

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Police Attack Hunger Army

As we go to press, latest reports tell us that the hunger march is converging upon its destination—Washington, D. C. From the four corners of the United States caravans of unemployed men and women are moving towards the capital to raise their voices in the powerful resounding cry for relief and insurance for the jobless, hunger-stricken millions. Congress which opens its sessions on Dec. 5 will do all in its power to sidetrack the burning needs of the masses with a gaseous debate upon whether they will be able to drown out the hunger and privation of the unemployed army by raising the alcoholic content of beer. The legislature of well-fed and smugly satisfied flunkies opens tomorrow—for the master. But the usual tranquility will no longer prevail. For through the cracks and crevices, the open windows and the open doors, there will echo a mighty shout of the hunger march that is determined to have its demands heard.

In spite of the mocking stories, in which the bought press has done everything possible to ridicule and discredit the hunger march the capitalist class is hardly confident or at ease. On the contrary, so fearful are they of the effects the hunger army might have upon the disaffected working class back home that they are ready at a moment's notice to abrogate the much vaunted democratic right—the right of redress and peaceful petitioning. All vacations and leaves for the Washington police force have been rescinded, and this veritable army of more than 5,000 bluecoats stand ready to answer the demands of the unemployed with police batons, tear gas and bullet. A word from Hoover and the standing army goes into action. The Executive Committee of the ruling class wants no repetition of the bonus army experience last summer.

Orders have issued from Washington for all state and city governments to use all means at their disposal "to discourage the hunger march." In compliance with this order dozens of cities have refused to shelter, let alone to feed the jobless army, in spite of the obvious class enmities and public buildings. Empty between marchers and police have already taken place in Chester, Pa., and Wilmington, Del. In Cumberland, Md., the National Guard has been called into action to prevent the marchers from passing through the city!

Today's newspapers inform us that if the hunger army is too persistent, blood will flow on the streets of Washington. By this statement they unwittingly fix the responsibility for any bloodshed clearly upon the shoulders of the capitalist government in Washington. It also reveals so that no one can possibly misunderstand just what the attitude of the boss class, stripped of the glowing campaign promises, is towards the unemployed millions. Bullets to those who want bread! But despite all these repressive measures the voice of the hunger marchers will be heard! The cry for relief and insurance will rise higher. Whatever happens in Washington—peace or bloodshed—the movement of the jobless will grow bigger, its voice more determined, its ranks firmer. The hunger march is but one small step that will finally lead towards the destruction of the system of misery and starvation.

It only remains for the Communists to enlarge the present narrow movement by the united front of all labor organizations until its power becomes irresistible.

The Stalinists and Trotsky's Radio Speech to America

The Stalinist press has developed a furious rage over the speech on the Russian revolution delivered by comrade Trotsky over the radio network arranged by an American company. The stream of calumny and abuse which are constantly on tap in the Stalinist editorial rooms for the special purpose of slandering the opposition, were unloosed this time also. An identic editorial in the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit* is filled with this stereotyped calumny. According to the hired scribblers of the apparatus, Trotsky's speech was delivered in collaboration with British imperialism, which controls the Danish government and is making good use of the "counter-revolutionist" to "poison the workers" against the U. S. S. R. Just how much credence can be put in the maliciously deliberate lies of the Stalinists, will be seen by reading the transcript of Trotsky's speech which we print below. But aside from that, the Stalinists have still failed to answer the embarrassing questions we have not

ceased to put to them. Why has every important government in Europe consistently refused to grant comrade Trotsky a visa which would enable him to take up residence in the country? Why have bourgeois republicans, yellow social democrats of all wings, reactionists and "enlightened" monarchists—in a word, all the governments to which application was made—met the request for asylum with such a united front of NO! Why has only one country permitted him to stay within its borders—reactionary Turkey, and that only by secret agreement with Stalin? Why did Czechoslovakia, where the latest attempt was made (and gave the Stalinists the occasion for their somewhat "premature" cries about the "united front between the Skoda works, French imperialism and Trotsky"), finally refuse the visa which it "promised"—if Trotsky would refrain from revolutionary action.

To answer these questions would indicate where the real united front lies. It consists in the tacit agree-

ment arrived at between the Stalinist apparatus in the U. S. S. R. on the one hand, and the bourgeois governments of the entire world on the other, to keep comrade Trotsky a prisoner in Turkey for the rest of his life. The visit to Denmark is a purely episodic interruption of this impenetrable "generosity" granted by the Danish social democracy because of the insignificance of the Communist movement and as a demagogic display of adherence to the principle of the right of political asylum... for three months.

The speech delivered over the radio for fifteen minutes by comrade Trotsky, is reprinted here as it was received. In some parts, unfortunately, we were unable to establish the text with complete accuracy and the doubtful sections are indicated by three periods. While it is essentially correct, it should be read with that reservation in mind. Its condensed nature was, of course, conditioned by the briefness of the time allotted for the speech.

Extracts from the Speech

I will make an attempt to give the American radio audience a short exposure of my lecture on the Russian revolution. This, in two senses, is a daring enterprise. The limits of time are too narrow, and my English—my poor English—is in no proportion to my admiration for Anglo-Saxon culture. I

Delivered by Leon Trotsky and Broadcast from Copenhagen

believe your indulgence all the more since it is the first time I am addressing an audience in English.

What question does the Russian revolution raise in the mind of thinking man? First, why at all did this revolution take place? And, second, has the revolution stood the test? The fact that the proletariat reached power for the first time in such a backward country as czarist Russia seems mysterious only at first glance. In reality it is wholly in accord with its historical background. It could have been predicted, and it was predicted. Still more, on the basis of that prediction the revolutionists built up the strategy long before the deciding event.

Permit me to quote here a passage from a work of mine in 1905. I quote: "In an economically backward country, the proletariat can come to power sooner than in the economically advanced countries. The Russian revolution, in our opinion, creates such conditions under which the power can pass over to the proletariat (and with a victorious revolution it must) even before the policy

anything less than stupid and ridiculous. When a leadership fails to understand the stage and tempo of the revolutionary struggle, it understands nothing in the world. From the speeches of the workers, one gets a vivid impression of the militancy and the revolutionary strength latent in the American proletariat, waiting to be brought forward by a policy and leadership that will release it into active and intelligent channels of the class struggle. There is naturally confusion in their ranks, but they know what they want and they know that in order to get what they want they must fight. And they are willing to fight and to sacrifice. It only remains to show them the right road, to tell them how to fight.

To many of us who listened to these speeches of the workers, not unmixed with petty bourgeois confusion, it is true, the introduction of the section organizer of the Communist party appeared to come as a relief. Now we would hear a real Communist speech and all the confusion and errors would be cleared up. To our consternation, this individual piled confusion on top of confusion and it was left to us to admit that the most inexcusably stupid speech of the entire conference was made by the party's organizer, the vanguard of the proletariat.

Are the contradictions of capitalism and the problems of the working class arising out of them to be solved by the simple process of a parliamentary contest? Apparently so, since this Stalinist tells us that not only are we going to struggle now, but that when the spring elections come, the City Hall fakers will be turned on the streets. This assertion met with tumultuous applause, despite the fact that it was presented as the culmination and most important result of the movement!

Nor was this bolstering up of parliamentary illusions all. Together with this Right wing tendency, was the equally stupid Leftist solution of other "responsible" party spokesmen.

The conference was a success in spite of the leadership. Its results will be shown in the only field where the workers can effectively make progress—in the field of actual struggle. It is here that the workers will learn, and not merely from speeches and declarations. The Left Opposition is small here, but in spite of its numerical weakness, it will give these activities its fullest support.

MIMEOGRAPH WANTED

Any comrade a friend who has a mimeographing machine, in good condition, for sale at a low price, is urged to get in touch with George J. Papcun, 2224 1-2 Rockingham Road, Davenport, Iowa.

CELEBRATE
NEW YEAR'S EVE
with the
Communist League of America
at
126 East 16 Street,
Watch for further announcement

A. F. L. Convention Talks «Radical»

Labor Discontent Forces Lip-Service to Left Measures

Two measures of great significance were adopted at the American Federation of Labor convention just concluded at Cincinnati, Ohio. It went on record for the universal adoption, without delay, of the six-hour day and five-day week, to carry with it no reduction in pay. It indorsed with only five dissenting votes, the proposal for compulsory unemployment insurance, to be inaugurated by the various states, at the cost of the owners of industry by assessing the amount of 3 percent of their total payroll. Here we have a reversal of positions formerly held, particularly in regard to the latter proposal, with a speed which left this assemblage of portly gentlemen gasping at their own audacity.

Is A. F. of L. Leadership Turning Left

This presents a picture to our imagination of superannuated troglodytes who, when coming out from their ultra-conservative dug-out, are struck by the impact of a superior force and begin to march at a pace which leaves their whole past in the shade. The question immediately occurs to us: Is the A. F. of L. leadership turning leftward? The answer, which is an emphatic NO, must, to be complete, cover several important aspects of the present situation; but it can nevertheless be summed up under the general heading: "mass pressure". Only, and that should never be forgotten, these labor "leaders", when they move forward a few inches at a time, always in doing so, lag way behind the masses.

Basically we are confronted here with the question of the changing economic structure of capitalism in its decay stage. This is beginning to leave its marks also in the United States. We have here an army of millions of unemployed the permanent aspect of which cannot escape even the trade union upper crust. Conditions have become rotten ripe for such measures as those accepted by the A. F. of L. convention. The historic significance lies not in the fact that they were accepted at this time. It lies in the fact that this could be accepted at all in this gathering in which a genuine rank and file worker would have as little chance of getting in as the proverbial snowball in hell.

These gentlemen have been used to think that the "dole" was a sad plight of Europe alone. They denounced it at their last convention held in Vancouver a year ago. They labelled it "un-American". They have always held that the Amsterdam international was too radical. But in time they will even find out that revolutionary struggles are not confined to Europe. And that will likely dawn upon them much quicker than the snails pace at which they themselves move.

Essentially their fear of the masses moving leftward is a genuine one and compels them to move. In this sense they see the handwriting on the wall. The repercussion of the capitalist crisis has already created considerable havoc within the union ranks. There is a marked and ominous loss of membership. Whole unions have been almost wiped out under the capitalist offensive. Many members were unable to meet the inflexible heavy financial obligations imposed by the

trade union bureaucracy. Many others left in utter disgust seeing none of the working class interests protected and becoming victims of countless sell-outs. The bureaucrats fear a situation of lean treasuries. They have had to face incipient revolts in many unions against their offhand wage-cut acceptances. They have witnessed militant hunger demonstrations which by the way could often have been bigger and much more powerful if the Stalinist leaders could rely from their blind stupidity and adopt the united front policy. There is no reason to doubt that these essentially reactionary trade union leaders understand quite well how to judge the latent forces yet dormant within the American working class which is, however, potential material for the revolutionary movement once properly aroused and properly directed.

The Fear for Safety of Capitalism

But this is only the one side of the picture. On the other hand the fear of these capitalist lieutenants for the safety of the capitalist system itself is undoubtedly equally genuine. To them the

(Continued on page 4)

Conference Seats St. Louis Opposition

ST LOUIS.—

More than 500 delegates representing 65 organizations (together with unattached delegates), attended the united front conference called by the Unemployed Councils for November 20 in St. Louis. The Communist League of America (Opposition), St. Louis branch, sent delegates to the party bureaucrats. (Question to the party bureaucrats: Why were our delegates seated in St. Louis and excluded in New York?—Ed.) Our comrades were elected on the Resolutions Committee and also on the Committee to see Mayor Miller to present the demands of the Conference. (We were also elected on the Committee of 25 to be known as the "United Front Committee".)

In so far as the conference reflected the growing militancy and determination of the masses to struggle against the brutal offensive of the capitalist class, it was a success. The mood was indeed a fighting one—a mood which with the proper policies and tactics, with a correct theoretical analysis of the task of the revolutionary party, could be utilized to bring many of them to the banner of Communism. For this, a whole series of questions must first be made clear in the Russian revolution, that "the masses are a thousand times to the Left of us", and the conference revealed a somewhat similar situation. When one sees "Leftism" among the masses, one is not surprised but pleased, even if they may be far more to the Left than the possibilities, arising out of the objective conditions, warrant. But when this ultra-Leftist position passes over and finds unmeasured expression on the lips of the leadership, it cannot be characterized as

Arrest 2 Pittsburgh Oppositionists

PITTSBURGH.—

Two militant Left oppositionists were arrested here last night following a mass meeting conducted by the Pittsburgh branch of the Communist League (Opposition). They have been officially charged with violating some city ordinance by spreading printed matter calling for support of the Hunger March to Washington. The meeting had been called as part of the Communist League's participation in the Unemployed United Front movement here.

The two arrested workers, comrades Pete Vonvas and Nick Lepis, have been sentenced to the workhouse without trial and are being held incommunicado at the Allegheny County penitentiary in Blair Knox.

The International Labor Defense, although offering technical aid, has refused the request of a representative of the Communist League (Opposition), to appeal the sentence. George Martin, District Organizer of the I. L. D. explained that his organization does not pay fines as a matter of policy and considered an appeal inadvisable for reasons not stated.

YOUTH DEBATE

To come Saturday, December 10, at 8:30 P. M. in the Labor Temple big hall the Young Spartacus Youth Club of New York will debate the Young Peoples' Socialist League on the question: **Communism vs. Socialism—which program for the working class?**

The Yipsels will be represented by Gus Tyler, the Spartacus Youth Club by Joe Carter. Last spring a similar debate was held. Those who came late will remember that they had to stand. Come early. The admission is only fifteen cents.

A Reply from Shanghai to the Stalinists Slanders on Chen Du-Hsiu's Arrests

SHANGHAI.—

From the Reuter News Agency you have probably heard some news about the Chinese Opposition. But while some of it is right, there is a good deal of untruth in the reports.

Since the organization of the Blue Shirt Society, nearly all the students from the Moscow Sun Yat Sen University have concentrated in it. They learned many things in the USSR, especially from the GPU, and they are using it faithfully, especially to strengthen Chiang Kai-Shek. According to an official report, the students misdequated by the Stalinists number about 500. Their only task is to arrest Communists and destroy the Communist organizations. They have spread to all the important provinces of China, but their main strength is in Shanghai.

The leader of this group is Koo Song Chong (the head of the special detachment of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921) and Ma Yu Fu (a former member of the Central Committee who quit it three months after Koo.) They not only arrest Communists, but spend a great deal of money to buy up Communist militants who have a tendency to grumble. In this way, they go to the private secretary of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, by the name of Sie Sou San. He is also one of the returned students from the Sun Yat Sen University. Sie told the Kuo Min Tang where comrade Chen's home was located—he being the only one to know place. Hence, comrade Chen was ar-

rested on September 16, at a moment when he was very sick. Right after that, other militants of our Central Committee were arrested, including the famous party organizer, comrade Pan Fu-Tse.

According to a report, Sie received 100,000 silver dollars for his work from Chiang Kai-Shek. The prisoners number nearly 30, and all the organs are destroyed.

On October 30, comrade Chen and the others were transferred to Nanking, the capital of the Kuo Min Tang government. Reuter and other news agencies declared that Chen had requested the Kuo Min Tang to take him to talk directly with Chiang about the Trotskyist movement in China. Though this rumor was refuted three days later, the Stalinists and the other anti-Opposition forces continue to use this lie to fight the Opposition.

The first wave of arrests is over but the second and more extensive wave of persecution is being prepared.

The Stalinists are cynical about this loss to the forces of the revolutionary movement. They tell the Chinese workers that the Trotskyists are anti-revolutionary, that our organization is the "Left wing of the bourgeoisie." They declare that Chen Du-Hsiu's arrest is not a blow to the Chinese revolution but a matter of indifference to it. But our comrades are fighting the persecutions and looking for aid from the workers in other countries.

October 20. —H.

Opposition Ejected from Conference on Hunger March in New York

NEW YORK.—

The Joint Committee for Support of the National Hunger March which held its final ratification conference last Sunday at the Irving Plaza Hall, denied the delegation from the Communist League of America (Opposition) the right to participate in the Hunger March to Washington. This conference particularly was dominated completely and mechanically by the official party bureaucrats.

With the exception of a scant dozen or two from the Left wing A. F. L. locals, the composition of the delegates was overwhelming from the TUUL unions and the fraternal and sympathetic organizations close to the party. The flophouses, municipal lodging houses and the unemployed seamen had huge delegations. The Communist party itself was conspicuous by its absence. It had likewise abstained at the preliminary meetings.

No Serious Front

No serious attempt was made to organize a genuine united front which would embrace all the existing organizations of the working class. The result was that the Joint Committee represented, in actuality, nobody but the party and its allied organizations. This stupid and short-sighted policy serves, as usual, to play right into the hands of the reactionaries who are happy to see the movement confined to the revolutionary vanguard, without drawing in those workers not yet within the sphere of Communist influence. The "united front" now practiced by the Stalinists is not much mor-

than the party in numerous disguises. Such a course inevitably isolates the Hunger March from the masses of the workers, with results that can only bring harm to the movement.

The National Hunger March initiated by the party should have made the most vigorous efforts to bring the Socialist party and the A. F. L. unions into the conference. The discomfiting of the rank and file workers would have made this possible. Had it been done, the Hunger March would have been an enormous demonstration of far greater effectiveness. Such a united front would have meant a repetition of the recent successful demonstration in Chicago, but on a much vaster scale.

Within the ranks of the Socialist party and particularly in the A. F. L. unions, a genuine appeal for united action would have resulted in arousing sympathy and support, and in causing the workers to bring pressure to bear upon their reactionary leadership. But the Stalinists chose to take a different road.

The Conference opened with Carl Winter presiding. In his introductory remarks he emphasized the necessity of eliminating from the conference any spies or stool pigeons or disrupters and enemies of the working class who were possibly present; that in order to eliminate such elements, it was necessary to go through an elaborate and lengthy ceremony.

A New Kind of Committee
A "Morals Committee" was appointed
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Greek Stalinists Fail To Meet Challenge

NEW YORK.—

The sixth issue of *Communists* that appeared on Nov. 12 contained among other articles an answer to the Stalinist slanders; also a criticism concerning the conduct of the Stalinist leadership in the Greek workers Club "Spartacus". The *Empire* attempts to evade the concrete accusations of *Communists* by resorting to the time-worn standers against every Greek Oppositionist. About comrade Pappas they are unable themselves to fabricate any calumnies because they know very well that they are so discredited that no worker will believe them. Therefore they resorted to the assistance of the Stalinist-controlled Food Workers I. U. to get a statement in order to have a certain effect, not upon the revolutionary workers of the union who voiced their support of Pappas at their last convention, but upon those workers of far cities who are not acquainted with Pappas.

About the notorious bourgeois lackey Varssadakis, they refrain from saying anything about their support to him. About *Atlantis* the Monarchist organ which benefits by their one-sidedness not a word is mentioned either although the printers of *Atlantis* refused to accept a wage cut and have been picketing its premises for the last two weeks. Not even a strike is sufficient for the Stalinists to voice vigorously an attack against *Atlantis*. The alliance is too sacred to be broken by such an insignificant event. The first week they printed a few lines on the fifth page of the *Empire* as a news report and in their last issue they don't mention a thing about the strike but simply repeat the old fables that the *National Herald* is the only anti-labor paper and the most dangerous.

The *Atlantis* was able to appear thanks to the services of the strike-breakers Chalkopoulos and Cocoris who 6 years ago performed the same honorable job for the benefit of the *National Herald*.

We have always emphasized that both papers are purely bourgeois organs and as such they don't differ an iota in their anti-labor character.

The striking printers of *Atlantis* strike by confining their activities to one shop. The A. F. L. fakers will not move one finger to assist their struggle in a substantial manner. Only a militant policy and leadership can guarantee a successful struggle. The strike must be extended to the other Greek printing plants because, as they know very well, the other scab shops assist the *Atlantis* to appear regularly. Since the Greek Stalinists are reluctant to give their support lest they will harm *Atlantis*, they must accept the support of the Left Opposition. From the A. F. L. fakers they can expect no support except friendly negotiations with the bosses of *Atlantis*.

OPEN FORUM

The Negroes in America - -
National or Proletarian
Revolution?

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Friday, December 9, 1932
126 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c
Auspices:
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

Letters from Militants

Unser Kampf Tour Brings Results

The tour in the interest of **Unser Kampf**, which in the past six weeks has taken us through New Haven, Boston, Montreal, Toronto, Cleveland, Youngstown, Detroit, Chicago, Davenport, and finds us at present in Minneapolis, revealed to us more than anything else the vast possibilities for the growth of the Left Opposition and the keen interest of the Communist workers in our message. The Stalinist course of zig-zags has stripped the official party in the localities of the more competent older leaders. Many of them, at a loss to explain the party blunders, left the party in disgust. Hundreds others were expelled for fighting the local manifestations of bureaucracy, not knowing to this day that this bureaucracy is a component part of the Stalinist regime and a consequence of a false political line. This is especially true of the Jewish speaking movement where the Communist party at one time had the dominating influence.

Unfortunately our local groups with few exceptions barely touches the surface in reaching the disoriented and confused Communist workers with the message of the Left Opposition, which alone could save them for the revolutionary movement. This is why our efforts in the tour were concentrated primarily on the organization of functioning groups not alone among Jewish speaking workers, but wherever we found it possible. The lectures that we held, were merely a by-product.

In New Haven we found that the comrades were not functioning in an organized manner. One of our comrades in this locality has been functioning as the secretary of the I. L. D., the Stalinists finding it impossible to replace her for want of capable people. During our stay in New Haven we met with the comrades several times, discussed the need for organized activity, and with the necessary assistance from the center we believe it will be possible in the future to build up a strong center there. We appeared before a number of working class organizations and sold our literature which was bought quite eagerly. We had no open lecture here but we do hope on our return to the center to arrange such lectures at frequent intervals in view of the proximity of this locality to New York.

Our Boston branch has been humming with activity of late. The comrades have taken upon themselves the initiative in building up a social science club which had an attendance of about thirty people during our stay there. We have also gathered a group of Jewish workers who at present are proceeding with the organization of a club which we are sure will render assistance to **Unser Kampf** and to our movement in general. Upon the very day of our arrival we were invited to speak at Chelsea Labor Lyceum. Here the Stalinists deserted an excellent field of activities when the "third period" was first proclaimed and they did not deem it possible to work in the same institutions with "Social Fascists". The result was that a large section of Left wing workers refused to follow the party in its splitting tactics and remained in the Labor Lyceum without any guidance or direction. Upon the request of these Left wing workers we spoke at the Labor Lyceum on the election campaign and in support of the Communist candidates. The following day we lectured in the Labor Lyceum on our differences with the party. We were attacked sharply by the Socialists present in the audience. It was quite natural. They consider us less "practical" than the Stalinists and when it comes to a choice, prefer the latter. On the other hand, we were well received by the Left wing workers, many of them finding that we were voicing criticisms which had been in their own minds. We established some contacts there and sold a substantial amount of literature.

We appeared before several branches of the Workmen's Circle appealing for the support of **Unser Kampf** which they as a matter of routine referred to the Executive Committee. We are not yet aware of the results.

The work of the Left Opposition in Montreal has heretofore been carried upon the shoulders of one comrade and one or two sympathizers. We must say that he had done exceedingly well, being active at the same time in a leading capacity in his trade union and other organizations. The appearance of **Unser Kampf** has given several Jewish speaking workers the chance to acquaint themselves with the viewpoint of the Left Opposition for the first time. The expulsion from the Young Communist League of comrade Gilbert for raising some of the questions that the Left Opposition has raised was an additional factor which made possible for us to definitely organize a Branch of the Left Opposition in this locality. In addition to that we took the first steps in organizing a Youth Club. Our lecture in Montreal exceeded our expectations. For the first time we succeeded in having an open lecture on our differences with the party in this locality with an attendance of over 80 workers. This in spite of the picket line in front of the hall compromising all the party leaders, who exerted all their efforts to discourage workers from attending our meeting. The audience sat through till 1:00 in the morning listening to our point of view, discussing with us and asking questions. The work we have started in Montreal will be followed up by comrade Spector who is scheduled to take a lecture trip from Toronto to Montreal.

Of all the places so far visited by us we find that our Toronto group is making more genuine advances than any other one. They have gained about 10 mem-

bers in the recent few weeks. They are awake to all the struggles of the workers, taking an active part in them. The class in Marxian conducted by comrade Spector has an attendance of 35 to 40. The Toronto group is sinking its roots wide and deep. The most recent achievement during the week we spent in this locality was the aid given in the organization of the Students League of Canada, which is publishing its own monthly paper, **The Spark**. Our comrades were also making preparations for the publication of a Canadian organ of the Left Opposition, **The Vanguard**, which was to appear on the 7th of November.

We went to Toronto with the impression that the work for **Unser Kampf** was carried by one comrade. This was true only until recently. The short few months of our existence has gained for us new adherents with the result that we found it possible to organize an **Unser Kampf** Club which has its inception about 15 workers. Several young workers were recently expelled from the Y. C. L. and the party for selling and distributing **Unser Kampf**. As for the two lectures that the comrades arranged for us, one on the German situation had an attendance of 65-70; the second one on **What the Left Opposition Stands For** had an attendance of close to 150. We also addressed an open forum of the tailors. At all these meetings we found a keen and sympathetic interest in our viewpoint.

The sales of our literature in Toronto have doubled and trebled and in the case of **The Militant**, we believe that increase is five-fold. Preparations were under way in Toronto also for the organization of the Spartacus Youth Club. Under the experienced, capable guidance of comrades Spector and MacDonald and with the favorable objective conditions that exist, Toronto will undoubtedly become one of the most powerful bases of the Left Opposition in the future.

As for the rest of the tour, we will report it on a different occasion.

Kansas City, Nov. 29, 30.
St. Louis, Dec. 2, 3, 4.
Springfield, Ill., Dec. 5.
Chicago, Dec. 6.
Cleveland, Dec. 8, 9.
New Castle, Pa., Dec. 11.
Pittsburgh, Dec. 12, 13.
Baltimore, Dec. 14, 15.
Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 16, 17.
Trenton, Dec. 18.

—SYLVIA BLEEKER.
—MORRIS LEWIT.

Pittsburgh Youth Club and Opposition

Workers of Pittsburgh may already be familiar with the Progressive Youth which has recently been organized here. Especially, due to the fact that the **Freiheit** a short time ago accused us, of the Left Opposition, of wanting to break up one of its meetings. Of course this is only just another of the **Freiheit's** trained-to-lie stories, to which the Left Opposition has been accustomed for long.

Of course, the membership of the club consists of workers with different tendencies and should the workers of the official party use the right tactics in going about united front activities, there are possibilities of bringing the elements of the club to such a point where the club as a whole would participate in the everyday struggle if the working class. But due to the fact that the party members here are trying to railroad through their points without the consent or the understanding of the members and in the meantime, mostly against the Left Opposition, they not only meet with failure

but also lose the sympathy of the members.

For instance: Last week leaflets were distributed which said that the Progressive Youth Club would celebrate the 15th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in conjunction with the party-controlled I. W. O. It was only natural that a good many of the club members should raise the question as to why the membership was not consulted about this affair. The result was that not only did the club refuse to join, but the membership as well was aroused against such tactics. This would never have happened if the proposal had been made in a straightforward and correct united front manner.

The official party members are blind in thinking that they can railroad through anything. The results of last week's experience ought to teach them something, if they will only open up their eyes.

Pitts. Anniversary Meet

PITTSBURGH.— Thanks to the Communist League of America (Opposition), the workers of Pittsburgh now have a long sought for opportunity to study and learn the real Marxist theory of Communism in a Left Opposition study class organized by comrade Gordon, sent to this city recently by the League.

The "Marxist Study Class" is increasing in worker students from week to week. It assures the development of a genuine, well equipped revolutionary group within the workers movement of Pittsburgh.

On Saturday, November 12, the Marxist Study Class celebrated the 15th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in a hall on Center Avenue. Over 40 students and sympathizers were present.

The celebration was opened by the chairman with the singing of the "International". Then comrade Gordon was introduced as the speaker for the Communist League. He spoke on the great international significance of the Bolshevik victory in October 1917 and stressed the historical role of the Left Opposition as its truest defender. After touching upon the tasks that this role implies here in Pittsburgh and in the everyday class struggle, he closed with an appeal for support of the Left Opposition's struggle for working class and Communist unity on the basis of the Marxist program and the Russian Revolution. The whole crowd, party sympathizers among them, applauded heartily.

There was some dancing afterwards and the comrades gathered in a group to sing revolutionary battle songs. Before closing, the speaker of the Communist League made an appeal for aid in the preparations for the Hunger March, reporting on the United Front Unemployed Conference at which the League was represented by delegates and asking for financial support to make its work successful. The collection netted a small sum, which was quite substantial considering the numbers.

Refreshments were served by the entertainment committee. Then the affair was closed with the singing of "Solidarity Forever".

Eject Opposition Delegates in N. Y.

(Continued from page 1)

(by whom?) and every delegation and its representative appeared before it. William Kitt, a duly elected delegate from the Alteration Painters Union, was objected to by the "unholy three" which had been informed that he was a "Trotskyist". An attempt was made to disqualify him, but the other delegate from the Union threatened to withdraw if it were done. The Committee thereupon reluctantly permitted him to participate.

Strangely enough, no objections were made to any of the other delegates. All were accepted, none was excluded, with the exception of course of the Left Opposition delegate. The most elementary semblance of democratic procedure was absent. The "Morals Committee" under the trained direction of Winters, Sam Weisman (whose moral qualifications, as exemplified by his work in the food workers' union, is well known to our readers) and Jack Perilla, functioned like a well-oiled steam roller, a la Tammany Hall. As our delegation, consisting of M. Glee, H. Milton and H. Ross, passed before the Committee, the objection was raised. We were accused, no less, of murdering two workers on Avenue A and 7th Street. A chorus of gasps was to be heard at this point, which we took as the opportunity to inform the Committee that at the time the two workers were killed, we had invited the Communist party and the ILL to organize a workers' jury trial to determine the responsibility for the deaths, and that both the party and the ILL did not see fit to reply.

Dropping this line of action, the inquisitors told us that the CLA was a political organization and that consequently we could not participate in the Hunger March! To which we replied that it was most unfortunate that the C. P. was not present, that we considered it a serious error on the part of the party to fail to participate openly in such a movement.

Perilla interrupted us at this point to say that they would defend the party themselves and that we should "mind our own business".

Left Opposition Excluded

Charges were hurled at us that we were enemies of the working class, that we represented nobody, etc., etc. We, on our part, kept the floor and disposed of the arguments made against us. Finally, the patience of the triumvirate was apparently exhausted and we were informed that we could go, that the "Committee" would consider the case and inform us of its decision. We asked for the right to appear before the Committee to defend ourselves. To which Sam Weisman replied that they had already listened to our arguments and would render a decision without us being present. Protesting against such a procedure, we requested that the decision be made then and there. A hasty consultation took place and we were finally told that the Committee saw fit to deny us the right to participate in the Hunger March to

Our Club Plan MILITANT BUILDERS

PAID SUB CARDS

They're coming in alright. We have started with a rush. And that, of course, is the way to do it. The Paid Sub Card ideas seems to have caught on. Now we must keep it up. Remember comrades: the **Militant** sells these half-year Paid Sub Cards in minimum blocs of four or (more to the bloc if wanted, of course); they are sold by the **Militant** only on a cash basis; you dispose of them according to your circumstances in blocs or singly, for cash or on credit; all that the recipient has to do is fill in his name and address on the card mail it in and he will be entered on the list as a subscriber. It's as simple as that.

NEWCASTLE SHOWS THE WAY

In response to the launching of the second phase of the Club Plan three branches have thus far sent in these cards. They are Philadelphia, New York and New Castle, Pa. Fourteen cards, that is to say, subs, have been sent in on this basis. Of this total New Castle accounted for eight, New York, five and Philadelphia, one. These are credited to the branch standing which is given below.

When a comrade sends in four of these cards we credit him with a Club Plan Sub and include it in the standing of the staff. As we keep accurate records of every card coming in as well as going out a comrade need not send in four of these Paid Sub Cards at one time to receive credit for a club plan sub. We will add it up, so to speak, and for every four we will add four to his total. We have already done this with comrades Reburn and Hudson of New Castle who sent in four of these Paid Sub Cards apace.

To sum it up: we think that we have made a good beginning but it is only a beginning. We cannot leave off building when only the foundations, and hardly that, are laid. We want a towering structure. We understand that it can-

Washington. We recorded our protest and, pursuant upon the order, left the hall.

Our resolution endorsing the Hunger March and presenting the unemployment program of the CLA, could not, fortunately, be distributed at the conference, for technical reasons. It is reproduced elsewhere in this issue of **The Militant**.

—HARRY MILTON.

Pamphlets Wanted

We are now completely out of the Bound Volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets. But the demand still continues. This leaves us no choice but to make another attempt to bind some more. This is where the difficulty comes in. As you remember we advertised the Bound Volumes as containing some pamphlets that were out of print and unobtainable except in these Bound Volumes. That was true. But now that the Bound

not be erected over night by rubbing Aladdin's lamp. It must be built by our efforts. Let us add brick to brick. Every sub, every Paid Sub Card sent in is a brick in our **Militant** structure. The staff record measures our bricklaying.

THE STAFF

Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	12
P. Vomvas	12
B. Morgenstern	8
V. R. Dunne	8
H. Nash	7
W. Krehm	6
H. A.	4
M. Hudson	4
F. Rayburn	4
H. Capells	4
M. Gottlieb	4
J. Hamilton	4
W. Konikow	4
O. Coover	4
S. Lessin	4
J. Sifakis	4
A. Joel	4
E. McMillen	4
A. Miller	4
J. Ross	4
C. Shechet	2

THE RECORD BY CITIES

Chicago	24
Minneapolis	20
Pittsburgh	16
New York	18
Toronto	10
Boston	10
Philadelphia	9
New Castle	8
Montreal	7
St. Louis	4
Des Moines	4

Notice the way New York is climbing. It looks as though it won't be long now before it's up at the top. But there's New Castle! And who can say what they will do out there? Well, we're watching. Let'er go. We'll not be disappointed if a lively scrap develops for first place.

Volumes are all gone these pamphlets are unobtainable anywhere, even by us.

In order to bind additional sets we need the following pamphlets: **The Draft Program**; **The Turn in the C. I. L. Germany—The Key to the International Situation**; and **World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan**. If our comrades will send these pamphlets to us we will be able to go ahead with the binding. We need lots of them. The more we receive the more we will be able to bind.

We ask for these pamphlets on the following terms. We are absolutely unable to pay for them with money. We can issue credit slips for the amount of the pamphlets against any accompanying or future order that the comrade may make. But these orders must be for literature. We are strongly against applying them to sub extensions and renewals. And the pamphlets must be in good condition.

BOOKS BY TROTSKY		STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION*	WHAT NEXT—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat
PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION 450 pages Cloth cover \$1.50 paper cover 1.00	HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION—Vol. 1 522 pages \$4	Part 2 of the Draft Program 86 pages 25c	192 Pages Cloth \$65 Paer 35
THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION 158 pages paper cover 50c cloth cover \$1.00	PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R. 48 pages paper cover 15c	THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER 64 pages paper cover 15c	THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA 364 pages cloth cover \$1.00
	COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM 64 pages paper cover 15c	WHITHER ENGLAND 178 Pages Paper \$75	PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

A Picture of the Situation in China Today

SHANGHAI.— Let us dwell now on the labor movement in Shanghai after the Sino-Japanese conflict. Since millions in wealth were burned in ashes, production was contracted, unemployment increased, the hunger army swelled, the post-war crisis weighs heavily upon the people. The bourgeoisie lost no opportunity to dismiss the disgruntled workers, to lower wages, to intensify the exploitation of labor. The task of the day was to fight for the defense of the workers' interests against the capitalist offensive. In spite of the unfavorable conditions of struggle, a strike wave developed, the postal workers' strike, the newspaper printers' strike, the strike in the silk filatures, the strike of part of the tramway workers, the telephone workers' strike, the bus conductors' strike, and other strike and labor disputes. Most of the strikes ended in defeat. The attitude of the employers was too resolute and intransigent, but the workers were also stubborn in their fight. The yellow leaders either sabotaged or betrayed the strikes. In these strikes, it could be seen that the yellow unions, could serve as the prop for the workers to start the strikes. Of all the strikes, the Stalinists had connections only with the telephone workers' strike and the bus conductors' strike. The Left Opposition led the telephone workers' strike at first, but the Stalinists used all means to break down our leadership. While the strike committee under our influence was really elected by the masses, the Stalinists set up a strike committee elected by their own men, most of whom were not workers. This committee they used to attack our strike committee. The Stalinists clamored that the strike must be ended only when a 100 percent victory is secured, that they refuse help from any organization what-

soever (the yellow unions included). The telephone company is an American enterprise. When the foremen (under the influence of Nationalist feelings) offered to cooperate with the strikers, the Stalinists put up unreasonable demands to make this collaboration impossible. The employers, seeing the dissension among the strikers, stiffened their resistance. The workers returned to work unconditionally and many were later fired. The bus strike revealed even more clearly the failure of the Stalinist tactics. They at first obtained the leadership of the strike, but they do not know how to adapt themselves to the backward workers so as to draw them into the struggle. When they declared that they refuse any help from the outside, their leadership was disclaimed by the strikers. The ultra-Leftist conduct of the Stalinists only isolated them from the workers and all the heroic efforts made to stop the strike-breakers were of no avail.

In spite of the revival of the labor movement in the post-war days, owing to the false tactics pursued by the Stalinists, the lack of political propaganda and struggle for democratic demands, the Communists did not entrench themselves in the labor movement. The organizing activities of the workers did not greatly increase. The disproportion between the leadership and the masses' will to fight is still enormous.

To complete the picture of present Chinese political life, let us turn our attention to what is happening in the red army districts. The government troops have lately gained several victories in the Hupeh, Anwhel and Honan provinces. Direct and up-to-date information from those districts, we do not possess. We have read, not so long ago, two resolutions passed by the first dele-

gated congress of the Communist party in the Southern Kiangsi Soviet district (the center of the Soviet districts). We quote the following parts from it to show the real situation in these districts:

The resolution starts by complaining against the line of Li Li San for "not confiscating the rich peasants' superfluous and better land...in every many Soviet districts, much of the landowners' and rich peasants' land was not confiscated and the land was left undivided for a long time; where it was divided according to the productive implements. It was absolutely a rich peasant line".

"Proletarian consciousness in the party of the Soviet districts is weak, the backward ideology of the peasantry is reflected in the party...The activities of the workers and peasants are not developed, the alien elements, such as the rich peasants, the merchants and the youth of the landlords and gentry, penetrate into the government and into all the revolutionary organizations. Even the party cadres are filled with such alien elements....

"The class struggle in the Soviet districts...is hampered. From the government down to the mass organizations, the organizational relations are extremely loose and many organizations exist only on paper....

"There are still mistakes and defects in the red army work. First of all, in the reorganization of the red army, the purging of the elements of the landowners, rich peasants and merchants, was not made the central task; rather the task was set of cleansing the army of tramps—quite vaguely—while all the soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the former white army are regarded as tramps....Up till now, the red army has not yet rid itself of the traditions of

the anti-imperialist agitation is generally ignored.

"Very few workers and agricultural laborers are in the party, but the alien elements, like the rich peasants, the merchants, the youth of the landowners, still mix themselves up with it....

"The militarist remnants still preserve the government as the Kuo Min Tang generals manifest towards the K. M. T. government. They think that the red army is the creator of the government, and the government institutions should be inferior to the red army."

Thus, in spite of the passage of important resolutions condemning bureaucracy, the rich peasant tendency, militarist survivals, etc., for the last two years, matters in the Soviet districts continue to go from bad to worse. The partisan warfare inevitably degenerates when it is not supported by mass movements in the cities. The Stalinists want to deny this truth but, in the long run, they become its victims. Under the cover of Communism, the Stalinists are really converting the Chinese party into a peasants-workers party. The influence of Communism in Chinese politics is practically nil, what the Chinese Communist Party represents is the policy of the petty bourgeois turned desperate. The Manchurian crisis opened up broad possibilities for Chinese Communism to make progress. The KMT government has never been so discredited as in this crisis. The masses of the people are becoming radicalized, but Chinese Communism is paralyzed by its internal weakness and has let its chances go by. The KMT regime is regaining its lost positions and once again stabilizing itself.

We have to begin from the very beginning. The difficulties on the road are great. But under the leadership of the International Opposition and comrade Trotsky, we shall be able to find the correct path, to consolidate our own ranks, to move on slowly but steadily.

—NIEL-SIE.

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For the 6-Hour Day, 5-Day Week!

For years the American worker has been the most highly exploited and political backward class in the advanced capitalist nations. Now this class is confronted with permanent mass unemployment. One reaction of the working class to the crisis has been the motion in opposite directions of this physical and mental condition of speed-up and backwardness. The speed-up has been intensified while the political consciousness of the class is being awakened and is moving into class channels.

The condition of mass unemployment and the lowering of the standard of living of the American workers has set in motion class forces, that if properly directed by the party, can become the force, which will be able to move the class far along the road toward the solution. This is true, in so far as the revolutionists direct this class force by a correct program of action.

Once more history is proving the correctness of a Marxian analysis and its class program for the problem. The analysis of the Left Opposition is being confirmed, but due to the revisionists, the Stalinists, it is being confirmed in a negative way.

When the process of capitalist accumulation reaches its advanced stage: when accumulation is counterposed by overpopulation and mass unemployment; when the productive forces reach a point where the relative decrease of the number of industrial workers is transformed into an absolute decrease, expressed by increased production and by a decrease in labor power; when "Accumulation of wealth at one pole, is therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole"—then the period of proletarian revolutions has been entered and unless the capitalists take drastic steps, or are faced with a proletariat without a Marxian leadership—the favorable objective conditions will be developed and transformed into revolutionary uprisings of the proletariat against the capitalists.

One of the most fundamental economic problems confronting the American capitalists, which they recognize, but which the party under Stalinist leadership does not recognize—is the adjustment of this surplus labor power to the tremendous productive forces which constantly call for less labor power per unit.

There is no solution of this problem for the capitalist class, because it is only a surface indication and an expression in the decay stage of capitalism of the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation. However, if our class through the inability of its vanguard does not take advantage of the favorable class relationship, the capitalist class will, by this means, not only steal a march on us, but will also strengthen their position against the coming class battles.

Either of the immediate temporary "solutions" of the problem of the reorganization of labor power to productive forces, the capitalist road or the proletarian road, is negative for the capitalist class from the standpoint of economics, but negative to an entirely different degree. However, from a political standpoint, the capitalist victory far less harmful, if we allow the capitalist to decide how to recognize which means to allow them to "solve" the problem confronting them. The capitalist's aim in obtaining the lever of the problem is to find the capitalist way out of permanent mass unemployment, and to slow up the tempo of class consciousness development of the American workers and to further reduce the standard of living to enable them to obtain a breathing spell from the contradiction of the accumulation and the falling rate of profit, by the reduction of the necessary labor through speed-up and lower wages.

The aim of the working class must be to utilize this contradiction to widen the gap between these economic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, accelerate the process of class consciousness and force a reorganization of labor power to productive power—by the reduction of hours with NO REDUCTION OF PAY. Only class pressure properly organized and directed by the Communist party can accomplish this task.

Up to the present our constant and consistent criticism and activity against the Stalinist course in the unemployment field and their failure to mobilize a struggle, or at least to prepare the ground for it, around the slogan of the six-hour day and five-day week and no reduction in pay, has, as we have pointed out more than once in the columns of the Militant, resulted in allowing the capitalists to proceed with this gigantic problem unhampered, without a warning to the class, without a directive to the class as though we were automatons to be handled and remolded to the capitalist's desires.

The capitalists and their government have been steadily, and without too much bragging, working on this problem. They have floundered, they have made mistakes, but being left alone by the vanguard of the proletariat, they were able to at least take some steps "in the right direction" toward strengthening their class position against the inevitable coming head-on struggles.

Long before last summer when Hoover called a conference of business leaders, financiers, industrialists, labor fakery, etc., to consider the "reduction of hours" and means of "speeding up business recovery", the most capable technicians and capitalist leaders had worked out preliminary steps to release some of the pressure of permanent mass unemployment, not through unemployment insurance or immediate relief, but through more fundamental class steps for their own class interest, because as yet, the class was not resisting in an effective manner the onslaughts. Wage cuts were

being sanctioned by "labor". "Labor" also was opposed to the dole. "Labor" objected to "government charity". "Labor" wanted work.

The shorter work day propaganda of the bosses is a means of reducing the standard of living of the workers, is a means of furthering the wage cut drive by the "Stagger Plan" against the workers. The blind and ignorant Stalinists saw the capitalist side of this class problem confused it with our side and dismissed it as reactionary, as "social Fascist", etc., not once realizing that every problem has its working class side "also". This should be A B C, but like all simple problems Stalinism makes them complicated and all complicated problems Stalinism tries to simplify, which has resulted in simplifying matters for the capitalist enemies. The Stalinists forgot or ignored the struggle for the shorter work day and bitterly fought the slogan of, "The six hour day, the five day week, and no reduction in pay."

Up to the present, the capitalists have not made much progress with their side of this problem. Nevertheless, what little progress they have made is far greater progress than we have made with our side of the same problem, because the most powerful organized political force of our class, the party, controlled by the Stalinists, has put a damper on even the thought about this problem.

Some of the preliminary steps taken now, after three years of the crisis, by

the capitalist class, is the establishment of the "legal" apparatus to "solve" this problem. They have established a national organization, with Walter Teagle, of the Standard Oil, who is now devoting his full time to this "emergency" for (I suppose) a "dollar" a year, just like he devoted his time to the "emergency" of the last world war. They know what emergencies are and act accordingly. The committee functions throughout the country, covering every avenue of activity using labor power.

"The entire country has been divided into sections. In each locality a chairman has been appointed who in turn enlists the heads of the large business and industries. All the firms in the same line are grouped together and a vice group or chairman as appointed who in turn enlists the heads of large business and industries. General meetings are held throughout the country, as well as group meetings, and representatives visit individual firms to explain the advantages of the plan." "Moreover, much literature is distributed and schemes are worked out for adopting the plan to special cases." (New York Times, Oct. 30)

Teagle says, "more than 3000 firms, mostly in the manufacturing and industrial field have already adopted similar plans and it is estimated that if they had not done so 3,500,000 more workers would have been added to the list of unemployed." One can read almost daily accounts of the "practical plan" and its

results in the "share the work movement."

It must be remembered that this is the capitalist's side of the problem and is the opposite in content if not in form of the workers side of the question of the reduction of hours. The capitalist method brings with it lower wages and greater speed-up. The workers side, through the class struggle drives in the opposite direction. The class pressure will determine to what degree it can drive the movement in the opposite direction. The role of the party will determine much of this. Stalinism has already answered them by removing such leaders and replacing them with Marxists. By recalling the Left Opposition to the party.

Speaking of "Job sharing", Teagle says, "The help of the ablest business executives is required. We are trying to mobilize these men for an attack on what I consider the principle obstacle to the return of prosperity: unemployment." One should not confuse the terminology Teagle uses with the real essence of the problem. The minority exploiters must always cloak their "attack" against the workers in class collaboration drapes when the class relations are so favorable for them.

The Left Opposition will continue its propaganda in this field and coordinate it with the other pressing immediate demands for the struggle against unemployment and point out that the solution of the problem is found in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. As Stalinism "grows" in America so grow the mistakes of Stalinism. —OEHLEK.

Stalinist Zig-zags on the Chicago Conference

(Concluded from last issue)

The Party changed its position on the united front in the Chicago affair. But it changed it in usual fashion. It remained silent about this reversal of policy. It continued to preach "united front from below". It failed to educate its membership about this change with the result that there is naturally confusion in the party ranks. That is why it necessary for Gebert to discuss the lessons of the conference.

Party Confusion

In his appeal for funds, Goldman, the I. L. D. lawyer, characterized the united front quite correctly. He stated that it was a unite of workers of various political parties and other organizations, united in common struggle on an issue that effected all workers. Goldman went so far as to restate Trotsky's declaration on the united front: we will even make a united front with the devil. Between Goldman's speech and that of Williamson lay a great abyss. In the District Committee of the party an intense discussion revolved around the united front, it found itself face to face with a reality that contradicted the position of the party. That is why comrade M, whom Gebert takes to task, could not understand why the leaders of the Socialist party and other Right wing organizations were seated at the conference. Comrade M. we must declare, correctly interpreted the party policy. And while Gebert is essentially in the right in his criticism of M.'s position, he should declare that the policy of the party is wrong and that the united front in Chicago marked a departure from the official Stalinist position on the united front.

Under the training of the theory of social Fascism, and having been taught that the party would not and could not sit around one table with social Fascists, nor for that matter in one conference, comrade M. drew his logical conclusions that it was wrong to have seated Borders and Schneid, of the Socialist party, McVeigh of the Farmer-Labor Party, and others.

What is more amusing is the close of Gebert's article. After correctly criticizing the conference for its failure to attempt to draw employed workers into the movement, for having failed to appeal to the A. F. of L. for support (does this not sound strange coming from Gebert or is there a new line in the office), for

its failure to draw into the executive committee other delegates besides those from the Workers League, the Unemployed Councils and the Socialist groups, he makes a final plea for the extension of the united policy as practised in Chicago.

Our View

In the leaflet distributed to the demonstration (See Militant, No. 144) the Opposition, declared its approval of the united front and pointed out that this united front was precisely what the Opposition had been calling for at all times. We welcomed the change in the line of the party, because the change was a correct one, permitting the Communists to gain contact with wider masses of workers, to demonstrate before them the superiority of the position of the Communists over other political movements, and thereby winning support of non-Communist masses. It enabled further an exposure of the Socialists as splitters and betrayers, who kept the threat of withdrawal from the conference over the head of its participants, if too militant a policy was adopted. But we raised the slogan of: 'Maintain the United Front' because the struggle of the unemployed did not end with the demonstrations. It remains just as acute today as ever and the party must continue the correct beginning. But from all appearances the united front has disbanded not only because the Socialists welcomed the end of the demonstration and thereby their participation, but also, because the party likewise was prepared to end the united front with the close of the demonstration. This is a great error and a crime against the unemployed workers who need leadership and united action.

But Gebert's humor is too tragic. He calls for an extension of the united front policy applied in Chicago, but does not raise the cry of maintaining the present united front and extending the struggle it began. He does not declare that the official policy of the party must be discarded because it is false and contradicts the entire event in Chicago. Which shall it be? "United front from below", which means no united front at all—or, a united front of all workers and their organizations, as took place in Chicago. The party must declare itself. It cannot face two ways on this question.

We have no doubt the pressure of the situation brought about this "new line". But this change is only a beginning and

because it is not a complete and thorough change, it is incorrect. The party gained in Chicago. The policy of the united front as advocated by the Opposition was vindicated there as it is vindicated everywhere. In Germany, the Berlin organization carried out a similar policy and locked horns with the Central Committee. In the United States, the Central Committee remained silent. Why?

The party has as its task to bring about clarity. It must not hedge, and make half changes while maintaining the theoretical base for a false position. Away with the theory of social Fascism and the "united front from below!" Then the party will be in a position to make greater progress.

—ALBERT GLOTZER

Archives of the Left Opposition

Engels on the International Revolution

Falsification of history! In this concise phrase can be summed up the entire present campaign of the Stalinists in attempting to give to their false theories a heredity dating back to the days of Marx and Engels. But what they can do with the as yet unpublished works of Lenin, they are unable to do to those writings of the founders of scientific socialism that saw the light of day long before the era of the present epigones.

An excellent and concise presentation of the view of Engels on the question of 'socialism in one country', is obtained from the pamphlet entitled "Principles of Communism." This writing composed of a series of questions and answers, was a draft of a program submitted by Engels to the Communist League in 1847. The draft was used by Marx in the creation of that masterpiece of programmatic literature, "The Communist Manifesto."

The work appeared in America as one of the series of pamphlets in "The Little Red Library", under the title "Principles of Communism" (published by the Communist party). Unfortunately, a serious typographical error crept in, making unintelligible the answer to the question that we are concerned with. Since then, it has appeared, in an understandable manner—damning to the authors of the

Trotsky Speaks to American Audiences on Significance of Russian Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

Let me sum up the events which date from 1905. In accordance with its immediate task, the Russian revolution was a bourgeois revolution but the Russian bourgeoisie was already entirely reactionary. The victory of the Russian revolution was, therefore, possible only as the victory of the proletariat. But the victorious proletariat will not stop at the program of the bourgeoisie; it will go on to a program of socialism.

This was the theory of the permanent revolution formulated by me in 1905, and since then exposed to severest criticism under the name of "Trotskyism". It is clear, therefore, that the general causes of the revolution were visible to the Marxists long before it occurred.

The first and most general explanation is that Russia was a backward country, but only a part of world economy, only an element of the capitalist world system....

In this lies the real reason for the Russian revolution; it occurred because the chain broke at its weakest link. The deplorable condition of the futile monarchic system, aggravated by capitalism's exploitation, created a terrific force which found its realization in the proletariat.

A fundamental factor was the existence of great revolutionary resources in the oppressed nationalities within the borders of the empire, constituting 57 per cent of the total population. To these must be added the experiences of the revolution of 1905, which Lenin called the dress rehearsal of the revolution of 1917 and which witnessed the first creation of the Soviets, and the imperialist war....

Last, but far from least, was the existence of a powerful Bolshevik party, the most revolutionary party in the history of mankind. It was the living condensation of the modern history of Russia....

It learned to recognize the weaknesses of society as typified in the great events of the twelve years from 1905 to 1917. It educated cadres equally capable of initiative and subordination to discipline. Its revolutionary activities were based on the unity of its doctrines, on the tradition of the common struggles, and confidence in its trusted leadership. Thus stood the party in the year 1917.

In September Lenin, who was compelled to keep in hiding, gave the signal—"The crisis is ripe! the hour of the in-

surrection has approached." He was right. The bourgeoisie finally lost its head. The democratic parties wanted the remains of the confidence of the masses. The Russian army no longer wanted to fight for the foreign aims of imperialism.... The oppressed nationalities rose up against the bureaucracy of Petrograd; in the most important sections of Soviet Russia the Bolsheviks were dominant. The Soviets demanded action. The time was ripe to strike....

Only under such social and political conditions was the insurrection possible, and thus it also became inevitable. The party carried through the October insurrection with cold calculation.... For this reason, it failed to victory the Bolsheviks in a country occupying one-sixth of the surface of the globe.

The question now comes up: What was achieved at the high cost of the revolution? Many critics take malicious joy over the fact that the land of the Soviets bears but little resemblance to a realm of general well-being. What did the revolution do and why did the sacrifices justify themselves?

Permit me to think that the difficulties and the mistakes, as well as the achievements of the Soviets, are no less familiar to me than to any one else. But in criticism as well as in acclamation, dispensation is needed. Fifteen years! Fifteen years is a long period in the life of a man. But fifteen years in the life of a people is just a minute on the clock of history. In the course of the Civil War in the United States, 50,000 men were killed.

Can such sacrifices be justified from the standpoint of the progressive forces of American society.... Absolutely! And from the standpoint of the development of humanity as a whole, there can be no doubt whatever.

Out of the Civil War came the present United States, with its unbounded practical initiative, its technology and its economic life.... The deepest, the most objective and most indisputable criterion of social progress is the growth of the Russian revolution from this point of view is already gained by experience. The principle of planned economy has for the first time in history shown its ability in recording unheard-of results in production in a short space of time....

Thus we have an explanation of the extraordinary persistence of the masses of the people as shown through all the years of the revolution.... The Russian masses of today endure privations, but not passively. With their own hands they are creating a better future. They want to create it at any cost. But let any enemy attempt to impose its will from the outside on the patient masses, and you will see whether they are passive or not.

I am sure that the great American people have the highest interest, moral as well as material, and are in sympathy with the effort of the great Russian people to reorganize their social life on a higher level.

If my short talk can help a few thousand, or even a hundred, Americans to understand the internal inevitability in the development of the Russian revolution, my efforts will have been well rewarded.

League Resolution For New York Hunger March Conference

The following resolution of the Left Opposition was presented to the New York Ratification meeting of the Unemployment Conference in the selection of delegates for the Hunger March:

Resolution

The National Hunger March called by the Unemployment Councils has the endorsement and active support of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

While we are actively participating in the day to day struggle for immediate relief and consider this a most pressing problem of our class, we nevertheless, do not lose sight of, and continually point out, that the solution of unemployment and our other class problems can only be had by the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The struggle for immediate relief and the mobilizing of broad layers of our class to support the Hunger March on Washington can only be accomplished upon the basis of the United Front, as the latest united front of the Communist Party, the socialist party, trade unions and other worker organizations of the Chicago Unemployment Conference. In order to expose the social-reformers. Any other so-called united front is only a caricature and a denial of the Leninist United Front.

The Communist League (Opposition) fraction of the Communist Party ask the delegates assembled at the New York ratification meeting to call upon the Communist party to officially send delegates to the Hunger March. It is the duty of the Communist party to officially send delegates and give Communist directives.

The Hunger March must not limit its demands to immediate relief: To the demand, for Social and Unemployment Insurance, must be added the demand for the Six Hour Day, the Five Day Week and no reduction in pay. Also the demand for Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union.

The New York Ratification meeting should adopt these demands and measures to increase the class pressure, to expose the enemy and to mobilize greater numbers of our class for the activity of the class struggle.

—NEW YORK BRANCH, Communist League of America (Opposition)

JAPAN Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat By Jack Weber

Commercial Rivalries

China forms the battleground of the nations and exposes the utterly hopeless contradictions of imperialism. Even back in 1906 U. S. Special Agent Clark, sent to Manchuria, reported: "Manchuria is a very important market for American flour, oil, tobacco, etc., and especially for American piece goods. It is the only section of China in which American piece goods practically monopolize the market.... The trade of Manchuria is of more importance to the U. S. than to any other nation, with the possible exception of Japan." It was the successful Japanese methods of closing this trade to the U. S. that led to the Hays formulation of the Open Door policy, a policy consistently accepted in words by Japan and broken in deed by the methods of railway rebates to Japanese business, by the prompt delivery of Japanese goods and the holding up of foreign goods, by the forgery of trade marks,—in fact all the methods taught by capitalism. The foreigners pay full duties on goods entering Manchuria, the Japs evade these duties. It was fundamentally this conflict that led to the "political" outcry against the Japs in the U. S.

Pacific Shipping

A deadly conflict is constantly being waged for control of Pacific shipping. Here the low wages of Japanese seamen

give Japan an advantage although she is at the peculiar disadvantage of requiring eleven sailors for every eight needed on U. S. ships due to the lower stature of the Japs. Both countries use the shrewdest "catch-as-catch-can" methods in this conflict. Despite all its disadvantages (older and fewer ships) the Japs control the shipping of 80 percent of their own freightage (imports and exports).

Controversies with the U. S.

The period from the Russo-Jap War to the present is sown with innumerable seeds of conflict. The ousting of American business from Manchuria raised a storm of obloquy in the press here against all things Japanese. In San Francisco, Japanese children were excluded from the ordinary schools and were forced to attend special schools for Orientals. The Japanese agitation about this matter caused President Roosevelt to send the U. S. fleet into the Pacific for a "tour" of the world (1908). Continued friction over immigration led to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1912, the Japs withholding passports from laborers if no exclusion law were passed. But the California alien land law of 1920 and the Supreme Court decision shutting the Japs out of citizenship led up to the exclusion law of 1924.

The conflict over loans and railways

in China present a Gordian knot in the economic battle for supremacy in the Far East. Harriman tried to purchase the South Manchurian railway in 1905. This attempt being futile, Knox then tried to "neutralize" Manchuria by making the railways "international", a move whose only fruit was the secret partitioning of Manchuria between Czarist Russia and Japan. In 1913 came the attempt to grant an international loan to China for the purpose of building a rival railway to the South Manchurian in Shantung. The State Department approved the "consortium" for loans to China in 1919. However, in every case Japan has outmaneuvered the U. S. imperialists in this sphere.

The World War intensified the struggle for mastery. The U. S. opposed the 21 demands and the attempt of Japan to seize the Siberian Maritime Provinces in the 1918-1920 intervention. Owing to American cable and wireless interests, the U. S. opposed the ceding of the Island of Yap to Japan as a "mandate". American militarism saw with dismay the handing over to Japan of the strategic Caroline and Marshall Islands and there has been constant friction over the secret building of naval bases in these islands. Finally the United States called Japan to order at the Washington Conference in 1921 where Japan was forced to retreat temporarily. At this conference the U. S. forced the abrogation of the Anglo-Jap alliance of 1902 which formed a threat to the U. S., but which had also become embarrassing to England. At the present time Stimson continues the policy of opposition, by refusing to recognize Manchukuo. Here is Tanaka's view of recent developments: "The Nine Powers Agreement is exclusively the reflection of

the spirit of trade rivalry, England and America wanted, by means of their great wealth, to smash our influence in China. The proposal for the limitation of armaments is merely a means of curtailing our military power and depriving us of the possibility of conquering the huge territory of China."

Chinese Trade

The share of the U. S. in Chinese trade is on the increase. It controlled 17 percent of Chinese imports in 1928, the Japanese controlling 26.4 percent. Japan's share is also increasing at the expense of England. The struggle of the U. S. against the strengthening of Japan's influence in China is reflected politically in the alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek. The Americans feel that their strongest ally would be the growth of a unified Chinese bourgeoisie. Aerial developments, radio communication, transport are being furthered rapidly by U. S. capitalism.

The Strategy of War

Why has not war resulted long since between Japan and the U. S.? The answer lies in the immense distances involved. So long as Japan controls her inland sea and the open routes to China, she has nothing to fear from the U. S. with its nearest naval base 5,000 miles away. The effective battle radius of modern fleets from their bases is considered to be only 500 miles. Whether aircraft can revolutionize the situation remains a problem of the future. Japanese control of the Caroline and Marshall Islands means a threat to the flank of any invading navy over 2,000 miles of its route by submarines. Only with the help of a capitalist Russia could the U. S. hope to emerge from an impasse in case of war with Japan.

(To Be Continued)

The Question of War Debts

World Bourgeoisie Upset by Sharp Conflicts Over Problem

The elections are over and the politicians can again talk openly about what the bankers have been discussing privately. The war debt question has pushed itself to the fore and has taken some of the columns devoted to the beer question. Hoover and Roosevelt are discussing this issue. The democrats and republicans are trying to iron out some of the difficulties to enable Congress to present a working basis in order that the capitalists may have a suitable Christmas present this year.

The question of the American loans is one of the most important knots the capitalists have to unravel. Its importance is due to the fact that the war debts is one side of the question of markets. And markets is a life and death question for the capitalists of the United States. The extension of long and short term credits to other capitalist nations out of the vast accumulation of the American capitalists has its many-sided difficulties in this decay stage.

The history of the American loans to the allies, Americas entrance into the war and the continuation of heavy borrowing by Europe after the war, expressed by the struggle over Reparations, has been given first attention by the American capitalists, even though the middle-class congressmen would have us believe otherwise.

Since the Lausanne Conference, reparations from Germany, for the allies, is a thing of the past; so the allies want to consider the debts in the same light. But Uncle Sam is not so foolish. According to the latest figures the American capitalists and their government loaned \$7,077,000,000 to Europe during the war, and \$3,261,000,000 after the war, making a total of 10 billion dollars. In principle and interest the borrowers agree to pay 22 billion dollars and have paid \$2,625,000,000 before the Hoover Moratorium. Now the low world price level has doubled the debt when considered in the light of payment in kind.

When the last world war broke out the loans to these European nations meant, considering the relationship of forces—European War plus American loans produced rich new markets for the American capitalists. The Americans were able to take over markets in all parts of the world. Loans to rival imperialists in Europe enabled the United States capitalists to invade the long protected European markets. Factories hummed and profits rolled in while the reformers and the labor leaders behind the workers to American imperialist plans.

The decision of America to enter the war on the side of the "allies" like all other problems, for the determining reason, sifted down to the question of economic interest. The bankers judgment has proven fruitful but the objective conditions of decay capitalism has reduced and contradicted the measures for further world domination.

As soon as the war was over Great Britain and the other allies took immediate steps to get out of the clutches of the American dollar. The British Government withdrew orders for American commodities at war time prices. The cancellation of these orders would shatter the structure and hopes of the American imperialism. Hoover who was the United States Food Administrator at the time wrote President Wilson:

"Our manufacturers have provided the particular types of manufacture required by each of these governments and have enormous stocks of these material on hand ready for delivery." "If there should be no remedy to the situation we shall have a debacle in the American markets, and with the advance of several hundred million dollars now outstanding from the banks to the pork-products industry we shall not only be precipitated into a financial crisis but shall betray the American farmers who have engaged in these ends. The surplus is so large that there can be no absorption of it in the United States, and it, being perishable, will go to waste."

The American capitalist were caught in a structure of their own making. They could not withdraw without losing their key position. They were forced to wade deeper into international problems. From this flows the post war loans. To protect and extend American markets.

As soon as the Dollar "solved" one contradiction a new one, more menacing grew out of the "solution". Additional loans preserved her markets and held off the day of reckoning. By 1923 the extension of the October revolution had outgrown other dangers and a series of measures from the Dawes plan down to the present have been taken—to save tottering capitalism, to hold in check rival imperialism and to insure markets for America. Expensive markets, but nevertheless markets.

American loans to Europe had its positive political side in the past but the quantity of the loans has reached such proportions, particularly with Germany, that a quantity change has taken place and further loans on the same basis shakes the structure of American economy.

The contradictions have grown. In the past the allies paid what Uncle Sam extended in loans. The American loans through the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan kept ahead of the reparation payment on the one hand and the repayment of loans by the allies on the other hand. In addition to this between 1923 and 1928 American exports to Europe have increased by \$281,000,000 but American loans in the same period increased in value by \$490,000,000. American accumulation of capital is the concrete expression of Marx's abstraction in "Das Kapital".

During the war America loaned to the allies commodities in the form of munitions, textiles, cereal and tobacco. In return, the American capitalists obtained

expanded markets, larger profits and interest. After the war, American loans were necessary to retain these markets, and prop up decay capitalism. The capitalists desire payment of the debts but Europe cannot pay in gold and America does not want too many of her commodities. They must find a way out. They talk about capacity to pay and inability to pay but under it all revolves the question of the redistribution of the world markets. Hearst and other jingo mongers suggest the allies pay with colonies, but the bankers know a better way.

United States is the creditor nation of the capitalist chain. And Europe represents the greatest market of the American capitalists. Today the war debts stands in between European markets and American export of commodities and capital. The task of the American capitalists is to turn the revision of war debts into a lever to open up some American markets. It is a difficult task but not an impossible one.

The reparation "settlement" has left England and the other "allies" with no war indemnities. But Uncle Sam calls for payment. They are at the mercy of the United States, providing the American capitalists do not make any false moves.

The policy of Hoover and Roosevelt in essence is the same. Both are against cancellation. Both leave the door open for further consideration. Roosevelt does not want a Debt Commission, but both are for separate dealing with the creditors, and that is the vital point of agreement. The present line up, with the allies caught in between the Reparation settlement and America's demand for "payment" opens the door for a possible "European United Front" against the United States. This is a desire, but contradictions in Europe will not allow it to become a fact, providing American capitalism uses ordinary intelligence.

In dealing separately, the United States is taking advantage of the differences between these other nations, as well as using it as a blow against the most difficult conditions. The notes to England and France are entirely different, leaving room for "talk" with England and demanding payment from France. It was France, with her gold supply that led the attack on the American dollar and Wall Street will not forget this, and would like to relieve her part of this weapon against the Dollar supremacy. It was England which mapped out a program at Ottawa which carried into effect will reduce the exports of American capitalism to the British Empire by at least 200 million dollars. America is ready to "talk" about war debts providing she can use this to her advantage against France and to get to the problem of markets and the stone wall of the Ottawa conference results.

The American capitalist press and leading organized capitalist bodies know what the War Debt talk is all about. The Chamber of Commerce report, says among many things, that, "The best interests of the United States requires that modification should be conditioned upon definite

provisions for such treatment of our trade by the debtor nations as will assure access of American goods to its markets on fair competitive terms."

The New York Times in an editorial on War Debts on November 26th informs Congress that, "Realization of the interdependence of the world is wanted in Congress today." It starts the editorial with the above sentence and makes the following conclusion: "If, by our attitude toward Great Britain and France, the hope of Germany to progress is destroyed, what barrier will remain against the spread of Communism." In the decay of capitalism American must not only protect herself and her markets but she cannot put this above the capitalist interest to prevent the spread of the October revolution.

It looks as through the American capitalists and their government are in an impasse. Gold and commodities in payment according to the world price level is out of the question. There is another way which will enable the American imperialists to gain an advantage point in the present world struggles.

The Moratorium was an important preliminary step for the realizing of the line up of the imperialists for the coming war. Now the American imperialists are making haste to gain an advantage point in the present world struggle through further use of the War Debts as a club over the heads of her allies. The allies of course are trying to turn the loans into a club over America's head.

The discussion over the war debts is taking on the plan, no matter what form they cloak the barter for cancellation or reduction of loans in, of America's struggle as the leading imperialist to extend her domination over greater sections. The U. S. aim is: (1) for trade concessions, (2) for secret agreements for the United States in the re-alignment of world forces in preparation for the approaching war, (3) and the struggle to rebuild a world financial structure with Dollar supremacy, (4) and to prop up decay capitalism.

The question has been posed in bold relief by the world crisis and the imperialists are struggling to answer it in their own way, to their own liking. But they are not the only ones concerned with the problems or are they the only ones who are "sitting in the game".

The proletariat and their party the Communist party, threaten to upset the whole structure. With the Marxian theory of the permanent revolution the revolutionists can alter the whole course.

—HUGO OEHLER.

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Is the A.F. of L. Moving Leftward?

(Continued from page 1)

question presents itself also in the form of a grievance. How can they lead the organized workers within "safe" channels so long as the employers insist upon what they consider a too heavy price of wage cutting—too heavy because the workers appear to become unwilling to accept? They still remember the editorial in the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain three years ago, at the time of the Toronto convention. That editorial gave them a gentle slap: "You self-complacent officers are too easy in your swivel chairs while the job of organizing the workers in the South is left to the Communists. You must assert your leadership." They then smarted under the sting. And now, although this is likely going considerably beyond the scope of the advice of that editorial, the swivel chair artists are aiming to show leadership in order to regain their previous position of being able to force concessions from capitalism sufficient to become again the trusted and well-rewarded lieutenants. That this can be fully substantiated there need be no doubt and it would be dangerous to fall into any illusions whatever as to anything else being expected from them.

Even the most sketchy analysis will easily bear this out. For example, the main sponsor of the unemployment insurance proposal was John L. Lewis. The very one who has long ago solved his own problem of security—crisis or no crisis. By his one-time first lieutenant, Frank Farrington he was accused—and there would be little reason to disbelieve the accusation—of having accepted \$100,000 from the Kentucky coal mining interests to keep that field working during the miners national strike of 1922. He was accused of having received \$650,000 from the Harriman bank of New York for services rendered in Pennsylvania during that same strike when 60,000 Fayette and Somerset county miners found themselves betrayed and their new budding organization destroyed. He now more particularly feels the sting of the most recent revolt in Illinois where 30 to 40,000 miners have definitely parted with his wrecking policies and taken the direction of the Progressive Miners Union. Surely he has reason to make an attempt at staging a comeback and he will have not the slightest scruples in making it apparently via the progressive route. Even Matthew Woll, the chairman of the convention resolution committee, to whom no red-baiting method is too debasing and no ambition too elevated, just as long it gives him publicity, was "won" for the proposal. Not to forget Victor A. Olander, the secretary of the resolutions committee, often named the statesman of labor because of his ability to give a kind of lofty theoretical interpretation to the base position of serving capital within labor's ranks, also was "won" for the proposal.

All have become "convinced" that drastic steps are required by the present unemployment situation. Undoubtedly they feel that they have been let down by their benefactors and are animated by the zeal of a "just" grievance. The New

York Times quotes Green as hinting "force" at the A. F. of L. convention to get the shorter week. Yes he did speak very radically when he exclaimed:

"We say that we are going to strike for this great economic reform. Just as the carpenters led the fight for the eight-hour day, so the time has come for some militant union to lead the fight for the shorter work-day and work-week. I and my associates on the executive council are going to find a way out even though we may be compelled to resort to forcible methods to compel industry to yield. We will not be denied the realization of this great reform. It will be given to us in response to reason or we will secure it through force of some kind."

Thus spoke the pious Baptist Green, but we are sure that we get a much better picture of him from one of his typical statements appearing in the "Federationist" of June 1931. He said:

"As depression has laid its paralyzing hand on the business of the world, bringing catastrophe to a quarter of a million of people, we look to gatherings of captains of finance and leaders of industry to find the way out."

The Real Green

We still remember Green in his true role pledging at the Hoover conference, during the early part of the crisis, that there would be no strikes during this period of economic stress. We remember him speaking at West Point, close to that time, giving what was tantamount to a pledge of labor's docile readiness for the next war. While there has been a change in phraseology, has there been any change in essence since that time? Hardly.

The old heads, if such a distinction can be made in the convention corridors, deplored the actions taken by the delegates. They were more intransigently standpat and could not see the reason for indulging in the luxury of such a modern maneuver. Listen to the argument of Furusev, who by his own powers, guarded as the rock of ages, has succeeded in reducing the International Seamen's Union to a mere shell. He exclaimed: "The insurance proposal will make out of a free man a pleading beggar who must go for his food to others." Well, is that not already the position which he has helped the members of his own union so excellently to arrive at? Howard of the International Typo-

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LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

(Continued from last issue)
But why are the living conditions bad? The papers refer in explanation to "the contemptuous (!) attitude to the questions relating to the living conditions of the workers and to providing them with the necessities of life." (F. I. September 24). With this single expression the Stalinist press has said more than it had intended. "A contemptuous attitude" to the needs of the workers in a workers' state is possible only on the part of an arrogant and uncontrolled bureaucracy.

This risky explanation was made necessary, no doubt, in order to hide the basic fact: the direct lack of material goods to supply the workers. The national income is incorrectly distributed. Economic tasks are being set without any account being taken of the actual means. An increasingly inhuman load is being dumped on the shoulders of the workers.

References to "breaks" in the supply of foodstuffs are now to be met with in every number of the Soviet press. Malnutrition plus forced exertions. The combination of these two conditions is enough to do away with the equipment and to exhaust the producers themselves. In consolation, Pravda prints a photograph of a working woman in the act of feeding "her own private" pig. That is precisely the way out. "Private domestic economy", lectures the paper (October 3), "hitherto tied the worker to capitalism but now it attaches him to the Soviet system." One cannot believe one's eyes! Once upon a time we learned that private domestic economy depends upon the enslavement of the woman, the most abominable element of social slavery in general. But now it appears that "its own private" pig attaches the proletariat to socialism. Thus the hypocritical functionaries turn cruel necessity into virtue.

Poor nourishment and nervous fatigue engender an apathy to the surrounding environment. As a result, not only the old factories but also the new ones that have been built according to the last word in technology, fall quickly into a moribund state. Pravda itself issues the following challenge, "Try and find at least one blast furnace that is not wallowing in rubbish!"

As touches the conditions of morale, they are no better than the physical conditions. "The management of the factory has cut itself away from the masses"

(Pravda). Instead of a sensitive approach to the workers, there obtain "bare-faced commanding and domineering." In every individual instance the matter touches isolated factories. Pravda cannot guess that the sum of the individual cases constitutes the Stalinist regime.

In the entire non-ferrous metal industry, "there is not a single factory committee that functions more or less satisfactorily" (For Industrialization, September 13). However, how and why is it that in a workers' state the factory committees—of the entire industry and not only in the branch of non-ferrous metals—function unsatisfactorily? Is it not, perhaps, because they are strangled by the party bureaucracy?

At the Dzerzhinsky locomotive plant, during a single session of the nucleus bureau of the blacksmiths, there were taken up simultaneously 18 cases of expulsions from the party; in the wheelwrights—9 cases; in the boiler-makers—12 cases. The matter is not restricted to an isolated factory. Commandeering reigns everywhere. And the sole answer of the bureaucracy to the initiative and criticism from below are—repressions.

The draft of the Platform of the International Left Opposition proclaims, "The living standards of the workers and their role in the state are the highest criterion of socialist successes." "If the Stalinist bureaucracy had approached the tasks of planning and of the living regulation of economy from this viewpoint", we wrote more than a year ago, "it would not have missed the frightfully each time, it would not have been compelled to put through the policies of wasteful zig-zags, and it would not have been placed face to face with political dangers." (Bulletin 23, page 5).

Rural Economy
"The rural economy of the Soviet Union", wrote Pravda on September 28, "has become absolutely entrenched on the road to Socialism." Such phrases, bolstered up as a rule by bare citations of the number of collectivized homesteads and hectares, represent in themselves a hollow mockery of the actual condition of the rural economy and of the interrelations between the city and the village.

The headlong chase after breaking records in collectivization, without taking any account of the economic and cultural potentialities of the rural economy, has

The Situation on the Eve of the Second 5 Yr. Plan - A Marxian Analysis

led in actuality to ruinous consequences. It has destroyed the stimuli of the small commodity producer long before it was able to supplant them by other and much higher economic stimuli. The administrative pressure, which exhausts itself quickly in industry, turns out to be absolutely powerless in the sphere of rural economy.

"The village of Caucasus," we are informed by this same Pravda, "was awarded the prize for its spring sowing campaign. Concurrently, the tillage turned out to be so poor that the fields were entirely overgrown by weeds." The village of Caucasus is a symbol of the administrative hue and cry after quantity in the domain of rural economy. 100 percent collectivization has resulted in 100 percent overgrowth of weeds on the fields.

The kolkhozes were allotted more than 100,000 tractors. A gigantic victim newspaper reports show, the effectiveness of the tractors far from corresponds to their number. At the Poltava machine building station, one of the newest, "out of 27 tractors recently delivered, 19 are already seriously damaged." These figures do not hold only for exceptional cases. The station on the Volga Ukraine has 52 tractors; of these, two have been out of operation since spring, 14 are being completely overhauled, and of the remaining 36, less than half are being utilized in sowing, "and even these remain alternately idle." The coefficient of the useful functioning of the 100,000 tractors has not been determined as yet!

During the dullest moment of 100 percent collectivization, Rakovsky made a stern diagnosis, "In the sum total of the results which have been prepared for by the entire preceding policies and which have been aggravated by the period of the ultra-Left adventurism, the chief result will be the lowering of the productive forces of the rural economy, indubitably evident in the sphere of stock raising and in a part of the utilization devoted to raising technical raw material, and becoming increasingly evident in the sphere of the cultivations of grains."

Was Rakovsky mistaken? Unfortunately, no. Nothing can produce so shocking an impression as the small, quite imperceptible, decree issued by the C. E. C. on September 11, 1932, which met with no comments in the Soviet press. Under the signature of Kalenin and

Molotov, the individual peasant proprietors are duty-bound to relinquish, for the needs of the kolkhozes and at their request, all horses for a stipulated price. The kolkhozes are in turn obliged to return the horses to their owners in "good condition."

Such is the inter-relation between the Socialist and petty bourgeois sections of rural economy! The kolkhozes which cultivate 80-90 percent of the arable lands and which should, in theory, attract the individualists by their achievements, are compelled in actuality to resort to the legal aid of the state in order to obtain through compulsion horses from individual proprietors for their own needs. Everything here is topsy-turvy. This single decree of September 11 represents a deadly sentence to the policies of Stalin-Molotov.

The Problem of Establishing the Link

Could the inter-relationships between the city and the village become improved on this material productive basis? Let us recall once again: The economic foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat can be considered fully assured only from that moment when the State is not forced to resort to administrative measures of compulsion as touches the majority of the peasantry in order to obtain the products of rural economy; i. e., when in return for machines, tools and objects for personal use, the peasants voluntarily supply the state with the necessary quantity of food-stuffs and raw material. Only on this basis—along with other necessary conditions, internally as well as internationally—can collectivization obtain a true socialist character.

The correlation between the prices for the products of industry and the products of rural economy has changed indubitably in favor of the peasant. In truth, it is an unfeasible task, to perform an accounting in this sphere that corresponds in some manner to reality. For instance, Pravda writes that "the cost of a quintal of milk ranges in the kolkhozes from 43 to 206 roubles." The variation is even greater between the State prices and the price on the legalized markets. No less heterogeneous are the prices for the industrial products, all depending upon the channel through which they reach the peasant. But, without in any way pretending to be exact, it is possible to assert that the price-scissors, in the narrow meaning of the term, have been closed by the peasants. For its own products, the village has begun to obtain such a quantity of monetary equivalents as would assure it industrial goods, at fixed state prices... if such goods obtained.

(To be continued)

graphical Union—the one time "progressive"—and Frey of the Molders' union were others opposing the unemployment insurance proposal. If these two latter are not amongst the older heads it would nevertheless be incorrect to accuse them of being more reactionary than any of the others.

As a matter of fact we do not at all claim a distinction or a division within this present coterie of unvarnished purveyors of deception. And yet, as it is false to lump all the A. F. of L. unions into a category of one reactionary mass so it could be wrong even to conceive of the officialdom as a homogeneous reactionary whole which is never subjected to the pressure of conditions of the masses. But this sort of confusion, and worse, is what springs from the Stalinist theorizings of "social-Fascist" unions and "social Fascist" leaders. In this connection it is well to remember first of all that the historical conditions for Fascism have not as yet arisen in America. Capitalism here can yet manage its affairs more effectively by the bourgeois democratic methods. Secondly to lump even the general A. F. of L. officialdom, the higher bureaucrats and the lesser ones, who are of necessity closer to the rank and file, into the category of Fascism or "social Fascism", does not at all serve to make clear its essential role. On the contrary this object becomes obscured.

Workers will not become convinced by that method. It is therefore now more than ever necessary to remain straightforward and to endeavor to educate the working class to an understanding that the role of the trade union officialdom is essentially the one of serving as lieutenants of capitalism within the ranks of labor. These officials have accordingly, in the past, while striving to gain collective bargain measures sufficient to justify their position, in every fundamental respect used the best of their endeavors to obstruct the working class advance on a class basis. They have used as their method cunning, deceit, violence and outright betrayal. Just now they feel it necessary to step in a progressive direction sufficiently to justify their official positions within the unions whose members they fear to be moving Leftward. They feel it necessary to propose reform measures in the sense of being a safety valve for the capitalist system. They feel it necessary also to capitalize upon the mass pressure to ask some concessions from capitalism in order to maintain their positions. The future may see the A. F. of L. officialdom in general becoming more closely integrated with a social reformist movement, for which there are still possibilities of growth in a limited sense in the United States. But in essence, even on the path of reformism, these reactionaries of today will serve in the same role as in the past—a barrier to working class advance.

There can, of course, from such considerations as these be no expectancy of the A. F. of L. hierarchy undertaking any fight whatsoever actually to obtain the measures adopted at the convention. Nevertheless the adoption offers an additional opportunity for serious Left wing activities within the trade unions. The economic pressure upon the masses will inevitably drive them in a Leftward direction. It will thrust forward serious and genuine progressive elements. It will bring new life, new spirit and new obligations to the present declining unions. But with that also new and additional opportunities for a Left wing.

—ARNE SWABECK.

ther the A. F. of L. convention will follow. Note—Another article taking up further in the next issue.

MONEY FOR SUBS

Elsewhere in this issue we outline the second phase of the Club Plan. It concerns the Paid Sub Cards. We explain there how this scheme can be made to boot the circulation of the Militant. Here we want to put these Paid Sub Cards to an additional use. We need money; not just for the usual routine of running an office and getting out mail. The situation is really serious. We are in a desperate financial situation. The two two-page issues were not tricks to hijack a few extra dollars out of our comrades and friends.

We were forced to retreat to two pages. It was either that or no issue. To us the continuity of the weekly Militant is a vital question. And we are sure it is that to all our readers. That is what is at stake—a weekly four pager or—what? We must, at once, make reasonably sure that we can get out a weekly four pager. For this purpose we need money.

But we don't want to climb out of this hole to plunge into another one at a later date. We want, if possible, to emerge from this crisis, with your help, in such a way that we can take a step toward avoiding such a crisis, in the very near future, at any rate. That is why we appeal here to you to support the weekly Militant by buying these Paid Sub Cards. Buy them in blocs of at least four. That is the minimum unit. This gives us two dollars. Then get busy either selling them to workers or distributing them free according to your circumstances.

If you resell them buy another bloc of four or more. If you do this you will be giving invaluable aid to the Militant. You will be helping it financially and at the same time extending its base. At the same time you will have created a small revolving fund of your own which you will be using exclusively for helping the Militant. And all that this involves financially on your part is an outlay of a minimum of two dollars. The turnover does the trick. Everytime you buy a bloc of cards for two dollars it starts four subs on their way in addition to giving us financial help. Can you do it? If you can, do it once.