

**LEON TROTSKY**

## September Plenum of C. I.

Some Fleeting Marginal Observations on the 12th Plenum

1.—The report on revolutionary strategy was read by Kuusinen. His role in the Finnish revolution of 1918 shows he is just the right man to be the strategist of the international proletariat.

2.—The principle theses declare again, "The relative stabilization of capitalism has come to an end." In 1932? But didn't the Sixth World Congress already speak of the end of the stabilization? The Tenth Plenum of the E. C. of the C. I. proclaimed the 'third period,' that is to say, the period which leads directly to the proletarian insurrection. Now we are told—without any comment—that the stabilization of capitalism has again come to an end. That makes how many times?

3.—As to China, it says, "The soviet revolution has triumphed over a large part of its territory." A revolution can be bourgeois or proletarian. Which of the two are we to understand in the present instance? Why does the C. I. cover the class content of the revolution with its soviet form?

4.—"The new world imperialist war has become an immediate danger." The Sixth World Congress already had declared the danger of war to be immediate. For over four years (the E. C. of the C. I. has been repeating the same formula. In any case, it is closer to a reality now than in 1928. But exactly what does the word "immediate" mean in the language of the C. I.?

5.—The Communist Parties are under the obligation of opposing real struggles against the war preparations to the abstract and hypocritically pacifist declarations of the social-democracy." That is right. But in that case how about the no less abstract and no less hypocritical declarations of the Congress of Amsterdam? It is remarkable: not a word on the Amsterdam masquerade in the resolution. Are they already ashamed of their own child?

6.—The theses give learned definitions of the different forms of fascism. They say. The social-fascists prefer the moderate and "legal" application of bourgeois violence...; they defend its democratic facade and try to keep as much as possible of its parliamentary forms." Now we understand. A square is a triangle whose four sides intersect at right angles.

7.—As to France, they say that while the C. P. and the revolutionary trade unions have been weakened, to make up for it a strong revolutionary movement against war has been developed. But a movement against war, when the proletarian vanguard has been weakened, necessarily becomes a petty-bourgeois movement and becomes transformed to the benefit of reformist pacifism.

8.—The German C. P. is advised to strengthen its struggle "against nationalism and chauvinism for proletarian internationalism." That is right. But how about the program of "national liberation"?

9.—The duty is placed before the Polish C. P. of destroying the influence of the Socialist Party on the masses," and of "overcoming its weaknesses in the big works, among the railroad men, in the army." No advice could be simpler: destroy the enemy and become all-powerful Kuusinen forgets only to show how to do it.

10.—For Spain, the advice is to strive toward "the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry under the form of Soviets." How this regime is different from the dictatorship of the proletariat is not explained, as usual.

11.—For England, as incidentally for all the other countries, the advice is to realize the united front from below. In other words, the Plenum of the E. C. of the C. I. has again approved the renunciation of the policy of the united front.

12.—For Manchuria, it is proposed to create, on the basis of the guerrilla war, "an elected popular government." A democratic slogan? Why is it given so vaguely? Why only for Manchuria? Why is it not applicable to all China?

13.—The Indian C. P. is assigned the task of "liberating the masses from the influence of the National Congress." But at the same time, the E. C. of the C. I. fraternizes with Patel through the Amsterdam Congress and artificially increases the authority of the National Congress.

14.—In the organizational field, the Plenum advises "the resolute liquidation of the excessive centralism, the system of pure and simple command," etc. This advice does not sound bad from the mouth of the E. C. of the C. I., which for the fifth year now has failed to call an International Congress and commands by usurping the name of the International.

15.—The E. C. of the C. I. insists (!) that the "Communist Youth be transformed into a genuine mass organization." Magnificent advice. But why do the youth organizations vegetate and decay in spite of all the advice of Kuusinen? Just because they have not been freed from his advice.

16.—In conclusion, the theses advise one and all to struggle for the purity of

the doctrine on the basis of "Stalin's letter." Poor purity! Poor doctrine! Poor C. I.!

17.—Soviets are mentioned in the theses in passing, in connection with China and Spain. As to the other countries, in spite of the revolutionary perspectives set up in the theses, soviets in general are not mentioned; in particular the slogan of soviets is not raised before the German proletariat. It is not difficult to find the explanation. In Germany, as in the majority of advanced countries, real soviets can only be created on the basis of a broad and audacious united front policy. Ultimatism and the slogan of soviets cannot be reconciled with each other. By renouncing the united front, the Stalinists renounce the soviets.

L. TROTSKY

Prinkipo, Oct. 13, 1932.

## Hunger March in London

British Working Masses Make New Turn Towards the Left

For the first time since the general strike of 1926 workers of Great Britain have again begun to stir. There is an upward surge of masses struggling in earnest, their demands seriously meant, and with all indications at hand that the compelling force of economic necessity, which has increased in momentum through the shifting rule of the Conservative government to "Labor" and back again to the Conservative, is now propelling these masses definitely in a Leftward direction. Unquestionably the whole capitalist structure of the British kingdom will soon stand before its most serious tests, and just as surely it can be affirmed that the objective factors are beginning to mature rapidly for a serious Communist movement within the isles.

Dramatic have been the accounts of these recent struggles. Following shortly upon the determined fights of thousands of unemployed workers in Belfast, other thousands from Scotland, Wales and other points began converging upon London to lend emphasis to their demands for redress from the growing unemployment misery and more particularly for the abolishment of the vicious capitalist measure of the "means test." The actual rulers of "the City" and their lackeys at Downing Street knew only one method how to meet this "invasion," and that they employed Scotland Yard was kept busy enrolling special police forces. Thousands were put "on duty" and at every attempt of the unemployed masses to present their petition to parliament they were met with savage attacks and clubbings. Scores upon scores were wounded and other scores rushed off to jail with the old and staid machinery of justice geared up to a higher speed meeting out heavy prison sentences.

But in these fierce battles, which several times turned historic Trafalgar Square into a bedlam, the unemployed workers gave a good account of themselves.

The baton wielders carried off some of the cars and received later a generous extra vacation for their "heroic" effort in rescuing the silkhatted theatre crowds. Thus while the workers are learning the art of effective resistance above all it can be said that the general lessons of the London demonstrations will serve as additional experiences gained which will count in future developments.

That these unemployment demonstrations are not mere isolated affairs becomes further clear from other developments. Last summer saw a powerful weavers' strike in Lancashire. Now 200,000 spinners have struck in protest of an eight percent wage-cut. The British railroad workers have persistently refused to accept a wage cut. But there is also another aspect of recent events which deserves notice. In the municipal elections just concluded the votes cast clearly show a new swing toward the Labor party. Bearing in mind the increasing reactionary turn of the ruling class since the conservatives replaced the labor party at the government helm, this voting, of course, gives further evidence to the present working class Leftward direction.

The objective results of such a swing of voting toward the labor party is, however, an entirely different matter. The Communist party entered a number of candidates in these elections, none of whom received sufficient votes. In the sense of this comparison, which is fundamental for future development, it must be acknowledged that while the British workers are being pressed Leftward into opposition to the rule of the outright capitalist party, this direction still lacks so much in essential clarity that it can today be utilized to advantage by the traitors of 1926 and of the period of the Labor government. But this also compels us to acknowledge the fact that the British Communist Party has not yet attained to a leading role in the general working class movement.

There is sufficient evidence to judge from a distance that the Communist party was a very active and a leading force

## Emergency Number

We have found it impossible to issue the present number of the "Militant" as the special Double-Anniversary Issue, commemorating the 15th Anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution and the 4th Anniversary of the launching of our Militant. The extraordinary difficulties encountered by us in the process of moving and re-arranging our headquarters and printing equipment were to great to overcome in time; in addition, the extreme financial hardship of the National Office added to the burdens. However, in order not to break the continuity of the paper, we have made desperate efforts to get out the present emergency number with only two pages.

This does not mean that the special issue we announced last week is not to appear. Even though slightly delayed, we intend to make the next number of the Militant sufficiently enlarged to carry all the material we announced previously, and more. Just as this goes to press we have received a number of highly timely articles from comrade Trotsky, including a lengthy study of the present position of Soviet economy in the period of the Second Five Year Plan, an article on the significance of the expulsion of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others, as well as a shorter article on the 15th anniversary of the seizure of power in Russia by the workers and peasants. We shall make every effort to include in the next issue the maximum possible amount of this material, together with various articles on the significance of four years of struggle of the Left Opposition and the Militant in this country. It goes without saying that the usual material on the development of the class struggle in this and other lands will also be included.

But to make sure of the issue, we require the speediest assistance from all our comrades and friends. This means financial aid, sent quickly, by air mail from every part of the country. We need it urgently! Do not delay!

## OPEN FORUM

### THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

Speaker:

HUGO OEHLER

Friday, November 11, 1932

126 East 16 Street, near Irving Place

ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

—A. S.

## Fight in Illinois Sharpens

Armed Forces of Operators Mobilized Against the Miners

SPRINGFIELD.—

The class struggle in the Illinois coal field is as sharp as the crack of the rifles in the hands of the imported gunmen, the state militia or the state police which in the last few weeks sent their deadly missiles into the bodies of unarmed miners and their women folks.

Who are the heroes hailed by the capitalist press?

Are they the men and women of the mining camps, led by the Progressive Miners Union, who face with their bare hands the forces of Peabody state government armed with every device of modern warfare, who gave their lives that Lewis is be smashed and that the labor movement be stronger?

No, the heroes of the capitalist press are the well-armed gunmen hired by the coal-operators, the state militia and the state police who club and murder at the orders of the capitalists of Illinois.

Brave men these. The capitalist press is able to report that one was hit by a stone and one had a finger slashed.

Out of Society's Gutter

But ask the striking miners on the picket lines and they will tell you that these "heroes" have been recruited from the underworld, that part of the population composed of gangsters, thieves, murderers, etc., who are now very active in trying to crush the Progressive Miners Union and wipe out by open struggle all unionism among the miners of Illinois, and the state police and the state militia fits into this like a head into a body.

The yellow uniformed state police are big, portly fellows with muggy faces, some of them former union officials, shady characters, sluggers. They know the underworld, the gangsters that work for Al Capone, etc. The state police were created during the post-war open-shop drive to fight the unions and now that the miners of Illinois are putting up a militant fight for their new union, the state police are ably fitted for the Lewis-Peabody dirty work. They are the ones that led the miners during the West Frankfort march into the nest of Lewis' gangsters. There the marching miners were pounced upon by the Lewis' gangsters, black-jacked right and left, kicked and stabbed, while the yellow uniformed state police stood by, ready to use their clubs and guns in case the striking miners should get the upper hand.

And this gang is supported by the state militia, made up largely of young unemployed workers who do not realize to what use they are actually being put. Many of them had not yet time to learn that they really belong on the side of the miners, and so, under the mask of protecting "law and order" and the "sacredness of private property" they are carrying out the filthy work of the coal-operators.

The state police and the state militia have a free hand against the striking pickets. They see that the pickets carry no weapons, while Lewis' strikebreakers

(Continued on page 2)

## N. Y. Greek Workers Organize New Club

In the Militant of October 22 we wrote about the appeal of thirty Greek workers in New York to the Spartacus Club for reinstatement. Also that comrade Brass was not allowed to protest the high handed and shameful method of suppressing the correspondence of the Club. The Executive Committee ignored the appeal and by this action has shown that they are determined to continue the splitting tactics that were followed in the past. Last Wednesday, October 26 the Temporary Unity Committee of the Club called the workers that signed the appeal to a meeting where a comrade for the Committee the results of its efforts for unity. A motion was proposed that reads as follows: Since the Stalinist

bureaucrats categorically refuse to accept us into the ranks of the Spartacus Club we, as revolutionary workers, can't any longer stand with our hands folded but wish ardently to participate in the actual work of the class struggle. To achieve this we propose the foundation of an Educational Organization which should be called "Protomagia". The motion was unanimously carried. The meeting lasted for five hours and drafted its constitution. Every worker participated in the discussion and very prudently on account of their bitter experience with Stalinism they were anxious to see that every point to safeguard against bureaucratic abuses, should be passed. A motion was carried to issue another appeal to the Spartacus members and the Greek workers for the unification of our revolutionary forces.

A chicken dinner will be served for only 40 cents. The Committee is promising a variety of entertainment. The date is fixed for November 12, next Saturday evening, and the place will be the Headquarters of the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th Street. The proceeds will go to the support of the Club and our Greek organ Communists.

### International Workers School

#### Entertainment

Saturday, Nov. 19 - 8 p. m.

126 East 16th Street

Watch for further announcements

## Class Against Class in the Presidential Elections

Communist Vote Will Test the Policy of the Stalinists

On November 8, millions of American workers will go to the polls to vote for the next president of the United States. Millions of these workers will cast their votes for the parties of reaction. Millions of other workers, the most exploited and subjected will not go to the polls. These millions who stay away from the polls are the disfranchised American Workers in normal periods, the bulk of the Negro masses of the south are denied this bourgeois "liberty" by legal and "illegal" means of brutal suppression. Millions of foreign-born workers, who have not yet obtained their papers, because of the special discrimination are prevented from voting, yet these millions are numbered among those who do the most useful and basic work under the capitalist system.

### Workers' Vote Cut Down

The laws dealing with election right are so complicated and exclusive, with poll tax in some states and other qualifications that the unskilled and semi-skilled millions of workers are automatically eliminated.

In addition to this, the crisis and mass unemployment have broken up the homes of additional millions, who will not be qualified to vote. The Communist Party will also be unable to get on the ballot in many important states, including some important industrial states. All this summed up, plus the stealing and counting out of Communist votes will not enable us to have an accurate picture of the motion and direction of the working class unless these factors are taken into consideration.

On the other hand, a more accurate trend of the other classes can be registered by the November 8 election. The bankers are putting their eggs in more than one basket. Hoover and Roosevelt have the backing of the imperialist who want to play safe, knowing a shift to the left will be registered in the coming election.

The big capitalists of America have their sectional interests within their class but this interest is in no way menaced by the election of Roosevelt instead of Hoover, in case the working class and the middle class protest vote is sufficient to dislodge the latter.

### Position of Middle Class

The middle class has shown the greatest confusion in the pre-election days. Most of the middle class have shifted their support from Hoover to the "left." Many of the middle class are of the opinion that Roosevelt is to the Left of Hoover and will vote according. This also applies to a big layer of the working class. The Jingro, Hearst, with his middle class outfit, are in the Roosevelt bandwagon.

Other layers of the middle class are rallying behind the Socialist candidate, Norman Thomas, and a layer, led by the intellectuals has endorsed Foster and Ford, the Communist Candidates. The majority of the middle class will divide their vote between Roosevelt and Norman Thomas.

The agrarian division of the middle class—the reformers par excellence of the past—is up in arms with pitchforks against Hoover and the monopolists, with their "holiday" movement and farmers' strike. The farmer has shifted to the Left in the present crisis and the Roosevelt forces are counting heavily on polling a goodly share of this discontent. Roosevelt has been busy with the stunt of straddling as many classes as possible, promising everything in words that will be so many after-dinner jokes of the bankers the day after the election if they replace Hoover with Roosevelt as their new official boy.

As for the workers, everyone knows that layers of the class will vote for the parties of reform and reaction, and mainly the parties of reaction. The important question to consider is just to what degree these layers have shifted to the Left? What has caused them to step on the way side? What has repelled them from a further Leftward shift and how can we dislodge this "resting place" between reaction and revolution-Reform.

The important question for us to solve is what the new relationship of classes as reflected by the vote? Just how far has the shift to the Left developed? How successful have the parties of reform and reaction been? How successfully have our policies accelerated this process? Or, how negatively have the wrong Stalinist policies and program repelled this Leftward shift? All these questions are fundamental ones. Not a Stalinist "victory" of counting the "gains" mechanically, by compared to the last election without taking into consideration the shift in class forces and new relationship and ideological changes.

### Socialist Advances

The inability of the Stalinists to understand the tactic of the united front not only in their present activity but in all fields of activity has cut from under us a broad base of workers who will vote the socialist ticket this year instead of

the Communist ticket. An outstanding example of this is the Illinois coal field where the party was a power in the past. Now the socialist party is running wild through here. This is the reaction to the Stalinist policies.

We at least know one thing, that the election will not solve the accumulating contradictions piling up upon the ruling class and their henchmen. The workers must be told to vote Communist. The workers must be told that our class solution is through the proletarian revolution. —H. O.

## The New March on Washington

The National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the United States has adopted a plan for a National Hunger March on Washington to reach the capital on December 4, when Congress convenes. The plan call for 3,000 elected delegates composed of workers from every state in the union. All working class organizations are invited to elect delegates.

On the march, demonstrations are planned for every city along the route. In Washington the Council will hold a Workers Congress, draw up demands which they will present to Congress. After this another Congress will be held to determine the next step.

The plan is to "win winter relief from local and federal government."

The first march on Washington was organized around the campaign for the "Unemployed Insurance Bill." The second march on Washington does not feature Unemployment Insurance. Immediate Relief is to replace Unemployment Insurance as the main central slogan.

This is a change in emphasis which in itself can be explained by the pressing importance of the need of immediate relief. What cannot be justified is a shift in emphasis that means the exclusion of the other immediate demands. However, this is what has happened.

### No Automatic Connection

The resolutions sent out by the Council to be endorsed, coordinate the demand for immediate relief with the demand for unemployment insurance, but the campaign itself is void of this relationship.

The fight for immediate demands in the form of immediate relief does not lead automatically to the fight for social and unemployment insurance as some of the party functionaries think.

If the class is put in motion on the basis of the struggle for immediate relief and when this fight is well under way we move to the next "stage" of directing the energy of the class toward social and unemployment insurance, and so on, until we move for power, we will never arrive. Instead we will be somewhere along the wayside in the swamp." This is the concept of the social reformer.

If the Marxist, the Communist revolutionist does not connect these different immediate demands properly and at the same time connect them with the ultimate goal the other parties of reaction and reform will beat us to our "next step" and we will find ourselves "two steps back."

The party has its eye on Washington, even more than it has its activity rooted in the factories. First we had the march on Washington with the Unemployment Insurance Bill, then we had the party side-tracking everything for the Bonus Army in Washington, and now we return to Washington for "Winter Relief." If such activity is a subordinated auxiliary Communist work in the industrial field, the trade unions, etc., it could be understood, but when this parliamentary activity overshadows the more basic work, the outcome will be known in advance—no matter how excellent the demonstrations turn out to be.

The party must connect the Hunger March on Washington for immediate relief with the campaign for social and unemployment insurance, for long term credits to the Soviet Union, for the Six-hour day and the five-day week with no reduction in pay. The activity as a whole must rest upon solid class foundations in the mines, mills and factories, in the unions, the other workers organizations and on the basis of the Leninist United Front.

### The Communist Duty

We must make the hunger march on Washington a success, not a demonstration without a base, which will mean a shell without content. We must fight for the Marxian program in the unemployment activity as presented in the unemployment resolution of the Communist League of America. We must see that the march becomes the culmination, not of demonstrations from city to city (a necessary part) but of UNITED FRONT UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS activity of employed and unemployed workers, based upon a Marxian program for unemployment. —HUGO OEHLER



# Letters from Militants

## The Militant Club in Chicago

### CHICAGO.—

In one of the recent issues of the *Militant* a short notice appeared that a new organization was founded under the name "Friends of the Militant Club".

The unique position of the Left Opposition in the revolutionary movement and its righteous cause so eloquently espoused in the columns of its weekly organ the *Militant*, are attracting to it more and more sympathizers and friends but the host of followers is still very small to be an adequate support to such an important paper.

While the official press of the C. P. is always in dire need of financial assistance, and we have always gladly and generously contributed to its existence, still it is able to continue to function because of the help rendered to it by its numerous subsidiary organizations. The *Militant*, on the other hand, is not only always in very precarious financial straits but without any aid whatsoever except the valiant struggle and sacrifices of its collaborators and by the aid of its restricted number of readers. In fact the financial circumstances are so bad that we are in continuous fear that the next issues will have to be suspended or the paper discontinued altogether.

Considering this sad state of affairs, a group of sympathizers and friends have been inspired with an idea to found an independent organization which would take into its fold men and women radically inclined and get them acquainted gradually with the principle issues involved, thus creating a new medium of support for the *Militant*. The purpose of this organization is therefore twofold:

(1) Cultural or educational for its members and visitors by arranging bi-monthly lectures on various topics such as of a political, economic, social, literary, scientific and philosophic nature. Also to stimulate collateral reading. The lectures and discussions to be conducted on a free democratic basis, allowing everybody to participate and express his or her idea whatever it may be;

(2) to render financial and moral support to the *Militant* in following manner:

(a) by obtaining subscriptions for the paper;

(b) by selling the paper at all meetings of the organization and at all other occasions;

(c) by promoting the sale of various radical and other kind of literature;

(d) by arranging public affairs such as lectures, concerts and other forms of social and entertainments.

Any person regardless of sex, color, nationality or race is admissible as a member into the organization, provided he or she is in accord with the following prerequisites set forth in the preamble:

(1) he or she must believe in and recognize the class struggle of the workers of the world;

(2) he or she must be in sympathy with the U. S. S. R., the first fatherland of the working class.

In its brief existence we were able so far to enroll about 25 members, but the increasing number of visitors at each meeting gives great hopes that more and more sympathizers will join us and thus succeed to build up a substantial aid to the *Militant*.

Would not this attempt to come to aid the *Militant* be an inspiration to the many readers and sympathizers in other communities throughout the country to imitate us and start building up similar Clubs under the same name and naturally with the same purpose so that this beginning may develop into a widely spread national organization? Let us try.

—R.

## The Murder of Andrew Ganis

### SPRINGFIELD.—

Andrew Ganis is the latest victim of the Illinois coal mine class war. Shot to death by a National Guardsman after being pointed out by a strikebreaker, as a militant member of the Progressive Miners of America.

A double tragedy in the same family was but slightly averted. Mrs. Ganis was on the picket line at Taylorville and narrowly escaped death with a score of the other picketers, as the truck in which the National Guard were conveying them to the county line capsized, injuring a number of them.

The funeral oration was delivered by Gerry Allard, editor of the *Progressive Miner* at Pawnee, in Sangamon County, as the authorities would not allow services to be held in Christian County where the murdered miner worked and lived. Comrade Allard told the assembled 15,000 miners that Andrew Ganis fell a victim of the class war; that the miners must stand united and retain the same militancy they have held since the fight began, and that shortly we will avenge our martyred dead.

In the funeral procession there were 5,000 automobiles with four people in every car. The body was carried to Taylorville and laid to rest with George Franklin Bilyue, martyr of the Virden riots of 1898.

Peabody and Lewis are attempting to exterminate the militants in the P. M. of A. Gunmen ambushed and wounded Pat Ansbury as he was returning from the funeral of Andrew Ganis, puncturing the front tires and shattering the windshield with gun fire. Ansbury managed to crawl from the car and escape through fields with bullet wounds in the neck.

The coal barons, heartened by the unnecessary retreat of the new miners' un-

ion at its first national convention, in accepting the identical scale of Walker-Lewis, are using every method to get the Taylorville mines operating under the Lewis machine. They fear and know that the P. M. of A. is going to be a rank and file union—a union based on the principles of the class struggle.

The P. M. of A. has met this new attempt of the bosses to open the mines in Christian County with mass picketing on an unheard-of scale, in Illinois. Thousands of miners with their wives and children are to be found on the picket line every morning at 5 o'clock, hundreds are arrested every day and conveyed by military guard to the County line.

The women in this strike are displaying marvelous courage and militancy. For the first time in the history of the coal miners' union their women folk are organized in auxiliaries of the P. M. of A. In many strike centers they have established community kitchens and are learning how to run them on the cooperative principle which will be a feature of our future society.

They face tear gas, bayonets and bullets with an unconquerable spirit, as too well do they know the misery and privations they also had to endure under the corrupt, degenerate U. M. W. of A. which they have decided to rid themselves of.

It would be incorrect to say that the P. M. of A. sold out, as the official party has said. They have made an unnecessary retreat, due to pressure from conservative elements in the union and principally due to the lack of an organized Left wing. The P. M. of A. is still a healthy organization with rank and file control of leadership—and in all probability will carry out the traditions which gave it birth.

A continuation of mass picketing, better organized than formerly, and demonstrations at the capital in Springfield against the use of the militia, is the next step necessary.

—CARMODY.

## Compensation Racket in New York

Under the State Compensation Law, every factory worker is entitled to free medical treatment if injured during the course of work. For this purpose "Workmen's Compensation Clinics" are located in every industrial district of New York. It ostensibly seems that this law is of the greatest benefit to the workers. But a careful scrutiny of the other end gives us an altogether different view of the affair.

Since clinics are supervised by private doctors, and there are many, it is necessary to establish a clientele. Men are employed to canvass every factory within a considerable radius, and to install first aid kits, authorization slips and posters, conspicuously bearing the doctor's name and address.

A number of years back, the doctors deemed it unnecessary to dispense with first aid paraphernalia, on the assumption that injured workers would apply self-treatment and so offer a serious factor in curtailing their much desired profits. The crisis, however, convinced the doctors that it was either a case of adapting themselves to new conditions or destruction was inevitable. It no longer was a question of workers treating themselves, but to secure their trade—at any cost.

Now all factories are forced to maintain first-aid kits stocked to comply with the requirements of the Labor Department. In this case no alacrity was shown by the employers in purchasing kits and required supplies. No blow affects them so much as a blow at their pocket-book. It then was a matter of buying a kit or paying a fine. Money being involved in either case, the bosses found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. At this point the doctors graciously stepped in. The conditions for a completely supplied kit were not to use the contents but merely keep them to avoid fines—and "no matter how slight the workers' injuries may be, send them to the clinic for treatment."

Unfortunately for the doctors, the crisis equally affected them as in other fields. Closed factories and few workers in the ones that remained open, promised the doctor's no paunches from early retirement and easy living. Coupled with this, new doctors who in private practice found their patience exhausted for lack of patients, turned to this seemingly quick and easy method of reaping a harvest. Another factor, tending to aggravate this competitive malady, is medical graduates with an ever ready eye for immediate and lucrative incomes.

Unduly large expenditures, in the form of paying men to visit factories, distribution of kits, supplies, cards and posters accorded them no promise in prospect to win the race for bread and butter. Consequently doctors instructed their men, upon visiting factories, that an appreciable decrease in expenses could be obtained by "eliminating" the other doctors. This "elimination" measure began quite innocently. It at first reduced itself to the tearing up of cards and posters advertising other doctors. Medical competitors responded to the same degree. Later on instructions and ethics were eliminated in the process of "elimination". At present competition has reached the point, where doctors organize crews to enter factories and pull their competitors' kits off the walls. Several men of the crew engage the boss in conversation in such a way that his back is to the kit, while the other half go about their business of either demolishing or stealing it. All stolen kits and first aid supplies are always relabelled with the victorious doctor's name and address.

Inasmuch as the doctors find it impos-

sible to rely wholly upon such methods, for a start, contracts are made with first aid supply firms of doubtful reputation. The latter concoct first aid supplies of the most inferior and often poisonous ingredients. An excellent illustration has been furnished in the recent past. One Sunshine, who sold mercurochrome and iodine to these clinics was arrested for selling poisoned antiseptics. Government chemists reported that guinea pigs died instantly upon injection. The purpose of these "antiseptics" is twofold. They are cheaper than the standard product, and chances are greatly in favor of having workers who treat themselves come for treatment, whether they like it or not, since infection usually follows the use of such "antiseptics".

Another aspect of this racket is highly illuminating and equally interesting. The internecine struggle among doctors is waged with the factory as the arena. A constant source of trouble and worry to the bosses, and loss to the doctors, impels the latter to resort to more strategic tactics.

Arrangements are made between doctors and insurance companies, "Supervisors of Compensation Claims", to lop off a sum of money due the doctor for services rendered the workers. For such substantial considerations, the supervisor sends letters to employers insured by his company, requesting them to "consider" the doctors mentioned. Angling for business from all sides, especially restaurants, is a much cherished practice. Owners of restaurants are given food-handlers' cards denied by the Board of Health, for sending "business" to certain doctors. At times the sanitary conditions in some of these restaurants place in obscurity the Augean stables.

It is a matter of common knowledge that treatment of cuts and bruises is prolonged to an almost unbelievable time. Since the doctors are paid a certain sum for every treatment, it is to their profit to prolong the treatment. If, for example, a worker cuts his finger, the doctors, very often ordinary laymen with white aprons, make it their business to stuff as much cotton in the wound as possible, so that the fibres constantly irritate the cut and healing takes three to five times longer. On top of this, plenty of adhesive plaster is used to prevent the air from drying or clotting the blood, thus preventing the early formation of a scab and a quick cure. The longer the treatment, the more money in the doctor's pockets and the more inconvenience for the workers. Sometimes the doctor is admonished for "jacking" up the bills. In this case the worker who is often entitled to compensation money is denied it through the efforts of the doctor to save the insurance company "unnecessary expenses."

Aside from the foregoing, the doctors also maintain their private practice. To supplement their already large earnings, these "healers" of mankind do a little work "on the side." Gangsters who have the poor taste to get in the way of police bullets patronize these doctors who possess a faculty to keep silent. Of course there are temporary slump periods. In such periods abortions are very profitable.

Such are the reforms granted the worker by a benevolent bourgeoisie. Racketeers of the lowest type are only possible under capitalism: to seize every reform fought for by the workers and prey upon them in a varied form of exploitation.

—J. R.

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## Stalinists Expel Philly Militant

Phila., Oct. 11, 1932  
To the Central Executive Committee;  
To the District Executive Committee;  
To the Party Members of Philadelphia.

Comrades:

I am of the opinion that it is necessary to speak out against the tacit sabotage of the Leninist policy of the united front. The rejection of this tactic holds the greatest danger for the international revolutionary movement, particularly in Germany. For maintaining this point of view the executive committee of Section 3 has at its latest meeting recommended my expulsion from the Communist party.

Is this to be the answer to Bolshevik criticism? Will this be our party's contribution to our brother German party? I take this occasion to explain my position on —(1) THE GERMAN SITUATION and (2) MY "FRATERNIZATION WITH TROTSKYITES." I appeal to all workers-Communists and to the D. E. C. to condemn the recommendation of the section committee.

How can we win the millions of workers who still support Social-Democracy? Leninist united front. We must unite with all Socialist workers and organizations in the fight against Fascism and thus make possible a successful proletarian revolution.

To speak of united front from below without approaching the organization which the workers still support means no united front but merely a routine recruiting campaign for the party. We must definitely speak out to the social-democracy and its leadership for a united front action against Fascism. Lenin said that we have nothing to fear in a united front with the Hendersons and Snowdenes (Wels, Scheidemann, etc.—L. R.). He said if the Hendersons do not accept the united front on these conditions we have at once gained the sympathy of the masses and discredited the social reformists. If they do accept under these conditions (the right to crit-

icize, separate entity of organization, NOT subservient amalgamation, etc.—L. R.) then we are the gainers.

We must say to these leaders, "If you want to fight Hitler, let us unite in a common struggle." To say, as does the party, that we do not unite with Socialist leaders, because they are "Social-Fascists", does not convince the Socialist workers. We must say in the words of Lenin—To unite with the Kerenskys, not because we believe in them, but because millions of workers still follow the Kerenskys (Russian Welses, Noskes, etc.)

### 2. On Fraternalization

To top all this the party prohibits comrades from discussing and studying this situation. I was recommended for expulsion for fraternizing with members of the Trotsky group (Left Opposition) and for discussing problems vital to the Communist movement.

For us Communists, international questions are as important as national. We must realize that Germany, the key to the international situation at the present moment, is the most important order on the international agenda. Since very little on this question is found in the party press I read the views of Leon Trotsky. After analyzing them and discussing them I came to the conclusion that Trotsky is correct on the question of the united front as expressed in his books, "Germany—the Key to the International Situation" and "What Next—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat."

I place myself in complete solidarity in this respect with comrade Pappas' statement on the German question.

The life of the Soviet Union is in danger. The life of the Communist International is threatened with destruction. Why does the Communist International remain silent on the German question?

DEMAND AN OPEN DISCUSSION ON THE GERMAN SITUATION.

DEMAND THE CALLING OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE C. I.

Long live our international party!

Comradely,

(Signed) Lou Roberts (Bob).

## Archives of the Opposition

# Trotsky's Letter to Olmsky

Two letters of Trotsky, one to Cheldze written in April 1913, very sharply attacking Lenin and seized at the time by the police department, were discovered in 1921. The old emigrants were well acquainted with the history of the factional fights and the little episodes that grew out of them. To them it was all a matter of the far distant past. Lenin must have merely smiled when Stalin (in all probability) slipped him the letter. But this does not cast the slightest shadow, nor could it, upon the relations between Lenin and Trotsky. Between the episodic letter written at a moment of acute factional struggle and the year 1921, when the letter, forgotten by the author, rose to the surface, stood the year 1917, with the October revolution, the following three years of civil war against a world of enemies, and the first year of common economic construction. Olmsky, who worked in the Institute of Party History, addressed to Trotsky a request for the publication of his letter to Cheldze. Behind this request must have been concealed an attempt at intrigue in which Olmsky was more the tool than the instigator. In view of the fact that later on Stalin made very extensive use of Trotsky's letter, circulating it without a date, as if it had been written in 1923, there is sufficient ground to assume that behind Olmsky's request stood Stalin: he always occupied himself with these matters with a particular relish. We consider it worth while to reprint here Trotsky's reply to Olmsky:

"Pardon my delay in replying. This week was a very busy one for me. You ask about the publication of my letter to Cheldze. I do not think that it would be in place. The time for history has not yet arrived. The letters were written under the impression of the moment and its needs, and the tone of the letters corresponded to them. The present-day reader will not understand this tone, will not establish the necessary historical corrections, and will only be confused. From abroad we are to receive the archives of the party and the foreign Marxian publications. In them is a large number of letters of all those who participated in the 'scrap'. Are you planning to publish them at the present time? This would create altogether unnecessary political complications for there are hardly two old emigrants in the party who did not sharply abuse each other in correspondence under the influence of the ideological struggle, momentary excitement, etc. Write explanations for my letters? But this would mean to relate wherein I differed at that time with the Bolsheviks. In the introduction to my brochure, 'Results and Perspectives', I speak briefly about it. I see no need of returning to the subject because of the accidental discovery of the letters in the archives. To this should be added that a retrospective

review of the factional fight might give rise to polemics even today, because—I avow it frankly—I do not at all consider that in my disagreements with the Bolsheviks I was wrong on every point. I was wrong—and fundamentally—in my appraisal of the Menshevik faction, overestimating its revolutionary possibilities and hoping that we would succeed in isolating and nullifying its Right wing. This fundamental error, however, flowed from the fact that I approached both factions—the Bolshevik and the Menshevik—from the point of view of the ideas of the permanent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat whereas the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in that period supported the standpoint of the bourgeois revolution and the democratic republic. I considered that the differences between both factions were not very deep in principle and I hoped (this hope I expressed more than once in letters and speeches) that the very course of the revolution and the conquest of power by the working class would bring together the contending factions, which did occur up to a certain point in 1905. (The preface of comrade Lenin to Kautsky's articles on the motive forces of the Russian revolution and the whole line of the paper, *Natchalo*).

"I think that my evaluation of the motive forces of the revolution was indubitably correct, but the conclusions which I drew from it with regard to the two actions were undoubtedly wrong. Bolshevism alone assembled in its ranks, thanks to its irreconcilable line, the really revolutionary elements of the old intelligentsia as well as the advanced stratum of the working class. Only thanks to the fact that Bolshevism succeeded in creating this compact revolutionary organization, was it possible to make such a speedy turn from the revolutionary democratic to the revolutionary socialist position. Even now I could without difficulty divide my polemical articles against the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks into two categories: one, those devoted to an analysis of the internal forces of the revolution, its perspectives (the Polish theoretical organ of Rosa Luxemburg, the *Neue Zeit*), and the other, those devoted to an appraisal of the factions of the Russian Social Democrats, their struggles, etc. The articles of the first category I could present even now without corrections, because they fully and entirely coincide with the position of our party beginning with 1917. The articles of the second category are patently erroneous and it would not be worth while republishing them. The two letters sent me belong to the articles of the second category; their publication is not opportune. Let it be done by somebody about ten years from now, if there should be any interest in it.

"With Communist greetings,  
December 6, 1921 "L. TROTSKY."

# Fight in Illinois Sharpens

(Continued from page 1)  
and imported gunmen are free to carry guns, knives and black-jacks.

The law permits picketing, permits organizing, but law or no law the coal-operators find a way to do it brutally and thoroughly and even dispensing with formalities. In the Taylorville section during the last few weeks several scores of pickets and their wives have been wounded and one murdered, hundreds arrested under all kinds of excuses and restrictions imposed, others clubbed and tear-bomb gassed. Such is "democracy", such is "law and order" under the capitalist system.

### Bosses Preparing for Winter

That the bosses of Illinois are preparing to take care of the workers in other cities this winter if they should decide to fight instead of starve, is made clear by the announcement of the commander in charge of the state militia in the Taylorville strike area when he said that "The change every week in companies is being made in order that the various units of the militia may gain experience in active duty."

Not only are the armed forces of the state government openly supporting Lewis, but the courts as well. Three militant miners, Joseph Colbert, Dominic Lauranti and Andrew Ganis have been cold-bloodedly murdered by a rain of bullets from the guns of the Lewis' gangsters and none of the gangsters that did the killings has been brought before the "bar of justice."

Just the other day, Circuit Judge Roy Dove of Shelbyville, sitting in the circuit court, upheld the right of the state militia to make arrests without warrants and hold the men and women so arrested any length of time they may see fit.

This "representative of justice" has shown by his own deed that there is no neutrality, no justice between capital and labor and places the judiciary of his state four square on the side of the coal-operators and Lewis.

Lewis, of course, is able to use the

courts, the state militia, the state police and the underworld not to maintain unionism but to destroy it, just as he did in Penn., Ky., West Va., Ohio, and other places. It is the Peabodys and the other coal-operators who will be masters if Lewis wins. But that is a long, long way to go.

State police, gangsters, courts and the state militia will not be able to impose again the Lewis leadership on the Illinois miners, and before this fight is finished there will not only be a complete defeat for Lewis, but the miners will be much nearer to a powerful Communist movement that will make it possible to uproot all these practices with which the labor fakers, in cooperation with gunmen, attempt to crush labor's organizations.

JOSEPH ANGELO

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