

signed exclusively for adherents to the Roman Catholic Church. In England there are Catholic trade unions but they work within the larger non-sectarian trade unions.

The membership of the national Catholic unions in Canada is not now as great as it was some years ago. In 1919, the earliest date for which information is available, their membership was reported at 31,000. It reached its peak at 45,000 in 1921. In 1928 the membership reported by the Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada was 26,000.

Company Union Established in Elizabethton

ELIZABETHTON, Tenn.—(FP)—Company unionism is being fastened on the rayon workers of the Glantzstoff-Bemberg plants in this district through a "plant council plan". Details have been elaborated. Last summer workers, in two strikes defeated the Loyal Workers company union, and the big German firm promised to scrap the organization.

In the agreement ending the second strike however was a clause for the formation of workers' grievance committees in the various departments. These committees are the framework for the new company union scheme. The rayon plant has been widely used, the company said, by Bethlehem Steel, International Harvester, Standard Oil and other companies known for their anti-union stand.

The new substitute for unionism, the company candidly admits, was concocted in its own offices. It provides for a joint council in which employes and management have equal voice and vote in considering wages, hours and other matters. If deadlocked, they may by mutual consent submit the controversy to arbitration.

Cloaked with the appearance of fairness, such boards in other companies have effectively stemmed demands for better wages and shorter hours. The company usually manages to get foremen or lick-spittles elected as workers' representatives, while pressure, more or less subtle, is used to control the actions of the council.

Intl. Harvester uses its company union to put over wage cuts, break strikes and

introduce speedup. Standard Oil swamps the "employe representatives" under a mass of statistics to prove that wage increases cannot be granted. At Bethlehem the wage question is bandied about between committees and usually is smothered under the same weight of statistics as at Standard. Unionless, workers lack the punch that puts over higher wages.

Chicago Opposition Active

CHICAGO—During the past two weeks, December 29 to January 12 comrades Swabeck and Glotzer addressed three meetings at largely attended forums.

On December 29, comrade Swabeck spoke at the I. W. W. Forum, 1618 W. Madison street on "Wall Street's Dominance over the American workers." Over two hundred workers present enthusiastically engaged in the discussion. Twenty-five copies of the Militant were sold.

Comrade Swabeck also addressed the Liberal Science Forum (formerly the Plebian Forum) 1118 W. Madison St. on "The Platform of the Russian Opposition". This meeting was likewise well attended, over 150 present, participating in the discussion.

On Thursday, January 9th comrade Glotzer took part in a debate that involved the Socialist Club of the University of Chicago. The subject was "Can War be Abolished Under Capitalism". The affirmative, upheld by the Socialist Youth, presented the usual position of the Pacifists, as against the Leninist position of our comrade. The discussion by those present showed a decided opposition to the affirmative.

Other meetings are being scheduled for comrades Swabeck and Glotzer at these Forums, which should attract hundreds of class conscious workers.

FEAR SOVIET INVASION IN ARIZONA

PHOENIX, Ariz.—(FP)—Capt. James M. Palmer, military training officer of the Phoenix Union High School has made a startling discovery—that the neighboring city of Los Angeles is in the throes of the "reds" and that Arizona and the rest of the union are in grave danger due to the spread of Communism—so he, together with Supt. Everett C. Driggs of the Los Angeles district of Pinkerton's national detective agency, threw a "red" scare into the recent state convention of the Arizona State Peace Officers Assn. which forthwith sends a resolution to Congress demanding that the Soviet invasion be stopped.

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\$2.00 a Year

60 Hours a Week for Women in Kentucky

Negro Workers the Worst Off

"Kentucky's labor laws are liberal." So states the Louisville Industrial Foundation, Inc. in an expensively printed brochure aimed to entice manufacturers to the blue-grass industrial center. But let not enthusiasts for southern organization conclude from this optimistic statement that nothing remains to be done in labor legislation in Kentucky. The definition of "liberal" is in the hands of the Chamber of Commerce experts whose next sentence reads: "Women are permitted to work 60 hours per week."

Kentucky's 60-hour week working women are considered under the head of Manufacturing Economies. The manufacturer's Eden on the Ohio has "none of the disturbing influence provided* by labor agitators" who might protest that 60 hours a week is too much for mothers. "Louisville is essentially open shop."

Louisville's Labor Budget

"Living conditions in Louisville are natural and conducive to contented labor. Wages cover all family expenses and leave a surplus", it is stated. What these open shoppers regard as adequate living expenses for a family is exactly \$1,268.24 a year, or \$1,000 less than the U. S. labor department's minimum health and decency budget. The Louisvillian industrialists brag that the average family income in their city is 12% less than the general average for the entire country.

The Industrial Foundationists mix the 60-hour week, low wages, "contented labor" and the chance for high profits in their wooing of outside manufacturers. "There is no state, county or city income tax in Kentucky", new industries are exempt from city taxes for five years and other taxes are low, while starved school boards and city welfare department struggle on as well as they can with crippled funds.

There is money enough in the school fund however to turn out young mechanics to squeeze older men out of jobs and to scab on union strikers. "The duPont Manual Training High School is fully equipped to teach modern shop practices in all lines", the booklet relates. The Theodore Ahrens Trades School accepts pupils, day and evening, for commercial training and instruction in electricity, cabinet making, printing, bookbinding, plumbing, machine shop work, sheet metal work, dressmaking and millinery. These trade schools, manned by officials hostile to unionism, implant open shop ideals in children's minds and provide a main obstacle to union organization when the youngsters, their heads crammed with prejudice, go into industry.

The Negro's lot is not a happy one in Louisville. The town prefers its white, Nordic, non-foreign population. On the other hand he is undeniably a cheap worker, the Foundation admits. "It is generally conceded", says the Foundation in its judicious manner, "that the availability of Negro labor has been a favorable factor in industrial development. For common labor and many kinds of semi-skilled labor, the Negro in Louisville is well adapted. He is a tractable, dependable worker who applies himself to the job and works faithfully and constantly." He is rewarded by Louisville with a 100 acre park on the river bank while whites have one 2,000 acre park and many others in the city's upland section.

PITTSBURG—Officials of the University of Pittsburgh, the steel and coal operators' 'cathedral of learning', are subjected to a devastating criticism of their subservience to reaction in a report just released by the American Assn. of University Professors. "The university", says the report, "is believed to be subject to pressure from interests upon which it is dependent for endowment and appropriations". The U.P. chancellor has been waiting, hat in hand, in the ante-rooms of the big coal and steel magnates of Pittsburgh for money to finish the 'cathedral of learning'.

The report deals with the dismissal of Prof. F. E. Woltman and the expulsion of Arthur G. McDowell, and William Albertson, students, last year. The students were kicked out for maintaining a Liberal Club in defiance of the administration and billing Harry Elmer Barnes to speak on the Mooney case.

COME

and bring your friends to the ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE at the Militant Hall 25 Third Avenue (Near 8th St.) on Saturday, January 18, 1930 Admission Free Auspices: Communist League of America, (Opposition) New York Branch

Philadelphia:

A CORRECTION

Max Shachtmas, member of the National Committee of the Communist League, will speak before the Liberal League Forum at 9th and Girard, Philadelphia on Sunday, January 26, 1930, at 8 P.M. Due to a misunderstanding, it was previously announced that the meeting would take place on January 19th. All workers are urged to attend and bring their friends. The speaker will discuss *The Crisis in the Communist Movement*. Questions and discussion will follow.

MEMORIAL MEETING

LENIN LIEBKNECHT LUXEMBURG

on Saturday, January 25, 1930 at the Militant Hall 25 Third Ave. (Near 8th St.) WELL KNOWN SPEAKERS Admission Free Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America

The Minnesota F. L. P.

Six Years of Confusion and Disappointment in a Two-Class Party

By Vincent R. Dunne

Three hundred thousand workers and farmers in Minnesota, who have by their support of the Farmer Labor Party in the campaigns of the past few years demonstrated a willingness to move politically against the bosses, face another barren year and new disappointments.

The party to which they have given so much, stumbles towards coalition with the Democratic machine for the state and congressional campaign of 1930. If full coalition is not reached this year it will not be for lack of work and will on the part of a large and influential section of the leadership, but rather because this leadership is unable to come to agreement upon individuals from the different camps to head the ticket.

F. L. P. Policy Benefits Officialdom

Even a brief and hurried review of past political campaigns of the F. L. P. will be enough to convince any intelligent workman that the party has been dominated by people who read history backward, in order to justify a policy which, by no stretch of imagination, can be considered beneficial to anyone except that coterie of officials, who use the offices given them by the party for petty bickering and personal advantage.

Shipstead is of course, the outstanding example. But he is by no means alone. During the course of the party's existence, dozens of men have been sent to the State house, many county and municipal officials have been elected, several U. S. congressmen and two U. S. senators have been sent to Washington. Out of this numerical array, not a SINGLE man has appeared who measures up to the standard of a workers' representative. Not ONE among them has had either the courage or the vision to propose any measure, which would call in question the existing order and place upon the order of the day a thoroughgoing change from the vicious system of class exploitation.

Not one among them has ever had the courage to use the tribune upon which they strut, (like their Republican and Democrat brothers) for the purpose of calling the working masses into action. Rather they have held in check the ferment in the ranks in various ways, especially by truckling in a hundred forms to the prejudices of the most backward. A good example of this, is the action of state Senator Lawson in voting for the Anti-Evolution Bill (to bar the teaching of the theory of evolution in public schools). Lawson is also editor of a F. L. daily paper at Wilmar.

It is true that most of the leaders are in disagreement with Lawson on this and it is just as true that these leaders do nothing to expose and remove him and others who, by actions of a piece with the one cited, live, mentally at least, in the feudal age.

Always the program of the Party has been trimmed to meet the wishes of those elements who look to the countryside for support and approval. Without exception, at every turning point, in all campaigns, before and during each convention or conference, the proposals or demands of advanced sections of the workers have been denied.

Farmers Outvote Workers

The workers have been outvoted in every state convention, the most important committees having been governed by a seven to three vote with the farmers always seven and the industrial workers three.

All the proposals by the Communists and Left wing for a closer affiliation of the unions to the Party have been hailed with cries of "split" by the farmers; and the "practical" politicians and labor "leaders" in control of the machinery have never failed to turn thumbs down on these demands. Two instances of this sort of kowtowing to reaction should be cited as typical. In several State conventions the proposal was made by the Left wing to give the local unions affiliated to the Party direct representation to the state conventions. After many attempts had been made to put this into effect, the workers, over the opposition of the farmers and the leadership, were finally able to achieve a half measure of recognition. The unions are now ALLOWED—to send ONE delegate to conventions, who has the standing virtually of a FRATERNAL delegate!!

For a long period the Communists, together with the Left wing, attempted to gain affiliation for a large group of milit-

ant workers through their co-operatives and workers clubs. The all too successful plans devised by the leaders to keep these thousands of workers out of active participation, make nothing less than shameful history. It is of extreme importance that workers generally review the history of the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party, that they grow familiar with the path along which so large a number of workers have been led, only to find themselves, after years of struggle and sacrifice, burdened with a party dominated by the ideology of the petty property owner and led by opportunists of the first order.

Of still greater importance, are the reasons for this state of affairs and a clear understanding of the mistakes made years ago which led inevitably to the present situation.

"Unity" in a Two Class Party

First of all, the condition of the Minnesota F. L. P. with its list toward merger with the old parties of the capitalists, is not the result of false and incompetent leadership primarily. Any political party composed of two classes, as is the case in this instance, with farmers and workers in the same organization, maintains unity only at the expense of the program put forward by the most exploited and propertyless section. The leadership of such a party can lead only as long as it is able to hold back the thrusts of the workers and satisfy the demands of those elements whose political outlook is bounded by the illusion that it is possible to achieve security under the capitalist order, by acquiring property or enhancing the value of that which they already hold, through reforms, half measures, etc.

The program of a party is the expression of its aims; if the program is wrong fundamentally, those leaders who base themselves upon it have no choice but to follow a path of compromise. Workers in industry always have before them the grim reminder of their position in our present social system. For them there is no question of property; the overwhelming majority have none, the vast mass face the problem daily of making their meager wages stretch out in order to cover the bare necessities of life. Why then do we find this state of affairs in Minnesota? Whence came the idea that together, that is, within the same party, workers and farmers could work towards a solution of their problems?

* * *

It is a matter of history that in 1924 the Communist Party under the leadership of the Right-Centre bloc in the International and the Pepper leadership in America, forced the merger of the Farmers Non-partisan League with the Working Peoples Non-partisan Political League.

Pepper's Bold Plan

This, to be sure, was the local manifestation of a plan, national in scope which, according to Pepper and his followers, was to make the farmers, if not the spear-head, at least the haft of the weapon that would strike the decisive blow for the workers.

Still within the International in this period, the Leninist-Bolsheviks headed by Trotsky, were able to check for a time, the development of this un-Marxian course: Stalin's theory of "dual composition" parties finally prevailed through the East at a later date, only to do immeasurable damage to the world revolutionary movement. (For a full realization of the enormous damage done by this reactionary idea, workers should secure and read the pamphlet, "The Draft Program of the Communist International," by L. D. Trotsky, published by the Militant.)

It is the purpose of this article to deal with the local and national effect of the false idea of dual composition parties and to bring out clearly, in this connection how wrong tactics proceed from wrong programmatic formulations.

The idea of Farmer Labor Parties, once planted in the favorable soil of the farmer-worker state of Minnesota, grew and blossomed under the guidance of a labor-farmer-compromiser type of leader, whose one burning desire seems to be junction, by any crossover, with some form of "progressive" or "liberal" political movement.

It is not without significance, that the F. L. leaders, almost without exception,

look upon the "progressive bloc", Brookhart, Wheeler, Norris, Frasier, etc., as the real leaders and have an almost child-like faith in them. Naturally, these leaders are knowingly or unknowingly expressing the wishes of the dominant group within the Party—that is the farmers.

The present maneuver towards the Democrats has at least a two fold purpose. First: to capture the Governorship and so to build up a machine within the Party which can be used in the future for bigger and better mergers. Secondly: it is now generally recognized that the Minnesota movement cannot stand alone. The leaders now understand the danger to the movement and are trying in this confused manner to give a new lease of life to the party, hoping against hope that the national "progressives" will come to their aid and lead them into the green fields of a new "liberal" movement on a national scale.

Workers Used by Farmers

With this political outlook, the leadership, from the vantage point of the farmers' wagon, from time to time sees bogholes in the road ahead and is forced to use the workers as pushers of the cart in such bad spots as political campaigns, financial difficulties, etc.

That the workers have nothing to gain from this horse play must be evident to those who give it a little thought. It must be evident also, that the poor farmers, those without land (the banker's hired men) are being led along a path that will deliver them, bound and helpless, into the hands of the common enemy, for although the farmers belong to a different class than the workers, they can be delivered from their bonds only by supporting the workers politically. The workers, because of their class position, must lead. Only thus can victory be achieved.

Does all of the foregoing preclude the possibility of the workers making an advance politically, through a Labor Party? Not at all; the fact is, that millions of industrial workers still are bound to the political parties of the dominant capitalist groups. A Labor Party based upon workers' organizations, with a program permeated with the idea of the struggle of the classes, can serve as an instrument in rallying the masses for a march toward the Marxian solution of the great problem.

Gertrude Duell Joins the Opposition

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Comrade Gertrude Duell, one of the most active members of the Communist Party in this city, becoming convinced of the correctness of the platform of the Opposition, joined the New Haven branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). Having been secretary of the Workers International Relief, she was not only expelled from the Communist Party for supporting the Opposition, but was also removed from the secretaryship of the local W.I.R., despite the fact that there was no other comrade available for the post. The local Stalinists calculated that rather than have an Oppositionist as secretary of the W.I.R. it would be better to see it collapse and go out of existence. This is precisely what happened. Comrade Duell then received a letter of inquiry from Ludwig Landy, national secretary of the W.I.R., concerning the collapse of the local work. She replied with the following letter which requires no comment:

Ludwig Landy, Executive Secretary,

Workers International Relief,

949 Broadway,

New York City.

Dear Comrade Landy:

Responding to your letter of the 3rd inst. will say that you are correct—I am no longer secretary of the W.I.R. in New Haven. Nearly two months ago I informed the Comrades here of my belief in the claims of Comrade L.D. Trotsky and the Opposition and I adhere to the Platform and principles of the Communist League of America. I am certain that until the Comrades of the Opposition are recalled and take their rightful place in the Party, no unity can prevail nor can success be attained in the work undertaken.

I was instructed to turn the books and material over to Comrade Pearl Liebenson, 470 Columbus Ave., this city, who was appointed in my place. I have likewise turned over to her the 300 W.I.R. buttons and collection lists recently received from your office.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) Gertrude Duell

A Real Red I L D

And Hell Hath No Fury Like an Engdahl Enraged

The International Labor Defense, which lived a modest life for several years as a defender of persecuted workers on a non-partisan basis, has finally awakened to the implications of the Third Period and become militant. The formal pronouncement of this change in character, which has been in process for some time, coincides and quite appropriately with the elevation to the national secretaryship of the man whose name is a symbol of blood and thunder and sudden death—J. Louis Engdahl.

One of the indications of this emergence of the I.L.D. butterfly of the Third Period from the constricting chrysalis in which it lay supine for so many years is the formal and official discarding of the reactionary, counter-revolutionary, social-fascist and renegade nonsense about non-partisanship in the defense of class war prisoners. The regenerated I.L.D., having killed off with several blasts of its new horn its old time antagonists, the frame-up system of class justice, the courts, the police the persecutors and similar small fry, is now turning its devastating proclamations on other enemies, some of whom, alas! have been concealing themselves within its ranks and disguising their nefarious purposes by supporting and working for the I.L.D. and even contributing their Judas gold into its collections.

"Basing itself squarely on the class struggle" (at last!) "the International Labor Defense takes up the fight against all enemies of the working class." It is no less a man than J. Louis Engdahl himself who is speaking, and let all the aforesaid enemies take notice and run for cover while there is still time. "The I.L.D. cannot tolerate as members of its organization those who are opposed to its class struggle policies."

In case anybody should be in the dark as to what this bold declaration of war on the enemies of the working class means, Engdahl, who was trained in militancy for years under Hillquit and Berger and who learned from them how to hunt down Reds like the bloodhounds of Simon Legree tracked the fugitive slaves, makes the matter clear. "The I. L. D.," says Louis the Seventeenth, "combats the hostile policies of Cannon and Lovestone viciously and those who support them . . . The theories and practises of Cannon and Lovestone and their followers are hostile to these class interests. No honest worker can support the views of either Cannon or Lovestone."

We can't speak for Lovestone in the face of this hour of calamity. Engdahl, who worked for him as faithfully as he worked for Berger or Hillquit, knows him better and is in a better position how he will accept this fate. We can speak only for our poor selves, and we do not conceal our fears as Engdahl attacks us with all the fury of a cornered rabbit. We need help and we want it.

Yet we paused a moment, try feebly to stiffen our quivering limbs, and reflect that after all Louis is not the real author of our misery. He is but a witless instrument of circumstances who has bounced from Berger to Lovestone to Foster as the baseball bounced from Tinker to Evers to Chance, putting all men out, or he may be likened to the subject of Napoleon's famous aphorism: to the effect that an army travels on its stomach, and Louis was always in the army and always traveling.

Far be it from us—who have known the pangs ourselves—to begrudge any man his bread and butter, but when he becomes carnivorous and wants meat—ay, the human meat of our poor carcass—we cry aloud: God save us from being the meat in this cannibal's soup!

150 Workers Laid Off

BOGALUSA, La.—(FP)—150 employees of the New Orleans Great Northern Railroad have been laid off in the shops. The road has been acquired by the Gulf, Mobile and Northern Railroad Company.

NEW YORK.—(FP)—Two million men and women over 65 are dependent for support on other individuals or agencies, estimates Sec. Abraham Epstein of the Assn. for Old Age Security. One third of the aged in American are dependent, he states, after a careful survey of estimates made by other agencies, ranging from the well known insurance company figure that 54 out of 100 young men of 25 will be dependent when they are 65, to Massachusetts estimates that 40% are dependent.

ROSA LUXEMBURG -- 11 Years After

The echo of the Bolshevik revolution in Germany in 1918 was drowned out by the thunderous torrent of blood drawn from the working class by the bayonets of the social democracy. Noske and Scheidemann were the hands of the German junkers and bourgeoisie that drew a deep and ineradicable line which forever divides the revolutionary movement from the social democracy. But the cruelest blow the social democracy could have struck the young Spartacus was the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Not years and not decades can wipe out the memory of the horrible crime, for it has become an accusing finger that always points to the role of the social democracy in the present epoch of history.

To recall Rosa Luxemburg on the eleventh anniversary of her assassination is to unfold again the two decades of struggle between the revolutionary and the reformist wing in the pre-war social democracy. The manner in which Rosa's position in this struggle applies to the difficulties and travail that the movement is traversing today, is evidence that the memorials to her are not formal, solemn obligations to be fulfilled one day and forgotten the next, but rather the occasion for a recapitulation of her work and its relation to the struggle today.

Rosa Luxemburg was uncompromisingly loyal to revolutionary principle. Her very first appearance as an active and leading force in the proletarian movement showed her definite capacities for swimming against the stream. To the nationalist spirit that pervaded the petty bourgeois and revolutionary movement towards the end of the last century, she opposed the Marxist spirit of the proletarian revolution. Against the Polish Socialist Party formed in 1892 by intellectuals who set the national independence of Poland from Russian czarism as the next goal of the labor movement, Rosa Luxemburg together with Adolf Warski, Julian Karski, Ratinsky, Wesselovski and others, founded the Russian-Polish Social Democracy, based upon the most advanced workers in the country, and thus laid the foundation for the Marxian labor movement of Poland. It was her inexhaustible theoretical arsenal that furnished the weapons for the Marxist movement of that period. Her work on "The Industrial Development of Poland" played much the same role in the Polish movement as Lenin's work on the development of capitalism in Russia played in his country. Sharp were the struggles that developed between the Marxists and the Nationalists; in them the term "social-patriotism" was coined which was to become a tragic reality in the betrayal of the Second International little more than a decade later.

From the period of her first work in Poland to the day that the Communist Party in Germany was founded by her and Karl Liebknecht, her record can be searched in vain for any compromise in principle. The vulgar opportunism of the German party leaders was entirely alien to her. And if, in the rigidity of her position, she erred in her conceptions—as she sometimes did—it was always on the side of the revolutionary struggle and not on the side of that corroding "adaptability" that finally fitted social democracy for its role as handmaiden to the Kaiser and the bourgeoisie who succeeded the monarchy.

Her contempt for compromise—we speak here, of course, not of temporary compromises in the strategical or tactical course, but of compromise in principles—earned her the harshest blows and antagonism of the German party leadership, even if she gave better than she got. She repulsed those who tried to storm the Marxian fortress and evaded the others who, like Bebel and later Kautsky sought to damn her with faint praise and dull her steel with a paternal tolerance for "youthful hotheadedness".

Her profound regard for principle and Marxian theory still stands as a reproach to those cheap "practical people" who, in the Communist movement today, hide their contempt and fear of theory behind the empty clamor of the "mass work" they are supposed to be doing. It is true that she was always preoccupied with the study and development of Marxian thought, but she had nothing in common with the dull pedantry of the closet professor. Even when she still was a close friend of Kautsky she

would make fun of his dry, lifeless learning. Like Lenin, she showed the vital connection between living Marxist theory and the living movements of the masses. While the "practical" leaders of the German social democracy were engaged in the "slow but productive" work of increasing the socialist vote in the Reichstag and the Landtags, Rosa not only engaged them in theoretical battle, but showed her capacity of stirring the masses into action. It was Luxemburg, not Kautsky not Bertstein not Legien, who went up and down the country arousing the workers to action against discriminatory electoral provisions in Prussia. It was Rosa Luxemburg who published the first appeals to the German proletariat, to the German masses, to rise against the imperialist war and the socialist bellwethers who led them to the slaughter.

She was the embodiment of Marxist theory enriched by the living struggle for power. With what scorn would she lash the bureaucrats of the Communist movement today who seek to smother all fundamental discussion with hypocritical appeals for "practical mass work" which gains no masses, introduces no clarity of purpose, and does not advance the basic aims of the revolution! In this period of the movement when contempt for investigation and discussion of questions of principle is at a premium, the monumental work of Rosa Luxemburg stands out like an unflickering, comforting flame.

Rosa Luxemburg knew how to stand and fight as a minority, even a minority of one. Especially now should this characteristic of hers be recalled, when it is as necessary and difficult to swim against the current as it was in her time. It would have been easier to yield to the national-socialist movement in Poland than to lay the small but firm foundations of a Marxist movement. She chose the latter alternative. With her brilliant attributes she could easily have become the most esteemed and highly placed figure in the German

The Communist Fight against Imperialist War

Talk! talk! talk! Peace! Naval reduction! Disarmament! Abolition of War! Geneva Conferences! London Conferences! League of Nations! Kellogg Pact—and while all this hypocritical cant is filling the air to the confusion of many workers, arsenals are being filled, gasses compounded, troops drilled, battleships built, industries organized, all for the next August 1, 1937?

Young workers and farmers, you who do the fighting and dying for the greater glory (and profit) of your capitalist masters, engrave this deeply into your consciousness: Twelve years after "the last war, the war to end wars", the world is bristling with armaments even more so than the week before Earejevo in July, 1914. The black clouds have gathered—a tiny spark and the storm of death will have broken.

The Role of the Socialists

Loudest in their vehemence, most touching in their oratory, holding the attention of millions of workers are the bellwethers for capitalism, the leadership of the international social democracy and the pacifists, trying to convince the workers of the possibility of disarmament, of the abolition of war under capitalism, meanwhile, with might and main aiding their imperialist in arming, such as MacDonald, Mueller and Paul Boncour.

The Communists are blunt: under capitalism war is inevitable. If you, fellow-worker, desire to abolish war, we say: Abolish capitalism with all its misery and replace it with the proletarian dictatorship—with a system of production for use and not for profit—all over the world.

Some "scientists" say, in the spirit of Bismarck, that war is nature's way of removing the unfit, the way "the law of the survival of the fittest" operates nowadays. Nonsense! It is precisely those who are sickly and weak and crippled and old who stay at home to survive and deteriorate the race, while the strong, the healthy and the young, without scar or blemish, who lay down their lives as blood sacrifices to Mammon on the altar of war.

So, as the chief sufferers, those most endangered, the young workers traditionally lead the fight against capitalist war. But how? Whose method shall be used?

War calls for a radical cure, for a revolutionary surgeon's knife to exterminate

social democracy, instead of the unyielding opposition. She remained with the opposition and life gave victory to her views. She could have swam with the current of blood in 1914 instead of being the persecuted, hounded, despised and calumniated leader of the handful of men and women that raised the banner of insurrection. But it was precisely because she was with the proletarian masses that she stood alone. She stood with the minority for so many occasions for the simple and conclusive reason that the minority was right and the majority, the men of the apparatus, the men of influence and weight, was wrong.

The proudest, most respected, most influential names in the German social democracy were subjected to her remorseless blows. I recall an apt cartoon in an old German socialist journal which depicts Rosa Luxemburg swinging her pen like a sabre and putting to rout the most prominent and authoritative statesmen of the party: Bebel, Kautsky, David, Fischer, Bernstein and a half dozen others. With her pitiless whip she sometimes compelled a whole party congress to acquiesce in her views, and many of the Leftward swings of the German social democracy were accomplished not only under the distant influence of the Russian revolution of 1905 but under the more immediate impulsion of Rosa Luxemburg. And if she was not deceived or convinced by the "innocent" revisionism of Eduard Bernstein, she was just as little inspired with confidence by the Centrist vacillations of Kautsky and Company. It must be remembered that the pseudo-radicalism of Kautsky was quite fashionable in the socialist movement before the war; it had a certain glamor and genuineness about it in the struggle against Bernsteinism, not to speak of the enormous authority, among Marxists attached to Kautsky's name. But for every blow she dealt the open revisionists, Rosa dealt another to the school of Kautsky which revealed its opportunist cowardice in every crucial struggle. Her relentless scalpel laid bare

ate class society, and not a reformist salve to heal the ulcer and retain the body of capitalism. So those who would apply the salve, the leadership of the Socialist Parties and Socialist Youth Leagues are excluded as capable of fighting war.

From Bosses' War to Class War

Essentially the problem is how to turn the imperialist war into a war of the working class against the master class. The reformists do not desire whatsoever to turn the war against capitalism. The task remains for the Communists.

But the days when Leninist policy dominated the Communist movement are long past. Today, within the Communist movement we have three currents, the Right, the Center and the Left.

Based theoretically on the monstrosity of "socialism in one country", which it shares with the Centrists, the Rights have taken the next step down the hill to reform the next step following "socialism in one country". They have declared their "right" to "national" Communist Parties" (a contradiction in terms as ridiculous as a square circle), negating the very principles of internationalism which is fundamental in our movement and especially in the fight against war. The Right wing "Communist" is checked off as incapable. The Centrists waver between the Right and Left, and anyone who hesitates in the class struggle is lost. A bold, determined policy is needed. They lag behind the masses or overtake and jump far ahead of them into adventurism and lag behind again.

The Left wing under the leadership of Trotsky and Rakovsky and many other fighters against the last war stands foursquare on an international Leninist platform. It is the embodiment of internationalism, of the fight against war and capitalism.

With the old battle-cries, first used by Lenin, Liebknecht and Trotsky, with which the masses overthrew the czar and Russian imperialism, and shook many a haughty empire, we shall also turn the next imperialist war into a victorious class war of the proletariat. The young workers must be in the front ranks.

—CHARLES CURTISS

Kautskyan Centrism at every turn. With the whole party leadership, and the enormous machinery at its disposal, ranged against her, she was nevertheless untiring in her efforts to arouse the party in the discussion on the war danger and the tasks of the social democracy that opened after the international congress at Copenhagen where, together with Karl Radek, Lenin and Trotsky, the viewpoint of the Left wing on militarism had been fought out, with Kautsky on the side of the social pacifists.

Her activity during the war is so well known that it requires no setting down here. With Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Klara Zetkia, Karl Radek and a few others—a handful against the brutally oppressive machinery of the state, against party and public opinion—she carried on the painstaking, painful work of forming the nucleus of a new revolutionary movement, of mobilizing the forces of the proletarian insurrection. She was with a hundred against a million because she knew that it is often necessary to be only a hundred—the minority—was no fetish with her; her "fetish" was the proletarian revolution. In its interests, she knew how to stand with the mocked and jeered minority and fight implacably for principle. The difference between Rosa Luxemburg and the present-day pretenders to leadership of her party and her cause, the weather-cocks of the momentarily prevalent administration, the lost souls who have neither the courage to maintain a conviction nor the ideas to form one with—is the difference between the lion and the lapdog.

Despite their conflicting viewpoints on many questions, said Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg was an eagle. The modern Communist movement is as inseparable from the name and work of Rosa Luxemburg as it is from the name of Lenin. For both of them the International was the fatherland. To attempt to identify either of them with one particular nation is as meaningless as to say, for instance, that Marx was a German revolutionist. Both of them were single-mindedly consecrated to the triumph of the international proletariat. Both of them were teachers and soldiers in an epoch that makes them greater than those who illuminated the pages of history in the past. Both of them were devoted to the cause that is superior to all others because its victory opens an entirely new epoch for humanity. For that they are deathless.

To consider now those important issues that divided Rosa and Lenin—the mass strike, the driving forces of imperialism, the role of the proletarian party, and others—would require more than the space of this insufficient memorial. Rather let the solidarity and oneness of the two great revolutionists of our time be emphasized here, all the more so because it has become the fashion to distort, misrepresent and exaggerate the differences between Luxemburg and Lenin. Every little official functionary, particularly those turned out by the gross in the numerous "Lenin" schools throughout the world, can deliver a long dissertation to prove what a hopelessly incompetent thinker Rosa was and what enormous blunders she made. In the German Communist Party especially has this loathsome belittling of Rosa's immortal contributions reached the most revolting depths. The less the neo-Bolshevik knows about Luxemburg or has read of her works, the freer he feels to dismiss her with a contemptuous gesture. Let that sort of appreciation of Rosa remain the task of those cut out for it. For us, Rosa Luxemburg remains the eagle.

The eagle was foully killed as she was reaching the height of her power. With her death, the German proletariat, on the threshold of the revolution, suffered an irreplaceable loss. History does not produce many Marxes, or Lenins or Luxemburgs. Her place can only be taken by numbers, growing in strength, clarity and resoluteness, confident of victory. Men and women can be martyred by the enemy, but a whole movement cannot be assassinated. It can be set back for a time or cruelly defeated more than once. But each time it is crushed, like Hercules in his struggle with Arctus, it will gain from the earth that covers Rosa's grave a renewed power and determination to triumph.

—M. S.

Throughout the World of Labor

The British Miners and the Labour Party

The question of coal is once more on the order of the day. On the occasion of the debate in Commons on the government project, the papers published numerous articles in which the ever-recurring problem is examined from its various aspects. A big space is naturally given to the length of the working day and to the wages of the miners, for the mine owners assert that it is the too high wages paid to the British miners that handicaps them in the struggle against foreign competitors.

The president of the Mining Association of Great Britain, Mr. Evan Williams in a letter addressed to the Times, asserts that in spite of the law voted on the morning of the general strike and the great defeat of the miners, the working week is still shorter here than elsewhere. According to the figures he cites, it is 47 hours, 28 minutes (it is known that in certain regions the day is only 7 and a half hours), while the German miner works 49 and a half hours in the Aix-la-Chapelle district and 48 hours in the Ruhr, the Belgian miner 48 hours, the Polish miner 48 hours and 12 minutes in Upper Silesia and 49 hours in the Dombrow. In France, the average is only 46 hours and 42 minutes.

So far as wages are concerned, he maintains that the real wage of a miner in Great Britain is appreciably higher than in all the continental countries: 18 percent higher than in Germany, 47 percent higher than in France, 39 percent higher than in Belgium and 67 percent higher than in Poland.

The discussion of the government project in Commons was stirring. As is known it received a majority of only eight votes, and even then not for its final adoption; it was only the second reading and it is still the subject for a profound debate. This however is not the most important thing. The liberals having decided to vote against, it would not have had a majority at all. But since no party wants a general election right now, the conservatives will save the MacDonald government from defeat by partial abstention.

What characterized these debates was the brutality of the criticisms of the speakers, conservative and liberal, and the tone in which they were couched: that, even more than the vote that was humiliating to the government.

The conservatives confined themselves to saying to the ministers: your project is detestable; withdraw it. You say that you want to keep the promises made by you to the miners during the elections. But there are already so many engagements that you have undertaken and did not keep that another one more or less is of no importance.

But it is Lloyd George who delivered the big attack. The ground had been prepared by Sir Herbert Samuel, now considered an expert on the question of coal, who had made a condensed criticism of the project and posed some precise questions almost in the form of an ultimatum. Lloyd George adhered to generalities, to the essential features, and exercised his verve at the expense of the Laborites. It is known that the government first assured itself, and painfully enough, of the support of the Miners' Federation for restoring the working day to seven and a half hours. Then, to overcome the resistance of the mine owners, it accorded them a raise in the price of coal. The great Laborite project is thus reduced to a vulgar bargaining for which the consumer will pay.

"Incredibly bad project!" cried the liberal leader; "incredible project on the part of a Labor government." He continued by saying that nothing had been done to attack the roots of the crisis, the archaic organization of the mining industry. What is necessary is to make it obligatory upon the grouping of the enterprises to arrive at a rational exploitation. The project is confined to raising the price of coal. It is a project not of the Laborites but of the mine owners. And on this occasion, he rallied A. J. Cook, who defended its adoption before the Miners' Federation. "Blessed be the meek!" he cried, amid a general outburst of laughter in the Chamber.

The ministers were ill at ease under these lashing criticisms that could be directed against them by a more or less discredited politician. Moreover, they were

furiously because it is said that MacDonald in order to parry the announced attack had taken the trouble of having Lloyd George informed that he was quite disposed to accept long amendments. They say that, as ever, Lloyd George was interested only in creating an effect from the tribune, showing once more that he was a good demagogue.

What is certain is that the governmental project in its first form is dead. When it comes before Commons for its third reading it will have to be seriously touched up. But it may already be said that it will hardly be worth more, the Laborites constantly retreating before the radical measures that encroach upon the privileges of the bourgeoisie.

On the occasion of his fiftieth anniversary, the British Communist Party sent Stalin a telegram saying that the British Communists "promise to create a mass party which, armed with a daily paper, will be in a position to mobilize the masses in the political struggles against the social fascist government of MacDonald". Such promises do not cost much. But that is not the case with the paper.

—S. B.

London, December 23, 1929.

Φ

Opposition Progress in Spain

We are in the midst of a brutal attack by the acolytes of Stalin in Spain against the comrades of the Opposition.

Practically speaking, the Communist Party of Spain exists only in the mind of a few mediocre and ignorant functionaries, who have no clear understanding of their responsibility. Originally, we can say without fear of contradiction, the C. P. S. can count as its members only the adherents of the small circle of indolent bureaucrats who ramble around on a wage paid by Stalin. Let us work to remove this small circle to—Mars, without a return ticket.

The masses of the Spanish workers have no contact with "the elite of the vanguard of the Spanish proletariat" as Manuisky would say; there is an absolute divorce between the bureaucrats and the Spanish working class. The district committees do not function and exist only on paper. Can even one hundred dues payments be counted in the Spanish party? No! Here is the true, the sad and chaotic reality. The C. P. S. is in a dying state and it lacks the most indispensable aid. The masses do not know of the party because it never shows itself anywhere; the party does not know of the masses of the workers because the bureaucrats lack a sense of Communist political orientation. The Executive Committee of the Comintern, in conformity with its destructive and spineless policy, gives its support to the leadership which, in Spain, is engaged in destroying what is left of the skeleton of the Spanish C. P.

The Young Communist Opposition had the boldness to denounce the present situation to the masses. It launched an appeal to the Communist workers (official or expelled) for the reorganization of Communism in Spain; it examined the causes of the disease and pointed out the remedy; the application of the methods of struggle recommended by the International Opposition, reorganization of the party based on the principles of the Leninist Opposition as the sole guarantee of the development of the party and its further consolidation. It is only in this way that the party will be able to make its way in the exceptional political situation through which Spain is passing.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, incapable of reacting against the prostration of the party, impotent before historical reality, found in the appeal launched by the Leninist Opposition an excuse for organizing a newspaper offensive of four columns against our comrades. Doubtlessly for want of any more appropriate means of defending and justifying their salaries (Stalin pays the enemies of "Trotskyism" well, which the leaders of the C. P. S. know quite well), they organized the battle against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists who are pretending to maneuver in Spain. (Horror! Miserable "Trotskyists", dead so many times and many times revived!)

It was a battle organized according to the rules. The known Trotskyist victims at the moment I write these lines are not very numerous, but sure. One of the methods employed by the technicians of Spanish Stalinism against the Opposition is denunciation. The first attempts were made in the November number of central organ of the Party, *Bandera Roja*. A comrade was denounced in the central organ of the Communist Party by the bureaucratic leaders who took advantage of the circumstances, of the very gravity of the case and of the fact that the Spanish Opposition has as yet no journal of its own.

We will not lay stress on this case—for the time being; it is too dangerous. The comrades of the Communist Party have taken note of it and some of them are asking for the expulsion of the author of the article from the Comintern. We simply make a note of it. But we must remark that the act of expulsion against the author of the article in question (it was an editorial) would change nothing of the very causes of such acts. They have their roots in the composition of the Party itself, in the wrong political orientation. It is an evil that proceeds from the chronic crisis in the leadership and the orientation that is vexing the International: The discharge of a rotten functionary will not save from corruption the organism in decomposition, which is the bureaucracy of the Communist International, just as the amputation of a gangrenous limb cannot save from death a cancerous organism. It is a question of giving the C. I. a competent leadership and a correct political orientation without which there is no solution possible.

In Spain, the C. P. is extremely weak, numerically and politically. The basis of the party has always lacked the most elementary political formation. The Leninist Opposition is also weak, as may be expected, but it is the Marxist school of the Party out of which will be born, because it must be born, a genuine Communist party to reconstitute on firm foundations the organization of the proletariat that an absurd and imbecile policy has led to dismemberment and ruin.

The Opposition is trying to reorganize the party, to cleanse it by pushing it along the Leninist-Marxist line, to strengthen it so that it may realize the historic mission assigned to it.

The bureaucrats may calumniate, denounce (to justify and defend their salaries). We will not swerve from the correct line to which we have bound ourselves; we are fighting without a truce until we will have attained our objective; to revive Communism in Spain on the basis of revolutionary Marxism, by unmasking the corrupted bureaucracy which disorganized the Communist Party of Spain, by educating the revolutionary working masses following the ideas of Marx and Lenin.

FERNANDO SALVATIERRA
Bilbao, December 8, 1929.

Φ

A New «Workers' and Peasants' Party» in France

The clique of Sellier, Gelis and Co., which we have denounced since its first acts, and fought inside the Communist Party as we will fight it outside the party, has just constituted itself into a "workers and peasants party". This buffoonery has but one meaning for its authors: to preserve before the electoral clientele the label which elected them, that of the workers and peasants bloc.

The constituent meeting of this party was held at Cllichy last Sunday. We do not yet know the details of the deliberations nor the documents that were worked out. But we did not wait for the constitution of the new party in order to say what was to be thought of the policy of the "elected", and we need not do any more waiting in order to give some estimates of the new party.

The absolutely ambiguous character of its constitution must be indicated first of all. It is already patent that a strong sec-

*Municipal councillors in the Paris district who left the Communist party a few weeks ago as the leaders of a Right wing split. They are the French allies of the Lovestone group in this country.

tion of the trade union minority, champion of "trade union independence", is participating actively in the work of constituting the party of Sellier. Deveaux presides over its meetings. Then, the comical and amicable negotiations with the Socialist-Communist Union of Paul Louis, the political leader of *Monde* (the Communist controlled "non-partisan", literary-political weekly edited by Henri Barbusse), are very indicative. Finally, the participation of the Alsatian deputy Mourer, the proclaimed sympathy of the organ of the Alsatian Communists-Autonomists (Hueber group)—with which Fourrier of the *Liberateur* collaborates actively—the amalgam of Villeneuve, mayor of St. Denis, of Chasseigne, suddenly disappeared from Communist Party activity for reasons unknown,—all these contribute to giving the new party a character loaded with rubbish, and also indicates that its career will be brief.

Many papers have already printed extracts from the declaration that will be made by the party. Pretty near everything that is needed to prepare a modest return to the waters of the social democracy can be found there. In language that attempts to be sharp, they raise against the Communist party the criticism made long ago by the Opposition, when the "worker-peasants" of today covered up the whole activity of the party leadership. And naturally they attack above all, like every good Right winger, the so-called "class against class" electoral tactic, which "if no other reason(!) experience proves today that it only consolidated the power of the worst bourgeoisie of the Right, without any profit for the party itself." In conclusion, they declare that there is a place to be occupied between Communism and Socialism, that is, in a particular nauseous swamp.

We will wait for the declarations and acts of this new party. But we already see—and it has always been clear—that it is taking a road that turns its back not only to the Communist Party, which the "worker-peasants" of today led to its present position and which they abandoned when the profit from it became too trivial for them—but to Communism, and nothing else. It is falling back into the morass of petty bourgeois electoralism where the Paul Louises and Selliers are pushing it.

A certain number of comrades will perhaps try to follow it for a while. We will appeal to them to reconsider, to abandon confusion, to come and strengthen the ranks of the Left Opposition. For us there is no neutral ground between Socialism and Communism. We want to fight on the historic ground of International Communism, and so far as it is indispensable, to denounce the faults, the errors, the crimes of the Communist International and the cadres of our party—even against those who would leave it today after having assumed full responsibility for it without saying a word.

—LA VERITE
Paris, December 27, 1929

JUST RECEIVED!

NO. 7

The BULLETIN of the Russian Opposition

The new issue contains articles by L. D. Trotsky on the Twelfth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Communism and Syndicalism, Syndicalism's Mistakes in Principle, the Austrian Crisis, China, etc., etc. Articles by Christian Rakovsky on Government Policy and the Party Regime, the Capitulators. Letters from Russian Oppositionists in Exile. An unpublished document of the Petersburg Party Committee on the eve of the uprising, concealed by Stalin. And many other important articles and documents.

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The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition

Continued from Last Issue

Urbahns, however, raises the slogan of the freedom of organization in the general democratic sense. In fact, it would be impossible in any other sense. Urbahns formulates the same demand for Russia, for China and all the capitalist countries. This would be absolutely correct, but on one little condition: the recognition that the Thermidor is already accomplished. But here it is Urbahns who "does not go far enough". To put forward the freedom of organization as an isolated demand is a caricature of politics. Freedom of organization is inconceivable without freedom of assemblage, freedom of press, and all the other "liberties" which the decision of the February conference (Reichsausschusses) of the Leninbund mentioned vaguely and without comment. But these liberties are inconceivable outside the regime of democracy, that is, outside of capitalism. One must learn to think one's thoughts out to the end.

Even while Retreating before the Marxist Criticism, Urbahns Combats not Korschists but Marxists

Referring to my remarks that we fight against the Stalinist faction but defend the Soviet Republic to the very end, the *Fahne des Kommunismus* explained to me that "an unconditional (?) support (?) of the Stalinist policy (?), the foreign policy included," would be inadmissible, and that I would acknowledge this myself if only I would "think my thoughts out to the end" (No. 31, p. 246). It is not astonishing that I awaited with interest the conclusion of the article (No. 32): It was to produce the tactical deductions from the theoretical contradictions with which the first half was filled and besides that, it was to teach people to think out their thoughts to the end.

Between the 1st and 2nd halves of the article many things became clear. In that time, Urbahns and his friends had the opportunity of receiving the resolution of the Bureau of the Second International which could not pass without a sobering effect upon them, since the agreement between the arguments of Otto Bauer and those of Louzon and Paz were too flabbergasting.

However that may be, in the second half of the article, *Die Fahne des Kommunismus* comes to the conclusion that the Soviet republic must be defended even in the conflict with China. Very praiseworthy. But what is stupefying is that the article, in arriving at this conclusion, polemicizes not against the Korschists, not against the Ultra-Left, not against Louzon, not against Paz but against the Russian Opposition. It would seem that the question of the defense or non-defense of the Soviet republic is in itself so important that secondary and tertiary considerations would disappear before it. That is dictated by the most elementary requirements of politics. But Urbahns and his friends proceed quite differently. At the most critical moment in the Soviet-China conflict, they print the articles of the ultra-Leftists who, as I showed above, simply demand that Chiang Kai-Shek be supported against the Soviet republic. It is only under the pressure of the Marxists that the editors of the *Die Fahne*, six weeks after the beginning of the conflict, pronounce themselves for the defense of the Soviets. Yet even here they do not conduct a struggle those who denied the elementary duty of defense, but against... Trotsky. Every mature political person must come to the conclusion that the question of the defense of the October revolution is a secondary affair for Urbahns, and that his principal aim is to show that he is not in "one hundred percent" agreement with the Russian Opposition. It evidently never occurs to comrade Urbahns that whoever seeks to demonstrate his independence by such artificial and negative methods, only demonstrates in reality his complete lack of intellectual independence.

In the second part of the article, it says:

"Besides the sympathy for Soviet Russia and Communism destroyed in the Chinese people by the policy of Stalin, the fact that Russia resorts to war over the Chinese Eastern Railway when it did not lift a hand while Chiang Kai-Shek and his military hordes waded in the blood of the Chinese workers and poor peasants, would undoubtedly play a role in the attitude of the Chinese people to such a war" *Fahne des Kommunismus*, No. 32, p. 246).

By L. D. Trotsky

What is correct and what has been said long ago is mixed up here with what is new and wrong. The crimes of the Centrist leadership in China are absolutely unprecedented: Stalin and Bucharin murdered the revolution in China. This is a historical fact which penetrates more and more into the mind of the vanguard of the international proletariat. However, to accuse the Soviet republic of not having intervened with arms in hand in the Shanghai or Canton events, is to substitute sentimental demagoguery for revolutionary policy. Louzon is of the opinion that every military intervention in the affairs of another nation is "imperialism". That, of course, is a pacifist absurdity. But no less absurd is the directly contrary demand that the Soviet republic, under the present relationship of forces and in the present international situation should repair with Bolshevik bayonets what was lost with Menshevik policy. Criticism must move along real and not imaginary lines; otherwise the Opposition will never win the confidence of the workers.

How, then, could the Soviet republic decide in this case to carry on a war for the possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway? I have already said that if it comes to war, this fact alone would demonstrate that it is not a matter of the Chinese Eastern Railway but of something infinitely greater. It is true that this railway, even by itself, is a far more serious matter than the head of the Archduke killed in 1914, which was the occasion for the outbreak of the war. But it is not at all a matter of the railway. A war in the East, regardless of what were the immediate cause would inevitably be transformed the very next day into a struggle against Soviet "imperialism", that is, against the dictatorship of the proletariat; and the violence of the conflict would be immeasurably greater than that of the war which, provoked by the killing of an archduke, was transformed into a campaign against Prussian militarism.

It now looks like an agreement between Moscow and Nanking which can end in China redeeming the railway with the aid of foreign banks. That would mean, in reality, that control would pass from the hands of the workers' state into those of finance capital. I have already said that the cession of the Chinese Eastern is not out of the question. But such a cession must not be regarded as a realization of the principle of national self-determination, but as a shifting of strength from the proletarian revolution in favor of the capitalist reaction. But there can be no doubt that it is precisely Stalin and company who will seek to present this surrender of position as a realization of national justice, in conformity with the categorical imperative, the evangel according to Kellogg and Litvinov and the articles of Louzon and Paz that were reprinted in the organ of the Leninbund.

Practical Tasks in Case of War

The practical tasks of the Opposition in case of a war between China and Soviet Russia are characterized in the article in an unclear, ambiguous and evasive manner. "In case of a war between China and Soviet Russia for the possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway," says the article, the Leninist Opposition is against Chiang Kai-Shek and the imperialists standing behind him." (No. 32, p. 250). Ultra-Left confusion has gone so far that "Marxist Leninists" must declare "we are against Chiang Kai-Shek". That's how far things can go. Good, against Chiang Kai-Shek. But for whom are you?

"In such a war," the article replies, "The Leninist Opposition will mobilize the forces of the proletariat in every country with the aim of a general strike, proceeding from the organization of the prevention of arms manufacture, and any kind of arms transport, etc." (No. 32, p. 250). That is the position of pacifist neutrality. The task of the international proletariat, according to Urbahns, lies in the preventing any sort of arms transport, that is, not only to China but also to the Soviet republic. Is that your thought? Or have you simply said something different from what you wanted to say? Perhaps you have not thought out your thoughts "to the end"? In that case, hurry to correct yourself: the question is worth it. The correct formulation should be: By all means to prevent the transport of arms to counter-revolutionary China, and by all means to facilitate the acquis-

ition of arms by the Soviet republic.

Does the Defense of the U. S. S. R. Mean Reconciliation with Centristism?

In order to show wherein the standpoint of the Leninbund differs from that of the Russian Opposition, Urbahns makes two discoveries: 1. Should an imperialist state intervene on the side of Russia, in the event of a war of the Soviet republic with China, then the Communists of this bourgeois state should not make civil peace with their bourgeoisie, as Bucharin taught, but they must adopt the course of overthrowing their bourgeoisie; 2. In defending the Soviet republic in the war with the Chinese counter-revolution, the Opposition must not become reconciled with the Stalinist course, but must conduct a decisive struggle against it. This is supposed to explain the difference between the position of the Leninbund and our own. In reality it is confusion, and I fear, not unconscious. These two theses, dragged in by the hair, do not refer to the Sino-Soviet conflict as such but in general to every war against the Soviet republic. Urbahns submerges a specific question under a general question. Neither Louzon nor Paz have as yet renounced the duty of the international proletariat to defend the Soviet republic in the event that it is attacked, for example, by America or England over the payment of czarist debts, the abolition of the foreign trade monopoly, the denationalization of the banks and factories, etc. The discussion arose over the specific character of the present conflict between China and the Soviet Union. It is precisely in this question that the ultra-Leftists showed themselves incapable of correctly evaluating individual and complex facts from a class standpoint. They are just the ones to whom the Leninbund so widely opened the columns of its paper. It is precisely over the slogan of "Hands Off China" that the *Fahne des Kommunismus* refrained for six weeks from expressing any opinion, and, when further silence was impossible, limited itself to half-hearted and ambiguous formulae.

What has the theory of Bucharin to do with this? What is the question of the cessation of struggle against Stalinist Centristism doing here? Who proposed it? Who spoke of it? What is it all about? Why is it necessary?

It is necessary in order to hint that the Russian Opposition—not the capitulators and turncoats, but the Russian Opposition—is leaning towards peace with Centristism, using the war as a pretext. Since I am writing for uninformed or badly informed foreign comrades, I consider it indispensable to recall, even if quite briefly, how the Russian Opposition posed the question of its attitude to the Stalinist course during the conditions of a war.

At the moment of the rupture of Anglo-Soviet relations, the Russian Opposition, contemptuously rejecting the lie of defeatism and conditional national defense declared in an official document that in the event of war all the differences of opinion could only become accentuated. Such a declaration in the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, at the moment of the rupture of diplomatic relations with England requires no further explanations and in any case gives far more serious guarantees than this or that little article.

On this question, a furious struggle broke out in 1927. Have Urbahns and his partisans heard anything about the so-called "Clemenceau theory"? With this theory, the apparatus tried to agitate the party for months. It was the question of my having pointed, as an example of patriotic opposition in the camp of the imperialists, to the Clemenceau clique, which, from 1914 to 1917, in spite of the civil peace declared by the bourgeoisie, fought against all the other factions of the bourgeoisie, took over power and insured the victory of French imperialism. I asked: Is there an imbecile in the camp of the bourgeoisie who would therefore call Clemenceau a defeatist and a supporter of conditional national defense? That is the famous "Clemenceau thesis" which was criticized in thousands of articles and tens of thousands of speeches.

A short time ago, my book, "The Revolution Distorted" appeared in Paris. Among other things it contains the speech

I made at the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission on August 1, 1927. Here is what is said in the speech on the question that interests us now:

"The greatest events in human history are revolution and war. We have tested the policy of Centristism in the Chinese revolution... The greatest historical test after revolution is war. We say in advance: in the face of the event of a war, the policy of Stalin and Bucharin, the policy of zig-zags, of mental reservations—of ambiguity—the policy of Centristism—cannot prevail. This holds for the entire leadership of the Comintern. At present the leaders of the various Communist Parties have only one test question to answer: 'Are you ready to vote day and night against Trotskyism?' The war will confront them with exigencies demanding far greater responsibility... There will be no room for the intermediary position of Stalin. That is why, if I am permitted to say so in all frankness, the prattling about the 'handful of Oppositionists', the 'generals without an army', etc., appears simply ridiculous to me. The Bolsheviks heard that many times, in 1914 and in 1917. We see the morrow too clearly and we are preparing it. In domestic policy there will also be no room under the conditions of war for the slow down-sliding of Centristism. All the discussions will be condensed, the class contradictions will sharpen, become acute. A clear and precise answer will have to be given... Centrist policy will be unable to stand up in time of war. It will have to fall to the Right or to the Left, that is, it will have to choose the road of Thermidor or the road of the Opposition." (Disturbance).

And it is precisely this speech that I ended with the words: "For the socialist fatherland? Yes! For the Stalinist course? No!" And when Urbahns and his friends, apropos of precisely these words, recommend to me two years later to think the question out "to the end" and to comprehend that in time of war there must be no reconciliation with Centristism, I can only shrug my shoulders regretfully.

How Has the Discussion Been Conducted?

It is an ill wind that blows no good. The conflict between China and Soviet Russia has once more shown that within the Marxist Opposition an irreconcilable line of demarcation is necessary not only from the Right but also from the Left. The philistines will sneer at seeing us, a small minority, constantly occupied with internal divisions. But that should not bother us. It is precisely because we are a small minority whose entire strength lies in its ideological clarity that we must be especially implacable against dubious friends on the Right and the Left. For many months I attempted to attain clarity from the leadership of the Leninbund by means of private letters. I did not succeed. In the meanwhile, events brought one of the most important questions to a head. The differences of opinion came out into the open. The discussion began.

Is it good or bad? The article in *Die Fahne des Kommunismus* explains to me the advantage of discussion and points to the harm caused by the absence of discussion in the Comintern. I have already heard these ideas expressed, whether by comrade Urbahns or some one else escapes me for the moment. But there are discussions and discussions. It would have been far better if the Russo-Chinese conflict had not taken the Leninbund by surprise. There was time enough in the past to prepare for it. The question of Thermidor and the defense of the U. S. S. R. is no new one. It is a good thing that it did not come to war. But had it come to one? All this is an argument not against discussion, but against a bad discussion that maintains silence on the important questions so long as they have not come out into the open. The fact is that the Leninbund at least its leadership, showed itself unprepared to reply to a question raised by life itself. There was nothing left to do but to open the discussion.

Concluded in Next Issue

LASH IS WHAT CONVICTS NEED

JACKSON, Miss.-(FP)—The sting of the lash on the back is dreaded by convicts more than any other form of punishment, and will command respect for prison management and prevent riots declares Supt. Jim Williamson of Mississippi penitentiary.

An Economic Analysis?

Or Factional Demagogy & Forgery

As was to be expected, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party has drawn up a resolution on "The Economic Crisis and the Tasks of the Communist Party" published in the *Daily Worker* (1-11-1930). We will yet take occasion to write in greater detail on the general line of analysis and conclusions of this party document. It is enough now merely to say that it is an average example of non-Marxist electirism, a piece of sophomoric research-clipping work, without any clean line to illuminate its jumbled statistics, and with a conclusion that flows from no premises. It picks up one quotation from a financial journal here, another from a bourgeois economist there, glues them together with a couple of quotations from 10th Plenum resolutions, and presents the resultant hodge-podge as an economic and political analysis.

As for its political conclusions—they are disgraceful: no strategical task is elaborated except the recommendation that the party must win the masses of the American workers (How?) participate more actively in the struggles of the workers (with what program and policies?) recruit new members (in what way? and what has prevented the recruitment up to now?) and similar meaningless platitudes. There is no review at all of the enormous tactical blunders of the party and the policies that have led it from one defeat to another.

The document, in short, is worthless. It is one of those shoddy products ground out with monotonous regularity by the party thesis mill and just as regularly laid on the shelf of the archives room—forgotten in less time than was consumed in writing it. Nevertheless, we shall return to it at another opportunity. We limit ourselves now to the section of the resolution dedicated to the Opposition—for nowadays a yard-long attack against "Trotskyism" is the absolutely required sauce for an otherwise tasteless and unpalatable party thesis.

"Trotskyism" Dead Again

The section on the Opposition (Point 21) begins with the religiously observed formula that the "Trotskyist group" is bankrupt, breaking-up, anti-Communist, and even openly anti-Soviet. But how has the Militant in spite of "bankruptcy and disintegration", been able to transform itself into a weekly? The authors of the thesis explain: "With the money received by Trotsky for his articles against the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union from Hearst and Lord Beaverbrook" i. e., the explanation of people who cannot conceive of a movement functioning in any way other than their own, other than with subsidies from the international Stalinist apparatus which corrupt the movement and transform the official parties into changeless echoes of any and every pronouncement of their financial patrons. But when it is impossible to elaborate intelligent and effective political arguments, others must be substituted, and in this case with all the characteristic features of Stalinist swindle.

In a recent issue, we pointed out how the *Daily Worker* had deliberately and maliciously misrepresented the viewpoint of the Militant on the question of the present economic situation in the United States. It simply took a sentence out of a news story in the Militant, which referred entirely to the dress-making trade, distorted it, and with fine scorn and contempt, presented it as though that were the Alpha and Omega of the Militant viewpoint of the situation. In spite of our exposure, this piece of cheap journalistic misrepresentation worthy of the yellow press is now re-consecrated and printed over again in the thesis as a "crushing refutation of our position."

But the thesis-grinders are not satisfied with misrepresentation alone. In the resolution, they go a bit further and resort to outright forgery. They write: "In its issue of Nov. 30th, the basic ideas of Lovestone are clearly echoed; while admitting depression in some of the most important branches, United States capitalism is described as 'on a road of production increase such as has not had its parallel in history.'" (Daily Worker's emphasis). Now let us see what actually appeared in the Militant. We wrote (November 30, 1929):

"The Wall Street crash was not due solely to the speculative mania, which only aggravated the situation. Its roots go deeper. Since the end of the World War, the U. S. became the world's banker. Easy

money' made possible an embarkment on a road of production increase such as has not had its parallel in history, accompanied by an unprecedented export of capital." (Our emphasis).

Compare the quotation made by the party thesis with the original, and the clumsy forgery becomes apparent. What we did was to make a simple and incontestable statement of fact: that after the World War—not today, but twelve years ago!—the U. S. increased its productive forces and output to a degree never before known in history. Only a hopeless idiot or a revived Egyptian mummy could deny this well-known fact. But what the forgers did in their thesis was to make it appear as though the Militant claims that the United States today, now, not twelve years ago, is on the road of an unparalleled production increase! By the "slight" change in grammatical tenses, the Stalinist swindlers wipe out a whole decade of American economic history, and thus "achieve" another "argument" against the Opposition! Lenin once said that a demagogue is the worst enemy of the working class. Are swindle and forgery different in any degree from demagogy?

The resolution finally "clinches" its attack upon our position with the following half quotation from the Militant: "But the United States is still in a sufficiently strong and arrogant (?) position in world economy and politics to endeavor to overcome its economic difficulties at home." (Daily Worker emphasis). From this quotation is omitted the balance of the sentence: "by pressure on two points: on the U. S. workers in the form of a more intense drive to lower wages, lengthen the work day, speed up the workers, and on Europe, in the form of a decreased ration for France, Germany, Italy, England and the rest of the world market."

What is wrong in this statement, the *Daily Worker* does not say. Does it contest the absolute correctness of these words? That is hardly likely; it would fly in the face of the party resolution itself (Points 10, 11, 14, etc.) But what of that? For the thesis writers in the party today all such "petty matters" of honesty, independent political thought, analysis proceeding from facts and not wishes, are entirely subordinated to the main problem of destroying the so-many-time-destroyed Opposition. If it cannot be done with fact, then falsehood must serve. If no arguments are available, then demagogy must be pressed into use. If your opponent's position is unassailable, distort it, misrepresent it, or manufacture for your opponent such an untenable position that you will be able to attack him. For the Stalinist press and those who fill its columns, these tenets are the beginning and the end of all political wisdom.

Karakhan Takes a Pleasant Trip to Turkey

But, Unlike Trotsky, He is not Confined on an Island by Friend Kemal Pasha

The diplomatic representative of the Soviet Union, Karakhan has just made a triumphal voyage to Turkey. Everywhere, at Angora as at Constantinople, his passage was the occasion for demonstrations of an exceptional warmth. In the course of his trip, he made some declarations to journalists which are interesting to note. The manner in which he spoke of official personages is pretty astonishing. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tewik Rushdi Bey, is his best "friend" and he "harbors feelings of the deepest respect" towards the president of the council, Ismet Pasha. The conventional language of diplomats it will be said. Perhaps, but of bourgeois diplomats, and in this domain as in the others, the Soviet Union must demonstrate that it is not a State like the others, that it is a proletarian State. Its diplomats should distinguish themselves, although not in the manner of Bessedovsky.

Nevertheless, it is not there that the most important point lies in the declarations of Karakhan. That which is serious and symptomatic, in our opinion, is that, upon arrival at Angora, the associate of the Soviet commissariat for foreign affairs cried:

"This city reflects the calm and firm security with which the new Turkey is built, which supports itself upon its own forces and puts its hopes in the creative force of its people and in them alone. What I have seen, especially in this regard, is not strange to me. They are the same ideas and the same state of mind that prevails in our country. We are building up our life, our material and intellec-

The Professor's Nightmare

A Story of the Great American Worker-Boss that Never Existed

Dr. Thomas Thornton Read, Professor of Mining at Columbia University, having spent three years studying the "American at Work", and having found that the American "does several times the amount of productive work accomplished by an Asiatic or a European", seats himself (one may suppose) in a comfortable chair and puts his undoubtedly remarkable brain to work to discover the reason why. After some little time spent in mental acrobatics he arrives according to the *New York Times* of January 5, at these equally remarkable conclusions: first, that the American workers are not wage slaves, but, on the contrary, bosses, one and all, with "mechanical slaves" doing the work for them; second, that the American "converts food into energy at a higher rate than any other nationality" but "utilizes much of that energy in play rather than work" (!); third that the economic system of America "is based on the ability of American business men to find ways to provide employment for every one", so that the worker and his employer can both live well on the fruits of their joint enterprise".

As the Professor, after having given his discoveries to the world, via the *Times*, dozes quietly in his chair, there suddenly appears before him a tall, lean creature dressed in workmen's clothes, carrying a bundle under his arm. The Professor gives a start and exclaims, "Who are you? What do you want?"

"I am the American Worker", replies the apparition in a hollow voice "and I want you to come with me."

"But I have just spent three years seeing you at work," the Professor remonstrates. The stranger hands him a suit of working clothes and repeats: "Come along."

The Professor gives a deep sigh but gets into the clothes and asks, "Where are we going?" "To work", is the brief response, as the door enclosing the Professor's cozy study bangs behind them.

"Let's hop over to Detroit and see how things are going there," says the stranger.

"Ah, Ford," the Professor smiles. "Yes, indeed, let's be off to the Ford plant—that's the place to go; scientific management—everything's systematized there, you know—the machines do all the work and the men have scarcely anything to do, yet get good wages for it."

The stranger gives him a sorrowful look, which quickly disappears however, for in the shake of a lamb's tail the traveling workers find themselves in Detroit, outside the Ford works. Several hours

pass before he enters the promised land, where he undergoes a rigorous examination.

"Can you use a wrench?" finally asks the agent in a tone of doubt.

"Is that all I have to do?" answers the Professor gleefully, and he makes not the slightest objection as the agent pushes him over to a foreman who conducts him forthwith to the Hall of the Machines. Here long rows of Tin Lizzies in all stages of development travel on an endless chain. The Professor is furnished with a wrench and a box of nuts. He is placed in position and instructed that when a car reaches him he must put a nut in a certain spot and tighten it up. He is warned that he must do this before the car reaches the next man, and that he must repeat the same operation on the next car as it comes along.

"This is too easy," smiles the Professor and playfully gets busy on the first car as it arrives. He repeats the operation on the second while his companion watches him quizzically. The first hour of his labor passes quickly, but by the time the second has gone the ardor of the nut manipulator has begun to ebb. His motions slacken.

"Get a move on, there," comes the voice of the foreman and the Professor braces himself for the worst, for his head is already dizzy and his imploring looks in the direction of his former companion have had no effect.

"Say, I'm getting tired of this. Can't I do something else for a change?" he finally calls across. And adds, "For heaven's sake, don't they ever stop this chain?"

Great heavens, he must put on nuts for ten hours today. What a nightmare! What a nightmare, indeed! But eventually the whistle blows. It's time to quit.

"Come on and eat something and then you can go to bed. You'll have to be up early tomorrow," says his companion. "There's another day ahead."

"No! No! Not another day, not another hour. I've had enough."

"Very well, then so be it. But let's go to the office and get our money."

"Well, what do you want?" asks the clerk as the Professor stands mutely waiting for his reward.

"I want my share of our joint enterprise."

"What's that?"

"I want my share . . ."

"Oh, you mean you want your wages. Sign this."

"No, no. I am an American Worker. a boss. I want my share of our profits."

"Say, what the heck are you talking about? Did your work affect your brain? Here's your five simoleons and now beat it!"

"What, only five dollars for ten hours of slavery at a machine? And Ford gets millions!"

"It's no use to argue," admonishes the stranger. "That's the wage they pay you for a day's labor; you can take it or leave it. There are thousands outside all ready to step into your shoes at the same price." He takes the tired Professor to the nearest park and seats him on a bench.

"Listen to me, Professor," he begins. "You've had some real experience now as a worker, and I hope it's taught you something. If you had had it first, and talked afterwards, you would have arrived at different conclusions than you did after your three years' survey. You would have learned, for instance, that American as well as European and Asiatic workers are all wage-slaves, selling their labor power as a merchant sells his commodity, for what it costs to reproduce it. The amount of wealth the workers produce in the shops has nothing whatsoever to do with the wages they receive. They get only enough for a bare existence, and if the American worker produces, as you say, three times more than the European worker, he is nevertheless only exploited the more in doing so.

"I'm leaving you now, but you can sit here as long as you like and think the matter over."

"Oh, please don't leave me. I've got only five dollars in the world, no job and no place to go."

"You've got plenty of company. There are three or four million just like you—without money and no prospect of a job. So console yourself with that. Write to the *Times* about it."

Hutcheson Expels Militant

Louis A. Roseland Removed from Minneapolis Carpenters Union

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The expulsion of Louis A. Roseland, leading Left wing militant, from Local 7 of the Carpenter's Union here, marks a climax to a long battle between the Left wing and progressive elements in the Twin City building trades union and the reactionary official machine.

At the last meeting of the local, a communication was read from international president William Hutcheson demanding that Roseland be stricken from the membership rolls. The move was instigated by Andrew Leaf, special organizer of the U. B. C. & J. of A., who did not have the courage to expel Roseland by himself in face of the tremendous opposition among the membership. With the excuse that Roseland was a Communist, Hutcheson demanded his expulsion.

Rank and File Opposes Move...

When the letter was read in the local, the meeting hall bristled with members demanding to be recognized and speak against the reactionary proposal. One member walked from the rear of the hall, stated that he was not a Communist, had no understanding of what Communism stood for, but that he had taken the obligation like all other members, with the provision that his religious, political and domestic affairs would not be called into question. Amid applause, he announced his opposition to Roseland's expulsion. Several others clamored for the floor, making motions to table the matter, and demanding that the chairman rule on whether Roseland gets a trial or the communication is tantamount to forthwith expulsion and the membership had nothing to say about it.

The chairman dared not make an outright ruling, and evaded the issue by saying that Roseland understood the meaning of the document as well as he did and that he did not deem it necessary to make a ruling. Seeing the chairman's weakness, Hutcheson's watchdog, Andrew Leaf, took the floor and explained that immediately after reading the letter, Roseland was no longer a member of the union and that was final. He was greeted with shouts of "Throw him out!" "Sit down!" "We want a decision from the chair!" "To hell with you!" Thereupon the chairman finally called the letter supreme and advised no further action. But as far as "escorting" Roseland out of the hall, or requesting him to leave, the chairman was unwilling.

Upon an appeal from the chair, a mix-up followed, and Roseland finally took the floor, demanding a definite ruling as to whether or not he was still a member of the Brotherhood, since no business can be conducted with a non-member present. The chair, fearing that it would be lost, refused to entertain a motion that followed for Roseland to leave the hall.

The meeting was in an uproar, until Roseland was granted the floor for some last remarks. Briefly, he stated that since his admittance to Local 7 about seventeen years ago, he had fought to the best of his ability for the union and the working class as a whole. "Through the every day struggle on the job, meeting workers of all shades of opinions, I soon became conscious of who the enemy was—the boss—and that my duty was to fight him as well as those who defend him. Because of the fact that I have consistently fought for the amalgamation of craft unions into powerful industrial unions, for the organization of the unorganized, for independent political action of the workers, etc., I have been branded by Hutcheson as an enemy of the trade union movement."

Roseland's removal came at the end of a sharp conflict in the building trades over the erection of the N. W. National Bank Building. Early last spring the building trades locals were united on a program of fighting the Haglin Contracting Co. which was to put up the building. Mass picketing was endorsed by locals, assessments of \$5.00 per member were levied in all locals. The spirit of mass action was manifest in all the unions, the general public was aroused and expected a real battle on this job. In the face of this splendid opportunity to win with hands down, the leaders were negotiating with the city officials and trying to make peace with the police.

A systematic campaign of hushing up the rank and file was begun by communications from local officials, as well as from various internationals and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. stating that the

rank and file must be very careful of what it says and does. Stand by your officials, do not criticize, we are doing all we can! Paul Smith, representative of Bill Green gave assurance that the whole Executive Council of the A. F. of L. was behind (the scenes) the workers in this fight, that there was no reason for hasty action. After months of sabotage by the officials the spirit died down, workers became disgusted some tore up their union cards and went to work on this job. Ranks were breaking and no sign of a strike: only a single banner carried by volunteers for a while, which finally dwindled to one person.

The class collaborators were squandering the unions' money without giving an accounting of it. Requests for information were rejected on the pretense that it would hurt the movement. But towards Fall, when the strike had been considered lost for some time, a new leadership had developed in the building trades and the fight was taken up again. Officers of the Building Trades Council and the local unions went on the picket line one morning and were arrested. The news in the capitalist press was the first the workers had received that there had been a picket line on duty.

Officials Want No "Interference"

This aroused the workers and many appeared on the scene the next morning. Some fell in line, others stood along the curb across the street looking on curiously. At about 7:00 a. m., as the morning before, the police wagons were again brought on the scene to pick up these courageous officers who dared to chat and smile with the police while the scabs were rushing to the gates to get to work. Upon their arrival, they discovered several stowaways in their midst. The labor officials said to them: Who in hell are you? Stowaways from the rank and file. Who the hell told you to come here? asked the polite labor leaders. Nobody; we read in the capitalist papers that everyone who gets on the picket line gets a free ride to the city hall. Well, said the officials, this is strictly our affair and we don't want any more butting in of the rank and file, so tomorrow you stay home.

Next morning, about 6:15 a. m., about 100 rank and file showed up but got no free ride. They became peeved and started calling the scabs names. A big, burly business agent came rushing up the line and howled: Cut it out, can't you see you're making the police sore? Furthermore, can't you see Mr. Haglin, the contractor, and his wife just across the street? What will they think of us if we permit you to

The Struggle of the Miners in Taylorville, Ill.

Taylorville, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

Perhaps you have already read of what happened in the Peabody district. In all the conventions and conferences I have attended, and I have attended most all of them and chiefly on my own meager expenses, I was somewhat set back because Taylorville was considered the weakest district, and it was thought that the work was not good, not effective. The occurrences in the last strike taught me a bit different. When Taylorville came out, and that was about 100 percent, the other districts did not. And I am proud of the boys around here and the walkout shows what lone determined fighting can accomplish. I had no or little assistance, but those things have not stopped me, nor will they stop me. I will continue with my silent persistent work, which is the most effective. I had that experience in the German miners' strike in 1889 and so I will carry on the fight here which will help not only the National Miners Union but also the Communist movement, as the two cannot be separated. The success of the one is the success of the other.

The strike was a success in Taylorville, Pana and the Midland. It was a failure in the other places in the state. We had not enough men to take the lead and some of them are already mis-leaders. On the third day of the strike, when it seemingly looked like a success, all the fakers and would-be fakers clamored for the leadership. Think of it, two preachers, one a Nazarene, and the other a Latter-Day Saints preacher, another an ex-committeeman of Local 58, a renegade and friend of

call his men such vile names? We want peaceful picketing as per instructions from Judge Wright. Thus ended the picket line.

About a month ago war broke out in the Building Trades Council. The fight was opened against the Sipperley-Sjostrom machine. By resolution all offices were declared vacant and an election of new officers followed. Paul Smith tried valiantly to stem the tide, but was swept aside with the rest of the rubbish to the tune of 30 to 10.

Immediately after the election of the new leadership, they proceeded to go into all the building trades locals with a program of organization and education, requesting all local unions to elect a committee of five, preferably rank and file members, to work in conjunction with the organization and education committee of the Building Trades Council. This started the fireworks in Carpenters Local Union 7. Its officers, Ole Nelson, Oscar Ericson, Walfred Engdahl and William Young, with Andrew Leaf sitting in occasionally, were the official representatives of Local 7 in the Council. This element had consistently carried out a class collaboration policy, along with Paul Smith, D. F. Sipperley, Attle Sjostrom, Bob Cramer and Co.

For more than a year, Roseland, along with other members of Local 7, had fought for affiliation to the Building Trades Council. Hutcheson sent a letter forbidding it, but permitting affiliation to a Twin City B. T. C. and then only through the Twin City Carpenters District Council.

This was accepted and an agitation was started for the building of a Twin City B. T. C. The secretary of the Twin City Carpenters Council was instructed to call a conference of all building trades locals in both cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul) for the purpose of consolidating the two organizations. But instead of making this a broad appeal, it landed in the hands of the executive boards and the ranks never heard of it. Roseland then moved the election of a committee to visit all local unions for the purpose of reaching the rank and file, who would in turn elect similar committees to work with Local 7's for a Twin City B. T. C.

This motion was defeated on some trumped-up grounds. Roseland then moved on December 27, to endorse the program of the B. T. C. education and organization committee, and to proceed with the election of a committee of five members to work with them in accordance with the committee's request. After three or more hours' discussion, the motion was tabled.

The issue in the expulsion of Roseland is in reality the development of a conscious Left wing in Local 7 which has got under the hide of the reactionaries. In order to safeguard their positions they had to have a killing. The last word remains with the union membership not only in the Twin Cities, but throughout the country.

the bosses, and several other doubtful characters. Then, I think at the order of Freeman Thompson and some local celebrities, I was replaced by the above-mentioned gents, and as soon as the strike fizzled out, they renounced their membership in the N. M. U. so as to hold their jobs, which they did. For their treason to the miners they got a better job while hundreds and more were fired from the mine, and those that were not discharged by the operators were discharged by the Haywoods and Glassgows (U. M. W. officials).

At one time they had the jails so full that there was no standing room. I too was nabbed on Friday the 13th. I wanted to be with the boys but the sheriff rounded up Joe Natterman who put up \$2,000 bond for me and I was forcibly escorted home by the sheriff and my house guarded so that I could not get out of the yard.

My trial was postponed three times and comes up Monday January 13. The International Labor Defense took up the majority of the cases, but 65 year old Fritz Bode had to hire his own lawyer because he committed "lese majeste" in quoting from the Militant in one of his speeches, and distributing the Militant among the men. This, I think, was also the reason why I was side-tracked by Freeman Thompson and Company. Some of their ilk had given me previous warning and a bunch of Militants were stolen out of my outside overcoat pocket. Isn't that some wonderful comradeship to treat an old rebel? I was at the Belleville conference when Watt was ousted. It was the most disgraceful procedure I have ever witnessed

Bessedovsky

Trotsky on the «Revelations»

Hardly had Mr. Bessedovsky quit Communism by the way of the back-window and fence of the Soviet embassy in Paris, than he immediately made clear his position in a long series of articles that have been gobbled up by the bourgeois press of the world. In the United States, they are being published by, among others, the Jewish "socialist" Forward with sensational headlines guaranteed to make Willie Hearst turn yellow with envy. From his articles it becomes quite clear that his "revelations" are calculated to open a new attack on the Soviet Union and, as a first result to achieve its diplomatic isolation. Because this time it is a question of "facts" destined to alarm the interested governments. Comrade Trotsky, having received numerous questions, writes:

"You ask me what 'value' the abundant 'revelations' of Bessedovsky have. I confess that I have not read them, because the first article that came to hand appeared to me to be vacuous. After your request, I perused a number of the articles. I have not, of course, any possibility of verifying all his information, seeing that a series of facts he recounts are entirely unknown to me, even from heresy. Nevertheless, I have run across at least a dozen facts with which I am personally acquainted. The others I can judge only according to the knowledge of the circumstances, the persons, etc. Within these rather broad limits, the memoirs of Bessedovsky are impressive for their fantasy, a fantasy of that particular character known among us as 'chlestakov' (from the name of one of Gogol's heroes, Chlestakov). It is a combined lie, where the element of personal interest joins with an impartial imagination provoked by the absence of any regulating centers. In many cases, Bessedovsky's inventions have quite defined and despicable aims. He is trying to serve those who would like to muddle the relations between Germany and the U. S. S. R. and provoke a rupture between Moscow and Paris. At the same time he wants to furnish arguments to the most belligerent elements in Poland and other neighboring countries. Since, despite his rather representative official position, he played a role of only second or third order, he employs for his combinations the petty crumbs that reached him from tables where he had no place. But in many cases, his fantasy has no aim and rather indicates a mind that has lost its balance.

"By the way, I am told that Bessedovsky not only took part until recently in the bureau of the Communist nucleus of the Embassy, but that he played one of the leading roles in the commission charged with purging the nucleus from...Oppositionists. As you see, he is a man quite qualified for that! This fact at the same time makes clear the political 'evolution' that Bessedovsky has made...not even in twenty-four hours, but within a much shorter time.

"Communist greetings,
"L. Trotsky."

in my 42 years in the revolutionary fight.

After the strike fizzled out, all the would-be leaders crawled back to their holes, kissing and glorifying the hands of their masters, either the operators or the labor fakers. The miners in Taylorville and vicinity are actually starving. This morning, January 7, they discharged 80 more men at No. 7 mine. All members of the N.M.U. must go. Hundreds upon hundreds have already been fired and the little work they had previously was not enough to feed their loved ones.

I sincerely hope that I can stay a while longer in the fight, but the 29th of this month marks my entry into the 65th year, but when I am in the fight, then I feel myself as young as any of them. I never will be a renegade or traitor to my fellow men. I receive a bundle of Militants every issue, and they come in mighty handy right now. As I write, the paper comes in stating that two more of our boys were arrested. I wonder what they will do to me, but let her go!

With the hope that we all remain faithful and fearless and true to the inevitable world revolution, I remain yours as ever,

—FRITZ BODE, Sr.