

THE MILITANT

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FIVE COMMUNISTS FRAMED Corporations Make Huge Profits

Unite Working Class Forces for May Day Demonstrations

In a star-chamber proceedings in New York five Communists, including Wm. Foster, were found guilty on April 11 of unlawful assemblage and face a maximum sentence of three years in jail. They had been among the leaders of the unemployed demonstration on March 8th at Union Square.

Typical capitalist justice was dispensed from the time of their arrests till the frame-up was consummated and convictions were secured. So-called civil liberties were again mocked at by the agents of the bosses. A jury trial was denied the defendants. Three judges in special sessions court ruled on all points. No evidence was permitted to be given that stated the case and views of the defendants and the workers. Moving pictures showing that Police Commissioner Whalen had deliberately precipitated a riot were not allowed, nor could witnesses testify to the deliberate and provocative acts of Whalen's Cossacks against the participants at the Union Square demonstration. The riot was precipitated by the police on the pretext that the demonstrators could not march to City Hall to present the facts and grievances of the unemployed regarding the unemployment situation before Mayor Walker. The bosses and their governmental agents were bent on railroadng the workers to prison. Sentence has not yet been pronounced. The case will be appealed to the State Supreme Court.

Thus do the capitalists show their concern for the misery of the unemployed and those who try to defend their interests.

It is necessary for all workers, workers' organizations and other groups to rally on behalf of the convicted comrades. A broad defense movement is needed. Among the issues are the right of free speech and assemblage; against the star-chamber proceedings; the right for the workers to express their grievances through demonstrations, parades, etc. without interference by the bosses' agents. Labor must show its solidarity. May Day can become one of the outstanding rallying days on this and other important issues confronting the working class in the United States and throughout the world. Repressions of the capitalists against the workers are taking place throughout the country. In New York they have taken a most virulent form. The New York capitalists have taken the initiative and given the lead for the capitalists elsewhere.

Regarding May Day we have pointed to the necessity for a genuine united front of all working class forces against capitalism on a number of specific and burning issues before the workers; and that it is up to the Communists, especially the official Communist Party to initiate such a May Day movement. Otherwise, the May Day demonstrations will be limited, the workers' protests divided and made less effective; and to the degree of its influence, the official

RAKOVSKY'S ILLNESS

New information has come to us concerning the health of Christian Rakovsky. Our comrade has suffered a new and particularly severe heart attack. The doctors who were called to his bedside remained for a whole day. Will the Stalinist bureaucracy which exiled our comrade and his sick wife to Barnaul wait too long before permitting him to take measures for the alleviation of his condition?

Communist Party will be responsible for a division of the workers, particularly among those elements who are Communists or sympathetic to the cause of Communism.

All the conditions point to the need of a broad May Day movement. But the policy of the official Communist Party prevents this, and makes a mockery of the slogan it pretends to be for and issues; namely, a United Front of all labor on May Day. In New York the official Communist Party at the May Day Conference called to mobilize the workers for May Day, held a long talkfest, limited to its previously appointed speakers and gave no expression to delegates from the ranks and other bodies. The conference was like others for which the Party has become a laughing stock among honest and sincere elements who want to cooperate and participate in the movements of the day, such as the movement on behalf of the unemployed, etc. The

(Continued on Page 3)

L.D. Trotsky's Autobiography "MY LIFE"

has just been issued in the English language and will be reviewed in the next issue of the Militant. Watch for it.

This outstanding work of Leon Trotsky can be purchased through The Militant. The price is \$5.00 per copy. By ordering "My Life" through The Militant, you can also help to sustain The Militant which receives a commission for each copy sold directly by it. Everyone will want to have a copy. Order from The Militant (Cash with order only), 25 Third Avenue, Room 1, New York, N. Y.

The Naval Conference «Agrees»

The Naval Limitations Conference at London is nearing its close with an "agreement". The imperialist powers and press laud the "achievements" arrived at in the conference. Yet the original aim set for the conference—a five-power treaty—did not develop further than discussions between the delegations. The intense rivalry between the belligerent countries involved at London doomed in advance a five-power treaty.

The conference in recent weeks, recognizing the attempts at a naval limitation agreement between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, Italy and France, as futile, reverted to a three-power agreement which means the exclusion of Italy and France. The negotiations in the latter part of the conference were centered in this direction. Thus the three-power treaty is attempting to establish parity between the United States and England, and a 60 percent ratio for Japan.

American Imperialism in the Ascendancy
Should the signing of the three-power agreement take place the conference will end with the following results:

1. The achievement of parity between the United States and Great Britain, signifying the destruction of the British Empire's hegemony on the seas, and its formal replacement by the United States as the leading imperialist power in the world. Such a parity would mean that Great Britain would cease in the next six years to build naval armaments. But the establishment of this parity involves a billion dollar building program for the United States, thereby destroying the myth of disarmament and placing heavier burdens upon the shoulder of the American working class.

2. The failure of the conference to arrive at its original program of a five-power treaty. The three-power treaty would not be binding upon Italy and France.

3. The complete collapse of the disarmament character of the conference.

Even the three-power treaty carries in its wake a number of difficulties. There are doubts as to Japan's signature to the treaty. Japan indicates that she will not sign the treaty until she is able carefully to study the final draft of the treaty. In addition, the present proposed treaty allows for a "safeguard clause". Recognizing that the three-power treaty would have no binding character on either France or Italy. Britain demands that such a clause be entered into the treaty, since if the other two powers strengthen their naval fleets, they will become a menace to British interests in the Mediterranean. In such a situation the "safeguard clause" would allow Great Britain immediately to begin the construction of naval armaments. This would also apply to the United States and Japan.

Thus, A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the admiralty, says: "It should of course be recognized that each of the parties to the three-power agreement will have to be covered by the terms of the treaty in such a way that they may adjust their position if the construction programs of other powers outside the agreement should make that necessary. For example, our reduced destroyer tonnage would be materially affected by an increase in submarine tonnage elsewhere. This is, unfortunately, unavoidable in the circumstances."

E. L. James, in the New York Times of April 12, says as follows on the safeguard clause: "It has been agreed that the safeguard clause shall not apply solely to Great Britain, but to all three powers...."

The entire conference was a sham. Its original program was defeated. It failed in its attempt at disarmament, and could not arrive at a five-power treaty. The alternative, the three-power treaty, is a belated attempt to "achieve" something out of the talkfest. But the three-power treaty is filled with more explosives than is suspected. The London Daily Herald, summing up the situation, says: "The gains of the conference are plain enough (!). But at the same time it would be folly to overvalue them. It has neither achieved disarmament nor assured peace."

The conference draws to a close with conditions about the same as before it began. The parity between the United States and Great Britain took place prior to the conference; Japan's ratio was fairly well established also before the conference. The only additions remained Italy and France, and they are now out of the conference proper. There has been three months of talkfest; war is in the air; preparations for it continue. The role of the imperialists needs to be exposed more than ever.

How American corporations made hay while the boom sun shone last year is further revealed by recent financial reports. Steel, oil, motors, and chemicals, all important war industries, were especially prosperous up to the time of the crash.

U. S. Steel and Standard Oil Get Huge Profits

United States Steel raked in the largest income it ever reported in peace time, paying \$21.19 dividends on each of its 8,132,000 shares of common stock, as against \$12.50 in 1928. Bethlehem Steel sent its "earnings" (read "unpaid earnings of its workers") up more than 100% over the previous year. It donated to each idle holder of a piece of common stock a neat \$15.50 for what the Italians call "sweet doing nothing".

The Standard Oil companies, as usual, did nicely, thank you. The California unit paid dividends of \$3.70 a share, while the Indiana company, the sturdiest of the family, raised the ante to \$5.37. Though Vacuum Oil showed a drop of over \$2,000,000 in net profit, its stockholders were none the poorer. By putting into practice the principle of "stabilized earnings" (for capitalists only) they were given nearly \$21,000,000 in dividends instead of the previous year's \$19,000,000.

"Public Service" Corporations Rake in the Dough

United Gas Improvement Co., which has subsidiaries in at least eight states, and operates the municipal gas work of Philadelphia on a private lease, is now negotiating to absorb the monster Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, controlling practically all the power, trolley, and bus service of that "commonwealth". Mid-West Utilities, presided over by one of the Insullent Insulls, nearly doubled its "net", but American Superpower increased its winnings no less than tenfold!

International Harvester did the largest volume of business in any twelve months in its history, due largely to an increase in its foreign trade, some of which went to Soviet Russia. Its common stock dividends went up from \$5.58 to \$6.65. Eastman Kodak Co. also "outstripped all previous earnings"—no wonder old George can afford to give away 50,000 cameras for advertising to twelve-year olds next summer! Radio Corporation of America, which last year swallowed the Victor Talking Machine Co., cranks, discs, and all, reports \$182,137,000 gross business, compared with \$155,933,000 for the two companies in the year before consolidation.

American Tobacco was another corporation which turned a "record year", increasing its total profits by 20% and rolling dividends on each share up to \$13.17.

A LECTURE

on

Communism and the Trade Union Movement

by

JAMES P. CANNON

Saturday, April 19, 1930 at 8 p. m.

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B. OF L. E. CONVENTION

A PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR THE ENGINEERS

By C. R. HEDLUND

On Monday morning, June 2nd, the Sixth Triennial Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers opens in the city of Cleveland. There are many important tasks confronting this convention, which if correctly performed would improve the B. of L. E. tremendously.

Among the 21 Railroad Craft Organizations the B. of L. E. occupies a strategic position and if properly led with a progressive program would become a powerful factor in helping to solve the ever growing problems of the railroad workers.

However, in the last six years the B. of L. E. has been mismanaged and betrayed by its officials on a scale which challenges comparison in all labor history in this or any other country. During this period the organization, as well as its membership, have been swindled out of millions of dollars of its hard earned money. The officials under the leadership of the late Warren S. Stone, started out to organize one private corporation after another and proceeded to sell the worthless stock, running into millions of dollars, to the B. of L. E. members who were trained to think that their leaders, or rather misleaders, could do no wrong.

Floating Worthless Stock

After the officials had unloaded all the worthless stock they could on the membership, they then proceeded to float equally worthless bonds in the name of these worthless corporations and put on a campaign to palm them off on their victims. After the officials had obtained all the money they could by the sale of worthless stocks and bonds they helped themselves to the large funds which belonged to the various departments, such as insurance, pension, etc., and mortgaged the two office buildings which the organization owned in Cleveland, presumably, to get around the insurance laws in the state of Ohio. Mind you, they mortgaged the B. of L. E. buildings in order to get their hands on the B. of L. E. funds. These mortgages amounted to about \$7,000,000 at the time of the last convention in 1927. Since that time these mortgages, which ran to the different insurance departments of the Brotherhood, have been lifted in the air and another first mortgage has been slapped on these same office buildings to secure another loan of \$4,000,000 from a private source. So there is now a mortgage on the two office buildings amounting to approximately \$11,000,000.

The Officials Loot the Treasury

But the process of looting had only begun. The officials needed more and more money, so they started to help themselves to the cash in the Cleveland bank and in its stead shoved in worthless paper, until the bank reached a condition where it was about to be closed by the bank examiner at the time of the 1927 convention. The officials then induced the convention to obligate the B. of L. E. for the necessary amount of cash to put into the bank in place of the worthless paper, and as a result the closing of the B. of L. E. bank was avoided.

But the B. of L. E. officials needed still more money. They had sold all the worthless stocks and bonds they could get rid of to the membership; they had helped themselves to the various funds of the organization, they had taken all the cash they could out of the B. of L. E. bank. What could they do next to get more money? They had not yet given real estate a trial. So they proceeded to get 30,000 acres of Florida real estate, also practically worthless, and a great campaign was started in every terminal throughout the country to sell real estate to the already overloaded victims, the B. of L. E. members. The fraud and deliberate lying which was used by the B. of L. E. officials and their real estate salesmen in their high pressure sales campaign to palm off worthless Florida real estate on its members will be recorded as one of the blackest spots in the wholesale betrayal of the B. of L. E. by its official bureaucrats.

But the sale of Florida real estate did not go over big. The members were not

realizing any profits from their former investments in stocks and bonds, but the officials had to have still more money and the B. of L. E. and its membership constituted the only source from which the officials had any hopes of getting it. So new schemes had to be devised to pry more money loose from the membership. The idea of floating a \$10,000,000 B. of L. E. bond issue was now proposed by the officials and their henchmen to the 1927 convention and this proposition was actually put over. But they succeeded in selling only a little over two million dollars worth of these bonds which were also worthless, and to stimulate the sale of these bonds, they were labeled "Loyalty Loan Certificates." The "Loyalty Loan" however, did not furnish the required amount of money needed by the officials, who by this time had become regular gluttons for "jack". More and still more money was needed and there was only one more way of getting it, and that was by arbitrary assessment of the membership. So a \$5.00 special monthly assessment was levied on the members for 24 months as a starter, and to sweeten this assessment a little they gave it the name of "Loyalty Assessment". The word "Loyalty" and even the secret work were being used by the money gluttons to popularize the fraudulent Loan and Assessment.

The Real Estate Racket

It is with this background of experience that the B. of L. E. Convention convenes at Cleveland on June 2nd. However, the officials have done their utmost to keep the membership in the darkest kind of ignorance concerning these so-called "Obligations" which the members are being called upon to pay. Gaglaws, obligations, secret work, censored magazines, threats, and even expulsions have been used by the officialdom to keep the membership suppressed and in line. It is hard to tell to what extent the intelligent and militant minority is organized and prepared to carry out a constructive program at the coming convention.

A Program for a Rank and File Union

The writer of this article circulated the recent St. Paul B. of L. E. union meeting with a convention program containing the following proposals, to wit:

Fire all the present Grand Officers and drive them from the B. of L. E. in disgrace; cut officials' salaries to the level of the wages received by the engineers on the best paid runs, not to exceed \$350.00 per month plus necessary traveling expenses; election of all officials at each convention and no six year terms as at present; all officials, after serving two terms in office, to be drafted back on the job to run a locomotive for a period of at least one term before they are again eligible for election to office; establish a definite system of representation at conventions so that the Grand Officers cannot juggle the representation as at present; election of the editor of the Journal instead of appointment by the Grand Chief.

Repeal of the gaglaw section No. 84, page 73 of the statute, which prohibits the issuing of printed matter concerning the organization by a member; have a free speech clause inserted in the constitution; elimination of membership obligation together with ritualistic and secret work; have the convention take definite steps to amalgamate with the B. of L. E. & F.; have the new administration stand instructed not to spend another dollar of the duespayers' money for the personal benefit of the Grand Officers and other profit seekers who sunk their earnings in these mismanaged and fake corporations; also to have a law enacted which will provide that no salary increases of officers and delegates will become effective before being ratified by a referendum vote of the membership.

The Divisions and memberships in and around the Twin Cities and Minnesota are also being circularized with the above program in order to get some of these needed changes in the B. of L. E. enacted into law at the coming B. of L. E. convention.

Illinois Elections Ignore Worker's Needs

CHICAGO—On Tuesday, April 8, the state of Illinois held its primary election. A record has been established in a peaceful election in the city of Chicago, not even a single killing or kidnaping. How much stuffing of ballot boxes took place or voting by sovereign citizens "residing" on empty lots or the spacious quarters of a street vender's push cart, one may not know.

There was no lack of contest, however. During the present economic crisis and gloomy business prospects a political job may appear very enticing to any hard pressed merchant willing to serve the masters; and hence there were in cases as many as twelve contestants for one office, particularly within the "Grand Old Party". The offices to be nominated ran all the way from U. S. senator, representatives in Congress, the state legislature, county offices, judges of municipal courts and party committeemen. The Republican Party primary ballot was 3 feet long.

A Contest Between Groups

The hottest contest centered around the most cherished job—U.S. senator on the republican ballot, between Charles S. Deenen the present incumbent and Ruth Hanna McCormick, daughter of the once notorious politician, Mark Hanna. The latter won in a landslide of over 200,000 plurality. She represented the typical viewpoint of middle western industrial magnates and made her main issues: no international entanglements and against adherence to the world court. Whatever that could mean to workers participating in the primary is still a puzzle. Otherwise the important campaign issues were "pure Republicanism" in the one camp and "democracy without entangling alliances" in the other. Here and there some sympathy was expressed for the distress of the farmers, but that cost as little as catering to the colored vote by McCormick through her support of De Priest, the colored congressman from Chicago. All candidates tried to be in favor of the waterway from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. Each accused his opponents of shiftness but only those could clinch their point who made best use of the accusation "entangling alliance with the city hall machine". In the midst of the campaign, the Chicago Tribune came lumbering forward with the "paramount" issue—wet or dry. Of course one may not forget the importance of this issue as considered by the official Communist Party in a platform plank of hybrid opportunism in the last presidential elections.

Labor Fakery Play Usual Game

Otherwise these elections and the preceding campaign produced not one word in regard to the immediate issue confronting the large population of industrial workers in the state—the issue of unemployment. Thus could the capitalist parties show their haughty contempt for the political backwardness of the American workers. But to those who are now beginning to learn, it also becomes a proof that capitalist parliaments cannot function in the interest of the workers. So-called labor candidates and "friends of labor" were not lacking, however, on both capitalist party tickets. The Illinois State Federation of Labor and the Chicago Federation of Labor ran the whole gamut of indorsing "friends" and punishing enemies in perfect harmony with the A. F. of L. policy. The actual working out of the indorsements and punishments is, of course, becoming an ever tougher task. A few reversals had to be made since it is now so difficult to distinguish the "friends" from the enemies.

Independent Political Action Raised in Federation

The Chicago Federation of Labor did not even propose to make any demands or requests upon its indorsed candidates in regard to unemployment relief. That could possibly lead beyond the policy of political neutrality. Yet one development is noteworthy. At its last meeting, just before the primary elections, the Federation discussed the report on the appalling conditions in the city public poorhouse institutions. There entered into it the dreaded

STALIN SILENT ON BLUMKIN; JACQUEMOTTE SPEAKS

In a recent number of the Red Flag, organ of the Belgian Communist Party, there appeared an account of a public meeting at which Jacquemotte, a Stalinist henchman, replying to the questions of one of our Opposition comrades concerning the assassination of Blumkin, made an apology for this assassination and declared point-blank that Blumkin was a counter-revolutionist who was struggling for the overthrow of the Soviet regime. If such a reply by Jacquemotte did not astound us, we would ask why Stalin does not reply to the question of the International Opposition.

Jacquemotte, by such flth, hopes perhaps to recover "his leading role" in the Communist Party of Belgium. This slander concerning Blumkin is accompanied in the same issue with a flaming headline over an article about a strike: "Police, Trotskyites, reformists against the workers." No further enlightenment concerning Blumkin is produced. It is clear that "objectively" our Belgian comrades are in league with the police, probably because the leadership of the movement escapes from those whose policies have resulted in the virtual liquidation of the Communist Party of Belgium.

Φ

Railroad Workers to Meet on 6-Hour Day

MINNEAPOLIS—The proposed mergers of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific roads has aroused the railroad workers to the necessity of action, if a great number of them are not to be placed permanently in the army of the unemployed.

The next meeting of railroad workers is to be a delegate conference to be held on Tuesday, April 22nd, 1930, 8 P. M. at Woodruff Hall, Prior and St. Anthony Aves., St. Paul, Minn. Each local union of railroad workers is called upon to send three delegates to discuss the six hour day and five day week.

The above meeting is being called by a provisional committee elected for this purpose at a meeting on April 3rd, which was attended by 125 railroad workers representing various crafts, including Switchmen, Engineers, Trainmen, Stationary Firemen, Conductors, Electricians, Carmen and Locomotive Firemen. This meeting was enthusiastic for further meetings and discussion to consider the problems of the railroad worker. Nearly 20 workers took the floor to discuss the six hour day and five day week and kindred subjects.

—O. COOVER

Φ

PITSTON, Pa.—2,000 jobless men and women applied for 260 available jobs as census enumerators in Luzerne Co.

subject—partisan politics. There were still those among the delegates who thought that something could be accomplished through the old policy of rewards and punishments; but they were not listened to very attentively. The acclaim of the house was for those who spoke definitely for a break with the parties of the bosses and for a labor party. To the gullible who think of the labor party in terms of a solution even for the immediate needs, we must of necessity say: Take a good look at his majesty's labor party government of Great Britain and its relation to the unemployed army there. But the labor party as a step away from the support of the parties of the bosses is surely in a forward direction.—A.S.

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then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Five Communists Framed

Unite Working Class Forces for May Day Demonstrations

(Continued from page 1)

Youth Conference for May Day, called by the Young Communist League of New York refused to seat the delegates of the Youth Section of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on the ground that they were "renegades"... The idocy of the Party leadership evidently knows no bounds. It leads to further isolation of the Communists from the labor movement, and lowers steadily the prestige of the Communists in the eyes of the workers. Among other things, by rejecting the delegates of the Left Opposition from official participation in the May Day demonstrations, the Party objectively plays the game of the bosses, who are indeed pleased to see the Communists forces divided.

* * *

It is imperative to unite all possible forces for May Day. The slogan of the United Front remains valid as the means to rally the workers and their organizations with their various economic and political views for a united and solid demonstration. The issues around which to unite the workers are many: 1. The solidarity of labor against capitalism. 2. A struggle on behalf of the unemployed, taking the form of demands for: work or compensation, the seven hour day and five day week, social insurance, abolition of the speed-up system, the unity of the employed and unemployed workers, the establishment of wide-scale credits to the Soviet Union by the U. S. government as a practical means to aid the unemployed at once, and recognition of the Soviet government by the United States. 3. A militant campaign for full civil liberties—unrestricted free speech, free press and assemblage for the workers—now being ruthlessly taken in various ways from the Communists and other workers' groups by the capitalist class. 4. A broad campaign to mobilize the working class against the repressions of the workers and their organizations by the employing class and the government. 5. Mobilization of the progressive and Left wing movement for the organization of the unorganized masses into labor unions. 6. To rouse the masses for the Defense of the Soviet Union.

There are a few of the immediate issues around which to rally the workers on May Day. A prerequisite is the unity of all Communist elements to conduct a campaign along these lines.

* * *

The slogan of the official Communist Party for a mass political strike on May Day is without validity under the prevailing conditions. As promulgated now by the Communist Party, its only results will be to mislead the workers, particularly the Communist workers and sympathizers, about the true situation today. Its inevitable failure will only bring discredit to the slogan and to the Party. Phrase-mongering is the most dangerous game for revolutionaries.

* * *

In New York, reactionary organizations of World War Veterans and similar groups have secured Union Square for May Day and propose, with the full support of the Police Department, to prevent the workers from their accustomed use of Union Square for working class demonstrations on that day. Here is another direct offensive of the capitalists and the government to smash and limit the workers' and Communist movement.

May Day is Workers' Day; Union Square on May 1st, by usage and tradition, fought for and gained by years of determined organization and struggle, belongs to the organizations of the working class. The Communists and the Left wing must appeal to the masses of the workers against the insolent provocation of the reactionary forces, the militarists, the White Guardists—against the whole gang of anti-labor elements with the New York City government in the forefront. The Party cannot fight this battle alone. It must appeal to the masses. Upon the volume of support which the masses give to this appeal, clearly manifested beforehand, depends the question whether the Communists should accept the challenge to fight for the Square on May Day, or make a temporary retreat before

stronger forces of the enemy. All efforts in the next days must be concentrated in going to the masses with this issue.

* * *

The Hoover government and the capitalist class continue to do everything in their power to hide the facts about mass unemployment; to lie about and distort the situation of prevailing misery; to cover up the failure of capitalism to solve the unemployment crisis as well as other ills of capitalism.

Reports are given in other columns of the Militant of the huge profits during the past year made by the numerous corporations throughout the country. Of course, the workers got, instead of profits, low wages, long hours, speed-up and then—joblessness. The census reports now being compiled by the United States government itself indicate that in round figures there are 7,000,000 unemployed workers in the United States. The panaceas of the bourgeois apologists and agents for unemployment have proved just nothing. Frances Perkins, the State Industrial Commissioner of New York, now hopes for a solution in the "next quarter century"! Other apologies for capitalism are equally valueless for the needs of the workers now without a job and the means of livelihood.

* * *

Vaster trade relations with the Soviet Union, extensive credits to the Soviet Union by the U. S. government, should be vigorously put forward by the workers, by the Communists, as practical measures to alleviate the unemployment situation in the United States and thereby also to aid the development of the Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union. Of course, no measures under capitalism can solve the unemployment problem which develops out of the system of capitalism. The basis for the complete elimination of unemployment can only be laid under a Workers' Government, a Soviet system. But it must be impressed upon the workers that broad economic relations with the Soviet government are one of the ways to aid the present situation, and that demands must be made upon the U. S. government accordingly. It is particularly unfortunate that the official Communist Party does not utilize this concrete proposal as a major slogan in the unemployment campaign.

* * *

In New York a small demonstration against the murder of the anti-fascist, Carlo Mazzola, took place in Union Square on April 12 under the auspices of the Socialists, at which anarchist representatives also spoke. Mazzola was killed by one of Whalen's policemen at an anti-fascist meeting in Cooper Union. The Communists were not permitted to participate officially in the memorial services and anti-fascist demonstration. For this the socialists deserve the severest condemnation for dividing the workers and refusing to unite all working classes forces against the fascist and their murderous acts. A United Front movement against Mussolini, against Fascism is capable of organization and development. Those serve Fascism who refuse to permit the unity of workers' forces and organizations in demonstrations, meetings and movements against Fascism. That is the manner in which the Socialists acted at the Union Square meeting. Honest anti-fascist workers who think the Socialist Party is the enemy of fascism should ask the question why the most militant fighters against it were excluded from the demonstration. —M. A.

EASTON, Pa.—(FP)—Hulmeville Hosiery Co. has applied for an injunction against the South Langhorne local of the Hosiery Workers Union, to prevent picketing of the plant. About 65 workers are on strike, following the lockout of several workers.

LYNN, Mass.—(FP)—Union carpenters here have adopted the 5-day week, in an attempt to provide work for the unemployed. There is no change in the wage sale. The agreement between employers and the union expired March 31.

DISPATCHERS NEED SHORTER HOURS
CHICAGO—(FP)—Nystagmus may be the ail that will help train dispatchers to a shorter workday and workweek. Nystagmus is not a welcome assistant but it insists nevertheless. It is the name for a pathological condition of the eye and is believed to afflict dispatchers because of their eyestrain as well as nervous strain of their exacting duties, made much more onerous by speeding up of trains and by substitution of the telephone for the rail telegraph in many offices.

Dispatchers belonging to the American Train Dispatchers Assn. are now being examined medically not only regarding their eyes but generally as the basis for new wage and hours presentations to be made in new negotiations with the rail bosses. Men at New York, Birmingham, Ala., and Omaha have been examined as sample lots and others are in line.

Wage boosts of 27 cents a day to \$10.00 have been won by union dispatchers on the St. Louis-Southwestern.

WASHINGTON GOVERNOR PARDONS CROOKS, REFUSES WOBBLIES

SEATTLE—(FP)—While Gov. Hartley declares he is not empowered to free the Centralia prisoners, Prosecutor Charles W. Greenough of Spokane charges that the state parole board acts "under orders of Gov. Hartley."

"Convicts are being paroled faster than they can be convicted because members of the board act under orders of the governor."

Advocates of the release of the eight Centralia prisoners are glad to see Hartley's alibi that the matter is "entirely in the hands of the Parole Board" punctured by such a "respectable" witness.

Atlanta Threatens Death to Communist Organizers

ATLANTA, Ga.—Charges involving execution or, "if the jury recommend to mercy", 5 to 20 years imprisonment, under a post-civil war statute regarding "inciting to insurrection", have been returned by the Atlanta grand jury against M.H. Powers, and Joe Carr, Communist organizers. They will be held without bail. At present they are out on \$1,500 bail on charges of "unlawful assembly" and distribution of "insurrectionary literature", which involves a penalty from 5 to 20 years.

Their "offense" was holding Communist meetings of white workers and Negroes together, advising them to join forces in the struggle against boss oppression, and to defend themselves against lawless attacks by police and lynching by private citizens.

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\$50,000 MINIMUM BUDGET FOR YOUNG N. Y. BANKER

NEW YORK—(FP)—You can't save on \$50,000 a year. That's the experience of a young New York banker, under 35, writing in Fortune. The Park Ave. apartment alone costs \$7,000 a year, he writes, and house expenses are \$650 a month. The nurse gets \$120 a month, the cook \$90, the maid \$80. Theatres and night clubs take at least \$1,400 a year, the doctor grabs \$2,250, the wife must have \$5,000 for clothes. The summer house expenses run to \$5,185 for three months.

Other little expenses, including charity, run the total up to \$48,475, the irreducible minimum. The young banker hopes, when his income runs to \$75,000, to be able to save some money.

"A great writer has here set forth his fantastic life in such a way as to make me wonder why people still read novels, or even write them. The book begins like Hamsun, and closes like a third act." . . . Emil Ludwig.

My
Life



Leon
Trotsky

IN exile on an obscure Turkish island Trotsky writes the story of his fantastic life—his country boyhood, his revolutionary passion, his friendship and work with Lenin, his seething participation in the brooding plots that transformed Czarist into Communist Russia, his leadership of the Soviet Army, his opposition to Stalin, and his banishment.

Trotsky avoids theoretical discussion. He describes the events which and characterizes the men who brewed a mighty drama of world history in our own times—the transformation of somnolent Holy Russia into a country of experimentation, ethical and economic. Trotsky has a flair for narrative, a power in description, shrewd humor, even when the joke is on him.

Born in a remote village in Little Russia, he was arrested at nineteen as a revolutionary and spent two years in unspeakable Czarist prisons. He was exiled to Siberia, escaped, wandered through Switzerland into Paris and London, and then returned to Russia for the unsuccessful revolution of 1905. Prison again, exile again, an incredible escape by reindeer. The war came, Paris, expulsion to Spain, and forced deportation to New York, and then—the revolution! Power, tremendous power, as the directing head of an army. Intrigue, dissension, Lenin's death, and a conspiracy, and Trotsky began his third exile. At fifty, as he writes his autobiography, he is marooned on an island, on "a planet without a visa."

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The Ultra-Left Policy on Right Drags

By L. D. TROTSKY

The following article represents chapter seven from the larger work of L. D. Trotsky entitled "Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch", which, in turn, makes up the third section (yet to be printed in full in English) of the document "The Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern" presented to the Vth Congress by the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Trotsky. The document was suppressed by the Stalin-Bukharin regime. The first two sections were published in brochure form by the Militant and copies may be obtained through the Militant. Chapter eight of the section "Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Epoch" was published in the April 5th, 1930 issue of the Militant under the title, "The Period of Right Centrist-Down-Sliding in the C.I."

After the period of the storm tide of 1923 began the period of a long-lasting ebb. In the language of strategy this means an ordered retreat, rearguard battles, strengthening of the position within the mass organizations, re-examination of one's own ranks and cleansing and sharpening of the theoretical and political weapons. But adoption of this attitude was characterized as liquidatory. As in general with this, as well as with the other ideas of the Bolshevik lexicon in late years, the very greatest abuse was practiced. No longer did they teach and train, but only sowed dissension and confusion. Liquidationism signifies a renunciation of the revolution and endeavors to substitute the roads and methods of reformism for the road and methods of revolution. The policy of Lenin had nothing in common with liquidationism. Yet just as little did it have anything to do with an ignoring of the changes in the objective situation, or with the maintenance of the course of armed uprising with mere words, at a time when the revolution had already turned its back upon us, and a long-lasting road full of stubborn, systematic laborious work among the masses for the preparation of the Party for a new revolution lay before us.

The German Defeat of 1923

When a man ascends a stairs he needs one kind of motion, but when he descends it—another. Most dangerous is such a situation in which a man puts out the light, raises his foot to ascend when there are three downward steps before him. A crash, injuries and dislocations are unavoidable thereby. The leadership of the Comintern in 1924 did everything to extinguish a criticism of the experiences of the German October, like all criticisms in general. It repeated stubbornly: The workers are immediately approaching the revolution—the stairs lead upwards. Is it then astonishing that the directives of the Fifth Congress applied in the revolutionary ebb had to lead to heavy political crashes and dislocations?

In No. 5-6 of the Information Bulletin of the German Opposition, March 1, 1927, it says:

"The greatest mistake of the Lefts at the Frankfurt Congress in the Spring of 1924, when they took over the leadership, consisted in not speaking relentlessly enough to the Party of the heaviness of the defeat of 1923; in not drawing the necessary deductions, in not showing the Party, soberly and unembellished, the tendencies of the relative stabilization of capitalism and indicating a corresponding program for the impending period with its struggles and slogans. This would surely have been possible, just as well as a correct and absolutely necessary sharp underscoring of the individual program demands."

These lines showed us already at that time that a part of the German Left, who participated during the Fifth Congress in the struggle against our fictitious "liquidationism", seriously understood the lessons of 1924-25. That made possible a further approach on the foundation of principle.

The Bulgarian and Estonian Adventures

The main year of the turn was the year 1924. Nevertheless the recognition of this ensuing brusque turn ("stabilization") followed only a year and a half

later. What is astonishing here, since the years 1924-25 were filled with Left adventures and putschist experiments? The Bulgarian terrorist adventure, like the tragic history of the Estonian armed uprising, form an outbreak of despair evoked by the false orientation. The fact that these attempts to force the historical process by means of a putsch remained without critical investigation, led to a relapse in Canton toward the end of 1927. In politics not even the smallest mistakes are made unpunished, much less the big ones. And the greatest mistake of them all is when the mistake is veiled, when it is sought to suppress a criticism and a correct Marxist estimate of the mistake in mechanical ways.

We write no history of the Comintern for the last five years. We bring here only a factual illumination of two strategic lines in the fundamental stages of this period and at the same time—an illumination of the seclusion from the world of the draft program, for which all these questions do not exist at all. We cannot therefore, give here a description, however general, of the inextricable situation into which the Parties of the Comintern, placed between the directives of the Fifth Congress on the one hand and political reality on the other, had to land constantly. Of course, not everywhere were the contradictions solved through such deadly convulsions as was the case in Bulgaria and Estonia in 1924.

Falsification and Fiction Replace Facts and Truth

Yet always and everywhere the Parties felt themselves bound, gave no echo to the demands of the masses, went about with eye-flaps and stumbled. In the purely Party propaganda and agitation, in the work in the trade unions, on the parliamentary tribune—everywhere the Communists had to drag the decisions of the Fifth Congress behind them like a chain. Every single Party, one more, the other less, became a victim of the false positions of departure. They chased after phantoms, ignored completely the real process, transformed revolutionary slogans into howling phrases, compromised themselves in the eyes of the masses and lost all the ground under their feet. To crown all this, the press of the Comintern was robbed of every possibility, then as well as now, to gather, to arrange and to publish the facts and figures on the work of the Communist Parties in the recent years. The leadership of the epigones, after the defeats, mistakes and lack of success, preferred to accomplish the retreat and the accounting with extinguished lights.

Finding itself in a great and growing contradiction with the real factors, the leadership had to cling ever more to fictitious factors. The Executive Committee of the Communist International lost the ground under its feet and strove constantly to disclose revolutionary forces and signs where there weren't any. In order to balance itself, it had to cling to rotten ropes.

The Illusions About the Peasantry

In the same measure that an obvious, growing swing to the Right was going on in the proletariat, there began in the Comintern the line of idealizing the peasantry, a wholly uncritical exaggeration of every symptom of its "break" with bourgeois society, an embellishment of every possible peasant pseudo-organization and a direct hochpappelnung of "peasant" demagogues.

The task of a long and stubborn struggle of the proletarian vanguard against the bourgeois and peasant demagogy for influence upon the village elements most deprived of rights, was always more and more replaced by the hope for a direct and independent revolutionary role of the peasantry on a national as well as on an international scale.

In the course of the whole year of 1924, that is, the main year of the "stabilization", the Communist press was constantly publishing completely fantastic re-

ports on the strength of the lately founded Peasants International. Dombal, the representative of the latter, declared that the Peasants International, six months after its formation, already unites within itself a few million readers.

Zinovieff on Raditch

There was enacted the scandalous incident of the leader of the Croatian "Peasants" Party, Raditch, who considered it advisable to show himself in Red Moscow in order thereby to strengthen his ministerial chances in White Belgrade. On July 9, 1924, Zinoviev, in his report before the Leningrad Party workers on the results of the Fifth Congress, told of a new "victory":

"At this moment an important turn

is taking place within the peasantry. You have all surely heard already of the Croatian Peasants Party of Raditch. Raditch is now in Moscow. There is a real people's leader... Behind Raditch stands united the entire poor and middle peasantry of Croatia... Raditch has now decided in the name of his Party to join the Peasants International. We consider this event very important... The building of the Peasants International is an extraordinarily great event. Some comrades did not believe that a big organization would grow out of this... Now we are getting a great auxiliary machine—the peasantry..." (Pravda, July 28, 1924.)

And so forth and more of the same.

The LaFollette Maneuver

The leader LaFollette corresponded on the other side of the ocean to the "genuine people's leader", Raditch. The representative of the Comintern, Pepper, in order to set "the auxiliary machine"—the American farmers—into motion at an accelerated tempo, drew the young and weak American Communist Party into the senseless and shameless adventure of creating a "Farmer-Labor Party" around LaFollette so that American capitalism might be overthrown in the quickest way.

The glad tidings of the closeness of the revolution in the United States on the foundation of the farmers filled the speeches and articles of the official leaders of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at that time. In the sessions of the Fifth Congress, Kolarov reported:

"In the United States the small farmers have created a Farmer-Labor Party, which becomes ever more radicalized, comes closer to the Communists, and is being permeated by the idea of the creation of a workers' and peasants' government in the United States." (Pravda, July 6, 1924.)

So; neither more nor less.

From Nebraska came Green—one of the leaders of the LaFollette organizations—to the peasants' congress in Moscow. For some reason or other he "joined" in order, as is customary, to help along later on at a conference in St. Paul to strangle the Communist Party when it made the weak attempt to go over to the realization of the great plans of Pepper. The same Pepper who was councillor to Count Karolyi and who put on an extremely Left air at the Third Congress as a reformer of Marxism. The same Pepper who was one of those who butchered the revolution in Hungary.

Pravda of August 29, 1924 complained as follows:

"The American proletariat as a whole has not even risen to the consciousness of the necessity even of so conciliatory a Party as the English Labor Party is."

And about a month and a half before that, Zinoviev reported to the Leningrad Party workers:

"A few million farmers are being voluntarily or involuntarily pushed by the agrarian crisis all at once (!) to the working class." (Pravda, July 22, 1924.)

And Kolarov immediately added: "to a workers' and peasants' government."

The Farmer-Labor Party and the Class

The press spoke continuously about the impending building of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States for the overthrow of capital, "on a not purely proletarian, but a class" foundation. What the "not proletarian, but class" character was supposed to mean, no sage either on this or the other side of the ocean could point out. In the long run it was only a Pepperized edition of the idea of a "joint workers' and peasants' Party" on which we will yet have occasion to speak in greater detail in connection with the lessons of the Chinese revolution. Here it is enough to establish that this reactionary idea of non-proletarian but class Parties arose entirely from the pseudo-Left policy of 1924, which, when it lost the ground from under its feet, clung to Raditch, LaFollette and the inflated figures of the Peasants International.

"We are at present witnesses,"—so proclaimed the academician of commonplaces, Millutin—"of an extraordinarily important and significant example of the splitting away of the peasant masses from the bourgeoisie, the coming forth of the peasantry against capitalism and an ever stronger consolidation of the united front of the peasantry and the working class in the capitalist countries in struggle against the capitalist system." (Pravda, July 27, 1924.)

In the course of the whole year of 1924, the press of the Comintern did not tire of telling about the general "Leftward trend of the peasant masses", as though something independent could be excepted from this, in most cases only apparent, Leftward trend of the peasants in a period of the open Rightward trend of the workers, the strengthening of the social democracy and the consolidation of the bourgeoisie.

We meet the same mistake in political vision towards the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1928 with regard to China. After every great and deep crisis, in which the proletariat suffers a decisive defeat for a long time, the stirring still continues for a long time among the semi-proletarian masses in city and country, like the circles in the water when a stone has fallen in. So that when the leadership ascribes an independent significance to these circles and contrary to the process within the working class, points to them as a symptom of an approaching revolution, we know that this is an infallible sign that the leadership is once more going towards adventures, as with the Estonian or Bulgarian in 1924 or the Cantonese in 1927.

The Course Toward the Kuomintang

During the same period of ultra-Leftism, the Chinese Communist Party is driven for several years into the Kuo Min T'ang, which is characterized by the Fifth Congress as a "friendly Party" (Pravda, July 25, 1924), without undertaking a serious attempt to investigate the class character of the latter. The idealizing of the "national revolutionary bourgeoisie" develops the greater. That is how the false Left course, with its eyes shut and burning with impatience, laid the foundation for the subsequent opportunism with regard to the East also. To give form to opportunism, Martinov was called upon, who was all the more a loyal councillor of the Chinese proletariat, having himself limped behind the petty bourgeoisie during the three Russian revolutions.

In the hunt after an artificial acceleration of the process, not only Raditch, LaFollette, the mythical peasant millions of Dombal and even Pepper were clung to; a basically false perspective was also built up for England. The weaknesses of the English Communist Party gave birth at that time to the necessity of replacing it as quickly as possible by a more imposing factor. At that time arose the false estimate of the tendency of English trade unionism. Zinoviev gave us to understand that he counted upon the revolution finding an entrance, not through the narrow gateway of the British Communist Party, but through the broad gateway of the trade unions. The struggle of the Communist Party for the masses or-

(Continued on Page 8)

Throughout the World of Labor

In the Soviet Union

First Flutterings of a New Course

The recent address of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has two principal objects. It furnishes the directives in the collectivization campaign and for the atheist struggle. It will smash the mounting optimism of the official press which, each day, carried figures and percentages of the progress of the collectives. The letters from the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, printed in the *Militant*, have already established the nature of the reentrance of the Kulaks into the collectives by examples of the slaughter of live-stock and the statements of the Kulaks to the effect that the collectives are a refuge. But this criticism, which takes into consideration the realities of the class struggle, is not at all the act of bureaucrats, hungry for crushing figures.

A Rebirth for the Kulaks?

The address of the Central Committee comes out against the methods of violence employed against the peasant class, which, under the cover of increasing numbers, artificially accumulated class antagonisms. Does this address mark a change in the face of difficulties of which they cannot be ignorant? Does it mark an apparatus zig-zag from "Face to the Country", to "Liquidation of the Nep"? In any case, what can one expect from contradictory orders issued without an effective analysis and without a concrete study of the class phenomena which impose their inflexible laws? The close of the address shows a desire for conciliation with the better-off sections of the peasantry: the rule regarding non-admission of the Kulaks into the collectives should no longer be strictly applied. Henceforth members of families in which there are red partisans or soldiers in the Red Army can be admitted, provided that they vouch for the members of their families. The door opens wide. Taking into consideration the study of L.D. Trotsky, who showed that because of their inadequate technical base the collectives could become a secret point of the renaissance of the Kulaks, it can be asked whether this "turn" in the bureaucratic strategy does not make a step towards a Bucharinist course under a cover of the liquidation of the Nep. In addition the address forbids the closing down of markets and authorizes the members of the collectives to sell their products on the market.

The Changed Course Toward the Church

Besides this, the address forbids the closing down of churches except in cases wherein an overwhelming majority of the peasants actually desire it. If this were concerned only with a letting up in the mechanical struggle against religion this paragraph—however mild—could be sanctioned. It has as its purpose to put an end to the bureaucratic excesses which can align the backward elements of the peasantry against the regime. But published at the time of the infuriated offensive of the clergy of all religions against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it appears like an effect of the pressure of reactionaries on the revolutionary state of the workers and peasants. It is, besides, normal that the Centrist apparatus, which, through its mechanization, is deprived of the influx of revolutionaries from the masses, should be exposed to the influence of external public opinion whose tunes are played by the world bourgeoisie.

Φ

The Elections to the Factory Councils in Germany

Berlin March, 1930

The elections to the factory councils have begun. The results already known fully confirm our previous prognostications. In many shops where the Party put forward red lists for the first time, it met with appreciable success. But where it recorded dazzling victories last year, and in consequence it should at present

realize the expectations and hopes of the workers, there does it suffer defeats which are sometimes disastrous. Let us take, for example, the case of the Berlin Transport Organizations where on the 15th of March the elections to the factory councils for 1930 took place. They were a heavy defeat for the Party. Against 10,797 votes in 1929 it obtained but 6,317, whereas the trade unions leaped from 5,934 (1929), to 10,146 votes.

The results of the elections to the factory councils in the red factory of Leuna, which has, with good reason, until now, passed for a stronghold of communism, are almost as catastrophic. Here the party dropped from 9,256 in 1929 to 4,763 votes, whereas the trade union list which had received 5,914 in 1929 attained 5,093, thus recording but a slight loss; the decrease in the number of workers evidenced itself almost exclusively by the decrease of Communist votes; whereas the fascist lists gained 500 votes.

These results are all the more alarming in that they refute in a very definite manner the theory of "unceasing revolutionary advances". But this is not all. The figures in these elections should not be considered alone; in relation to the figures of the syndicalist movement they characterize the fundamental processes which are taking place among the masses.

The Party Falls to Lead

Despite the rapidly increasing unemployment comprising more than three million workers, the number of trade-union adherents is constantly growing....

This turn does not at all signify that the evolution of the masses toward the Left (which we have already noted on several occasions) is now moving backwards. On the contrary, this turn proves once again, still more conclusively, that the degree of maturity of the leftward evolution is quite different from the appreciation of the role of the Party. The gathering of hundreds of thousands of workers around the trade unions characterizes the initial stage in the leftward development, the very first form of class-consciousness—the consciousness of the necessity for class organization.

If, during the past two years, when these processes become more and more distinct, the Party leadership had known how to follow a Bolshevik course, we would have today a mass Party, measured not by election figures but by its capacity for action. Instead of forming a strong Left wing in the trade unions, and gathering—without regard to the question of parties—the conscious elements into an organized minority on the basis of the class struggle, the leadership, by its lamentable oscillations, has led the Party into a state of extreme confusion.

Under these conditions the Leftward push, expressing itself through the influx into the trade unions, has resulted at the same time in a weakening of the Party and its capacity for action. Moreover, it is becoming more evident from day to day that the masses no longer have any confidence in the program of the socialist party. Dozens of Communist functionaries, determined opponents of social-democracy, have been expelled from the Party, but have refused to let themselves be pushed out of the trade unions, by obeying the Party which gave them childish and stupid orders.

The Left Is Assembling Its Forces

Up to the present, the Right wing only has benefited from the growing dissatisfaction in the Party, but during the immediate past, significant symptoms have appeared: new oppositions are forming within the Party (especially in reaction to its trade union policies), which absolutely refuse to unite with the Right wing.

The first attempts of the real Left wing in the Party to reassemble once more, to free themselves from the traditions of the past and to adopt a new orientation on the trade union question, provoked commotions in the Right wing. In their daily *Die Arbeiterpolitik* of March 13th, they make a strong bid for a rapprochement with the supporters of the International Left Opposition who are still in the Party—the Wedding and the Palatine Oppositions. They give themselves up to the vain hope that some day there will be a common

struggle of the Right and Left against the Center.

The final developments will be a bitter pill for them. The Left which is regrouping itself once again, will in the future fight the Right as bitterly as it has in the past.

—K.L.

Φ

Strikes and Peasant Uprisings In Greece

Athens, March 12

The last two strikes of the gas and transport workers were caused by what we call the "third order" (end of year bonus) granted thus far at the beginning of each year and which certain enterprises wished to do away with, at one blow, although they represented an acquired right of the workers. The Venizelos government naturally took the part of the companies and placed at their disposal its police who were particularly brutal toward the strikers. But it was under this very same Venizelos government that this custom, now defended by the workers, was established a few years ago.

These strikes, which were not movements of a day, but lasted for a long time, were finally put down by the government and the companies, who subjected the workers to a regime of implacable terror. A large number of workers were imprisoned and deported and all the "leaders" were discharged.

The chief functionaries, sailors, officers in the navy and students in the upper classes of the polytechnic school took part in the repression. The students did not however take part of their own accord: they participated only under the threats of the school directors. This corps of strike-breakers soon found itself reinforced by a group of adherents to the yellow trade unions confederation who from the outset divested themselves of all signs of sympathy for the strikers.

The attitude of the government is neither new nor surprising to us. We had learned from its actions in a number of former strikes (the metal workers of Laurium, the workers of Elefsis, the transport workers of Piree). Thus, its reactionary role was exposed and its liberal mask torn away when it betrayed the workers at the August 1927 elections; where it clearly showed itself to be a capitalist government whose purpose was to stabilize the forces of production on the backs of the Greek proletariat.

Rationalization and Suppression

The carrying through of the projected plans in this field under the former ministry of Kafadaris (a bloc of all the bourgeois and democratic parties) could not be accomplished except through the most intensive exploitation of the workers. The heavy taxes bearing directly on the people, the successive measures directed against the workers (increase in productivity, maintenance of the twelve and fourteen hour day, frightful exploitation of women and children, reduction of wages, etc.), this was the course of capitalist stabilization.

Peasant uprisings broke out simultaneously in all parts of the country; they were extinguished by the same methods employed in the strikes (Aeropolis of Messina, Messaria of Crete, Langada in Macedonia, etc.).

In proportion as the stabilization widened, those enterprises which did not have a solid foundation, which were basing themselves on inflation, on hazardous speculations, or on fluctuations in the stock market, began to falter. It was in this manner that a certain number of important bankruptcies came about: banks (Bank of Thessaly, Anglo-American Express Company, etc.), corporations (Kyrkinis Wool, Alexopolis Soap and Oil), certain commercial enterprises such as the Palios Maritime Society.

Mass Unemployment Develops

In order to put an end to these bankruptcies which disturbed the economic situation in the country, the government adopted certain measures which increased still further the pressure on the working masses; it expunged from the order of the day in the Chamber the debate concerning the plan for social insurance, at the same

time that it reduced the taxes on the corporations.

Paralleling the rationalization of industry by the union of a number of enterprises in single branches of production there was created mass unemployment, and to this permanent industrial unemployment there was added that resulting from the stopping of work in the tobacco manufacturing of Macedonia and the raisin production of Peloponnesia.

Thus the number of discontented workers and peasants increase without limit; the illusions which arose as a result of the access of the "liberal" government are vanishing; everyone seeks means for defending himself against the worsening exploitation.

The necessity for a strong Party which should have for its task the complete demasking of the government and the gathering of the workers and of crystallizing their discontent into a struggle having concrete objectives is today clearer than ever before.

The Adventurist Party Course

Such a Party cannot be other than the Communist Party of Greece. Unfortunately, there is actually in Greece no Communist Party capable of carrying through a Communist course. The small group which leads and still exists as the Party, is composed of loud-mouthed sectarian and petty-bourgeois elements who oscillate unceasingly between opportunism and ultra-Leftism but are always incapable of laying down a Communist course. Deluded by the vision of a "third period" of capitalism they call upon the workers, almost every day, through the central organ of the Party, to take part in demonstrations which collapse in ridicule and compromise the communist movement. They have provoked the trade union split and thereby have separated from themselves a considerable number of workers who today furnish the cohorts for the monarchist or democratic leaders. The enormous majority of Greek workers is actually outside the trade unions and forms a "human material" which the bourgeoisie know well how to utilize.

Our Opposition group has struggled against the trade union split; it is now striving for a unification of the trade unions and for the organization of the unorganized.

—A GROUP OF MILITANT GREEK OPPOSITIONISTS

Φ

Spanish Opposition Endorse International Conference

We have been informed by the Communist Opposition of Spain on the project of an International Conference. Our Spanish comrades write:

"Already on several occasions we have clearly stated our position with reference to the necessity of a conference of the International Left Opposition. The immediate preparation of this conference is absolutely necessary. It must clearly fix our position, especially as the opposite of the splitting attitude of the Comintern, that is, it must clearly state our desire to establish unity and to revive Communist democracy within our organizations.

"The International Communist Opposition must work out its international platform immediately. The critical examination made by Trotsky of the Program of the Communist International should serve as a basis for our international platform. This platform should be the central point of the conference. We must clearly fix our estimation of the international political situation, of the trade union problems, of our position toward the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and of socialism in one country, etc.... We must not forget also to state our position toward the opportunists of the type of Paz and Urbahns. The Spanish Oppositionists, among whom there are no differences, believe it necessary to break immediately with all types of opportunists."

Φ

LETHBRIDGE, Alta.—(FP)—Militarist propaganda is responsible for the restoration in the high schools of cadet training against the Opposition of Lethbridge organized labor. The majority was 123 in a city referendum.

THE LESSONS OF CAPITULATIONS - - by Alfa

Necrological Reflections

In regard to the capitulation of Bucharin, Rykov, Tomsky there were many conjectures. Is it a shrewd manoeuvre on the part of the Rights, or else, is it a renewal of the Right-Centre bloc? These guesses in themselves are without much content. Maybe the Right Trinity dreams on the quiet about the approach of favorable conditions when it will once more raise its head; maybe, in view of the alarming economic symptoms, it is sorry for having been too hasty in repenting. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that the Stalinists consider it useful to retain the Rights near power, in case of a new turn. But not these considerations are of significance. It is politically important, that, in the very heat of the ultra-*"Left"* course, the bloc between the Centrists and the Rights was renewed, at the time that the repressions against the Lefts were not weakened but strengthened. Rykov, regardless of everything—is the chairman of the council of commissars, but Rakovsky cures his diseased heart at Barnaul with frosts of 40 degrees. Tomsky and Rykov—are on the Politburo, Bucharin on the Central Committee, but Sosnovsky, B. Mdivani, Kavtaradze—are in jail, Uglanov—is the Labor Commissar, but Blumkin is shot (yes, Blumkin is shot!). These facts are politically decisive—appraising the Left course as a whole.

However, the capitulation of all the Right leaders after the capitulation of some of the Left is a fact of no little importance in itself. The significance of these ritualistic capitulations for the fate of the Party will become clear, if we look at them not from the angle of subjective intrigues, but objective symptoms. One lesson, one conclusion flows before any other from the twists and turns of the last six years: the stubborn, systematic, tireless, suffocation of the Party.

The "Leaders" Renounce Themselves

The Party is the selection of ideas. It remains a Party only so long as the voluntary tie of ideas lies at its basis. But what meaning can ideas and principles retain, if the leaders of the Party alternately renounce themselves, and the impersonal idea-less apparatus not only asserts its infallibility, once and for all, but even declares openly to the Party: "Us you can remove only through civil war!" (Stalin in 1927.)

We remind once more: Zinoviev—the formal "leader" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern (1923-25). Zinoviev—in the Opposition repents his false struggle against Trotskyism (1926-27). Zinoviev renounces the Opposition and once more declares war against "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyism (1928-29). Bucharin in 1922—a "Trotskyist"; in 1923-26—hand in hand with Zinoviev; in 1926-28—the theoretical leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, the inspirer of the Right-Center course. In 1928-29—the theoretician of the Right Opposition. In 1929 Bucharin repents his errors and renounces the very views that inspired him during the whole period of struggle with "Trotskyism".

If we take Stalin from the point of view of his ideas, we find that in different periods he covered himself with the ideas of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bucharin, at present he covers himself with fragments of the Opposition ideas, not having any of his own. But just as "truth is the result of a court verdict" (Schedrin), a reputation is the result of the apparatus manipulations...only for a certain time.

The automatization of the Party life has reached its highest limits. The apparatus does not demand the recognition of any kind of principles—it demands the recognition of its infallibility. The extortion of repenting documents does not have as its task the affirmation of a given sum of ideas. The purpose of the extortion is to instill in the Parties that any kind of counteraction or resistance, any kind of complaint, even a whisper against the apparatus, even a note in the diary, (Kamenev!) bring about only repressions or humiliation of one's ideas. "Self-criticism" serves the same purpose from another side, for it means that the Party members are obliged to criticize the same things that the apparatus "criticizes".

The Capitulations by the Right

The Party is the selection of ideas. The Party is the revolutionary tempering of characters. The Party is the shield of the class, for it is made up of the most con-

vinced; the strongest and the most steadfast. The unification of these elements occurs gradually, under the constant checking up on events. The live texture of the Party is therefore a very complicated and sensitive texture. The Party must not be kept under a vise, just as you cannot keep a human hand under a vise: the blood circulation is interfered with, and the texture dies away.

The process of the dying away of the Party texture occurs before our eyes with the growing material pressure of the Party bureaucracy. The alternating capitulations of all the "leaders" of the Party, in groups and singly, before the absolutely idea-less apparatus, shows an unheard-of power of pressure, that stage of it when the blood-circulation of ideas in the Party ceases almost completely.

The circumstances of the repentance of the Rights are particularly striking—with the transparency of the apparatus cynicism.

Unexpectedly and without preparation humanity finds out that three of the most eminent leaders of the Party and Soviet Republic—the leader of the Comintern, the head of the government and the leader of the trade unions—have been in sharp opposition to the central committee for nearly two years, and that they consider the official policy as detrimental. How is it that this did not come to the surface? The fate of the revolution was concerned! Where were the disputed questions considered and decided? The minutes of the Central Committee are printed for the knowledge of the Party. But it so happens that the apparatus leads a double life. The questions are decided behind the scenes, and on the official scene pretended argument and voting are enacted according to previously prepared procedure. With this the Party is fed. And what is more, during the sharp opposition of the three members of the Politburo, it was officially declared, and primarily by the general secretary, Stalin, that the rumors and talk about disagreements in the Central Committee and about a Right deviation in the Politburo, are but revolting calumnies of the "Trotskyists". Afterward, and in a belated fashion, it is ascertained that under "calumny" one must understand that correct and exceptionally important facts were hidden from the Party.

How the Capitulations are Obtained

The open agitation against Bucharin started about a month or two before his capitulation. But the name of Rykov, as one of the leaders of the Right deviation, was mentioned aloud only on the eve of the November plenum of the Central Committee. With particular mercilessness, however, Pravda started to drag about the name of Rykov only after his capitulation, expressing the suspicion that the repentance of the Right leaders is "insincere". In other words, the central organ of the Party considers quite possible, that a person placed by the Party in the most responsible position in the government, is capable of deceiving the Party and the masses in questions involving the fate of the Party and country. The suspicion is hurled in such a tone as if it was a quite simple and ordinary occurrence. Nevertheless, it is a question of political deceit, cynical unprincipledness and betrayal of ideas on the part of central committee members, who even today, when these lines are written, stand at the head of the Soviet government, or are on the staff of its most important organs.

In passing, and already at the conclusion, the Party learns that for a year and a half the head of the government and the head of the trade unions "have been playing with the fate of the Party and revolution" (literally)—"speculated on a catastrophe" (literally!)—all this somewhere in the bureaucratic underground. The help of the Party, it appears, was not at all required to repulse their criminal "game"...How else could the press keep quiet? Nevertheless the press did keep quiet. The Party was lulled and deceived. The Right deviation appeared to be personified in the figure of...Frumkin. Publicly Rykov and Stalin fought equally against Frumkin and Shatunski, and this hypocrisy was called the struggle against the Right deviation. Whether Frumkin fought against himself—

we do not know. At one time we even thought that, according to a decision of the Central Control Commission, Frumkin was sentenced beyond redemption, so that there could always be on hand a ready object for the needs of a struggle against the Right deviation. But these hypotheses were not verified.

Only after Rykov had capitulated—which would make it appear that any further struggle is rendered unnecessary—only from that moment Rykov and with him the whole trinity, were subjected to particularly unrestrained public abuse, before the Party, the population of the country and the whole of humanity in general. The Party was not at all needed for the struggle against the "conspiracy" of Rykov, Bucharin and Tomski. The Party was assured that there is no struggle at all. But after the Rights were defeated behind the scenes, the Party was shown three political skeletons: see, this is how the general secretariat deals with and will deal with all those who get in its way.

And Radek Yelps, "Me, Too."

The method of dealing with the Right leaders is a new stage in the process of the Bonapartist transformation of the Party regime: on the stage they occupy themselves with fighting exercises against Frumkin, and afterwards, unexpectedly, the skeleton of Rykov is shown. The automatism of the struggle and the contempt for the Party are here given expression hitherto unknown.

The picture of the Party regime becomes clearer in view of the circumstances that Rykov, Tomski and Bucharin capitulated a day after the Radeks and Smirnovs considered it necessary to capitulate "in the interests of a struggle against the Rights". On the return from exile to Moscow, Radek wailed at the stations that soon the two parts of the Central Committee will be arresting each other, and that it is therefore necessary to hurriedly aid the Center, that is, Stalin in the struggle against the Right, that is, Bucharin, Rykov and Tomski. But no sooner did Radek finish writing the third or fourth repenting clause, then the stern leaders of the Right of the Central Committee hurried to declare that they, too, burn with the desire to help the Center in the struggle against all deviations, particularly against the Right. Thus, the encircling of Frumkin seemed to be assured one hundred percent. Smirnov and Boguslavski, who were a bit late found all the places in the raid taken. But here, as if for spite, Frumkin himself repented. The Right wing became completely transcendental.

In spite of the tragedy of the whole situation, it cannot be denied that the Left capitulators bring into it an element of buffoonery. Hurrying to join the apparatus in a struggle against the Right danger, the capitulators of the Left lead a struggle exclusively on the Left, that is, against...Trotskyism. And it is for this purpose that Yaroslavsky recognized them as "the best elements" of the Opposition. Yaroslavsky should know where are the better, and where the worse!

Zinoviev and Kamenev "Repent" Once Again

It is clear that Zinoviev could not but make use of such an explosion in the bureaucratic tangle, in order to remind everyone, that he, thank god, is alive, and as a capitulator of the first order, so to say, an aristocrat in the family of deserters, he should have all the privileges in the struggle against deviations, and before all, it is understood, against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism".

Properly speaking, the need of a new and such a fiery repentance of Zinoviev ("conclusively fused with the Party") may appear puzzling at first: it would seem this man has already repented and could let others get in line. But in reality it is not so. The first repentance lacked the necessary enthusiasm. The lack of this element that is so hard to catch, became particularly clear to Yaroslavsky, since the Opposition published the minutes of negotiations for a struggle against Stalin, carried on between Kamenev and Bucharin, with Sokolnikov as the intermediary. Kamenev kept these minutes for the sake of Zinoviev who still remained at Kaluga for a time after his first repentance. While negotiating with Bucharin, Kamenev and Zinoviev, upon meeting Oppositionists, would stgh

deeply about the split in the Opposition, complain of the sharp attacks by Trotsky, and express the hope for common work in the future. When all this was incidentally revealed, these elders of the capitulationist clan took on a morose silence. Kamenev declared that he would write a book on Lenin, for he saw that he could not bake a pudding with Stalin. But at the very moment that the general secretariat waved the scalp of the repentant Rykov over the Party, Zinoviev, very opportunely, thought of his own scalp and repented for the second time, and this time with such mighty enthusiasm, that it should have touched even the tempered heart of Molotov himself.

But in vain. In Stalin's report to the agrarian-Marxists, the "Trotsky-Zinoviev" and even "Zinoviev-Trotsky" opposition figured more than once. A careful reader could not but notice it. The fact is that among the bureaucracy the opposition was always called "Trotskyite"—so as to underline Zinoviev's lack of independent ideas. Why is it now, after Zinoviev's numerous capitulations, when he has succeeded to "conclusively fuse with the Party"—why and what for is the talk about the Zinoviev opposition now raised? Accidentally? Oh, no, there may be accidents in the five year plan, but not in the apparatus maneuvers. The design became clearer yet in the utterances of the obliging Kaganovitch. This latter, in one of his recent jubilee speeches, spoke about the opposition of Zinoviev and Kamenev, as if we had been living in 1926. The general political sense of this reference to the long-silenced struggle was clear, even without special comment. The Stalinist apparatus "hinted" to Zinoviev and Kamenev: do not think, please, that we will let you raise your heads. The leaders of the apparatus "hinted" to their underhand men: Under no circumstances must you let these equivocal repentors raise their heads! No more and no less.

Stalin's Equilibrium is Spak,

The equilibrium of the present one-man apparatus leadership rests on an extremely artificial and constrained system of theoretical fictions, historical legends and the actual seduction of the Party. This system requires the further tightening of the screws and by no means their loosening. For this system even Zinoviev is dangerous. Every one of his puffed articles in Pravda puts the international upstart, Molotov, alarmingly on guard.

Now we find out the reason that prompted the apparatus marshals to remind Zinoviev and Kamenev that they should drop forever their "senseless dreams". It seems that Zinoviev attempted to imply, during his oral repentance, that the Opposition was not wrong in everything, as the struggle of the Rights proves. And Kamenev admitted (in the diary) that Trotsky was right when he warned him and Zinoviev, that capitulation is the road not to the Party, but to political death. Kamenev always showed more inclination and ability to make ends meet than Zinoviev. But as Lenin said in his Testament: "it is no accident" that Kamenev was with Zinoviev. "It is no accident" that he went with him through all the stages of degradation of ideas in order to come to the simple conclusion that was outlined to him before: this road leads only to political death. Whatever it is, both had to repent anew, this time with enthusiasm, which, by the way, did not protect them from the public slap in the face by Kaganovitch—the Amsterdamer

The Danger of Bonapartism

More than once we had occasion to explain that the Party regime does not take shape of itself, but is a function of policy, which, in its turn, carries through the interests, and reflects the pressure, of classes. The bureaucratization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, beginning in 1922, continued parallel to the growth of the economic strength and political influence of the petty bourgeoisie, basing itself on the N. E. P. and parallel to the stabilization of the bourgeois regimes in Europe and the whole world, as a result of the successive defeats of the proletariat. But the Party regime is not merely a passive reflection of processes of a deeper order. The Party is a live force of history, particularly a ruling party, under a regime of a revolutionary dictatorship. Bureaucratism does not have an immaterial character. Its bearer is the large solidified bureaucracy with a whole world of interests,

(Continued on Page 7)

BOOK REVIEW

Karl Marx, the Man

KARL MARX: Biographical Memoirs, By Wilhelm Liebknecht, 181 pages. Chas. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago.

The great figures who have helped to shape the course of history and to mould human thought are always the object of insatiable curiosity to living men. This is particularly true of those who leave a heritage of ideas on which the minds of men are fed. Light on the personalities of the great doers of the past stimulates interest in their work and aids in an understanding of it. Hence the great popularity and the great value of biography.

In this little volume devoted to memories of Karl Marx, the elder Liebknecht brings the founder of the Communist movement nearer to the proletariat as a man and father. Incomplete and inadequate as these sketches are, in consideration of the magnitude of the subject, they have a double merit. They come from one who lived in almost daily contact with Marx for nearly twelve years of his most fruitful activity; and one who, in a lifetime of struggle bore the proud name of "Soldier of the Revolution". Thus he speaks with an exceptional authority.

This is not a treatise on his doctrines. Liebknecht in the book under review, confines himself to a series of reminiscences regarding him as he revealed himself at work and play, the circle of his intimates, in the bosom of his family—in short, Marx the man, whom the world, seeing him from afar, did not know. He draws, if not a full portrait, at least an outline of that great figure which grows in immensity as the world moves to its remoulding on his ideas. And what a man emerges from that outline!

Marx forged the incomparable weapons of the workers' emancipation struggle in a lifetime of the most assiduous and painstaking inquiry and labor. Guesswork had no part in his philosophy; ignorance, especially in one filling the role of leadership, was anathema. Politics, to Marx was a study and the business of a proletarian to know, to understand. "How wild Marx could become when speaking of those hollow skulls who arrange matters for themselves with a few cant phrases." Reading these words of Liebknecht's one can imagine the lion rising from his grave to storm against those who transform his science into a system of catch-words devoid of reality and alien to his method.

Scientific Truth Was Marx's Guide

Marx was affected not a particle by the superficial judgment of the majority at the moment. Scientific truth was his guiding line. And, rejected in his own day while scoundrels won the applause and favor of the world, he solaced himself with the self-confident motto of Dante: "Follow your course and let the people talk." He was concerned only to establish the wisdom and verity of that course and that, thereby, it might become the course of humanity's future.

From his evaluation of politics as a science came his contemptuous disregard of "agreements" on a false foundation and his intransigence in questions of principle—a quality which marked the course of Lenin when his bolsheviks were but a handful against the world and which now marks the leadership of Trotsky in the struggle to reform the disrupted ranks of the proletarian vanguard. It was on this point that Liebknecht himself came into conflict with his teacher—not once but twice. The first time, in the days of his London exile, it led to an estrangement there, and the second time—some twenty years later, on a much larger scale—it led to Marx's trumpet blasts against the Gotha Program—a compromise knecht on this decisive question was surely his greatest shortcoming—a shortcoming he did not recognize, for he attempts to justify it in his book about Marx. But history has already answered this question in accents, which all revolutionaries must hear. On the welter of confusion which besets the Communist movement of the world, intransigence must be their motto no less than it was the motto of Marx and Lenin.

Marx knew his value, but the legends spread by his enemies about envy, spite, conceit and vanity—all this, says the author who worked under his direct guidance for

more than a decade—is pure fantasy. He simply insisted on scientific exactitude in the doctrines of the proletariat. Marx could tolerate no blunting of their weapons, whether from ignorance or any other cause. Unworthy personal considerations were not even within his comprehension, to say nothing of their actuating him. "Marx was the most generous and just of men, when it came to acknowledging the merits of others. For envy and jealousy as well as for conceit, he was too great. Only the false greatness, the artificial fame inflated by incompetence and vulgarity, he regarded with a deadly hatred—as he did everything false and adulterated."

He was no man of mush, as Liebknecht draws him, but a doughty fighter and an irreconcilable hater of the false, the superficial, the pretentious. Windbags were an abomination to this man, whose words always stood for facts and deeds. "Woe to him who indulged in phrases. There he was inexorable. 'Phrase-monger' was in his mouth the sharpest censure—and whom ever he once had recognized as a 'phrase-monger' he ignored forever. To think logically and to express your thoughts clearly—this he impressed on us 'young fellows' on every occasion and forced us to study."

Marx in Exile at London

In this book, Wilhelm Liebknecht paints an unforgettable picture of the group of exiles who gathered around Marx in London in the years 1850 to 1862. During that period he was almost daily in the company of the great teacher, and his reminiscences are a treasure to the present-day disciples of Marx who seek to know the man behind the doctrine. In these pages the legendary figure is brought near, made real, alive and human. We are drawn into the march of the author's charming narrative and move in that immortal company.

The first genius of the proletariat, dead these 47 years, rises and walks before us. We see Marx as Liebknecht saw him thru his days and nights of systematic and undeviating labor on his monumental works; we watch his furious concentration on a game of chess and his child-like exasperation when he fails to win; we see him a play-mate of his children and a plaything in their hands; we walk with the group of family and friends on a holiday to Hampstead Heath, feast with them from the picnic basket and slake our thirst with them in unforbidden British beer; we are with the lion at the grave-side of his son and see him broken and humbled in the dust of grief.

The Marx that Liebknecht describes was a pure-hearted lover of children—his own and of all. The sight of a helpless child in misery tore his great heart with pity. "Time and again he would suddenly tear himself away from us on wandering through districts of poverty in order to stroke the hair of some child in rags or to slip a penny or half-penny into its little hand. He mistrusted beggars. But when a beggar or beggar woman with a whimpering child accosted Marx, then he was lost without fail. . . . He could not withstand the imploring eyes of a child."

In Marx's day as now, society bestowed its honors and rewards on charlatans, cheats and swindlers; persecutions, hardship and poverty is the coin with which it paid those who served it truly. Such was the lot of Marx. He who held up to society the picture of its future and charted the way towards it worked with humiliating want and privation as daily companions. In his ability to endure all this, and to carry on his work and hold to his course in spite of it, he has set a stern example to all those who follow his path. For years, even when the worst of this was past, the pound sterling he received every week for his articles in Horace Greeley's "New York Tribune" was his only certain source of income.

"On 'Capital' he was at work forty years—and he did work! Only a Marx can work so. And I am not exaggerating when I say: The worst paid laborer in Germany has received more wages in forty years than Marx did for a salary."

The economic hardships suffered by Marx and his family were "not a solitary case of want, such as anybody may meet with, especially in a foreign country where points of recourse are scarce; the misery of exile lasted for years in its most acute form for Marx and his family."

Marx the Teacher

For the exiles grouped around him in London Marx was a teacher who forced them to respect knowledge as indispensable in a revolutionist and to labor to acquire it. In such an atmosphere his first disciples were trained. While the superficial revolutionaries, like many who have come after them, were substituting wishes for knowledge and reality, intoxicating themselves with phrases about the revolution which was to start "tomorrow," Liebknecht tells of the pupils of Marx "sitting in the British Museum and trying to educate ourselves and to prepare arms and ammunition for the battles of the future."

This was Marx's way to train the leaders of the proletariat and make them fit for their occupations. "To learn! To learn! This was the categorical imperative he frequently enough loudly shouted to us, but it also was expressed by his example, yea, by the sole aspect of this forever strenuously working mind."

These are golden words for the guidance and inspiration of the young Communists—and not only for the young ones—who are enlisting in the great battle for restoration of Marxism under the banner of the Opposition. Phrase-mongering ignorance has had its evil day in the ranks of the workers vanguard. Disorganization and defeat are the fruit of it. Those who aspire to re-form the disrupted movement will be successful only insofar as they master the basic truths of Marxism and learn how to apply them as a guide to action. This knowledge will not fall from heaven; it will be acquired only by those who have the mind and the will to study, as Marx required of his first disciples. Wilhelm Liebknecht's little volume of reminiscences will be an aid and stimulus in this direction. It ought to have a place on the bookshelf of every revolutionary worker.—J. P. C.

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Harvester Profits Soar; Lay off Men

CHICAGO—In the face of record profits disclosed in the annual report of the International Harvester Co., the farm machinery trust is laying off men by hundreds in its various plants, according to union reports. The 1929 velvet of Alexander Legge's corporation, the presidency of which he resigned to administer farm relief for Hoover, was \$36,779,993. This unprecedented net profit was just about as large as the entire gross profit in 1927.

At the Milwaukee division of the harvester half of the men have been laid off and in some departments he employment is in a still worse state. The crankshaft department has only 16 out of 46 men left and in the piston and sleeve department just three men are working in place of the former shifts of 48. The trust refused requests from the workers that the work be spread on a 8-hour day, 5-day week basis. The men still on payroll are being worked 9 hours a day and Saturdays.

Total assets of Legge's trust rose from \$346,120,486 at the beginning of 1929 to \$348,078,322 at the beginning of this year.

NEWARK JOBLESS HAUNT NEWSPAPER OFFICE TO SCAN WANT ADS

NEWARK, N. J.—(FP)—Mobs of ragged and hungry men, sometimes as many as 1,500 of them, crowd the street around the office of the Newark Evening News, day after day. They gather at dawn and wait, clutching pennies in their hands, to purchase the first edition and search the help-wanted columns for possible jobs.

Shortly before noon, when the first papers are carried from the building and offered for sale, the mob presses in and fights for papers. Many who haven't even 2 cents to buy a paper crowd around their more fortunate brothers to read over their shoulders.

The News, in a full page message in Editor and Publisher, addressed to potential advertisers says: "Always plenty of work and money to spend in Newark. Periodical Hard Times Are Practically Unknown. An industrial Status such as this accounts for the perennial condition of prosperity with which Newark is blessed."

WISCONSIN FEDERATION MEETS JULY 15

LA CROSSE, Wis.—The annual convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor will open in La Crosse July 15.

The Lessons of Capitulations

Continued from Page 6

In this way, like many other secondary and superstructural factors, the Party regime—in known and very wide limits—acquires an independent role. Moreover it becomes the center of all deviations, errors, dangers, contradictions and mistakes. It now becomes that link in the general chain, through the medium of which it is possible to get to its other links. Maybe it is still more correct to say, that the Party regime became that Gordian knot which the Party must disentangle at all cost, so that there may be no chance for Bonapartism to cut it with a sword.

* It is understood that Kaganovitch in his time went through the whole policy of Stalin to the Right. In 1926 the Stalinites condemned the Profintern to liquidation, through its unification with the Amsterdam Trade Union International. Every reference of the Profintern was eliminated from the constitution of the Soviet trade unions. Getting scared of the Opposition, Stalin retreated at the very last moment. Kaganovitch succeeded, however, to read a report in Charkov, in which he defended the entry into Amsterdam with arguments that would do honor to any social-democrat. But no sooner did the book with the speeches see the light of day, then retreat was sounded from Moscow. Kaganovitch then declared in the press that...the stenographer understood him wrongly and that he did not at all have intentions of entering Amsterdam, but burdened with work he had no chance to edit his speech. Since then Kaganovitch got the additional name: the Amsterdamer.

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EXPOSE REVOLTING CONDITIONS IN CANNERIES

NEW YORK—Conditions in fruit and vegetable canneries in New York state are ghastly and revolting, it is revealed in the report of a thorough investigation conducted last summer by the Consumers League of New York. The report was read at the League's annual meeting.

Conditions since an official state investigation in 1911 are virtually unchanged. The industry largely is carried only overworked women and girls, working in unsanitary and unheated shacks, for from \$10 to \$12 a week. Illegal overtime is common and housing conditions are wretched, the league reports. As a result of the overwork, the women are too fatigued to make proper selection of the food, and much is canned that should not be eaten.

More than 5,000 women do seasonal work in New York canneries.

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

Of The Militant, published weekly at New York, N. Y. for April 1, 1930.

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

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher: Communist League of America (Opposition) 25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Editor: None. Managing Editor: Max Shachtman, 25 Third Ave. New York, N. Y.

Business Manager: Martin Abern, 25 Third Avenue, New York City.

2. That the owner is: Communist League of America (Opposition), 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. Martin Abern, 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. J. P. Cannon, 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. Max Shachtman, 25 Third Ave. N. Y. C. Maurice Spector, 25 Third Avenue, N. Y. C. Arne Swabeck, 25 Third Ave. N. Y. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

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

Martin Abern, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29 day of March 1930.

Geo. J. Lambert, Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1931.)

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

THE ESTHONIAN PRESS HEWS TO PARTY LINE—THE RESULTS

Dear Comrades:

One foreign language Communist paper that does not need constant coaxing and reminding by the Party to keep straight on the "Line", is the Esthonian weekly, *Uus Ilm*. This paper, in fact, tries its utmost to keep away ahead of the fixed line, by multiplying all the exaggerations of its elder—the *Daily Worker*, in the hope of putting its front beyond any question of possible "disloyalty".

When the *Daily Worker* reported after the 6th of March demonstrations that a "hundred thousand workers demonstrated in Union Square", and "two were killed" (in Germany), the *Uus Ilm* came out and printed in large type over its front page: "200,000 workers fight police; four killed in Union Square". Believe it or not—there it stood, black on white, for the tomfoolery and misguidance of the Esthonian workers who still read the sheet. And, remember that the last statement was made seven days after the demonstration—14th of March, when all accounts, including the number of dead (?) were supposed to be checked up and gone over!

Such insane exaggerations and misstatements, that have systematically appeared on the pages of *Uus Ilm* for the last two years, and particularly for the last six months, ever since the Party strong-arm squad forcibly took the paper and plant over from the alleged Lovestoneites, have brought the Communist movement among the Esthonian workers in this country near to its ruin. The paper which one time, in the early days of the Party, appeared twice-weekly, and boasted of nearly a thousand readers, has shrunk—thanks to the strict Party-line—to a mere weekly bulletin (and a poor one at that), with, according to the last secretary-treasurer, only 130 paid subscribers; and it sinks lower with every issue.

Workers' Clubs Disbanding

The "Workers Clubs" (headed by the Party) are breaking up all over the country. From Chicago it is reported that the last two "reds", who have been the readers of *Uus Ilm* for the last 22 years, since its establishment, have joined the recently organized nationalistic "liberal society". In Detroit, where about 150 known Esthonians live, and where two years ago a relatively strong Communist group existed, only one Party member is left, who writes in *Uus Ilm* that all the rest have drifted away into the great unknown, and asks—what is he going to do about it? From Hamilton, Canada, another worker writes that where formerly powerful Communist groups existed, namely in Winnipeg, Lethbridge and Calgary, none could be found now. The small Boston group, consisting of petty-bourgeois elements, has gone with the Lovestoneites, while Philadelphia is completely out of the picture, so far as Communist activity among Esthonian workers is concerned.

The *Uus Ilm* with its strict "Party-line" does not seem to be interested in mass work in deeds—although words know no bounds—but appears to be primarily concerned with its immediate business ends at home, such as running the restaurant, having regular dance parties, etc.

When the writer of these lines called the attention of the Editorial Board to the fact, that nationalistic and patriotic organizations are springing up everywhere, where formerly the Communists had their strongholds, and that immediate steps should be taken to counter that, the loyalites, with their self-acquired reputation of being the "old guards," answered in the columns of *Uus Ilm* with seeming satisfaction, "...let them do it...we live in the third period...now we know who they are!..."

Stalinism Wrecks Esthonian Movement Also

The Esthonian Communist movement in this country is gradually but surely sinking into oblivion. It degenerates because of its isolated bureaucratic policies and its attempt to keep with and ahead of the Party "Line." Workers who have stood with the movement for years, are now talking with their feet: they drift into inactivity and to certain fascist societies. More patient comrades are repeatedly asking: Why is Trotsky in exile? Why was Rakowsky replaced by Bessedowsky? Why did Stalin shoot Blumkin? etc. Failing to get any

answer at all, they become suspicious, disillusioned, and disappear from the ranks of the Communists.

Those few new members that were recruited in the recent membership drive are sure to stay out also, as they wrote their names on the dotted line as a personal favor toward their friends, without paying down even the initiation fee. The majority of them are ignorant, indifferent or so to say—"set" in their ideas, and would not listen to the argument that Communism does not mean dividing up all the money in the banks, and that Karl Marx is not the man who sells clothes on the instalment plan.

The weekly has not done anything in the line of class-education in the past two or three years, and does not intend to. All the more important articles start and end with the familiar but much abused slogans—for satisfying the Party—that have no meaning to the average worker. The rest of the text is taken up by lies and slander against "renegades" (whoever they are) translations from the *Daily Worker*, some silly novel and plenty of steamship ads. No wonder if such a "Line" finally leads into the great abyss!

However, the disillusioned Esthonian workers, and for that matter workers in every other language group as well, should not lose their hope and initiative, but join with the Communist League of America (Opposition), which is at present the only true standard bearer of Leninism in America, that will light the path of Communism in the dark alleys of confusion.

— P. S.

Φ

LOVESTONE SPEAKS HIS PIECE

Dear Comrades:

Lovestone is in a penitent mood these days, as I noted at a recent meeting of the Lovestoneites that I attended. The machinations for which he has won such deserving notoriety when in the Party, have left their mark on his political reputation. The honest workers who follow him cannot but feel some element of distrust toward the Lovestoneite leadership. Consequently the speeches of Lovestone overflow with repentant sentiments for the sins of the past.

"I, too, was an expert in writing such resolutions," remarked Lovestone in the course of a recent speech on economic events in the Soviet Union. He was speaking of the complete ignorance which existed among the leaders of the Party on the five-year plan in the early days of its application. But this ignorance was no barrier for producing resolutions in wholesale quantities praising the five-year plan. There were some words of regret for the resolution demanding the removal of Bucharin passed at the last convention. It is a good feeling to know one's hands are clean, said Lovestone.

Unprincipledness is an inseparable attribute of Right opportunism. All the condemnations of former unprincipledness will not change the situation in any way. To remove this unprincipledness it would be necessary to extirpate its roots. The opportunist idea behind all of Lovestone's maneuvers was that the national tasks of the Party could be torn from their international background. In view of this it was necessary to pretend loyalty to the Comintern in order to be left unmolested to execute the national task as one pleased. The theory of national socialism is the basis of the opportunism of the Right.

"It is not at all a question of individuals," said Lovestone, "but it was Rykov who introduced the five-year plan. However, the trouble started when the slogan "Five-year plan in four or bust" was raised, or in other words, the "Trotskyfication" of the five year plan. Just as there is the saying that Germany lost the war but won the peace, so Trotsky lost the Party but won the Party line." But here there develops something unexpected. Lovestone quoted from L. D. Trotsky's article, "The New Course in the Economy of the Soviet Union" printed in the *Militant*, March 15, 1930, in which Stalin's adventurist line is criticized. Lovestone designated the article as a monumental document. Mind you, he stated, Trotsky the Left of the Left, the god of the Left, Trotsky, attacks ultra-Leftism. Lovestone expressed the greatest amazement. Then he wound up by explaining, "This is unprincipledness!"

On the whole it was most amusing. It is not to be expected that the Right could be capable of understanding in the least degree the nature of a genuine Left line.

As if in mockery of himself Lovestone concluded his speech by emphasizing among other things the necessity for principledness.

Among the questions asked there were three which hit the mark. They were: why did Stalin borrow Trotsky's platform; what is the class basis of Stalin; what compels Stalin to continually zig-zag? To which Lovestone gave no satisfactory reasons.

—G.R.

Φ

AMERICAN CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

New York

Dear Comrades:

The *New York Sun* of April 11, contained an article on the growth of American exports, which lends considerable light on the new role of the United States as the leader of world economy. The item traces the development of exports for three periods of 100 years each. It traces the development of the United States from its colonial period to its present position of the highest developed capitalist country in the world.

In 1730, the approximate value of American exports was \$7,000,000. By 1830, it had increased ten times, to the amount of \$71,671,000. Today, one hundred years later, the exports amount to 5,157,000,000, over seventy times the exports of 1930.

An interesting change has also taken place in the character of the exports. In 1730, during the colonial period, the exports consisted mainly of foodstuffs, horses, tobacco, fish, etc. Today there is a complete reversal in the character of the exports which indicate the huge development of the United States as the leading industrial country in the world. Cotton is the leading export, just as it has been for the last hundred years. But its lead is seriously threatened by exportation of machinery. There follows in regular order the export of petroleum, automobiles, foods, iron and steel, copper, etc. Such is a picture of the huge development of American capitalism.

But such tremendous development took and continues to take place only through the intense exploitation of the working masses. The immense wealth indicated in the export growth lends additional light to the concentration of this wealth in the hands of the capitalist class, while the masses become daily more impoverished. This huge development of American capitalism takes place at the expense of the working masses.

—C.L.

Φ

The Ultra-Left Policy on Right Dregs

(Continued from Page 4)

organized in the trade unions was replaced by the hope for the swiftest possible utilization of the ready apparatus of the trade unions for the purposes of the revolution. Out of this false position sprang also the later policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, which, after the defeat in China, dealt us the second heaviest blow, a blow against the Soviet Union as well as against the English working class.

The Party and the Proletarian Revolution

Already in the *Lessons of October* written in the summer of 1923, the idea of an accelerated road—an accelerated road through friendship with Purcell and Cook, as a further development of this idea—is rejected as follows:

"Without the Party, independently of the Party, in an evasion of the Party, through a substitute for the Party, the proletarian revolution can never triumph. This is the principal lesson of the last decade. It is true that the English trade unions can become a powerful lever for the proletarian revolution. They can, for example, under certain conditions and at a definite period, even replace the workers' Soviets. But they can never play such a role without

the Communist Party and certainly not against it, but only under the condition that Communist influence in the trade unions becomes decisive. For this lesson and conclusion—in relation to the role and significance of the Party for the proletarian revolution—we have had to pay too dearly to be able to renounce it lightly or even to have it weakened." (Trotsky, Volume 3, page 9.)

The same problem is dealt with in even greater detail in the book, *Whither England?* This book, from its very first page, is devoted to the presentation of the idea that even the British revolution cannot avoid the gate of Communism, and that with a correct, courageous and intransigent policy which steers clear of any illusions with regard to circuitous routes, the English Communist Party can grow by leaps and bounds and mature so as to be equal in the course of a few years to the tasks before it.

The Left illusions of 1924 were forced up with the aid of Right yeast leaven. So as to be able to conceal the significance of the mistakes and defeats of 1923 from others as well as from oneself, the progress of a Right swing that was going forward in the proletariat had to be denied and the revolutionary processes within the other classes optimistically exaggerated. That was the beginning of the down-sliding from the proletariat to the Centrist, that is, to the petty bourgeois line which, in the course of the further developing stabilization, had to free itself from its ultra-Left shell and reveal itself as a coarse conciliatory line, in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in China, in England, in Germany, as well as everywhere else.

Φ

SPRINKLER FITTERS TAKE 5-DAY WEEK

MILWAUKEE—(FP)—Local 183 of the plumbers, known as the Milwaukee Sprinkler Fitters Union, signed a five-year agreement with the bosses. The daily rate is \$11, an increase of \$1, but the weekly wage is \$55 just as before.

This is the first union in any Milwaukee mechanical trade to win the 5-day week.

Φ

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TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.

NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.

CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

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