

THE MILITANT

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Demonstrate on March 6th As Unemployment Grows MINERS! BUILD LEFT WING AT SPRINGFIELD

The efforts of "Prosperity President" Hoover, Big Business, and industry in general, and other agencies to hide the acute conditions among the working masses caused by unemployment already directly affecting seven million workers, are of no avail. Figures and reports from all parts of the country show wide distress and misery in a situation that has become now worse than the depression of 1920 and 1921. Charity flops are overcrowded; black coffee and cheap bread are the luxury doles handed out to those who wait in the long lines of mission houses, charity institutions, etc. Capitalism cannot employ men and women willing and able to work, and so millions of human beings must suffer cold and hunger. Not a single copper cent of their unearned increment will the rich masters give up without the compulsion of the mass pressure of the workers. That is the way of the capitalist system—the system of the claw and fang.

Protests and demonstrations of the unemployed masses in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Minneapolis and many other cities throughout the country are met with clubs and black-jacks, guns and tear gas, police wagons and jailings of working men and women and their children. It is government—the government of the American ruling class—the Wall Street bosses—in action. Thus they try to maintain dominion over the masses. With cohesive organization of all their forces they meet the protests of the workers.

Capitalist society cannot eliminate unemployment. Only a social system serving the interests alone of the proletariat and exploited peoples can lay the basis for the elimination of unemployment, exploitation, misery and degradation of the masses. Only in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has the basis been laid for cooperative work on behalf of the producers. The working masses in the United States also must have as their objective the abolition of the capitalist system and its replacement by a Workers' Republic.

Join Unemployment Demonstrations on March 6th

But today mass unemployment, the problem of the masses to exist is a pressing consideration. The unemployed and employed, the workers organized in labor unions and the unorganized workers, men and women, white and colored—all must unite in protest and action to demand of the bosses that exploit them and the government that protects them—work or compensation; shorter hours of labor to provide work for the unemployed; abolition of the speed-up system that saps the energies of the workers and leaves them worn out and useless at an early age.

All elements among labor, no matter what their particular economic or political views, if sincerely wishing to endeavor to relieve the distress prevalent among all strata of the working masses can find a basis for united action against the common enemy—the wealthy employing class and their governmental hirelings. Sectarianism and aim for group advantage can do only harm. The problem of mass unemployment will face the workers for a long time to come—till the overthrow of capitalism lays the basis for its elimination. From industry and government can be forced certain measures of relief, provided there is militant united action.

Demonstrations have been conducted in many cities already under the direction of organizations, including the Communist League of America (Opposition).

On March 6th demonstrations against unemployment and for relief of the unemployed will be held in cities throughout the United States and in other countries similarly affected. They are under the auspices of the Trade Union Unity League in the United States. We have spoken before of the narrowness of the movement sponsored by the official Communist party and the T. U. U. L., and its failure to endeavor to develop a genuine and broad united front movement for the unemployed. We shall have occasion to speak of it yet again, including the adventurism in calling for strike action in the height of the depression.

On March 6th, however, all militants and Communists, workers of every shade and opinion should make it their business to get into the demonstrations wherever they are held; to help broaden them; to protest as one body against the scourge of capitalism—unemployment; and to demand work or compensation.

"In the name of the rank and file!" This is the pretentious claim of the call issued for a convention of the United Mine Workers to meet at Springfield Ill. on March 10. The call is by a self-constituted organization committee, the main body of which is made up of the Fishwick Farrington Illinois union administration under the Lewis regime.

With the exception of Howat, Brophy and Derchy, who have at certain times in the past upheld the standard of militant struggle and fought against the destructive, treasonable policy of John L. Lewis, the other signatories to the call have all, during these years not only indorsed the whole of Lewis' policy, but actively carried it out in every one of its treasonable acts.

The destiny of the rank and file coal miners lies in their own hands and theirs is the task, now more than ever, to act, and to act in their own interest. Militancy and courageous self-sacrifice by the coal miners everywhere gained union conditions

for them in the past. Militancy and a knowledge of what needs to be done will show the way out now. To the rank and file this convention can become another opportunity to extend the struggle so well fought in the past. It will become so only by courageous action on their part to put a stop forever to the sell-out policy of the officialdom which has brought the union to almost complete destruction and forced degradation upon the miners.

Immediate Needs of Miners

At innumerable times the coal miners have given voice to their burning needs and decisively brought forth their demands. They are yet to be translated into action and no opportunity should be lost sight of. Again it is necessary for the militants among the rank and file to point the way to united struggle for severance with all the corruption of the past and with all those who have served as the tools of the operators. To take up the struggle aggressively against any further wage reductions; for a minimum wage scale and for control of operation of machine mining by the workers; to eliminate the deadly speed-up and divide the work among the miners; to fight for the shorter workday so as to afford employment for all and to organize the coal miners in every field.

Audacity and militancy in every working class organization and the battle is half won. This is the particular task of progressive and left wing coal miners to thus show the way.

Send Delegates to March 10th Convention

The progressive and left wing miners should send the largest possible number of delegates to this convention to endeavor to compel a genuine struggle for these immediate demands and needs of the coal miners. The Left wing, organized in the National Miners Union, has a two-fold task: to strengthen and extend their own independent organization, and, at the same time, to build a Left wing in the U. M. W. of A. The Left wing, the N. M. U., must demand from the progressives—Howat, Brophy, etc.—a stand on the numerous burning issues confronting the miners. The program and declaration of policy presented by the Communist League of America (Opposition) in the March 1st issue of the Militant indicates the path the coal miners of America need to take for the revival of a militant miners' movement and organization.

FLOOD CONTROL CONTRACTORS GYP NEGRO LABORERS

MEMPHIS—(FP)—How U. S. government contractors gyp Negro laborers is revealed by workers employed in the "willow fleets" that ply out of Memphis to work on Mississippi flood control. The willow fleets make the willow mats for the levees.

Hundreds of colored workers employed on these ships are paid off daily in flimsy paper checks redeemable only at the ship's commissary. These checks, printed with weak ink, soon become smudged and illegible. In that condition, the company refuses to redeem them. The laborer then loses the money due him. At the end of the trip, the Negroes present their checks but receive cash only for those which are in good condition.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

In the next issue will appear an article of the most timely interest by L. D. Trotsky on

"THE NEW COURSE IN THE ECONOMY"

Continued on Page 6

STALIN PERSECUTES RAKOVSKY

At the same time that Stalin, in order to face the difficulties accruing from his peasant politics, again and again makes use of the proposals of the Opposition, but in distorted form, or resorts to dangerous ultra-Leftism; when events have confirmed the analyses of the Opposition, he becomes more and more brutal to the members of the Left Opposition who persist in understanding and representing the clear tactics of the proletarian revolution.

Yesterday it was the assassination of Blumkin. Today we receive the most alarming news concerning the health of comrade Rakovsky.

Christian Rakovsky is weakened by malaria and is ill with serious heart trouble. The doctors most categorically ordered a stay in the Caucasus. The political Bureau refused. Deported together with his sick wife to the Siberian winter, Rakovsky at Barnaul is exposed to the most miserable living conditions, to temperatures of 40 and 50 degrees below zero. Our comrade has recurrently suffered from most alarming heart crises.

In addition the usual tactics made use of to exterminate the Opposition—the difficult conditions and hunger—have been directed at him. They have destroyed his means of livelihood in refusing him the historic work which he was fitted for.

The working class remembers the role played by Rakovsky, latterly in France where he represented the proletarian state as Soviet Ambassador. That was before the united fury of the reactionary *Le Matin* of Paris and the hatred of Stalin resulted in his replacement by the clumsy Dogalevsky, aided by the traitor, Bessedovsky. The working class, particularly in the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, in France, know well Rakovsky's heroic and valorous life, completely devoted to the Revolution. He has remained steadfast and inflexible to the Bolshevik ideal in the face of the fury of the Stalinist degeneration.

The bureaucrats of the Secretariat are preparing a new assassination. But the workers will not permit the cruel persecution of one of the most tried and valuable fighters, for his devotion to their cause, for his high-minded firmness.

Over 8,000,000 Women Toil at Low Wages

According to the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor there are 8,500,000 women wage earners in this country at the present time. Their figures assert that one woman out of every five works in the mills, factories, stores and offices throughout the land; and that out of every five workers in the country one is a woman.

These figures compiled under the direction of the capitalist government of the United States show how important is the winning of the women workers to the labor movement. With 20% of all the workers women, the need of actively drawing them into the labor movement is of major impor-

taunce.

Throughout the United States, the women workers are the lowest paid and most exploited section of the proletariat. The employers in the unorganized industries are in very many cases, discharging the men workers and hiring women to do the same work at much reduced rates of pay. In addition, the employers are attempting to force the women to toil long hours, in which they are quite successful although some states have adequate laws that are supposed to prevent the women from working more than a certain amount of hours weekly. It has been shown in many cases

THE COMING PATERSON STRIKE

The National Textile Workers Union is planning a general strike of the Paterson silk workers within several weeks. Since the Passaic struggle of four years ago which laid the basis for the present organization of the N. T. W. U., there has been no outstanding New Jersey strike. After the Associated Silk Workers Union was split, the N. T. W. conducted a strike of several hundred workers for more than a month.

The N. T. W. is largely known to the silk workers of Paterson through the Passaic strike of 1926, led by the Left wing now organized into the N. T. W. The Paterson workers aided this heroic struggle of the Passaic strikers by raising funds for the relief of the strikers.

At present, as a consequence of the split in the Associated Silk Workers and the weak organization drive conducted in Paterson since then, the N. T. W. has several hundred members signed up. It is upon these forces that the N. T. W. is basing the proposed strike.

Better Preparations Are Needed

As things stand now, unless more thorough preparations are made before the strike is called, it will be virtually still-born, even as was the recent N. M. U. strike in Illinois and other even more bombastic "strikes" that have been called by unions directed by the Communist Party officialdom.

The attitude of the entire apparatus of the N. T. W. U. is one of disregard for preparation. It is further, wholly inefficient to care for its tasks properly. As national secretary of the N. T. W. now rests one Clarence Miller, a stupid, lazy careerist, who has a long record for inefficiency and laxness in the Young Communist League, the Passaic strike, etc. But he will take any and all orders of the Stalinized Foster-Minor, et al, Communist Party apparatus.

The N. T. W. has held but very few mass meetings and distributed hardly any literature, as well as taking other organizational steps, in preparation for its proposed general strike. The Paterson local of the N. T. W. is headed by Kushinsky, a colorless and unqualified worker for such a task as the local leader of a big strike. His "qualifications", as with most Stalinist officials, is the readiness to take orders without question. A prerequisite to any successful work among the textile workers by the N. T. W. U. is the removal of incompetents and untrained people such as Miller and Kushinsky. The rank and file of the union need to have a say in the selection of their officials and the conduct of any contemplated activity.

With a proposed strike of the proportions of a general strike of all Paterson silk workers, there is need of far more adequate and detailed preparations. To call the strike in the near future, as planned and with the "leaders" in charge, dooms the strike before the first day is over. Mass meetings, shop meetings, systematic distribution of literature; a rank and file strike committee, the sound formulation of a set of demands of the strikers are among the preparations that yet need to be made. The Stalinists cannot be permitted to play with strikes for the sake of records and the verification of the "third period". The conditions of the Paterson silk workers have steadily worsened. There is need for a movement and struggle that will bring about a strong and large organization of the silk workers and gain them better conditions of livelihood, more wages and shorter hours.

—FRANK BROMLEY



NEW YORK OPEN FORUM

Albert Glotzer, member of the National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) will speak at the Open Forum of the New York Branch of the League on Saturday, March 15th, 1930 at 8 p. m. His subject will be: "WHAT IS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION?" Admission is free and all interested workers are invited to attend.

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Miner's Death Toll Mounts

By Federated Press

Coal mine workers' death toll in 1929 was 2,181, according to figures on fatal accidents just released by the U. S. Bureau of Mines. This is an increase of five over the number of deaths in 1928. Besides these men killed on the job, more than 120,000 workers suffered an injury involving loss of working time. Every week 42 men are killed and more than 2,000 injured in or about coal mines of the United States.

In spite of safety campaigns, the death rate in bituminous mines has been higher since 1921 than it was for several years previously. It is now higher than the death rate in the anthracite, although this has also risen above the low points touched in 1924 and 1926.

Mine workers in the United States face a death hazard about twice that of German miners, about three times that of British or Belgian miners, about four times that of French miners. In the American mines out of every ten thousand full time workers more than 40 are killed on the job in the course of a year; in Great Britain, less than 15.

Even the mining companies enrolled in the National Safety Competition in the United States, have brought their average death rate only about one-fourth below the average death rate in other mines. The hazard for workers of all these selected companies is still far greater than the hazard for miners in European countries.

Explosions and mine fires that slaughter many workers in one disaster have been fewer in recent years. But the explosion two months ago at McAlester, Okla., the disaster at Kinloch mine, Parnassus, Pa., a year ago, the Mather disaster which killed 195 men in 1928, and others only less horrible that have found their way into the headlines, remind us that advances in the technique of safety are too largely confined to the laboratory. Many mines are still operated in such a way that an explo-

sion of gas and coal dust can sweep through the workings and kill instantly all the men who are underground.

Mine Owners Concerned Only with Profits

But spectacular disasters carry off only a small fraction of the miners who are killed on the job. While they have been decreasing, the daily, unnoted tragedies have continued to roll up a stupendous total. About 2,000 workers a year are caught in these "trifling" accidents that never reach the city press.

More than half of all the coal mine deaths in 1929 were due to falls of rock or coal. These falls of roof and side go on steadily, crushing out one or two lives at a time—rarely as many as five men together—and slaughtering more than a thousand workers in the course of every year. The death rate from these falls is steadily higher than it was before 1920, a direct result of wage-cutting and speeding up within the mine. Timbering at the working face to make the roof safe for the workers is in most mines "dead work" for which the unorganized miner commonly receives no pay. Companies making a drive to cut down the death rate from falls of roof usually stiffen up the rules and standards for timbering but do not set up a fair rate of pay for the timbering. So the workers continue to take chances—driven to it; even in "safety" mines.

Haulage accidents underground have also in recent years killed more mine workers than the big disasters. Increase in motor haulage has pushed up the death rate from this cause, especially in bituminous mines. Electricity is in general an increasing hazard underground. Power lines imperfectly protected lead to electrocutions from direct contact. Electric machinery is in use in which the making and breaking of the current flashes a dangerous arc—an explosion hazard as serious as the open lights which are now banned in many mines.

REGISTRATION OF ALIENS FOUGHT

NEW YORK—A campaign to prevent the passage of any form of legislation registering aliens in the United States has been undertaken by the American Civil Liberties Union in cooperation with other organizations following the action of the Senate Immigration Committee in voting to report favorably the voluntary registration bill introduced by Senator Cole Blease. The bill has been temporarily referred back to the committee through the efforts of Senator Copeland of New York. It is expected that the issue will be fought out on the floor of the Senate. Two compulsory registration bills are pending in the House.

The Union is opposed to any scheme of registration whatever, on the ground that it is "a monstrous scheme of espionage conceived by would-be patriots fearful of alien radicals, and useful chiefly to persecute alien members of trade unions and the Communist Party".

HAVE YOU READ

L. D. Trotsky's

"The Draft

Program of the

Communist International?"

This 139 page masterpiece will be given free with each year's subscription to the Militant. Those who have not read this book should do so at once, those who have, will want to read it again and again. It is a devastating exposure of the Right wing and Centrist positions of Bucharin and Stalin and also a clear cut recital of the Leninist position of comrade Trotsky

Free With a Year's Subscription to the Militant at \$2.00

Sailors Face Jobless Problem

NEW YORK—(FP)—"Shipping's tough," is the sailor's way of describing the worst conditions of unemployment they have faced since the days just after the strike of 1921. The collapse of Hoover's prosperity has hit them hard.

Ships are laid up, men from ashore are trying to get the sailors' jobs, and some of the largest companies are "rationalizing" their crews, cutting them down to the lowest possible number. Changing from steam to Diesel engines is responsible for a great reduction in the number of men on jobs "below" in the engine and fire rooms. The number on deck has not changed much.

Many big liners have been taken into dock yards for their winter overhauling, thousands of sailors who work the great lakes in the summer have come down to salt water to get winter jobs, and thousands of shrewworkers, finding no work ashore, are trying to get work on the ships.

The "charitable" Chuch Institute for Seamen still rents tax-free bunks for the same price as do the Bowery flop houses, but the rooms—cubicles—in their new building are to rent at a higher figure. The funds to build this building are donated, the institute pays no taxes, nor does it put out any charity, save an occasional free bed to a man just released from the hospital.

Reading rooms and amusement rooms of the institute are crowded by men worn out by tramping from shipping office to shipping office and along the endless beach of New York harbor looking for a chance to work. Many men with no work all winter have had a hard time of it trying to live. There is no charity for the sailor, though there is plenty of money for the "Sailors' Friends".

Food and working conditions on the ships have become worse, too, with the surplus of men, despite the partial control of these conditions by the shipping laws. Shipping commissioners have shown a more ready tendency to decide fine points—and many not so fine—in favor of the masters.

CAB MEN REJECT SCAB TERMS

By ARTHUR G. McDOWELL

PITTSBURG—Another effort to break the taxi drivers' new union, strikeborn and tested in conflict with the Parmelee Transportation Co., was defeated by the strikers themselves when they rejected a proposed settlement, 1,153 to 1.

Cramming the roof garden of Moose Temple to the doors, the taxi men in the largest meeting held since the beginning of the strike rejected almost unanimously the proposal that they abandon their union and receive in return certain wage concessions. The taxi monopoly agreed to a 37 1-2% commission, abolition of fines, damage costs and special charges but opposed recognition of the union.

Sensing before the meeting that the unionists would not tolerate a non-union agreement, Parmelee once more started recruiting of scabs. Mayor Kline's order banning Parmelee scab cabs from the streets still holds, but the company is expected to win a court order with the aid of the state public service commission to permit their appearance.

This commission, headed by a former Mellon Standard Steel Car Co. lawyer, has consistently refused to permit smaller taxi companies to operate, although they have been able to guarantee service through recognizing the union.

A big benefit entertainment was held at a Pittsburgh theater through the solidarity of unionized theatrical workers who contributed 2 acts of vaudeville and all stage, electrical and musical labor involved. The entire city is alive to the challenge to Mellon control of the great open shop iron and steel center. From nearly every variety of organization—including religious—contributions are coming to the strike chest.

The union is maintaining an emergency taxi service for hospitals and similar agencies. "Union Car" signs are seen on the streets constantly as emergency vehicles go about their work with union sanction. The union is thus maintaining a successful taxi service for the city's minimum needs.



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If the number on your wrapper is

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

In addition to the writings of Trotsky, the Militant regularly publishes articles by Ch. Rakovsky, A. Rosmer, Kurt Landau and other international leaders of the Left Communist Opposition.

Articles by Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck and other active figures in the American Communist movement also appear regularly in these pages.

YOU CANNOT AFFORD TO MISS A SINGLE ISSUE OF THE MILITANT

The Militant, Room 4
25 Third Avenue, New York City

Enclosed find \$2.00 for one year's subscription to the Militant. Please send me at once a copy of Trotsky's book on the Draft Program.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE.....

The Proletarian Revolution and the Shooting of Blumkin

By MARTIN ABERN

Lenin died. No sooner had the leader of the Bolshevik Revolution and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union closed his eyes in eternal sleep, then began the open and systematic revision of the basic theoretical principles and conceptions of Marx and Lenin. Coupled with this revisionism, the Stalinist regime also undertook the falsification of the history of the Russian Revolution.

For a period of years now, since and before the death of Lenin, Stalin and his scribblers, the Yaroslavskys, Thaelmanns, Fosters, Minors, Cachins and numerous others have lied about Lenin and his teachings. They lie about Trotsky. They have falsified and distorted the history of the greatest event of all time for the toiling masses—the proletarian revolution of Russia. They have disfigured the Revolution in a grotesque and shameful manner.

With a procedure completely out of line with the practice of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the Stalinist Centrists jointly with the Right wing, suppressed the views and Platform of the Russian Opposition, led by L. D. Trotsky, the platform that represents the continuation of the Bolshevik line of Lenin. They have persecuted the revolutionary Leninist-Bolsheviks; they have expelled the outstanding Communists, with services of many years to the revolutionary movement from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stalin and his followers have made a mockery of ideas and theory and independent Bolshevik thought.

The Five Year Plan

The regime of the bureaucrats has exiled to far-off and desolate points the Bolsheviks who fought against the Stalin-Bucharin policy that gave encouragement and support to the Kulaks and Nepmen and that were sapping and undermining the strength of the proletariat and poor peasants and hired men.

Trotsky, after a long struggle against the revisionism of Stalin-Bucharin, presented the Platform of the Opposition to the XVth Congress of the C. P. S. U. in 1927 which, among other things contained the FIVE YEAR PLAN for socialist construction in the Soviet Union. But Trotsky finds himself deported by Stalin and Bucharin from the Soviet Union to Kemal Pasha's land at Constantinople, Turkey, there to be in continual danger of assassination by the thousands of Russian White Guards that swarm about Constantinople. Because Leon Trotsky remained and remains a Bolshevik; because in the suppressed (in the Soviet Union) Platform of the Opposition, he insisted upon the revival of genuine workers' and Party democracy and upon a campaign against the growing bureaucracy in the Party, the trade unions and in the Soviets; because he and the Opposition demanded the adoption of an INDUSTRIALIZATION PROGRAM that would develop industry along modern lines as the technical and economic foundation for genuine socialist construction; because he stressed and fought for a systematic and widespread development of COLLECTIVE AND SOVIET FARMS; and because he demanded an end to the policy of Stalin-Bucharin that encouraged the Kulak, gave him economic strength, the Right-Center bloc (Stalin-Bucharin) deposed Trotsky and increased their persecutions of Bolshevik-Leninists.

The Bureaucracy and the Working Class

But the neglect of the basic interests of the city proletariat and the hired hands and poor peasants by the Stalinist regime caused wide-spread dissatisfaction in the C. P. S. U. and among the working masses. Under the pressure of the working masses and the Bolshevik Opposition, the Stalinist Center was compelled, after many years of joint policy and work, to break the Right-Center bloc and to undertake another zig-zag, a "New Turn" to the Left. The Opposition Platform is now being adopted in piece-meal fashion by the Party bureaucracy. The turn is in the proper direction, but unless the "Leftward" swing is carried through with genuine belief and conviction; unless the turn is accompanied by an analysis of the present relationship of class forces in the Soviet Union, so that the strength and possibilities of struggle of each class grouping are understood and measures applied in accordance by the Party; unless the industrialization and collective and Soviet farms program is linked with a campaign to advance the cultural and po-

litical consciousness of the working masses and poor peasants (retarded in recent years by the policies of the Stalin-Bucharin regime)—the Five Year Plan can easily defeat its own purpose.

There is no doubt that the ranks of the Communist Party and the mass of workers in the Soviet Union welcome the new course of the Party. Therefore, the Opposition correctly warns against eclectic, piec-meal adaptation, arbitrary selections from the Platform of the Opposition by the bankrupt Stalinists. A genuine Left course can only mean the adoption of the Opposition Platform as a whole, and the reinstatement of the Opposition to help carry out the Left turn.

Stalin Splits the Communist Movement

Stalin and Bucharin not only in Russia, but on an international scale, split and decimated the ranks of the Communist Parties and converted them into factions. Behind the factions of Stalin and Bucharin in the C. P. S. U. particularly, stood the conscious and unconscious forces of the class enemy—the Kulak and the Nepmen. The Opposition warned and pointed this out, despite all oppression, and demanded that Stalin and Company change their course. It is sad to say, but it is the truth nevertheless: The Stalin apparatusmen, without definite principles or platform, swaying between the classes, the proletariat and the poor peasants on the one side and the Kulak and Nepmen on the other, for these past years carried out a Right program which objectively aided the return of the bourgeois forces to power. They could not see what was taking place in the class relations in the Soviet Union and many yet do not want to see.

It is only by recognizing that these epigones, Stalin and Company, have changed, for a time, their ways, but not their minds, that one can understand how the Centrist bureaucrats have proceeded from one backward step to another and have arrived at length at an extreme act—the murder of Blumkin at Stalin's behest. The person of Stalin cannot be removed from his policies and the policies cannot be removed from the personality of Stalin.

Lenin Rejects Stalin

Lenin years ago recognized what would come of the brutality and disloyalty of Stalin. A brutality and disloyalty that would affect not only the revolutionists themselves in a personal way, but would in time adversely affect the proletarian revolution itself. Lenin saw clearly the true Stalin—the splitter and wrecker of the international revolution, of the Communist International and the C. P. S. U. Lenin therefore in his final Testament to the Party, still suppressed in the Soviet Union, DEMANDED the REMOVAL of STALIN AS SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. Lenin, in fact, finally found it necessary to cut off all comradely and hence political relations with Stalin. At the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. Zinoviev said:

"And the third warning consists of this: That at the beginning of the year 1923, Vladimir Ilyich, broke off all comradely relations with him (Stalin)." This speech refers to Lenin's letter of March 5th, 1923, written after Lenin's testament. But the Party membership has yet to hear of this.

Now, Trotsky is deported, and as the next step of the lost bureaucracy, the Bolshevik, Blumkin, a supporter of the Opposition has been shot upon Stalin's orders. This act is a personal act of Stalin, but it is also, and more important, an evidence of instability and lack of confidence of the Centrists in their latest zig-zag to the Left. Why has Blumkin been shot? Why was this crime against the Revolution committed? With us it is not a matter alone of the person of Blumkin, but rather where does such acts, and the approval of them lead.

The Daily Worker "Answers"

The Daily Worker, under the barrage of questions of the Militant and the indignation of large numbers of workers, has twice been compelled to "answer", but it yet has given no fitting reply. The Hearst-like scribblers of Stalin on the Daily Worker and the Communist Party

first answered (Daily Worker, 2-15-30) by professing ignorance: "The name of Blumkin is little known." This was no answer at all. The Militant has fully told how Blumkin travelled the road to Bolshevism; how he became a trusted, active, loyal and leading member in the service of the Bolshevik Revolution. His work was of sufficient importance that not even his open adherence to the Opposition and to Trotsky brought his removal from his post. The murder of a Bolshevik, Blumkin, is accomplished for the first time by professing Bolsheviks, the Stalinists. How to explain such acts of terrorism against the Opposition Bolsheviks that one could expect only from White Guardists? What is behind it all?

With utter irresponsibility they lie about Blumkin and speak of Blumkin's "flight" after July, 1918 to avoid being shot for his activities while he was yet a Left Social Revolutionary. They neglect to speak of his years of prominent work as a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as an outstanding Bolshevik, holding an important post and carrying out his duties till the day of his murder by Stalin. Still the Daily Worker and the American Party perform one doubtful service. They endorse the shooting of Bolsheviks and take full responsibility thereof. All in the name of the "Five Year Plan" and "building socialism"!

The arguments of these Stalinists sycophants! What alone matters is the Five Year Plan and the building of socialism. How? By shooting Bolsheviks? By removing and deporting them? By removing those most capable to lead the proletariat and the Revolution? By suppressing the ideas and ignoring the thousands of comrades, men and women, who first brought forward a Five Year Plan, a program of industrialization and soviet and collective farms? That is the way to hinder, not to advance, the Proletarian revolution.

Rakovsky on the Centrists

Ch. Rakovsky, now exiled under bitter conditions at Barnaul raised this very question of the "New Turn" to the Left

«IN THE NAME OF GOD»

Every day that passes without a blow struck at the Soviet Union means for the imperialists a day wasted in promoting their own interests. "The Soviet Union must be destroyed." This is their hope and slogan. Their methods to accomplish this end have been many—and unsuccessful, and the workers will continue to see that any new schemes of the Black Hundreds everywhere are thwarted. Military intervention by U. S. Imperialism, Great Britain, France united with the counter-revolutionary movements of Deniken, Wrangel, et al, failed miserably in the face of the determined defense of the proletarian revolution by the workers of Russia. The round-about scheme of the Hoover Relief expedition (A. R. A.) in the period of the famine also failed miserably. The economic blockade was attempted by the capitalist powers in the endeavor to starve out the Revolution. They failed. In the Donetz Basin, foreign and bribed Russian specialists sabotaged the development of the area. That was exposed.

The Sick War-horse of Religion

Now the old, but failing war-horse, "religious persecution" is dragged out of the imperialist Augean stable; and on this mount the imperialists are placing their stakes and hope to ride to victory over the Workers' Republic.

No sooner did the Pope, that apostle of tolerance modeled after the Inquisitor Torquemada, issue his encyclical, than the whole religious tribe, Catholics, Jews, Protestants and all, took up the cry. The cynicism of these willing tools of their capitalist masters has no bounds. The world of religion is rallying to the defense of the Russian priests. In reply, it suffices only to point out the oppressive role played by the church under the Czar, their counter-revolutionary activities after the Bolshevik revolution, and now secretly to brand

and makes an analysis of the class content of the turn now being executed by the Stalinist Centrists. He says:

"You (the Centrists) made a principally new and important step in the question of industrialization. But this step will not achieve your purpose if you will not make radical reforms in regard to the Party, the trade unions, and the Soviets. If you sincerely and seriously want to get on this road you must first of all reestablish the Opposition in the Party."

At the same time, Stalin now acknowledges (N. Y. Times, 2-23-30) that he is appropriating the program of L. D. Trotsky and the Opposition, and gives in extenuation the late excuse that Trotsky was "too early". So! We will not at this point argue the merits of "too early" or "late". But we put the question: Since when does being "too early" merit expulsion, persecution, imprisonment and death of Bolsheviks? It is rather, that Stalin and the Centrist apparatus are making a late turn, and then only under the pressure of the Opposition and the proletarian masses.

What Is to be Done?

There is imperative need for still another turn. Blumkin is dead—at the hand of Stalin. He cannot be brought back to life. But his death can yet serve the revolutionary cause. But the answer, further, lies with the proletariat and the worker-Communists whose only interests are service to the Revolution. They in increasing numbers will demand, as a tribute to Blumkin: RETURN L. D. TROTSKY AT ONCE TO THE SOVIET UNION; REESTABLISH HIM IN HIS RIGHTFUL POSITION AS A LEADER OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION. And likewise, return all the Left Opposition once again to the Communist Parties. Reinstatement and the use of the services of the Opposition is the only guarantee for an honest and militant campaign to carry out the Five-Year Plan, to smash the Kulaks, to build anew and on its original revolutionary foundations, the Communist International and Communist Parties. The reinstatement of the Opposition lays the basis for a correct Bolshevik policy and program in the Soviet Union. This is our view of the Blumkin shooting.

The Opium of the People

The Soviet Union and the Communist Party rightfully regard religion as the "opium of the people", but it is fought through the methods of education and propaganda and not persecution. The latter way has been the way of religion and the church of all creeds. Theirs is the method of the medieval inquisition. Their practices and ideas, their support always of reaction and today of capitalism and all it stands for are becoming clearer to the Soviet masses through the dissemination of scientific knowledge and modern education in the Soviet Union. Hence the church and religion becomes ever less popular. That explains in the main why there are less churches and even less attendance in them as time passes. Its marked decline has come to the attention of the religious defenders and the imperialists, and they hope by lying and scandal-mongering to arouse among peoples in other countries a feeling of hatred against the Workers' Republic. In the corners of their mind is the hope of united effort of the imperialist powers to war on the Soviet Union. After all, in the pre-world war days there was first a preliminary propaganda of "virgin raping", "breast cutting" etc. Workers everywhere have the duty to combat this latest anti-Soviet campaign and to expose the combination of the bosses, the government the church and the press to attack the Soviet Union.

The Policy of the Leadership and the Party Regime

By CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY

brought out the working class and the Party from its numbness, which was simultaneously a condition and a consequence of the rule of Centrism. Objectively Centrism is condemned by history. Precisely because of this, in its desire to preserve itself as a leading group, it takes measures in order to still more strengthen itself organizationally and ideologically. For that purpose it utilizes the gigantic power which the revolution concentrated in the hands of the party leadership. Centrism excluded and is still excluding the Rights from the leadership in the Trade Union and the Comintern, the Soviet and Party organizations, but only for the purpose of substituting Centrists for the Rights.

But what is most characteristic of the Centrist leadership is that with doubled and tripled energy it concentrated its severity against the Leninist Opposition, enriching daily its arsenal with new guns of compulsion. The most remarkable invention in this respect which was made after our platform had been written, is the invention which leaves its impression on the present epoch and which resurrects in the Soviet Union, the clerical methods of the Middle Ages. This is the effort to compel by all means that the Oppositionists of the Communist Party give up their Communist views (which was proven by the attitude towards the so-called "Left-Centrists"—Schatzkin, Sten, and others; the impatience of Centrism, has lately increased still more). Life proved the whole inconsistency of the Centrist ideologic zig-zags wrong and anti-Leninist ones.

But Centrism, having a monopoly on the press, continues to falsify the Leninist teachings and leads astray the Party and the working class by saying that it is not the Kulak that attacks us, but we attack the Kulak (Bauman, Molotov). The claim of the capitulators, that Centrism has changed although it still rests on the same ever-widening social base—the "functionaries" with a corresponding ideology, and its peculiar apparatus methods of ruling the country and the Party, only proves that the capitulators have lost all their theoretical conscience and have rolled themselves into the mud of Centrism. Because Centrism is condemned by history as a current not possessing the requisite qualities, and sooner or later will cease to be a determining factor in the life of the Party, the liquidation of the Leninist Opposition, its dissolution in the Centrist mud, would mean nothing else than the presentation of the power to the Rights. In betraying the Opposition, the capitulators betray the interests of Communism, the Party and the working class.

The Changes in Class Relations

The capitulators begot the capital question: what kind of a turn is taking place in relation to the class forces in the country? It is true, as we shall see, they sometimes talk about it, but then only when they have to sow panic in the midst of the Opposition. But ordinarily to them the turn in the country and the Party is covered by the turn in the policy of the Centrist leadership—which is of course not the same. The turn in the country continues to unfold unfavorably for the proletariat. There undoubtedly is a Left turn in the Party, but its reasons and character are distinguished from the turn in the leadership. For the Centrist leadership the turn towards the struggle with agrarian capitalism was a matter of compulsion. This is a turn of the bureaucratic group under the pressure of events but the turn in the Party—we have in mind the working section of it—is a class turn. But while the Center makes its Left steps on the agrarian question, with excuses adapting itself to the moment, the turn in the Party is a genuine revolutionary one.

The Centrist leadership conceals very carefully the contradictory processes going on in the country. One of the most harmful peculiarities of the Centrist leadership is to cover up the traces and to present every thing in a rosy light (everything goes from good to better). But it does not succeed in hiding everything. The loud scandals that occur periodically prove how far the decomposition of the Right-Center apparatus has gone in the Party as well as in the Soviets and Trade Unions. Beginning with the heights of the commissariats themselves and ending with the county committees bourgeois rust penetrates the pores of the proletarian dictatorship. The pri-

We give below another excerpt from the theses of Rakovsky, Okudjava and Kossior, which characterizes the economic policy of the Centrist leadership in connection with the Party regime. That the new five year plan, worked out under the whip of the Opposition, represents a big fact and an important support for the further struggle of the Opposition, only the pedants of the ultra-Left phrase can deny. On the other hand, the claim that the Five Year Plan removes all or even the basic differences, can only come from the capitulators, who have been waiting for an excuse to get on their knees. Rakovsky very correctly insists on the unbreakable bond and relationship of all the parts of our platform. In connection with this he gives the basis for the declaration of the opposition to the Central Committee, and over its head, to the Party.

The sense of the declaration in the interpretation of comrade Rakovsky is the following:

"You made a principally new and important step, in the question of industrialization. But this step will not achieve your purpose, if you will not on the one hand evaluate a series of theoretical assumptions, and on the other hand. If you will not make radical reforms in regard to the Party, the trade unions and the Soviets. If you sincerely and seriously want to get on this road you must first of all reestablish the Opposition in the Party." This political syllogism, the Opposition transformed into a political act, by presenting the declaration for its reestablishment on the Party. —Editors.

owner in the village have already succeeded in partly getting hold of the apparatus, subordinating it to their class interest.

Sometimes through the official material which presents a picture of general welfare and idyllic relations between the working class and our government, there breaks through like lightning through clouds, tragic facts, such as the murder and lynching at the Grivno Station which throw an instantaneous but clear light on the realities. The press had to register the words of the defense at the trial: "A passing quarrel occurred between the working class and the apparatus created by it". In the same newspaper, in the speeches of the prosecuting attorney, was noted the fact of passive and indifferent conduct of the Communists and Young Communists present in the mob during the wild lynching scene. If one can analyse politically the event at the Grivno Station, he will understand that it has a more symptomatic significance than one or another resolution at a Party conference. A no less symptomatic significance is the fact that a worker was boycotted by his craftsmen for joining the Communist Party, or the fact included in the report about organizational conditions in Bakinsk, where the falling off of workers reaches 25% of the number of applicants in a year. Workers leave the Party in spite of the fact that membership in it insures to a certain extent against the loss of one's job. As far as the moods of the village are concerned it is significant to point out, that the results which were brought by the "chaotic character of the grain collections" resulted in the village in a bloc between the poor and middle peasants with the Kulaks.

Industrialization and the Classes

The capitulators try to single out the industrialization and the building of collective farms from the whole chain of Centrist measures—from its general policies. Considering them as a sort of "matters of their own" they also attempt to regard the "new course" of Centrism as independent of the immediate reasons that called it forth. Finally they avoid or begot the biggest and most basic questions: What conditions must be fulfilled that the industrialization and the building of collective farms shall not remain mere paper resolutions (like the resolution on Party democracy at the end of 1923), that it shall not be stopped half-way, or that they should not give results directly opposite to those expected.

The new Centrist servants and accountants, the capitulators, supporters of unprincipledness, and possibleism, avoid analysing the most important sides of the question of industrialization and the struggle against agrarian capitalism; knowing that an honest discussion of these questions would reveal the double facedness and contradictions of Centrism, its inability to get on the road of continuous Socialist construction. In reality such a discussion would have revealed that

1. The policy of Centrism remains Right on the Labor question and the Party regime (here it even went to the worst compared to the past) and partly in the village (not allowing unions of poor peasants). The sharpening of the class struggle

will grow to a still greater degree, insofar as the Kulak will continue to group about himself the middle peasants and part of the poor. Further, the bureaucratic methods of rationalization, with the aid of administrative pressure, "blacklisting" and tricks of a la Larin may create such a break away of the working class from the Party, such a political minus, which it will be impossible to compensate by the best achievements of industrialization. The Party leadership expects to support itself on the groups of poor in the village, but the latter are a mere fiction. "There is almost no work conducted among the groups of poor" wrote one of the members of the collegium of the Commissariat of Agriculture, Latzis (Pravda, December 23, 1928). Another fact: In Siberia there are 15 thousand cooperatives, and in them there are only 266 groups of poor organized (figures by Komarov, member of the territory committee.)

Centrists Fear Workers and Poor Peasants

In regard to the working class as well as the peasant poor, Centrism continues its former policy of fear and lack of confidence—this is a feature of bureaucratism generally. Centrism fears the real participation of the laboring masses in Socialist construction. Of course it would like to support itself on them, but with the conditions that the masses should not occupy themselves with "politics", that is, shall not judge and what is more, criticize the "general line". Centrism kills the actual initiative of the masses. If under the influence of sharpening struggle in the village Centrism should be compelled to permit unions of peasant poor, it will put them under such bureaucratic supervision, that they would very rapidly resemble our trade unions, out of which bureaucratism has castrated the class and revolutionary content. Industrialization and a struggle with agrarian capitalism, directed by the apparatus, which is partly worn off and which has lost its revolutionary enthusiasm and in many of its links is decomposed, will be under constant threat of break-up.

The Party Regime

The Opposition of the years 1923-24 foresaw the tremendous harm to the proletarian dictatorship coming out of the perversion of the Party regime. Events have completely justified the prognosis: the enemy has climbed in through the bureaucratic window.

Now more than at any other time it must be said loudly: a correct democratic Party regime is the testing stone of the present Left course.

There is an opinion held even by some steadfast revolutionaries, that a "correct line" in the sphere of economics must "of itself" bring about a correct Party regime. This view, with its pretence to dialectics, is one-sided and anti-dialectical, because it ignores the fact that in the historic process, cause and effect change their places repeatedly. A wrong line will increase a wrong regime and a wrong regime will still more disfigure the line.

Under Lenin there was a correct line. But it was precisely Lenin who pointed out that the apparatus with its anti-proletarian methods, turn a correct line into its opposite.

"The machine isn't going where we guide it, but where some illegal, or lawless or God-knows-whence derived speculators or private capitalistic businessmen, either the one or the other are guiding it. A machine doesn't always travel just exactly the way, and it often travels just exactly not the way, that the man imagines who sits at the wheel."

That is how Lenin expressed himself at the Party congress at which he appeared for the last time. What Lenin signalled at the time—as proof of the influence of the bourgeoisie on the apparatus, developed thanks to the policy of the Centrist top. By selecting people not according to their ability, experience and tried honesty, but exclusively according to the principle of adaptability, the Centrists gave that luxurious obsequy the squire followers of which bear the names of our great cities: Smolensk, Baku, etc. Centrism did not create bureaucratism. It inherited it together with the other general peculiarities, cultural and others—with the conditions of our country. But instead of combatting bureaucratism, Centrism developed it into a system of government, carried it over Stalin and the Centrist apparatus are making

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GERMANY AND THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By KURT LANDAU

I. The Legend of the New Revolutionary Wave.

"Our sister-party has measured up to its tasks. It is our party which is stimulating, promoting, and organizing the grandiose revolutionary revival of the laboring masses. It can be stated that not a single day passes in Germany which is not marked by the mobilization of the masses and street-fighting."

These are the words in which the French Communist organ, *Humanite* describes the situation in an article entitled, "Street-fighting the position in Germany".

How the German Communist Party itself appraises the position is clearly revealed by the illegal leaflet which it distributed on the first of February, proclaiming that "the tottering chariots of capitalism at break-neck speed career towards the abyss and destruction." Every issue of the Berlin *Rote Fahne* purports to represent the workers as engaged in "conquering the streets", in putting the police to flight and here and there in setting up barricades.

But daily the hard language of facts contradicts this legend of the rising revolutionary tide. Of the three million unemployed who with their families compromise some six to eight million proletarians, not one percent heeded the call of the party to join in the hunger demonstrations—the call of this great and powerful party which rallies three million votes.

When the workers of Hartmannsdorf near Chemnitz in red and highly industrialized Saxony were recently shot down like rabbits by the unbridled police fury, the factories were not closed down, the workers did not storm out of the shops to demonstrate against the fearful bloodbath, as was the case last Fall on a hundred different occasions in Austria. No, the wide masses of the proletariat remained as dumb as the red shops of Berlin were the first and second of May when Zoergiebel was shedding the blood of the workers. The workers remained as silent as when in September the party called for the struggle against the worsening of unemployment relief, and later called upon them to fight Hilferding's finance program in December.

The most important symptom of a rising revolutionary wave—the extraordinary rise in the activity and initiative of the masses—is missing.

II. Towards the New 1923?

In the last few weeks and months the analogy of 1923 has been used more and more often in the German party as well as in the entire Comintern press.

The German party leadership and the Comintern regard the present situation of German capitalism hopeless. They point to the extraordinary rise of the index of unemployment, the symptoms of crisis in a section of industry and talk already of the approaching collapse of stabilization. The general social crisis following the collapse of the stabilization will, so the theoreticians of Stalinism think, reach in the immediate future, the intensity and profundity of 1923. The pace of this process, they consider, will be accelerated by the beginning crisis of American capitalism.

There can be no doubt that a series of crucial phenomena are making themselves felt in German capitalism. The closing down of industries, bankruptcies, etc. does not however, signalize the approaching general collapse of German capitalism but the extraordinary degree reached in the process of the concentration of capital. The year 1929 was record-breaking for the number of mergers, cartels—in a word for the gigantic advance on the road of concentration. The enormous increase of unemployment also is intimately bound up with this. The gigantic concentration makes possible the vast extension of the rationalization process. In the most important branches of German industry production in 1929, despite the numerical decrease of the workers employed, actually increased. That is, productivity actually rose. It is just such phenomena that reveal the fundamental contradictions of stabilization. In the same measure that the productive forces develop they come into conflict with the prevailing social order.

In the wake of these processes the social antagonisms have also grown unusually acute. The huge proportions of the

mass unemployment is exciting the unrest of the entire working class. The execution of the Young Plan in the form of imposing its whole burden on the masses, the forced increase of the indirect taxation, the custom duties, and tax-remissions to the bourgeoisie accentuate this unrest.

But it is a long way from the dissatisfaction of the masses to their revolutionary will to struggle. If anything sounds the death-knell of the present policy of the German party it is obviously the fact that in 1929, the year of the most brutal and reactionary offensive of the social democratic government, our Party has not been able to advance the working class a single step forward. The parliamentary and democratic illusions of the masses which a far-seeing Bolshevik leadership could in this stage have surmounted, have instead remained intact, thanks to the adventurist and zig-zag policy of the Thaelmannites. In so far as these democratic illusions were undermined, it was, however, not in favor of Communism but of national socialism (Hitler) which has doubled and tripled its ranks in the industrial centers.

Do we find ourselves then, on the eve of an acute revolutionary situation—of a new 1923? Positively not. But if there were a real Bolshevik party in the leadership, the German working class could indeed organize its effective resistance to the developing capitalist offensive. If, indeed, the German Communist Party organized a systematic struggle against the Young Plan, rallying the workers in the shops and the unemployed about the concrete tasks of the day, it could lend wings to the activity and initiative of the masses and prepare them for the victorious counter-offensive of the morrow.

III. Radicalization of the Workers, Political mass Strike, and Struggle for the Streets.

Something has already been said in the foregoing concerning the radicalization of the masses. It would be ridiculous to deny—as the Rights do—that a certain degree of radicalization of the masses is perceptible. That, despite Thaelmann and Neumann, the German party has remained a mass party with great sympathy in the proletariat and that this is the case despite the sense of shame that these sympathizers feel at the bombastic phrases and systematic self-deception of the Communist leaders and press—is due to the circumstance that great masses of the proletariat want to fight. That they do not fight, that they do not follow the battle-slogans of the party, is not their fault but exclusively that of a leadership which is incompetent to apply the ABC of a bolshevist policy.

The Thaelmann leadership has placed the German party in the state of self-delusion in which the Austrian party has found itself for many years. Since 1919, the Austrian Communist Party has been waiting—except for short intervals—for the revolution. Dedicated to the bold idea of the armed insurrection, the Austrian party has not, by and large, worked in the mass organizations and workshops; and whenever the proletariat begins to move, this party immediately proclaims the general strike and only stops short of talking of soviets.

In the "Third Period" the Austrian school has attained to international ramifications. The theses of the Wedding Congress of the German party explain why the struggle for "every-day demands" has outlived its usefulness in the following terms: "the process of the radicalization of the masses has made rapid progress and is being transformed into open mass action. The balance of forces has undergone a fundamental change... The May-Day struggles in Berlin are a turning point in the political development of Germany. The conditions are maturing for the approach of an immediate revolutionary situation, in the course of the development of which the question of armed insurrection will inevitably arise on the order of the day..."

It is from this appraisal of the situation that the party leadership approaches every question. This fateful over-estimation of the given processes of crisis cripples it in the task of the real systematic organization of the revolution in Germany

The slogan of the political mass strike met with catastrophic failure already the first and second of May; later it met with an even fainter echo. It is the very failure of this watch-word that should have opened the eyes of the Thaelmannites to their exaggerations—if they had eyes to see.

In 1923—which is represented to have so much in common with the present situation—there were no less than 47 political strikes, embracing 3506 shops and 320,000 workers. The number of working days lost through political mass strikes amounted to 1,048,293. What of 1929? Not a dozen shops, fewer than 30,000 workers joined in a political mass strike—despite the events of May First.

The economic struggles, for the year 1929, no less contradict the party thesis of the "stormy will to struggle" and the resolute counter-offensive of the proletariat. The following comparative index figures show this to be the case.

Year	No. of Workshops	No. on strike	No. of working days lost
1929		115,000	1,800,000
1928	5,672	328,529	8,519,713
1927	8,144	232,704	2,945,815

These figures bear an unmistakable meaning. They show that the party leadership has not succeeded in combatting the reformist trade unions' policy. The leaders of the "free" unions, on the other hand, did succeed to a large extent in bolstering up their class-collaborationist policy of "Industrial Peace."

We have the same picture of the "successes" of the struggle for the streets. If the party was yet able, despite all its preceding mistakes, to lead out tens of thousands on to the streets, the position has become considerable worsened since then. The first of February which was to have been the signal for a large scale mass action against unemployment and the rise in the cost of living, resulted, it is generally recognized, in a pitiable fiasco.

If one were to believe the party press, the outlawing of the party is a matter only of days or weeks at the most. The party leadership is daily engaged in preparing the working class for the imminent illegality of the C. P. and proudly proclaims that the Party cannot be proscribed, as little as the Red Front Fighters League.

IV. Is the Party Threatened by Illegality?

It is a fact that the left wing of the bourgeoisie, particularly the Social Democratic party and its press, energetically supported by the Democratic Party, demands exceptional measures against the Communist Party. In this sharpened offensive against the party, the Right press has been left far behind the "Vorwaerts" and the pacifist-democratic "Welt-am-Montag". This remarkable fact naturally has its deeper explanation.

The more the Coalition regime crumbles, the more the heavy-industrialist and right-wing circles of the German bourgeoisie demand the head of the Muller Government,—after Hilferding has already been ignominiously driven from the cabinet—all the more does the Social-Democracy inveigh against the Communist Party, in the hope of impressing its indispensability as a police-guard of the bourgeois republic. The legend of the putschist plans of the Communist Party, which are circulated daily by the capitalist press, is the axis about which revolves the struggle of the S. D. P. to preserve the Coalition. The proletarian dead of Hartmannsdorf, Worms and Hamburg are an integral factor in this struggle.

Apart from this, the Social-Democracy has latterly become confident that the Communist Party is impotent to carry on a successful fight for its existence in a state of outlawry. The inglorious end of the Red Front Fighters League which on its proscription simply disappeared, confirms the Social democracy in this expectation.

The possibility of the suppression of the Communist Party certainly exists.

But the S. D. P. clearly perceives that the banning of the C. P. G. would be anything but popular; granted anywhere near a reasonable policy of the party leadership, the struggle for legality could evoke a deep response from the masses. If this is not

the case to-day, if to-day the wide masses of the revolutionary proletariat stand aside in a waiting attitude, the S. D. P. should be grateful, first and foremost to the "Barricade-philosophy" of the Communist leadership and the methods of pseudo-revolutionary gymnastics that the C. P. daily applies, inasmuch as it proclaims struggle to be an end in itself.

But what the S. D. P. fears and what will probably deter it from driving the Communist Party into a state of illegality after the fascist precedent, is the awakening of the masses, who are sympathetic towards Communism and who would be able better to control the policy of the party than at present. Finally it is precisely in a condition of legality that the contradiction between the policy of the party and the revolutionary necessities becomes more and more crass, so that the outlook for the gradual disintegration of the Communist Party appears more attractive to the social-democrat than the risk of illegality.

But in the last analysis, this question will not be settled by a careful weighing of the pros and cons by Zoergiebel and Grzynski, but by the further development of the class-struggle in Germany. The tragedy of the situation lies in this: that the Thaelmanns and Neumanns objectively play into the hands of the Zoergiebel and Severings, inasmuch as their pseudo-revolutionary gestures push the revolutionary proletariat into passivity.

So for instance, the illegal leaflet of the party on February first called for demonstrations for the slogans—"All Power to Workers! Long live the Struggle for the dictatorship! For Soviet Germany!" Besides this the leaflet contains a long dissertation on the "History, Forms, and Technique of Barricade-Fighting".

The masses responded to these slogans with their feet: they did not appear.

And louder than ever the bourgeois press is calling for exceptional measures against the C. P. G.

V. The Struggle for a New Left Wing in the Party.

Up till now the gainers from the enormous mistakes of the party have been exclusively the Right wing, which has become a serious menace to the Party. They seize hold of the glaring mistakes and defeats of the party leadership to broadcast their own opportunist views of the united front policy, trade union tactics, etc.

The one-time Left Wing in the Party, that had already for the most part been expelled years ago, has up to the present been unable to re-form its ranks. The decisive obstacle to the reorganization of the forces, has become the Leninbund. Of its grave confusion in the fundamental international questions in connection with the Russo-Chinese Conflict, the declaration of Rakovsky, etc., much has been said and written. No less fateful for the Leninbund and through it, for the whole Left movement, has been its sectarian and opportunist policy in all the basic German questions. Above all, its radically false position on the Communist Party, which the Leninbund considers as already lost. This attitude which underlies the organizational form of the Leninbund as an independent organization, has led to the complete isolation of the Leninbund from the party masses and has resulted in a permanent crisis of disintegration, in the course of which a number of good comrades of this organization have separated themselves from the Leninbund and the policy of its leadership and embarked on open opposition.

The Leninbund which, at the time it was founded, was an organization of some thousands of largely active comrades, now ekes out only a shadowy existence. Except for some more active and firmly established groups (Westphalia, Baden, Central Germany) the Leninbund no longer disposes anywhere of strong positions.

The meandering way of the Leninbund has caused the Left groups that had remained in the party, to adopt a waiting attitude, to avoid being overtaken by a like fate. This is particularly true of the so-called Wedding Opposition which dominated Wedding two years ago—the most proletarian and powerful districts of the party in Berlin.

The Wedding Opposition too has many
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WORKERS NAIL EMPLOYMENT LIE

DETROIT—(FP)—Published reports of increased employment were branded as "damned lies" by workers interviewed by Federated Press.

Ford workers, asked to comment on a recent report that most Ford workers are to go on full time, said that a layoff is now actually in progress. They claim that 35% of the remaining workers have been laid off since the big layoff of 30,000 workers last fall. This is due to the new policy of the Ford Motor Co. in letting out contracts for parts to sweatshop firms. Until recently this policy was confined to bodies and wheels but now it has expanded until the brake, housing, rear-axle and shock-absorber departments have shut down. Workers in those departments have been thrown on the street. Newspapers report from time to time the visits of parts company officials with the announcement that this policy is but beginning.

The tool department, affected by this, has already dispensed with 200 of its skilled workers and foremen admit the probability of another 200-500 being laid off.

Foundry workers laugh at the possibility of full time with the comment that cylinder blocks are stacked by the thousands in the foundry yard. They expect a shut down in the foundry within a week. Already many departments having direct connection with the foundry are working six hours a day, two or three days per week. Their wages are correspondingly low, for Ford River Rouge workers are paid, not by the day, but by the hour.

Reports of increased production are "so much hooey", according to one worker in a strategic department. Far from increasing production, he says, officials contemplate a cut from about 5,000 to 2,500 cars daily.

Ford salesmen bear out these reports. "The New Ford just ain't goin' over," said one to Federated Press. Chevrolet salesmen take up the refrain with the added point that in spite of an extension in time payments the new car just isn't selling. One Chevvie salesman, of the "up-and-coming" variety lamented that he had not made a single sale in five months. "And the new Chevvie is a flop," he lamented.

500 girls have been laid off from the J. L. Hudson Co., foremost department store in town. Other stores had already done so. Chrysler office workers report a cut of 40% in their force some time ago.

The Employers' Assn., which usually publishes employment statistics weekly, has not done so since the beginning of the fall. Requests for such figures have brought the response that the figures are not being compiled.

Inconspicuous statistics from three companies show the factual situation in the auto industry. Buick reports January 1929 shipments as 7,299 compared with 13,008 of January 1929. Reo reports a slight decrease of 329 and Hupp, a larger firm, reports a decline of 1,400.

No wonder the city welfare department reports "the worst situation in 35 years", with over 14,000 families directly dependent on it for their subsistence!

POLISH CONDITIONS GROW RAPIDLY WORSE

WARSAW—(FP)—Unemployment is rapidly growing, and all industries except coal mining are depressed. Agriculture is suffering despite the export bounty on grain. Government allowance for unemployment relief is only \$1.80 per month for a man with a wife and child. The minimum subsistence cost for 3 persons in a family is estimated at \$13.00 per month.

LONG HOURS, LOW WAGES, FOR FOUNDRY WORKERS

WASHINGTON—Average full-time hours per week in foundries in the United States in 1929 were 51, and in machine shops 50.3, while foundry wages averaged 82.4 cents an hour and machine shops wages 63.3 cents an hour, says the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

MASs UNEMPLOYMENT IN ROCHESTER

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Alarmed at the number of unemployed, the Rochester city council has voted to establish an emergency unemployment bureau to handle "all new cases which present themselves to the private agencies who will, in turn, refer them to this bureau." It is estimated that out of a working population of 100,000, 25,000 are idle.

Over 8,000,000 Women Toil at Low Wages

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that these so-called restrictions have not been lived up to, and have been placed upon the statute books as a concession to certain groups that have conducted campaigns for their enactment.

Long Hours for Women

Referring to the wages of women workers, Mary Anderson, director of the Women Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, speaking recently in Kansas City, Mo. stated that

"The approximately 80 reports already published by the Bureau, stress the fact that thousands of women still fail to receive a living wage and that thousands still toil more than 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week, many as much as 10 hours daily and 60 hours a week, and some much more. In too many instances women are forced to work in crowded, poorly ventilated, dirty workrooms, to strain their eyes because of glare or insufficient light, to stand all day or sit continuously in a cramped by unguarded machinery and their health jeopardized by lack of comfort and sanitation in plant service equipment."

Of course, Miss Anderson as an official of the United States capitalist government will not advocate any drastic changes to better the conditions of the working women. It is only the women workers themselves by being organized in militant fighting unions and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men workers for equal pay for equal work who will be able to better their conditions. They must become active advocates of increases in wages, the abolition of speed-up, sanitary working conditions and a shortening of hours. In such a struggle they will also develop issues of special importance to the women workers.

From all parts of the country reports of the long hours and low wages of the women workers are received. The Newark, (N. J.) Trades and Labor Council, an American Federation of Labor body, reveals that girls' working hours are 12 to 14 hours in many big stores, including the powerful Sears-Roebuck corporation. Their report also points out that laws that are supposed to limit the hours of labor for women are difficult to enforce because fines are nominal and girls who complain are discharged.

Reports from Albany, N. Y. state that

Political Situation In Germany Reveals Crime of Archangel Expedition

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and powerful district of the Party in Berlin. The Wedding Opposition too has short-comings, characteristic of the German Left Wing of 1923-26, which it has not completely overcome even to-day. This is particularly true of its ultra-left position in the trade union question. The best of these Left groupings has maintained itself in the Pfalz district, where it publishes a paper called "The Pioneer."

The catastrophic development of the party since the Sixth Congress has alarmed these scattered Left groups. In the past few months the scattered Wedding groups have again united and begun to discuss, seriously and actively, the basic problems of the party.

These forces that have set themselves into motion are still weak, here as opposition in the Leninbund, there as Left faction in the party, at first in Wedding and Pfalz.

But one thing is clear: the old forms of the struggle with its outlived traditions and watch-words — of which the German Left had more than enough — must be surmounted. The new trend of the Comintern and the Communist Party of Germany since the Sixth World Congress demands more elastic, theoretically more deeply grounded and active factions than the past.

Despite a thousand difficulties in the struggle against innumerable obstacles and difficulties, the pieces are gathering inside and outside the party that will build the Left wing and that will have to understand how to represent and to apply the basic teachings of the international Leninist Opposition in Germany.

BUILDING ON THE CHUTE IN PENNSY

HARRISBURG, Pa.—(FP)—In January showed an unprecedented decline in building and construction in Pennsylvania. Building permits dropped 77.5% compared with January, 1929. Philadelphia reported \$2,719,000 in permits this January against

during January of this year two women and five boys and girls died of injuries received on the job, according to the state labor department. The sharp decrease of employment in New York state is accompanied by the lowering of safety precautions, which is usually the case during industrial depressions. Of course, the amount of men killed during the same period was larger than that of women, nevertheless the latter are daily facing the same risks as the men.

Night Shifts in Auto Plants

The Federated Press reports that in Detroit women are working 12 hour night shifts in the Briggs Body plants, a flat violation of the state labor law. Wages, run from \$10 to \$14 per week. Before the unemployment crisis, the women workers were able to earn as high as \$18 weekly, but the plant taking advantage of the surplus labor, cut the pay, knowing that under present conditions there are many jobless who would replace them.

When celebrating International Women's Day, March 8, the working women of America must declare emphatically their determination to fight for better working conditions — equal pay for equal work, end of the speed-up, raise in wages, sanitary working conditions, reduction of hours and no night work.

The women workers have shown in many past struggles that they were militant fighters and in the future will again show that they can fight courageously for the rights of the working class. Who will forget the bravery of the wives of the coal miners who in a score of struggles have fought shoulder to shoulder with their husbands on the picket line in spite of the machine guns of the bosses thugs. They have been among the most active participants on the picket line in the needle trades struggles in New York, the textile strikes of Passaic, New Bedford and Gastonia and many smaller strikes throughout the country.

International Women's Day is a time for the militant women workers to rededicate themselves to the class struggle and prepare for future activity. The Communist League of America (Opposition) calls upon all women workers to join in the celebration which is held every year for the working women of the world when they measure their victories and defeats of the past twelve months and prepare for future struggles.

Reveals Crime of Archangel Expedition

By Federated Press

The leading article in the American Mercury for March is the Archangel Adventure, written evidently by an American army officer who went through that criminal piece of British muddling for which Woodrow Wilson was generously ready to pour out American lives and treasure, all to no avail. The return of 75 bodies of American middle western soldiers, uselessly and tragically sacrificed on the Arctic Russian soil from which they were exhumed last fall, is the occasion for returning to that 12-year old wild goose chase against the Soviet Union.

Right at the outset the Mercury author states that the adventure "cost hundreds of lives, millions of dollars and an immense amount of suffering."

Wilson lightly promised American cannon fodder and American dollars to the British general staff and on August 18, 1918, announced that the doughboys would be used to guard war material for czarist Russians against the revolution. In addition they were to get control of the northern arm of the Trans-Siberian and its feeder railroads from the Bolsheviks. The author points out that the Bolsheviks had already taken all the war material there would have been to guard and that a very much larger total force would have been needed to grab the railroads.

He concludes: "From the 102 caskets shipped to the United States from Archangel in 1919; from the 75 that arrived in New York the other day; from those waiting disposition in France; from the hundreds of lonely unmarked graves in the tundra — Yankee, British, French — there comes no stinging. I should hate to be the staff man who planned that dream of a winter march through Arctic Russia."

That brainless crusade was all for democracy. Another is now being planned in

STALINISM IN CHICAGO I. L. D.

CHICAGO—On Monday, February 3rd the Chicago Joe Hill branch of the International Labor Defense held its regular elections—well organized. I say organized advisedly as I noted several comrades present who otherwise do not attend much, neither to meetings nor to work of the I. L. D. Knowing them all well, I soon observed that they were members of the official Communist Party brought there to vote. Why that was "necessary" became clear to me later.

Comrade J. R. Booth had been our branch educational director for a long time, being elected unanimously; his program had in the past been accepted without opposition. His very active work for the movement and for the I. L. D. in particular had always been recognized; at one meeting he alone brought in 25 new applications for membership. His general working class record is well known, including one year and a half in jail for opposition to the last world war. He was now again nominated for the position of educational director to succeed himself but that started the "works". Those Party members brought there to vote objected to the nomination on the grounds that comrade Booth supports the Opposition—the Trotskyites—no other reason was advanced.

Narrowing Down Labor Defense

Although not on the "inside" but still having heard enough discussion from time to time about the "new line" it is quite clear that this is what has been put into operation in the I. L. D. and used against comrade Booth. There used to be a time when the I. L. D. had room for all revolutionary and class conscious workers who were ready to fight for labor's prisoners and for the working class movement in general; but that is all over now.

Comrade Booth defended his right to continue in active work for his class. He reminded the voters of the act that while he himself, a "Trotskyite", had been present defending the "Freiheit" during the severest days and nights of attack by the bourgeois zionists he had failed to see these voters present. He stated that no organized caucus could prevent his active work for his class even though they may prevent his being elected for the post for which he was nominated. They might even carry through their threats of expulsion; but, turning to the other branch members he asked them not let such Stalinist tactics interfere with the work of the branch or break it up. "Whether outside or inside," said comrade Booth, "I will continue to work for the I. L. D., and I ask you all to do likewise."

A couple of members, not belonging to the party, spoke against the objections made to Booth's nomination and when it came to election things had been carried so far that all the non-party members present abstained from voting one way or another, not wanting to take part in such manipulations. Thus the party caucus won a victory; but a few such victories and there will be no I. L. D. branch left.

—A BRANCH MEMBER

No Murder Charge Against This Judge

By FRANK L. PALMER

DENVER—(FP)—"Passing the buck" from one city to the other struck a snag in "Justice" Court in Denver. It was noticed for a day however and then forgotten.

A father was brought into court for failure to provide for his family. "I can't get work," he pled. "Then I'll give you 90 days," the judge thundered. "I couldn't support them any better if you did," the desperate father countered, with some apparent justification.

"I'll sentence you to 90 days in jail and suspend sentence to give you 48 hours to get out of town and take your family with you."

Some way he got an old Ford and started through the Colorado winter to "get out of town". The baby was ill but fear of the judge was strong. In a Nebraska town the pleas of the mother that the baby be taken to a doctor, even if there were nothing to pay the bill, was agreed to.

The baby was dead.

Murder charges have not been filed against the judge.

YOUNG VANGUARD

- - A Section Devoted to Problems of the Working Class Youth

:-: Whither the American League? :-:

The Enlarged Plenum of the Y. C. I. found its echo in the recent plenum of the Young Communist League of the U. S. A. The "New Turn" and watchwords were all faithfully reproduced according to schedule. Undoubtedly the new zig-zag was very welcome to Rijack, Harvey and Green. It saved them the embarrassing trouble of really explaining the causes for the disintegration of the League. The Y. C. I. plenum provided them in advance with all the necessary explanations. The resolution adopted (*Daily Worker*, February 5-8, 1930) reveals the miserable situation in which the Y. C. I. finds itself—but explains nothing, and lays the basis for further decline.

There is much "self-criticism" in the resolution. Self-criticism plays today a special role in the official Parties and Leagues similar to a safety valve in a steam boiler. Genuine self-criticism could never serve the interests of an opportunist bureaucracy. They indulge in "self-criticism" in order to forestall criticism from below. The bureaucracy use self-criticism as the bourgeois liberals view free speech—to relieve the internal fermentation. So they confess their sins, and the membership feels that a new clean revolutionary atmosphere surrounds them. In reality, the new atmosphere is a most congenial place for committing new errors.

"The struggle of the young workers were often allowed to pass unobserved, and when we did participate in these struggles we too often failed to give independent leadership or to develop the necessary new forms of struggle (New York, Boston, Kansas City, etc.), and to build the league". Really a most remarkable leadership and a most remarkable state of affairs in the League. The silence with which such a statement (which reveals paralysis and impotence) is received in the League, is a sign that the process of disintegration and demoralization is very far advanced.

In the "Third Period" it is necessary to exaggerate without limit (in order to conceal the very increasing bankruptcy of the present leadership). The third period must be confirmed at all costs. Facts are no longer of any importance; so think our youth "leaders". "Thus the economic crisis is causing the young workers to move to the Left at an extremely rapid pace (so!). This growing activity on the part of the young workers finds expressions in the ever increasing number of youth strikes..." Of course in the "third period" it isn't necessary to mention just in what industries these youth strikes are to be observed or to name any of them. Only those who are still lagging behind somewhere in the second period want to have exact and accurate information on these youth strikes. To determine the extent, the main tendencies, the number involved, light or basic industries—all this seems to be of no concern to the marionettes in the leadership of the League.

If anyone is in search for a quotation expressing underestimation of social reformism, here is one of the outstanding examples: "The radicalization of the young workers takes away the base of the social reformists among the young workers and while social reformism remains the chief ideological barrier, which we have to overcome amongst the young workers, there can be no real growth of reformist youth organizations—but only disintegration, providing the Young Communist League plays its role." Everything here is wrong and muddled. It is false to say that radicalization takes away the base from the social reformists and only politically irresponsible people who trifle with the interests of the workers would state such a thing. It is precisely in the period of radicalization that social reformism has all the opportunities of growth among the working class. This period likewise makes for greater opportunities for Communism and makes more fertile the possibilities of its growth. Who will grow faster, which will outstrip the other depends on several conditions, among which the tactics of the Party play an extremely important and decisive part.

An expression of the "Left" danger we are told is "vanguardism". But may we ask, What is the origin of this tendency? Who cultivated and nourished it? Who was it that always flattered the youth and taught them that they played a special, sanctioned role in the struggle against deviations in the Party? Who told the youth that they were the best interpreters of the Comintern decisions? Who always used the youth as a pawn for every zig-zag move on the Centrist chess-board? It is exactly that leadership which today cries loudly against "vanguardism" that is entirely responsible for the growth of such a tendency in the Y. C. I. It was found then to be expedient in the struggle against comrade Trotsky and the Leninist Opposition. But today when dissatisfaction with the course of the present leadership (Shatzkin-Sten) the E. C. finds it necessary to struggle against the very tendencies for which it was responsible, and which it nurtured.

The Y. C. I. and American League plenums were important in that it foreshadows the "new turn" that is to follow in the C. I. and its sections. The "new turn" stated in the resolutions as the need to struggle against the "Left Danger" is a forerunner of the beginning of the new wave of repressions and persecutions against the Leninist Opposition. It foreshadows the adoption again of a Right course by the Stalinist Center. The excuse of the League, that the need of a struggle against the "Left" is the result of sectarian isolation, is just an excuse. The cause of the sectarian isolation is the result of the adventurist and recent ultra-Left course of the International, arising from the spurious theory of the "third period". In this "new turn" the League will once again be the "best interpreters" of the Comintern decisions, and struggle against the "Left deviations"—and prepare with the Party the swing to the Right. Such is the honorable role that the Young Communist Leagues, the world over, are fated to play under the regime of the Centrist bureaucracy.

—GEORGE RAY

The Militarization of the American Youth

A new feature in the militarization of the American youth is taking place in New York. This act, in face of the recent London Conference, and all other peace and disarmament negotiations, belies the attempts of this government to appear as a promoter of peace. A bill has been introduced into the New York State Legislature calling for the conscription of all students between the ages of 10 and 18 to compulsory military training.

To avoid resentment to this open attempt at making soldiers of the American youth the bill states in its title that it is "Instruction in boy scout training and kindred subjects". But even such a covering fails to hide the fact that the aim and purpose of this bill is the preparation of cannon fodder for the coming war. As in all forms of military service, the weak and sick are eliminated, and the best physically are allowed the "privilege" of participation, which in this instant would mean compulsion to service.

The bill if passed would mean that all students, regardless of attendance at private or public schools would be forced to wear the uniform, take 30 minutes drill daily, and special training during the holidays, and summer vacation periods.

Need of Mass Movement

The passing of such a bill would necessarily set a precedent that would undoubtedly be pursued in other states. At the present moment only the Teachers Union of the State has protested against "this attempt to exploit the children of the state and thus keep alive the institution of militarism". That however, is far from sufficient.

This particular attempt of the state of New York must be linked with the whole attempt at militarization of the youth in

Since the close of the World War a group of new sects has appeared in America, made up of self-styled defenders of the American Constitution. The most fervent of these are the American Security League, the Key Men of America, the Army and Navy League, the Constitutional Defense League, and the Ku Klux Klan. Even the old corpse of the Sons of the American Revolution—not to mention the Daughters—has been revived and shouts loudly with the rest.

These organizations have to a degree succeeded in foisting on America a new religion in which the fathers of the revolution are made the saints and the Constitution a holy book. Like all religious fanatics, the makers of the new religion are ready to inflict punishments on anyone who dares to question the truth of their doctrines. To suggest that the revolutionary forefathers were after all only human beings, with no more power to look into the future than we have today—and perhaps with less—is to bring down their wrath upon you. They are equally ready to condemn any one who declares that the Constitution is now obsolete; for they are not realistic enough to recognize that the framers of the Constitution were not inspired by heaven but only by the social and economic conditions of the time in which they lived.

Not content with practicing their jingo religion by themselves, these holy crusaders have done and are doing their best to instill into the American workers a worship of the past and a fear of questioning the American institutions. Like the early Christians the American workers are ready to suffer rather than reason out whether or not these institutions having their foundation in the Constitution serve their interests or not.

As a matter of fact, the evidence is on the negative side. Take, for example, private property and the protection of the individual, comparing conditions today with those of 150 years ago. At that time, most property in America was the result of individual labor. America was primarily an agricultural country, with an abundance of virgin land. Very little capital was necessary to establish a man's independence: Almost anyone was able to get land and clear it for cultivation. After a few years of labor, he would be the owner of property that was the result of his own toil. A man with a few simple tools was able

to carry on a trade without the assistance of a capitalist. The Constitution in those days served to some extent also the interests of the bulk of the population (with the exception of the slaves) who consisted of small farmers and independent craftsmen, or, in other words, of small property owners.

The Exploitation of Labor and the Law

Now let us see if that holds good today. For example, Henry Ford, the outstanding individual capitalist in America today, is the reputed owner of an industry worth at least \$1,000,000,000. Is this billion dollars the result of Ford's own labor? Of course not. It is the result of the labor of hundreds of thousands of wage laborers who work "for" Ford. It is the product of social toil. It is possible under a private-property system for Ford to exploit these hundreds of thousands of men, or to speak more simply, possible for him to legally rob them of by far the greater part of what they produce.

Ford has, during the last four months, laid off 50,000 workers, denying them the right to work in the industry which they, not he, were the builders of. Yet the government would back up Mr. Ford when he deprives workers of the means whereby they live. According to the Constitution, it is his factory, not theirs. Suppose that the Ford workers should demand that he turn over the plant to them. Ford would stand on the right given him by the Constitution which says: "No person shall be...deprived of...life, liberty or property without due process of the law...Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." And the armed forces of the state would protect him in that right.

But what about the right of the 50,000 workers to life, liberty and the right to work—which is the only "property" of wage slaves? Well, the Constitution and the state laws have nothing to do with that. Property rights come first, and that holds good throughout the nation. Why? Because, though an industrial revolution took place in America, and we have changed from an agricultural country to an industrial, from individual production to social, yet we are still bound hand and foot by a document written in a pre-industrial era. Today a small minority own nearly all the land, the raw material, and the industries, while the greater part of the population are propertyless (proletarians). But we have failed to change our institutions to meet the changed economic conditions.

Abolish Capitalism

To speak of "we", however, is to be inexact. The nation is made up of those who own and those who work. Of these two great classes, one, the minority, namely, the propertied class, still derive benefit from the existing order. It would be futile to expect them to bring about a change in the social system of America. That can only be done by the other class, the property-less ones, when they waken to a realization that a national constitution drawn up 150 years ago is now obsolete and must take its place in a museum as a thing of the past. New institutions must instead be created. We, the proletariat of today know far better than did our forefathers, what the social and political requirements of today are. We cannot let the past stand in our way, nor can we allow a handful of professional patriots and ancestor-worshippers to hold back the wheel of progress. The proletariat must and will brush all such aside and write its own constitution and make its own history.

—PETER HANSEN

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP AT STANDSTILL

WASHINGTON—Total membership of all trade unions in the United States in 1929 was 4,331,251, according to a summary published in the latest edition of the Handbook of American Trade Unions, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This is somewhat less than the total for 1926. During these three years 10 national organizations, chiefly dual passed out of existence. American Federation of Labor unions report a gain of 126,430 over their 1926 total. The chief gains were made in the construction and public service industries.

WAGE CUTS IN OIL FIELDS

LOS ANGELES—Drastic job cuts have been made in the southern California oil fields, the Los Angeles Times admits in an inconspicuous item on the financial page. January has shown a "marked decrease in employment" the open shop paper states.

RAIL TELEGRAPHERS ADD NEW MEMBERS

ST. LOUIS—(FP)—The Order of Railroad Telegraphers enrolled 307 new members in January.

MY PART IN THE OCTOBER

By L. D. TROTSKY

The following is a chapter of the "Real Situation in Russia" by L. D. Trotsky, dealing with the falsification of the history of the Russian Revolution by the Stalin regime. This chapter is of special interest now in view of the celebration of the founding of the Red Army. The translation, including the notes, is by Max Eastman.

As to my participation in the October Revolution—in the notes to Volume 14 of the Complete Works of Lenin you read:

"After the majority of the Petersburg Soviet passed into the hands of the Bolsheviks, Trotsky was elected its president and in that position organized and led the insurrection of October 25:

How much is true here, and how much false, let the Bureau of Party History decide—if not the present one, then some future Bureau. Comrade Stalin has lately categorically denied the truth of this assertion. Thus:

"I have to say that Comrade Trotsky played no particular role in the October insurrection and could not do so, that being president of the Petrograd Soviet, he merely fulfilled the will of the corresponding party authority, which guided his every step."

And further:
"Comrade Trotsky played no particular role either in the party or the October insurrection, and could not do so, being a man comparatively new to our party in the October period." **

In giving this testimony, Stalin forgot that he himself said on the sixth of November, 1918; that, is on the first anniversary of the revolution, when facts and events were still too fresh in the minds of all. Even then Stalin had already begun that work in relation to me which he has now developed on such a grand scale. But he was then compelled to conduct it far more cautiously and underhandedly than he is now. Here is what he wrote then in Pravda *** under the title, "The Role of the Most Eminent Party Leaders":

"All the work of practical organization of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the bold execution of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and above all to Comrade Trotsky."

Those words, spoken by no means for the purpose of laudatory exaggeration—on the contrary, Stalin's goal was then wholly different, but I will not dwell on that—those words sound absolutely incredible today as coming from the lips of Stalin.

It was said long ago: A truthful man has this advantage, that even with a bad memory he never contradicts himself. A disloyal, unscrupulous, and dishonest man has always to remember what he said in the past, in order not to shame himself.

Comrade Stalin, with the help of the Yaroslavskies, is trying to construct a new history of the organization of the October insurrection based on the fact that the party created a "practical center for the organizational leadership of the insurrection," of which, it appears, Trotsky was not a member. Lenin was not a member of that committee. That fact alone demonstrates that the committee had only a subordinate organizational significance. It played no independent role whatever. The legend about this committee has been created today for the simple reason that Stalin was a member of it. Here is the membership: "Sverdlov, Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov, Uritsky." However unpleasant it is to dig in the rubbish, it seems necessary for me, as a sufficiently close participant and witness of the events of that time, to testify as follows:

The role of Lenin, of course, needs no illumination. Sverdlov I often met, and I often turned to him for counsel, and for people to help me. Comrade Kamenev, who, as is well known, occupied a special position, the incorrectness of which he himself has long ago acknowledged, **** took never the less a most active part in the events of the revolution. The decisive night, from the twenty-fifth to the twenty-sixth, Kamenev and I spent together in the quarters of the Military Revolutionary Committee, answering questions, and giving orders by telephone. But stretch my memory as I will, I cannot answer the question in just what

consisted, during those decisive days, the role of Stalin. It never once happened that I turned to him for advice or cooperation. He never showed the slightest initiative. He never advanced one independent proposal. This fact no "Marxist historian" of the new style can alter.

A Supplementary Insertion

Stalin and Yaroslavsky, as I said above, have wasted much effort these last months in proving that the organizational center created by the Party, consisting of Sverdlov, Stalin, Bubnov, Uritsky and Dzerzhinsky guided, so to speak, the whole course of the insurrection. Stalin has emphasized, every way he can, the fact that Trotsky was not a member of that center. But alas! through sheer carelessness on the part of Stalin's historians, in Pravda for November 2, 1927—that is, after the present letter was written—there appeared an accurate excerpt from the report of the Central Committee for the sixteenth to the twenty-ninth of October, 1917.

"The Central Committee creates a military revolutionary center with the following members, Sverdlov, Stalin, Bubnov, Uritsky, and Dzerzhinsky. THIS CENTER IS TO BE A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOVIET COMMITTEE."

The Revolutionary Soviet Committee is the Military Revolutionary Committee created by the Petrograd Soviet. No other Soviet organ for the leadership of the insurrection existed. Thus these five comrades, designated by the Central Committee, were required to enter as a supplement into the staff of that same Military Revolutionary Committee of which Trotsky was the president. Superfluous it would seem, for Trotsky to be introduced a second time into the staff of an organization of which he was already president! How hard it is, after all, to correct history after it is finished!

I wrote at Brest a short outline of the October Revolution. This book went through a great number of editions in various languages. Nobody ever told me that there is a flagrant omission in my book—namely that it nowhere points out the chief guide of the insurrection, "the military revolutionary centre," of which Stalin and Bubnov were members. If I so badly remember-

The Policy of the Leadership and Party Regime

Continued from Page 4
from the Soviet apparatus into the Party and gave the latter forms and dimensions which are unheard of, which are indefensible, in view of the role of political leadership the Party has to play.

The Stalinist Bureaucracy
On top of that the Centrist leadership has raised to Communist dogmas ("organizational principles of Leninism") the methods of command and compulsion, refining them to a degree rarely known in the history of bureaucratic virtuosity. With the aid of these demoralizing methods, making machines out of thinking Communists, killing the will, character and human dignity—the Centrist top succeeded in becoming an irreplaceable and inviolable oligarchy, substituting the Party and the class.

The capitulators do not like to talk any longer of the Party regime and Party bureaucracy. This seems to them now to be natural, as if it were part of the proletarian dictatorship. From the moment the capitulators decided to achieve a place under our Soviet bureaucratic sun, the Stalinist regime has become to them the very best of the best; a democratic, a workers, and a Party one. A particularly cynical apologist has become—Radek. With ease he threatens his former comrades with article 58; in his declaration of July 13, he tries to defend the methods of the leadership, which served to decompose the apparatus within the country and has done harm to the dictatorship outside the country. Those who talk about Party democracy (evidently Lenin is to be included) are nothing else but vulgar liberals, struggling for freedom in the abstract! Meantime the struggle with the class enemy, that regenerates and becomes more ugly, in the future too will be hin-

ed the history of the October insurrection, why did not somebody clear me up? Why was my book studied with impurity in all the party schools in the first years of the revolution?

Even in the year 1922 the Organization Bureau of the party seemed to think that I understood fairly well the history of the October Revolution. Here is a small but eloquent confirmation of that:

Moscow, May 24, 1922.

"No. 14302

To Comrade Trotsky:

"Excerpt from the report of the session of the Organization Bureau of the Central Committee for May 22, 1922, No. 21.

Commission Comrade Yakolev by the first of October to compose under the editorship of Comrade Trotsky, a textbook on the history of the October Revolution.

"Signed, Secretary of the Sub-Department of Propaganda"

That was in May 1922. And my book about the October Revolution having appeared before that time in many editions, was well known to the Organization Bureau—the head of which, at that period was already Stalin. Nevertheless the Organization Bureau considered it necessary to lay upon me the task of editing the school book of the October Revolution. How does this happen? It happens because the eyes of Stalin and the Stalinists were opened to "Trotskyism" only after the eyes of Lenin were closed forever.

* P. 482

** J. Stalin, "About Trotsky, Trotskyism or Leninism," pp. 68-69.

*** No. 241.

**** This is a mild reference to the fact that Kamenev and Zinoviev opposed the seizure of power in October, held negotiations against it, with the Mensheviks, and even made known in a non-Bolshevik paper the secret resolution of the Bolshevik central committee calling for the insurrection. They were denounced as "traitors", "deserters", "strikebreakers", etc., by Lenin in a long letter which I published in my "Since Lenin Died".

Zinoviev subsequently stated that the two greatest mistakes of his life were this opposition to Lenin in 1917 and his opposition to Trotsky in 1924. "I am working with Trotsky now for long," he said. That was two years ago, and he has since deserted again and is writing anti-Trotskyist articles at the behest of Stalin.—Trans.

THE MILITANT

is the only newspaper in the United States that regularly publishes the writing of L. D. Trotsky, Ch. Rakovsky and other leaders of the Left Opposition of the Communist movement based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin. In addition it is the only periodical in the English language in any part of the world that prints the correct estimation of world events based upon a Leninist conception.

THE MILITANT is the organ of those who want to reestablish the international Communist movement on the basis it was up till the death of Lenin. Published weekly, it is a powerful factor in mobilizing the working class along the correct ideological lines. Without its regular appearance the Left Opposition not only in America but throughout the world would sustain a severe loss.

In a recent letter, Comrade Trotsky asserted that La Verite the weekly organ of the French Left Opposition and THE MILITANT were the two best organs of the movement that is conducting a campaign for a return to Lenin's teachings. To enable THE MILITANT to continue publication, the immediate support of all its readers is necessary. A donation to its Sustaining Fund will enable it to continue to exist.

FILL OUT THE BLANK BELOW

DO NOT WAIT! ACT TODAY!

AND MAIL IMMEDIATELY AND THEN YOU WILL KNOW YOU HAVE DONE YOUR PART FOR THE REGENERATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

(Tear here or if you want to save this issue of the Militant copy it on another piece of paper.)

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue, Room 4
New York, N. Y.

I am enclosing a donation of \$. . .
for the Militant Sustaining Fund to help maintain the paper and publish the works of L. D. Trotsky
Name
Address
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A LETTER FROM ENGLAND

Helston, Cornwall, England

The Militant:

Dear Comrades:

Many thanks for your letter. Yes, I have had a serious turn for the worse. My heart is now in a state in which it may give out at any moment—the valves being worn out. For this reason I shall not be able to meet a comrade who is proposing to come from Paris to arrange for the distribution of the Russian Bulletin and to organize the Opposition in the Communist Party in England. This needs to be done badly. I have sent an address in North Shields, where a useful helper will be found, who has lived on the Tyne Side for a lifetime. . . . I shall never be able to leave home again, and if the heart does not improve I am likely to be "out of it" very shortly.

The news that Comrade Trotsky's health is improving is the best you could possibly have sent me. . . . I had noticed that his writing was as accurate in detail and as genuine as ever. Also, that the old humour was not wanting. His books and articles have energized me for years. Like most people in feeble health I am inclined to pessimism. Whenever I am at my worst, I invariably turn to some of Trotsky's writings and always with good results.

The workers who get the Militant cannot afford a cent for a copy. I will continue to pay while I can. The poverty on Tyneside is ghastly and unemployment is getting worse.

MILICENT SHOOTER