

THE MILITANT

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LENIN LIVES IN THE WORK of THE OPPOSITION

In the present period, with the intensification of the organic ills and weaknesses of capitalism, with the dawn of new and broader horizons of class struggle, war and revolution, the vanguard of the working class, the Communists, must more than ever look to Lenin for inspiration, for guidance. It was Lenin who characterized our epoch as one of social convulsions, as one of international struggle for the proletariat. Lenin was the founder and organizer of the party of the working-class, the Communist International, which as the conscious arm of the class will inevitably lead it to victory.

Today the epigones of Leninism are in power in the International. Today the teachings of Lenin and of Marx are being ground underfoot, while reactionary theories like that of socialism in one country are proclaimed the acme of Communist wisdom. The Communist International has been crippled and paralyzed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, at times playing the rôle of an international pacifist society, at times that of an irresponsible adventurist sect. The Russian revolution which Lenin held up as the torch-light of emancipation for the world proletariat, is being run into national socialist channels.

The years of opportunist policy, in the Soviet Union and in the International following the death of Lenin, have crystallized a Right wing group in the Communist movement, based on the theory of socialism in one country. For them, for the Lovestones and the Brandlers, all the teachings of Lenin are summed up in his meticulous attention to national peculiarities. They only disfigure and misrepresent Lenin the Internationalist. They turn him into a monstrous caricature, that of the nationally limited "exceptionalist". These people have broken with the fundamental tenet of revolutionary Marxism, with proletarian Internationalism.

The International Left Opposition alone bases and supports itself on the rigorous and far-sighted principles of Leninism. It is the true heir of Lenin. Under the leadership of the co-worker of Lenin, L. D. Trotsky and of the cream of Bolshevism—the Russian Opposition—the Communist Left fights for the defense of Leninism and for the regeneration of the Communist International in the spirit of Lenin. For us as for Lenin it is clear that we live in the framework of world economy, in which every country forms an inseparable link. For us as for Lenin the enemy is imperialism, monopoly — world capitalism. The struggle of the proletariat is an international struggle. Our daily struggle against American capitalism is for us a battle on one particular front in the war against world capitalism. With Lenin, we look upon the Russian revolution upon the Soviet state as the first step of the international revolution. The only way to defend it is the Leninist way: "hard work at developing the revolutionary struggle in one's own land and the support of such and only such struggles and policies in every country without exception." We reject the Stalinist brand of mechanical internationalism, which sets an arbitrary date for international action regardless of the degree of readiness of the different sections and irrespective of the objective situation (first of August, 6th of March etc.) For Leninists revolutionary action consists of the application of an international line that assigns specific tasks to every national section on the basis of the situation of its country in the complex of world economy. This is the way Lenin regarded the tasks of the Russian Communists:

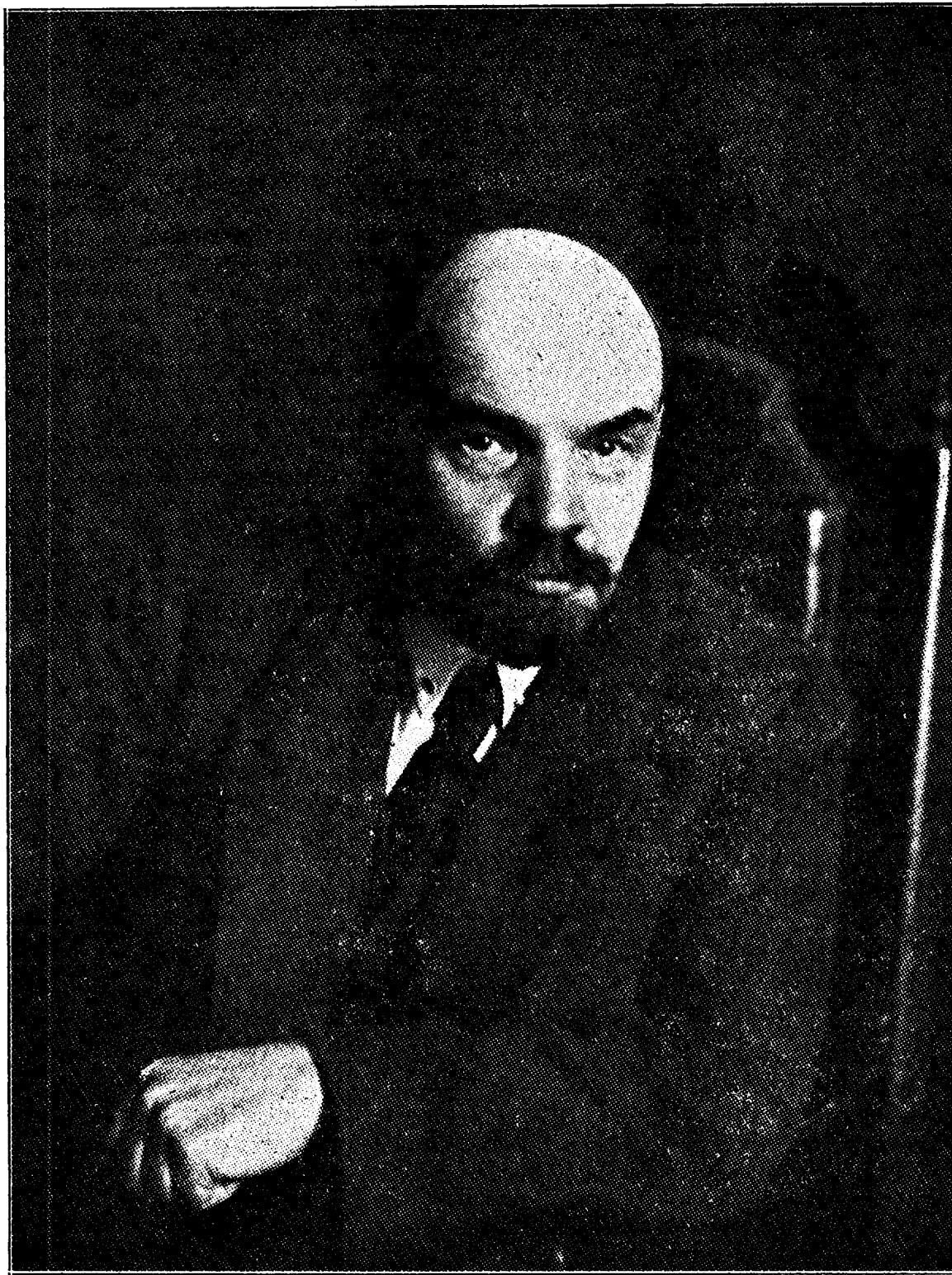
"The Russian proletariat," Lenin said, "cannot single-handed bring the Socialist revolution to a victorious conclusion. But it can give the Russian revolution a mighty impetus such as would create most favorable conditions for a socialist revolution and would in a sense, start it. It can help to create more favorable circumstances for its most important, most trustworthy and most reliable collaborator, the European and American proletariat, to join the decisive battles." (Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers.)

It is in this light that we reject the theory of socialism in one country as un-

Leninist. It is in this sense that we condemn the Bucharin-Stalin policy of "Enrich yourselves!" the Stalinist policy of "one-hundred percent collectivization" and the bureaucratic "liquidation of the kulak as a class", as different sides of one and the same reactionary theory, that of the national socialist Utopia—as a betrayal of the interests of the revolution.

Only with a Leninist policy can the revolution be successfully concluded, only on

an international scale. It is for such a policy that the Left Opposition has suffered suppression, exile, expulsion and physical violence. But it has become hardened in the struggle. It will not yield. On the solid rock of Leninist principle it will build up its revolutionary cadres, fight for the confidence and support of the Communist workers and, with them, lead the proletariat to victory under the banner of the regenerated Leninist Comintern.



To those who mock at us because of our present smallness of numbers, we hold up the glorious example of Lenin, who with a tiny band of courageous revolutionists, raised the standard of proletarian internationalism at Zimmerwald in the face of world reaction; of Liebknecht, who alone and isolated defended this same internationalism in the Reichstag in the face of slander and vilification against the German social-chauvinists; of Rose Luxemburg, who with a little group of Spartacists, persecuted and hunted down by the treacherous Noske and Scheidemann, by the dogs of reaction, formed the first nucleus of German Communism. We too stand alone today. We are accused of being sectarians, of isolating ourselves from the masses. But we know well—and we have rich and fertile Marxist experience to back us—that the masses are not clay to be played with, that intransigence of principle on our part today gives birth to the inspired actions of the masses tomorrow. Today our task is to clarify, to solidify our ranks on the basis of principle. We are now defending, as a small minority, the living heritage of Marxism, even as Lenin did in the days when the Kamenevs and the other fictitious "old Bolsheviks" thundered against him and his sectarianism. Our task today is mass propaganda. It is bearing fruit. The seventh anniversary of Lenin's death finds the Leninist Left Opposition definitely on the upgrade.

Kote Zinzadze Dead!

A brief note, a few perfunctory lines in a recent issue of *Pravda*, announce the death in Stalinist exile of comrade Kote Zinzadze. We recently mentioned comrade Zinzadze's case in the *Militant*, pointing out his extremely serious condition and the fact that permission for the change of climate promised him by the party leaders would probably arrive in time for his funeral. Our worst fears have now been realized.

Why was our comrade allowed to die when his life might have been saved? He committed the crime of every Bolshevik Oppositionist; he remained loyal to the heritage of the October revolution. An irreproachable revolutionist, he joined the Bolshevik party in 1903, and was one of the organizers of the October revolution. After the victory of the Russian workers, he work-

(Continued on page 4)

Lenin's Will Must Be Carried Out by the Party!

By the stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke before. I mean measures to prevent a split, so far as such measures can be taken. For, of course, the White Guard in *Russkye Mysl* (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg) was right when, in the first place, in his play against Soviet Russia he banked on the hope of a split in our party, and when, in the second place, he banked for that split on serious disagreements in our party.

Our party rests upon two classes, and for that reason its instability is possible, and if there cannot exist an agreement between these classes its fall is inevitable. In such an event it would be useless to take any measures or in general to discuss the stability of our Central Committee. In such an event no measures would prove capable of preventing a split. But I trust that is too remote a future, and too improbable an event, to talk about.

I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a series of considerations of a purely personal character.

I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability—from this point of view—is such members of the Central Committee as Stalin and Trotsky. The relation between them constitutes, in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be avoided, and the avoidance of which might be promoted in my opinion, by raising the number of members of the Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

Comrade Stalin, having become Gen-

eral Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways and Communication, is distinguished not only by his exceptional ability—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee—but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be far too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split, and if our party does not take measures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

I will not further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kameneff was not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

Of the younger members of the Central Committee, I want to say a few words about Piatakov and Bucharin. They are, in my opinion, the most able forces (among the youngest), and in regard to them it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bucharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party, but also

may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never fully understood the dialectic.)

And then Piatakov—a man undoubtedly distinguished in will and ability, but too much given over to the administrative side of things to be relied on in a serious political question.

Of course, both these remarks are made by me merely with a view of the present time, or supposing that these two able and loyal workers may not find an occasion to supplement their knowledge and correct their one-sidedness.

December 25, 1922

Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes unsupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority — namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive significance. January 4, 1923. —LENIN.

Towards the New York Dressmakers Strike

By SYLVIA BLEEKER

The call for the dressmakers' strike of New York is about to be issued. Although it is to be a strike of only one branch of the industry it is nevertheless of concern to all needle trades workers. The conditions of work prevailing at present are practically the same in every branch: fierce exploitation through the piece work system, constant reduction of wages and the complete abandonment of regular hours. To be able to pull through in any way, with the existing standards, the needle trade workers in many cases work seven days a week besides putting in long hours. While the cost of living has been reduced somewhat here and there, wages have declined from 25 to 50 percent. The situation varies very little in the different branches of the trade.

The Assault of the Bosses

The onslaught of the bosses against the standards of the needle trades workers is assuming phenomenal proportions. In the completely unorganized shops, the bosses proceed with a general slashing of wages, cutting down the earnings of the workers to the very rock bottom, meeting with practically no resistance. In the shops under control of the Right wing union, the bosses have the tacit support of the administration in the wage cutting campaign. The Right wing betrayers help the bosses pacify the workers, subdue their spirit of resistance, utilizing the control over the membership and the apparatus of the union as a profit-raising machine for the bosses and against the workers.

The most fundamental principles of unionism have been wiped out and replaced by open hand-in-glove work with the bosses. This class collaboration policy is threatening to destroy the last vestige of power of the organized needle worker and stall off the organization of the unorganized further and further. The needle trade workers, especially the class conscious ones, cannot and must not allow these conditions to continue. We must call a halt, and that without delay.

The strike of the dressmakers, being called by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, must become a rallying point for all needle trade workers in their fight against the bosses for better conditions, for shortest hours, for week work, against the "stagger system", against the class collaboration policy of the Right wing officialdom, against terror in the unions, and for the organization of the unorganized. The economic interests of the workers, organized and unorganized, are identical. The economic interests of the workers in the N. T. W. I. U. are just the same as those of the workers who, because of job control, are at present in the Right wing union. Even the working conditions of the two groups of workers do not differ to any degree and their needs are identical.

This identity of interests of the needle workers in the Industrial Union and in the Right wing International must become clear to all workers, and should be the guide for a common struggle against the bosses. The fact that for the present or even for some time in the future, these workers are divided in their union affiliation, must not for one moment befog their common aim. Those workers who are fighting under the banner of the N. T. W. I. U., being the most advanced section of the needle workers, must continuously and tirelessly work in the direction of helping the workers in the Right wing unions free themselves from the yoke of the treacherous bureaucracy. Our isolation up till now has only helped the International to spread the notion among its workers that the Industrial Union exists "only for politics". Such propaganda can be eradicated only through persistent work in building the Industrial Union as a militant organization, as well as through a fighting group in the International for the interests of the thousands of needle workers there. The sooner we do that the sooner will we separate the needle workers from their reformist leadership.

Party Policy and Ours

The policy of the N. T. W. I. U. in relation to the workers in the International, which has been changed somewhat under the pressure of the Opposition's criticism, has led the workers to confusion and isolation. By calling the broad masses of the needle trade workers by the same name as their bureaucratic leadership, by classifying these workers in the same group as their yellow socialist leaders, the Industrial Union only put up a barrier between these two groups of needle workers. It is this isolation policy that was the cause of the lack of organization and resistance on the part of the workers in the International against the betrayals of the Schlesinger officialdom. Even now, when the trade union

policy of the party has been changed, the attitude and approach to the Right wing membership is still erroneous. In essence, the changed policy must be a call to the worker of the needle trades, regardless of their union affiliation, for a common struggle against their class enemies, the bosses, and their reformist agents. The two-front policy proposed by the Communist League (Opposition) was originally rejected and condemned. We said, "What is needed is a two-sided policy of strengthening the new Union and simultaneously working within the old Unions, with a single objective: to unite the workers on a broader basis under the Left wing banner. . . . To liquidate the new unions would mean to deprive the workers of the concentrated gains of their long struggle and paralyze their fighting power for a long time.

The Lack of Preparation

Up to, now, the preparations for the dress strike have not been much to speak of, to put it mildly. Since the last conference in June 1930, there were only phrases, but no organizational preparation. The famous theory that all workers of the A. F. of L. unions are "social fascists" made it impossible for the Industrial Union to organize opposition groups in the International and raise the sentiment for the strike. Leaflets, open forums, are essential, but cannot take the place of direct and definite organization. The making of contacts in the open and Right wing shops has been conducted in a loose manner, with very obviously meager results. Due to the mechanical discussion at the various meetings of the union, the interest of our membership is not sufficiently deep-going. This has been demonstrated by the small attendance from the shops controlled by the Industrial Union to the dress conferences, and by the shop

delegates' council meetings. The machinery of the strike now, about two weeks before the call is to be issued, has not as yet been organized, constituted and put into a workable body. When is all this to be done—this puzzles every needle trades worker. Such fraternal organizations as the Workmen's Circle, the Independent Workmen's Circle, and a number of other labor fraternal organizations, were not asked to support the strike. The reason given for this attitude by the leadership until opposition comrades in the strike committee made the proposal, was that they are bosses' organizations, and that the International Workers Order has the jurisdiction in this field.

Of course, this policy of the Communist party for the trade unions is thoroughly wrong. By maintaining this policy, the Communist party is only aping the reactionary A. F. of L. which recognizes no "dual" organizations regardless of their position, strength and effectiveness. This policy is only a remnant of the preceding isolation course of the party, which considered every worker not a direct supporter of the party a "social fascist" or worse. There are certainly many honest workers in these organizations and they must be appealed to, to show their solidarity with the dress strikers.

What Should Be Done?

To insure a favorable outcome of this strike we must immediately intensify the organization within the Right wing unions and rally the workers around the call for the dress strike. We must appeal for aid to all labor and fraternal organizations without exception and urge the membership to exert pressure upon their officialdom to make the strike of the dressmakers the fight of all the workers, so that the strike successful at the present crisis will have a far-reaching effect on all the workers. Speakers for all our meetings should come from

The Strike -- As We Go to Press

Since the article by comrade Bleeker was written, and just as we go to press, we have received the following information:

At the party needle trades fraction meeting on January 29, 1931, with Amter in the chair, Foster, Johnstone, Stachel and other party leaders present, and under their pressure, it was decided to change the whole basis of the coming dressmakers' strike. Instead of a strike for the economic demands of the workers in the trade (hours, wages and conditions), the decision was adopted to conduct the strike SOLELY on the basis of a struggle for the "recognition of the union." This marks a distinctly backward step, which robs the whole proposed strike of its genuine significance. At the present time, when the main task must be the strengthening of the Industrial Union in the face of the severe onslaughts of the bosses upon the dressmakers' conditions, a strike merely for "recognition" makes it virtually impossible to draw into the struggle the thousands of workers who are unorganized or in the Right wing union. It is always the policy of the labor lieutenants of capitalism in control of the A. F. of L. to conduct strikes purely for recognition from the bosses, and not for the amelioration of the workers' conditions. The Left wing cannot and must not follow this road.

What is behind this overnight change of policy. First, a belated recognition by the party bureaucrats that the preparations for the strike have been grossly insufficient up to now. Second, the idea of making a dicker behind the scenes with one section of the bosses, those with whom the Industrial Union already has an agreement, for the re-adoption of this agreement—denuding

the strike of its real objective and of all militancy.

The Left wing militants must bear this in mind: Under present conditions a strike for "recognition of the Industrial Union" will not move the non-Industrial Union members to struggle. The demand is an abstract one unless it is bound up with the struggle for economic conditions. Workers join in struggle for the improvement of their conditions and only under that banner, and not for an abstraction.

What does the Left Opposition propose at present? The point of view expressed in comrade Bleeker's article remains entirely correct. If a strike is called, it must be called on the basis of the conditions of the workers and their improvement, and with adequate preparations and a correct approach to the majority of the workers who do not yet follow the Left wing. If it is proposed to call a strike merely for "recognition"—the strike will be devoid of its real objective, for which the party bureaucrats will bear the full responsibility. Rather than such a "strike", we propose that the present strike committee be reformed into AN ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEE with a campaign worked out to lay the ground solidly for a real strike in the future. These are the proposals which the Left wing as a whole must adopt.

It goes without saying that regardless of what steps are taken by the Industrial Union, the Left Opposition will be found fighting on the side of the Left wing and in the very front ranks. Our interests are theirs; their struggle is ours.

We shall return to this question in greater detail in the next issue.

the working class movement, and we must make an effort to get all those who definitely support the strike. All workers, members of our union, should be drawn into activities regardless of their political opinions. Regular and systematic shop meetings must be called of all the connections that we have made so far in the Right wing and non-union shops, to discuss their grievances and bring them to a head at the time of the strike call. Every shop controlled by the Industrial Union should spare one or more members for colonization in non-union and Right wing shops. The strike committee must begin to function properly by assuming its legitimate functions immediately. We cannot delay the perfection of this apparatus. All members with experience in strikes and willing to be active, should be drawn into the work. The conference in preparation for Jan. 31, must work in the direction of sending out a call to the I. L. G. W. U. demanding from them not to see the machinery of the union to scab on the dressmakers, and call upon the workers there to exert pressure upon the officialdom—and join the ranks of the strikers. The strike of the dressmakers should become the focal point around which the issues of the needle workers will be crystallized and a definite Left wing organized in the Right wing unions will emerge. To this end, every class conscious worker must strive. We must try to make up for the criminal lack of preparation by our devoted work. Our tireless and whole-hearted participation must become the backbone of the dressmakers in their fight against the bosses. The Communist League of America (Opposition) calls upon all its members, its sympathizers and the needle trades workers in general to join the ranks of the striking dressmakers and help them carry it to a victorious conclusion. The dressmakers will pave the way for a militant fight of the rest of the needle workers against the greedy attacks of the manufacturers.

We stand with you, dressmakers, and will do all in our power to help you win the strike and build the Industrial Union.

GOLD ON THE SKIDS

From friends in France we learn: At the recent international conference of the "revolutionary litterateurs" in Odessa, a most instructive episode broke the otherwise even calm of the proceedings. Not unexpectedly, the tumult centered around the noted "proletarian artist", Michael Gold, editor of the New Masses. In the course of the discussion, one of the American delegates, Kunitz, directed a few telling strictures at Gold, pointing out that the man was simply sliding fast to a comfortable bourgeois outlook and . . . existence. As we pointed out once in the Militant, Kunitz pointed out at the conference how the financial motif ran through all of Gold's work. Before Jack Robinson could be said, Gold simply upped and engaged in a fist-fight with Kunitz. The Russians, of course, took the side of Kunitz—not physically, but "ideologically". Gold's hints for a bit of subsidy, later on, were met with a cold statement: "Print the Masses on a mimeograph machine", he was advised. We cannot fully agree with this advice. We would like to know: why should it be printed at all?

N. Y. OPEN FORUM

EVERY SATURDAY NIGHT
FEBRUARY 7: RECENT STRIKES IN EUROPE—STRIKE STRATEGY.
by Arne Swabeck

Strikes against wage cuts in Germany— Strikes against the stretch-out system in England— Strikes against the insurance system in France — What have they achieved? What was the role of the reactionaries? What was the role of the Communists? — What is the position of the Red Unions? What are the prospects for revolutionary activity within the reformist unions?—What constitutes revolutionary strike strategy? All these questions and others related to the subject will be answered

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Auspices: New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

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On Monday Evening: February 9th, 1931, at 8:30 P. M.
Admission: 35 Cents
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What Is Happening in the Soviet Union Today?

AT THE END OF AUGUST

I will inform you briefly and fleetingly—so as not to lose the freshness—of the impressions of my journey, my observations and encounters. I shall not speak of the successes. They are indisputable and are expressed in figures, even though not always exact ones. I will only speak of the minuses, because they are passed over in silence. In the meantime, they are accumulating into an ever greater danger. It is the duty of a revolutionist today not to play the official tune but—against the stream—to speak the truth, and not only speak it but shout it aloud.

... The approaching shut-down of many big machinery plants is being spoken of because of the lack of raw materials. This information was also confirmed by N. N. who, as you know, works in this sphere. The chaos in transportation is beyond description.

The situation in the Donetz basin is very critical. You must have noticed it by the way, through the reflections in *Pravda*. The miners are throwing up their jobs en masse. They now are called "loafers". There is nothing surprising in this situation. A friend of mine, a technician working in the Donetz Basin, an honest non-party worker, and completely pro-Soviet, told me that the situation was catastrophic, and that if the material conditions of the workers' existence were not improved, the realization of the production program would have no chance of realization. As things stand now—according to this same friend—half of the miners receive an average wage of fifty rubles a month. . . . The cooperatives naturally, have nothing in stock and the prices of commodities in the free market are extraordinarily high.

A situation similar to the "Don-bas" has also been noticed in other places. Under these conditions, to speak about "productive enthusiasm", is, to put it mildly, an exaggeration. "When you speak to the miners about increasing production", the technician told me, "they unanimously reply that they must first be fed." The production meetings, as well as the trade union meetings, are almost unattended. In the textile industry, the situation is no better. I do not know if you are informed that in the summer the paper mills were nearly all closed down for a period of almost two months as a consequence of the same reason: lack of raw material. Once again, the adventurism of the leadership was vividly proved. They had established the uninterrupted working week and the system of three shifts without a preliminary inventory of the raw materials at hand. As usual, responsibility was shifted to the administrators. I can very well imagine the fate of the administrators had they said, at the height of the uninterrupted working week, that there was insufficient raw material. We have a similar situation in the leather and tobacco industries. In the cooperatives, there was not until recently the possibility of buying even a single cigarette or a pinch of tobacco. Allotted cigarettes are sold only in factories and institutions. On the private market, at fantastic prices.

Queues at the stores have been standing for meat (women wait at the doors of the cooperatives from 8 to 9 o'clock in the evening until the following morning) for biscuits, for caramels and . . . for shoe repairs. For some of the other commodities the question of "queues" was solved very simply: they simply did not exist.

Textile, paper and silk products were not to be obtained even on the free market. In the cooperatives, there are absolutely no shoes. Their distribution has now begun at the factories, but in a completely insufficient quantity. On the market, shoes sold at fabulous prices: 70 rubles as a minimum, 200 as a maximum.

The crisis in small currency has assumed catastrophic dimensions. There was no possibility of changing money. You ought to see the incidents this produced! People were buying absolutely unnecessary things only in order to run up the bill to one ruble or to three. Lately even the paper ruble has been missing. Excitement runs high. At the top, they close their eyes to the general reason for this very well known phenomenon, produced by inflation.

At the factories, the campaign for the "Five Year Plan in Four Years"—loan was executed with great difficulty. In many factories, especially in the textile factories, it was very difficult to organize meetings for the loan. In some places, they utilized the noon hour for these meetings, but the workers did not want to listen. Generally, the textile workers are the most dissatisfied: because of the extremely low wage and the intensification of labor. One woman comrade, a very good textile worker, a member of the party, told me that the Com-

munist in the factory where she works (one of the factories of the "Moskvoshei") can no longer bring in any proposals to the factory meetings and whenever anything has to be proposed, they seek out a non-party worker, because the workers will not listen to them.

Because of the lack of foodstuffs there is a serious crisis in the personnel of the Leningrad port.

The workers I had occasion to interview on the lack of products, told me that they consider the present situation worse than that of 1919. This opinion struck me forcibly. To my doubts, they replied that in that epoch they were assured of rations—this is not the case now. They also said that personally, they are fed more or less decently at the factory dining rooms, but that this does not solve the problem of feeding the family. Besides that, at the factory they eat only once a day when to be satiated at least three meals a day are needed, and as for the remaining two meals it is impossible to find any, or almost any provisions.

Some workers to whom I spoke told me a very interesting story about the "shock brigades". These famous brigades do not always include the best elements. In every factory, they try to create a group of privileged workers who are better paid than the rest, a sort of an aristocracy, upon which the Centrist bureaucracy can support itself. Excellent workers, actually capable of productive enthusiasm, are often forced to stand idle because the materials are given to the brigade first. In addition, this creates an antagonism inside the factories and the "shock brigades" often become the object of a growing antagonism on the part of the workers.

Last summer a strike of the Odessa dock workers took place. To take the place of the strikers, Communist Youth were sent in. They were beaten up by the workers who, at the same time, insulted them, calling them strike-breakers, etc. In Novorossisk, as a consequence of the lack of products, serious disturbances occurred. Demonstrations of women marched through the streets. Stones were thrown into the building of the local Soviet.

I also wish to communicate to you the impressions of a comrade who was in Siberia for party work at the beginning of April, where he remained until the end of July. I must tell you that this was a comrade whom I know as a "one hundred percent", who never risked a criticism and who had no sympathies for us. Neither was he a Right winger. When I met him I hesitated for a few minutes even to greet him, because I assumed that he would not even wish to undergo the risk of a conversation with me. But to my astonishment, he himself came to meet me. Here is approximately our conversation:

"How are you?" I asked him. "You look very bad. You look tired."

"Why not? You would look bad too if you had been where I was for a number of months, in the village. . . . I will tell you right off: if the bourgeoisie had sent us as wreckers, it could not have done any better than Stalin. One is inclined to believe that we are under a colossal provocation. . . ."

And he proceeded to tell me about the adventures carried out during the famous period of "dizziness". I shall not repeat it, because the picture was the same everywhere. . . . Stalin put up against the party not only the middle peasants but also the poor peasant Communists, the former partisan fighters.

The same comrade told me, by the way, that he could not find a single pound of butter during his journey, which included the whole of Siberia.

At the end of July, I spoke to a Ukrainian worker who spent his vacation in his native village. He is a member of the party since 1918, a participant in the civil war, an excellent comrade, sympathetic to us a certain extent. His village is near B. Into some of the collective farms the worst elements of the village entered, the least conscious. . . . In some collective farms he knows, there is no labor discipline; there is a food crisis. In order to silence the members of the collectives, flour was distributed among them, to a quantity that would be sufficient for two to three days. A trainload of grain for the workers of Kiev was attacked by a group of collectivized farmers.

All the comrades who have been in the village confirm the presence of great dissatisfaction, but at the same time they assure us categorically that the peasants remain with the Soviets, that is, deeply bound up with the régime. It is interesting that in many places, particularly in the Ukraine, the peasants, even at the acutest moments, did not reveal any bad feelings towards the

local representatives of the party. They look upon them as victims of the policies higher up. One must assume, therefore, that the members of the party themselves do everything possible to represent themselves as simple executors of the decrees of the Central Committee. A situation like this, as you understand, is full of dangers.

All those who have been in the village confirm the great progress in the consciousness of the peasants. They speak in a firmer voice. They see clearer than before. "We," a peasant told me, "see clearly that the collective is better. But we want collectives for ourselves and not according to the decrees from above." This is also indicative.

BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER

Lately, in some places, a very sharp character was assumed by the antagonism between the Russian and the foreign workers. The latter, as is known, have much more favorable conditions, to be precise, they receive a special ration that assures them a living minimum, which the cooperatives cannot give to the Russian workers.

In spite of this, the foreign workers are also not always satisfied. Even though their material position is considerably superior to that of the Russian workers, it is nevertheless considerably inferior to the position which the Communists press represented depicting the U. S. S. R. as a country in which socialism has been completed at least ninety percent. The ridiculous official exaggerations produce an unavoidable reaction. Over-zealousness to the point of absurdity produces as always, not good but harm.

The inevitability of a break between Stalin and . . . Molotov is being spoken of very persistently. It is reported that Stalin threw the responsibility for the "turns" in party policy for the village upon the latter, and that even though against his own will, Molotov finds himself compelled to go over into opposition. This would be a spectacle for the gods. The fact, at any rate, is such that in the honorary presidiums and other lists, Molotov no longer figures in the second, but in the third and fourth place, the Red professors have completely stopped quoting Molotov, but for

that they have begun to quote the complete works of Kaganovitch.

NOVEMBER

In the apparatus, in connection with the "double-handedness" of Syrzov and Lominadze, etc., there is a great confusion. Circles close to Ordjonikidze were informed that "double-handedness" has made a special impression on him. He complains that nobody can any longer be trusted, even friends and assistants, and he expresses great helplessness.

Syrzov was trusted by Stalin until the last minute and was supported by him. Lominadze and Sten (?) issued an appeal in the Caucasus. They were called to Moscow. In their negotiations with Stalin they declared that this was a "mistake" on their part. (Repentance is cheap nowadays). But right after this they went to Syrzov for a meeting. When Syrzov's house was raided, they found there minutes of meetings through which they succeeded in exposing the bloc. Syrzov is presumably under "house-arrest". It is also reported that Zinoviev is playing at Opposition, after having been refused the floor at the Congress to make the most sincere and the final repentance.

In exile, under surveillance, and in the jails, etc., there are over 7,000 Bolshevik-Leninists (Left Opposition). Their number grows because the arrests and exiles are continued.

At the same time, the Soviet press, day in and day out, talks about the renewed activities of the "Trotskyists"—the very same, it is understood, remnants and chips.

In the factories with every shake-up, "Trotskyists and semi-Trotskyists" appear, who demand more correct bonds and more systematic work. They are undoubtedly correct. The Opposition will recover from the continued organizational pogroms only on the basis of the factory nuclei, even though they may consist of two or three workers each.

The official slanders against the Left Opposition are not credited by anybody. Everybody knows—they are lies. But some think it is "useful", and others think they are hideous. Here lies the whole difference. —N. N.

Olgin: Now and Then

It has been a long time since the Stainless Knight of Bolshevism, Moissaye J. Olgin, last entered the lists, scarred lance in hand, to defend his liege lord from the assaults of the pagan Trotskyists. We hasten to add that we have no special cause to regret his absence, because every time he appeared in the past he brought with him an unmistakable odor not calculated to improve the appetite: the odor of the incurable Menshevik so similar to that of uncured ham. All the more distasteful is it, therefore, to comment upon his most recent appearance in the columns of the *Daily Worker* (12-29-1930) and the *Freiheit* with an offensive against the so-called Right-Left bloc of Syrzov, Lominadze and Co., during which he pulls out of the old bag of tricks the customary "revelations" against the "Trotskyists". So long as Olgin maintained what could graciously be called a penitent silence, we were willing to do likewise, hoping that even if he could not learn the wisdom of Bolshevism he could at least learn the wisdom of discretion. But it appears that hopes for Olgin learning anything are doomed to disappointment.

We have no need to elaborate here upon the characterization of Lominadze and his colleagues as "desperate Centrists" which we established in a past issue of the *Millitant*. The bloc between them and the equally desperate Right wingers should be characterized not as a "Left-Right" bloc, but far more precisely as a bloc between the Right wing and a section of the Stalinists, than whom there had been for years no more fiercely loyal a supporter than Lominadze himself. Is it necessary to add that Olgin does not even intimate this? On the contrary, he seeks to leave the impression that the Lominadze tendency is a direct reflection of the Left Opposition.

"You listen to Syrzov and you seem to hear Abramovitch; Lominadze speaks and his voice sounds strangely like that of Kautsky," says the notorious foe of Abramovitch, Olgin. We will not speak of the members of the American party, nor even of the Soviet party; but where did Olgin "listen to Syrzov" or hear "Lominadze speak"? What documents containing their views has he ever read, and where were they ever printed? We don't know, and Olgin is no wiser than we. But Olgin fulfills a special function, that of executing blindly and willingly the orders of his superiors who say: Write this way, and then: Write exactly the other way, and Olgin does that, too.

In consideration of the scientifically established fact that environment is so decisive in shaping the human being, Olgin, like the poor working girl who went wrong, is more to be pitied than censured. For years he worked in the miasmatic environment of the respectable business men's paper, the Jewish *Forward*. When Abe Cahan ordered an article saying that the Sisson documents—"proving" that Lenin and Trotsky were German spies—were valid, Olgin wrote about the Bolshevik-Kaiser (the Left-Right!) bloc of those days. Now Stalin orders an article to say that the Left wing of the Party is in a bloc with the Thermidorian Right, and Olgin, out of sheer deep-seated habit, complies again. Cahan used to order half a dozen articles to prove that the Bolsheviks were speculating on the ruin of the country in 1913, and Olgin promptly filled the order, as the records of the *Forward* still show. Now Stalin orders a few articles saying that Trotsky is speculating on the ruin of the Five Year Plan, and Olgin is his man. Who will in the future take the place in Olgin's life occupied the day before yesterday by Cahan, yesterday by Lovestone and today by Stalin—we do not venture to foretell, although the prediction would not present insurmountable obstacles: there is something in the nature of the man—in the nature of the type of man—that facilitates such a prediction with the same assuredness that it guarantees the change in master.

In his exhaustive and authoritative study, "Treatise on the Natural Evolution of Woman" (Vienna, 1903), Dr. Friedrich Adalbert Von Eckenberger remarks: "These wretched creatures are divided into two principal categories. The one adopts its vocation under the pressure of economic need; the other, drawn from all the walks of life, engages in its reprehensible work because it feels the need of thrilling experience." Those who know Olgin at all, know that his fairly comfortable economic position puts him under no compulsion to do what he does because of the want of a little change in the pocket. He commits his indecencies, according to the only other alternative, because he gets a kick out of it. Really, there are such people!

—o—
We do not live merely in a state but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. In the end, one or the other must triumph.

The Communists and the Unemployment Crisis

By ARNE SWABECK

Without any let-up, the economic crisis has been hitting deeper and the ranks of the unemployed workers have increased from day to day, with the beginning of 1931 so far showing the very lowest ebb. Consequently, the economic experts and the financiers, in their New Year "messages", maintained an extremely cautious tone, in everything except their demands for wage-cuts. From the International Labor Bureau at Geneva comes the announcement that the world's unemployed workers today count 20,000,000, the European share being 11,000,000—on a whole, a rather moderate estimate.

That there has been a constant decrease of jobs in the United States with an almost exactly corresponding growth of breadlines is evident even to the casual observer. The New York Industrial Commissioner, Frances Perkins, reports factory employment in the state hitting the lowest level on record for December since the establishment of the bureau in June, 1914. The December index for factory employment showed 77.5, a drop of 4.1 from November, which is again the largest decline of any single month since 1920. Steel output during December reached its lowest in six years, production for the month being 38.57% of capacity. Foreign trade during the year 1930 fell off a total of \$2,737,780,000. There has been an epidemic of bank failures and while, to an extent, this reflects the struggle between chain and unit banking, on a whole it is only additionally symptomatic of the ravages of the economic crises growing inevitably out of the capitalist system of production.

Hoover's Promises

Even to the most gullible, the "optimistic" promises, made at the famous Hoover conferences more than a year ago, to bolster up the waning confidence in this system, for initiating large scale industrial "emergency" undertakings, alleged to be mounting into billions of dollars to alleviate unemployment, should now have proven themselves incontrovertibly as nought. The railroad magnates stepped up with the largest single item of alleged expansion but at the end of September, 1930 showed a drop of employment on all Class A roads of 261,000 jobs: from 1,747,816 to 1,485,906 or 15 per cent. Mr. Wollman of Hoover's Unemployment Commission reports a decrease of number of workers engaged in public works in June 1930 from the same month of the preceding year. All in all sufficient proof of the fact that capitalism, in order to maintain its existence needs an industrial reserve army.

Undoubtedly there have been "valiant" efforts on the part of the capitalist owners of industry to dispose of the large stocks of "surplus" products on hand together with a curtailment of production in preparation for a revival. Above all, this is expressed in what is politely called "efforts to reduce cost of production", in other words, to increase the rapacious speed-up system and further reduce wages. The automobile output, for example, has come down to an estimated total of 3,350,000 for the year compared to the 5,350,000 for 1929. Mr. Wiggin, the president of the Chase National Bank, in his New Year's "message", added his voice to the many other exploiters demanding a further wage reduction.

Most certainly there have been similar "valiant" efforts by U. S. capitalism in the ferocious struggle for further re-divisions of the world market. One need only cast a glance at the latest South American "revolutions" made to order by Wall St., and at the proposed silver loan for the stabilization of China; in other words, attempts at saddling part of the burden of American capitalist restitution upon the shoulders of the workers abroad.

Economic Cycles of Capitalist Production

Despite the efforts of the masters of industry we have now for more than one year been in the midst of this crisis, an inevitable outcome of the cyclic nature of capitalist production constantly proceeding through its course: depression—"prosperity" to depression again. That this crisis is more convulsive and more deep-going than preceding ones is a natural outgrowth of the developing process of contradiction between increasingly socialized production and individual capitalist appropriation. It is caused mainly by the general decline of imperialist capitalism especially in Europe and the growing interdependence of world capitalist economy, making the crisis appear almost simultaneously in every capitalist country, and becoming more acute in all its manifestations. It is caused by the immensely increased expansion of productive capacity due to technical application of science to the machinery of production, growing rationalization and speed-up. It is caused by the growing standing army of unem-

ployed cast off from industry even during its "favorable" period when employment decreased despite the increase in production. It is further caused by the growing intensity of the struggle to reduce the working class standard of living as a whole through what is euphemistically called "reduction of the cost of doing business". These are some of the main factors in the present situation.

The contradictions of the savage system of capitalist production and rule have increased enormously, becoming of serious portent for the future. First we must register the fact that henceforth we will have in the rich United States a large standing unemployed army creating a central problem for correct Communist policy. **Present Status of Working Class Movement**

At the present moment, the outstanding feature of the situation is still the capitalist offensive, the working class attitude being expressed in a distinctly defensive manner. A ferocious slashing of wages, both directly and indirectly, to a point where many standard trade unions are unable to maintain their officially set scale; a murderous increase of the speed-up system, pitting the employed workers against the unemployed; efforts to saddle the scant charity pittance to the "most needy cases" entirely upon the backs of the workers; brutal dispersal of unemployment and other working class demonstrations, and mass arrests of the Communist vanguard.

Is there as yet an actual working class resistance to this offensive? Unquestionably, there is a growing widespread mass discontent which has not yet assumed concrete forms: the illusions of the capitalist charity crumbs as a solution still prevail; the working class political ideology has not yet reached beyond the boundaries of the capitalist parties but still swings within the sphere of transferring allegiance from the Republicans to the Democrats—here and there growing support to reformism; 1930 shows fewer strikes on record than any year during the past decade despite the drastic wage cuts; there is not yet a mass response to the fight for the unemployed led by the Communist vanguard. In fact, we must record a decided drop in such response once manifested, largely, however, due to the blundering tactics of the Communist Party leadership. In sum and substance the situation presents itself to us at this moment as a downward curve of the working class movement.

From Wrong Estimates Wrong Conclusions

At the very inception of this crisis the bottom fell out entirely from the party leadership's estimate of the general trend and from the tactical policies it pursued, resulting in a constant narrowing down of the movement and preventing the rich potentialities from materializing. Its cry of widespread workers' radicalization, workers' offensive struggle already culminating in a revolutionary upsurge came to nought, shattered upon the rock of realities and further negated by its own inclination toward opportunist distortions of the slogans for immediate demands.

We witnessed in the early part of the struggle the attempts to set up a national organization of unemployed councils, ready made by mere administrative orders from above and within the artificial limitations of the T. U. U. L. It remained confined to the party and circles immediately sympathetic to it unable to develop roots in the life of the masses. There can, of course, be no other result from this sort of short cut maneuver, which attempts to skip over a whole stage of diligent preparation essential for an actual mass foundation upon which to set the workers into motion and from which alone can spring genuine organization. Correct tactics during the period of the low ebb become the preparations for the flood tide—the rise of the movement. But just as surely, the hitting of a too high key from a note of an entirely fictitious revolutionary upsurge produces a relapse, a setback. In serious matters of revolutionary politics from this relapse flows the inevitable consequence—downward sliding. This became expressed in the opportunist tendency of the party leadership to concentrate almost exclusively on the slogan of relief, embodied in a spurious "unemployment relief bill". Further, in a collection of signatures for the bill, also to be presented to congress, turning the workers' attention in that direction and to that extent away from the powerful dynamics of mass struggle.

Playing into the Hands of Reformism

Is it surprising that the party leadership found itself in a position unable to make any other distinction from social, liberal and ordinary bourgeois reformers, also framing "relief bills", except the vulgar op-

portunism of the amount of dollars and cents demanded for each worker per week? Next the leadership even reduced its original demand for \$25.00 weekly benefit per worker to \$15.00, putting it exactly on a par with a similar "bill" for \$15.00 per week now proposed by a newly organized New York committee representing civic, social welfare groups and conservative trade union leaders. Such a policy will in no way serve as preparation for the next stage, for the coming upturn in the movement for active resistance to the capitalist offensive. It cannot mobilize the workers under the Communist banner but on the contrary helps to put new life into an otherwise rather feeble social reformism.

In the revolutionary movement there is no escape from the inevitable logic of erroneous policies. A general strategy which runs counter to the basic curve of the specific period leads to a continuous decimating of the forces available. In this respect matters stand not any better with the hunger marches of unemployed now initiated by the party leadership. The very slogan itself, hunger march, is wrong, as it leads, even under the best of circumstances, to a separation of the unemployed from the employed. With the objective of marching to reinforce the demand for the fifteen bucks weekly relief, however, just as glibly promised by the civic reformers and pursuing methods which deliberately make the small Communist vanguard an easy target for police dispersion, we must not be surprised at the working masses remaining passive bystanders. Thus there are very good reasons that despite the splendid prerequisites for the beginning of a real proletarian movement this negative result is all that the balance sheet can show to date.

The next immediate future will undoubtedly bring a further rise of prerequisites of a class movement of the American workers. The low ebb will be followed by an upward curve of workers reassembling their forces, entering into active resistance and gradually assuming the offensive. With this in view the problem of the Communist movement of correct revolutionary policy becomes a seriously pressing matter.

What Must Be Done?

Facing a coming crucial period of an upward turn, our mass activities must be of such a nature as to effectively prepare for its success, give the correct direction for the working class struggle and establish Communist leadership. This means first of all a correct evaluation of the present **defensive character** of the movement, secondly it means a correct program for today and in anticipation of the next steps, when fighting for immediate demands, a sharpening of the general line of demarcation from reformism. Concretely the following points must be emphasized:

1. It is absolutely necessary to make clear the general object and limitations of immediate partial demands and not to arithmetically add new demands for every ill of the present situation appearing as solutions in themselves, such ends only in reformism pure and simple. Partial demands for partial objectives are advanced by the Communists essentially for the purpose of setting the workers into motion against their class enemy and in such a way that the struggle will lead ever more toward the revolutionary goal. In this unemployment situation, with its slashing capitalist offensive, particularly the demands which unite the unemployed with the employed and prepare for a working class offensive. We must make clear that partial demands are never advanced by Communists in the reformist sense of being in themselves a solution, we must say definitely: "There is no solution to the unemployment problem under capitalism."

2. Based upon the above considerations the demand for the **six-hour day without any reduction in pay** must become the central immediate demand. It should be clear that this demand has the widest base of appeal and tends the most directly to set into motion and embrace unitedly both the unemployed and employed workers. As a direct slogan of action it can become a very effective means of preparation for the working class offensive in the next stage.

3. Other demands to be linked up with this most outstanding one should be formulated not from the view of having as many as possible, seemingly covering every need, but from the view of becoming definite rallying points. For example: (a) Immediate unemployment relief from the bosses and their government; (b) extension of large scale credits to the Soviet Union. The last mentioned demand has a particularly direct

bearing on the world aspect of unemployment and furnishes a means of cementing the natural interests between the Soviet Union and the world proletariat.

4. The forms, methods and tactics applied in the agitation struggle for the unemployed are of as equally vital importance and can become correct only when thoroughly inspired by serious efforts toward a **broad united front basis**. The hunger marches must be made demonstrations in which all workers can participate and further fight jointly their for common interests under the proper broad slogans. It is necessary to effect a reorganization of the unemployed councils genuinely on a united front foundation. Especially should serious efforts be made to include the existing trades unions and working class organizations even to the extent of such whose leadership, in an effort to offset possible rank and file revolts, pretends to be championing the needs of the unemployed. Efforts toward a correct Leninist united front policy includes in particular the direct approach to the rank and file through the workshops, the breadlines, the union meetings but also the formal approach to the organizations officially.

5. Above all it is necessary for Communists to draw the complete revolutionary implications of the unemployment struggle. To tie up the agitation for the immediate needs in an indissoluble bond with the struggle for the socialist revolution and in such a manner that each step for the realization of the former becomes progressively a step toward this final goal, is an inescapable duty of the Communist movement.

Kote Zinzadze Dead!

(Continued from page 1)

ed secretly in Menshevik Georgia and did the pioneer work of arousing the proletariat in the civil war that finally liberated Georgia from the yoke of British imperialism and its Menshevik handmaidens. For a time, he served as head of the Georgian G. P. U., helping to crush the enemies of the proletarian revolution, with the same courage and devotion he demonstrated when he fought czarism before the revolution and was imprisoned by the Ochrana. After the death of Lenin, comrade Zinzadze found himself in the ranks of the Opposition to which he adhered until his death, defying the abominable pressure of the Stalinist apparatus, which sought but could not find in him a capitulator of the stripe of Kadek and Co.

He who fought for the living teachings of Lenin and the victory of the October still lived to see the counter-revolutionists against whom the Opposition organized, come to trial in Moscow. The Ramzins and their ilk found the ready mercy of the Stalinist apparatus, caught red-handed though they were in their nefarious plot against the workers' state. But Zinzadze, who struggled with his comrades against the Thermidorians inside and outside the party, was allowed to die in exile by a cynical party régime.

What a bitter and illuminating commentary on the present leadership that they find it possible to work in harmony with the counter-revolutionary and restorationist forces for years, but cannot tolerate in their ranks the best Bolsheviks of yesterday, today and tomorrow! The Stalins, Molotovs, and their creatures throughout the International, who desecrate the memory and teachings of Lenin at their hypocritical memorial meetings, rest uneasy while the Zinzadzes, the Blumkins, the Rakovskys, and thousands of the best sons of the Russian revolutionary proletariat, continue to live. The revolutionists must die, must be murdered on their sick beds or in the courtyard of the G. P. U., so that the legend of Stalinist infallibility and the permanence of Stalin's rule may prevail.

The Thermidorian Right wing remains a source of blocs and maneuvers for Stalin, while Zinzadze dies in exile and Rakovsky is threatened with the same fate. The Thermidorians and Kondratievs come forward in new editions every day, produced out of the loins of the apparatus, while the Blumkins are shot down in the dead of night. The proletarian heart of Russia is enfeebled by the crushing grip of the apparatus and the party is strangled by the noose of Stalinism. But out of the soil that produced the legions of Russia's October revolution, will grow new Zinzadzes and Blumkins, new Bolsheviks from the new generation, who will yet achieve the triumph of the living, real Leninism in the International. The coming victory will be the memorial to those who have died in battle.

Notes of a Journalist by ALFA

THE KNIGHTS OF ANTI-TROTSKYISM

The *Pravda* accuses Riutin—Riutin!—of Trotskyism and the party must listen to all this and suffer. This is what we have come to! Let us briefly recall the past. The initiators of the struggle against Trotskyism were Zinoviev and Kamenev. After some time they themselves came over to the banner of Trotskyism; the fact that they later deserted this banner does not change the matter. The chief, or rather, the only theoretician of anti-Trotskyism was Bucharin, who fostered the whole campaign. He turned out to be—Bucharin, the author of the program of the Comintern! —“A bourgeois liberal” and “an agent of the wreckers inside the party” His repeated repentance does not change this fact. The Moscow organization was entrusted into Uglanov's hands especially to carry on the struggle against Trotskyism. His services in this sphere were more than once given official recognition. But no sooner had he crushed Moscow Trotskyism than he himself was exposed as an echo of the Kulak-Nepman. At the head of the Moscow Central Control Commission which was expelling Trotskyites was the not unknown Moroz. No sooner had he completed his work of expulsion than it was recognized at the joint session of the Moscow Committee and the Control Commission under the direction of Stalin, that Moroz, who was the personification of the “party conscience” on the Moscow scale, in reality lacks all conscience whatsoever (literally!). At the head of the Krassnopresnensk district, the main proletarian district in Moscow stood Riutin, the pillar and hope of Uglanov, the main theoretician of anti-Trotskyism in the Moscow organization. Now he has been stamped a former Menshevik, a renegade, a wrecker, and is expelled from the party. But nevertheless, between his Menshevism of 1917 and his wrecking of 1930 he has succeeded in executing the chief work of the Moscow organization in its struggle against Trotskyism.

We could continue this compendium indefinitely beyond the confines of the U. S. S. R. In all the sections of the Comintern the majority of those who direct the struggle against Trotskyism proved to be Rights, counter-revolutionaries and renegades. We must ask, did not their renegacy consist precisely in the fact that they conducted a struggle for the extermination of the only Marxist, the only Leninist faction of contemporary communism?

HECKERT TEACHES LIEBKNECHT

Fritz Heckert writes in an anniversary article of the *Pravda* on the defeat of the German revolution of 1918-1919: “It was a great mistake that the Spartacist union considered itself as merely a propagandist group in the ranks of the Social Democratic party.” Further on, he accuses Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogisches of “not having understood the rôle of the revolutionary party.”

In this remark there rests a grain of truth even though it is expressed pedantically, torn out of its concrete historical context. But this is not what we are concerned with now.

If it can be at all considered a mistake that Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht maintained the Spartacist group in the position of a revolutionary faction inside the Social Democratic party too long, and by that impeded the victory of the German revolution, then what can be said about the gentleman who forcibly compelled the young Communist party of China to enter a purely bourgeois party, abide by its discipline, and even to give up its duty of opposing Marxism to Sun-Yat-Senism?

But it was precisely this crime that was committed during 1923-1928 by the leadership of the Comintern. Nevertheless it was Fritz Heckert who unflinchingly defended the criminal policy of the Right-Centrist bloc against the Left Opposition. Isn't it clear that Heckert should have been a bit more careful in relation to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg?

THE STALINIST RECRUITMENT

The newspapers print in almost every number:

“We non-party workers, in reply to the double bookkeeping of the Opportunists declare our adherence to the party.”

After this always follows a list of workers with a note attached to each: twenty years of industrial experience, twenty-five, twenty-nine and even thirty-three. Thus it is a matter of workers from forty to fifty years of age. All of them were mature at the time of the October revolution and the Civil War. This did not prevent them from remaining outside the party. Only the double bookkeeping of the two Chairmen of the Council of Peoples' Commissars—Rykov and Syrov—induced them to join the party.

What sort of workers are these who

succeeded in retaining their jobs in a factory, very often in the same factory, for a period of 15 to 20 years prior to the revolution? These are the meekest, the most submissive, very often simply servile elements, the participants in the religious processions, those who bring gifts to the boss on his birthday. In the first years of the revolution they did not even dare to think of entering the party. But once it is ordered by the bosses, by the authorities, they cannot refuse. These are the elements and layers inside the working class to which centrism looks more and more for support, gadding at the same time, the most advanced workers.

THE GREATEST CRIME

Pravda has now formulated a new kind of crime: “the Trotskyists' methods of discrediting the best pupil of Lenin and the recognized leader of the party, comrade Stalin”. Unfortunately, the most serious beginning of this Trotskyist method was laid down in Lenin's Testament where “the best pupil” is accused of rudeness, disloyalty, and the tendency towards the abuse of power, and where the party is recommended to remove him from his post.

THE OPPOSITION'S YESTERDAY

Pravda (November 21) criticizes in a lengthy article the mistakes of A. P. Smirnov, the former People's Commissar of Agriculture, and his successor U. E. Teodorovitch (1926-1927), and reveals their adherence to the Kondratievs and others. The article is fundamentally a paraphrasing of the written declarations which the Opposition presented to the Central Committee in 1926-1927, and which met with the indignant rejection of Stalin, Molotov and the others. And so poor *Pravda* repeats the Opposition's yesterday.

“EVERYBODY REMEMBERS”

The paper *For Industrialization*, which is conducted, by the way, in a very frivolous manner, writes: “everybody remembers the idea, advanced at one time by the wreckers of the southern metal industry, that the Dnieprostroy station should be constructed only when there would be consumers for the power on hand. In other words, only after the factories will have demanded power should the construction of the station begin. This was directed against Dnieprostroy” (November 3, 1930.)

“Everybody remembers! But some also remember, besides this, that all these arguments were the basic arguments of the

Political Bureau in 1920

Voroschilov-Kalinin-Rykov—were all against Dnieprostroy, with the exception of the Ukrainians who were for Dnieprostroy for Ukrainian considerations. Stalin declared that to construct the Dnieprostroy station might be compared to a peasant buying a phonograph instead of a cow. Voroschilov clamored that it would be ridiculous to construct a power station for factories that do not yet exist.

All this is preserved in the stenographic minutes of the Central Committee meetings.

THE MYSTERY OF REPENTANCE

Soviet Siberia informs us that in Kalatchinsk “the chief work and concern of the Communists of late, has been the recognition of mistakes and self-flagellation, which is done with a particular pleasure and frivolity.

Only in Kalatchinsk?

They now repent as easily as they blow their nose. The not unknown Bogushevsky who, for a number of months, was the proverbial extreme Right (in reality, he was not a Right winger, he simply did not catch the signal at the right moment and continued to play the old record), is now not only the responsible editor of the paper *For Industrialization* but he also conducts a furious campaign against the Rights. What was required of him for this high post? Nothing in particular: to cut his hair, take a bath and repent. And the fellow is again as good as new—until a new zig-zag.

After these lines had been written, the Moscow papers brought the latest news: Bogushevsky was called on the carpet for calling the repentance of Bucharin, his teacher of yesterday, double-bookkeeping. Again, he did not catch the signal on time and—he overreached himself. It can't be helped, it's the risks of the trade.

THE BALD-HEADED COMMUNIST YOUTH

Why do you keep silent, Nicolai Ivanitch?

A few lines to you and Rykov We are ready to devote.

This is a fragment of verses of Bezymensky, the accuser of those who cannot defend themselves. Nussinov, who was expelled from the party, he calls “a most villainous abomination”.* There's a bold and quick-witted poet for you! Further on he speaks of the “villainous carrion of all oppositions”, even though the eminent Bezymensky himself once belonged to one of the oppositions. And all this is in the style of bald-headed Communist Youth.

*A play on the Russian name Nussinov. Gnoosni means abomination.

The Trend of the Economic Crisis

The year 1930 closed with indications of a prolongation of the crisis in American capitalism and the further unloading of the burden of this crisis upon the shoulders of the working class. This condition exists despite the repeated forecasts of the economists and business leaders to the effect that the revival would begin during the latter part of last year.

The months of November and December 1930 witnessed increasing declines in business activity and a growth of unemployment. December closed with an index figure of 75.7 for “business activity,” which marked a drop of two-tenths points from the November figure of 75.9. The significance of this figure, is that it is the lowest point reached since March, 1908. These figures represent a survey of the basic and most important industries, numbering ten in all. Of the ten types, automobile and bituminous coal production alone, show an upward curve. But the rise of automobile and bituminous coal production is purely seasonal.

The month of January 1931, one in which a rise is to be expected because of its spring preparatory character, shows an unshifting position. Indices of steel and pig iron production dropped sharply during the first two weeks of the month. In addition new orders in steel are far below the expectations of the economists in spite of the expected seasonal rise and the advance in automobile production. Other factors pointing to the continuation of the crisis exist in the decline of freight loadings and the decrease in electric power production. It is with the above indications in mind that Benjamin Baker, editor of the *Annalist*, is prompted to remark in the issue of January 16, 1931 that “it may be that the comparative stability of the business index for the last two months of 1930 indicates that the bottom of the current depression has been fully reached, but it is not easy to be confident on this point.”

The irresistible force of the crisis has effectively answered the myth of unending prosperity and the super-power of American capitalism. The object of capitalism at this stage is to strive to emerge from the present crisis in a comparatively short period of time. Reams of paper are written to convey this propaganda to the masses of workers in order to quiet the growing dissatisfaction.

If past experiences are to be considered in evaluating the length of time that it will take to reach a stage of “normalcy”, then it is within reason to expect that an economic revival will not take place for at least another year and a half. In the table below, which appeared in the *Annalist* of January 16th (1930 review issue) figures appear showing the lowest point reached in the business index during past crises and the number of months required in reaching “normalcy.”

	Bottom of Depression	Length of Recovery to Nor'l (Mos.)
February 1885	77	17
June 1894	72	13
November 1896	78	15
March 1908	76	15
November 1914	81	10
March 1921	82	19

It will be noticed that the average length of recovery totalled almost 15 months. However, with the exception of March 1921, the figures speak of a period of the ascent of world capitalism. In the first crisis following the world war, and taking place in the period of the world decline of capitalism the greatest number of months required for a revival was reached. With the month of December closing at the lowest point reached in twenty-two years and 6.3 points below the first post-war crisis of 1921, in addition to the factor of a decaying system, it is evident that a revival is a long way off.

In the field of foreign trade a decline of \$2,737,780,000 from 1929 was recorded. The total exports declined 25 per cent. in value, and 20 per cent. in quantity. European exports dropped 20 per cent. below 1929, while the decline in areas exclusive of Europe declined 30 per cent.

The coming year will witness the attempt of American capitalism to issue from the crisis by a two-fold policy of increased aggression in the field of foreign trade and a continuation of the offensive against the American working-class. This is inevitable with the contraction of the world and home market and the growing competition of the imperialist powers in efforts to issue out of their difficulties. The tendencies in this direction are long existent; they are an integral part of imperialist capitalism, but in the present period of a

within the strongest imperialist country in the world, they will be accentuated many times. Already the United States is making aggressive efforts to defeat the British Empire in the struggle for winning the Latin American market. The same type of penetration is to be observed with regards to the Orient. The Young Plan, the War Debts, and similar instances of attempts at economic domination point to the efforts made in putting Europe completely on rations.

The efforts to emerge from the crisis by dominating the world market more completely can have nothing but catastrophic results for capitalism. In the struggle for supremacy the United States will meet terrific resistance from the other capitalist powers and vice-versa. We are living today in a period of the decline of world capitalism, a period which Lenin described as one of “wars and revolution”. Therefore the struggles for domination of the world market can have no other effect but that of weakening capitalism still further and preparing its eventual destruction.

At home the burden of the crisis rests entirely upon the shoulders of the working class. Capitalism has proved again that it cannot and will not provide for the working class.

Every crisis in capitalism finds the working class suffering the burdens of such crises. The Standard Statistics Corporation estimates that during the first nine months of 1930 dividends increased more than a billion dollars over the year 1929, while wages during this same period declined over \$8,800,000,000. The *Annalist* figures point to a drop in factory employment \$1.2 for December as against \$2.1 for November. It is also recorded that factory payrolls are at the lowest point since April 1922, declining to 72.2 for December from the November index of 73.5. The estimated decrease in wages for the entire year of 1930 is placed at a billion dollars a month! The whole tendency is toward further rationalization.

U. S. capitalism is making efforts to overcome the crisis by increasing the exploitation of the workers. This will be accompanied by continued unemployment, increase of the working hours, and nationwide wage-cuts. The table below taken from *Labor's News* is illuminating in regards to the tendencies toward wide-spread wage-cutting.

	April	May	June	
Wage Increases	32	42	56	
Wage Decreases	25	33	57	
July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
44	33	—	36	46
68	63	136	—	93

The above figures represent the number of business organizations that instituted either wage increases or wage cuts. The growing wage-cuts are easily obtained. The ratio of this table shows that for every 15 workers that receive wage increases, 85 workers experience wage cuts. Of additional importance is the fact that the granting of wage-increases was confined in the main to the organized workers, while the great mass of unskilled and unorganized workers suffered heavy losses.

In consideration of past experience, and the added difficulties of a moribund capitalism the end of the crisis is far to seek. The effects of the policy of American capitalism can have but a two-fold effect. It will, on the one hand, accelerate the antagonisms of world imperialism and the struggles of the working class at home. The American working class has a long way to go to reach the stage of class consciousness, and a will to struggle. But that it is on that road and will continue to travel it, is indisputable. The coming year will witness no appreciable improvement in the present crisis. But the burden of that crisis will be placed more heavily upon the backs of not only the American working class but the world proletariat as well.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

No. 17-18

BULLETIN of the RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

The latest issue of the official organ of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition, published as a double number, has just been received. Some of the material contained in this highly interesting issue is as follows:

Success of Socialism and the Dangers of Adventurism — Declaration of comrade Rakovsky and Others—Statement of Rakovsky, Muralov and Others to the Central Committee of the Russian Party — Comrade Selinitchenko in Stalinist Exile — A New Victim of Stalin (Comrade Kote Zinzadze) etc., etc.

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THE MILITANT

84 East 10th Street New York, N. Y.

The Party and the Left Opposition

Dear Comrades:

In sending your conference my warmest greetings, I want to express myself once more and as briefly as possible regarding the general line of the German Communist Opposition.

It is clear to every one of us that the German Left Opposition is still extremely weak in comparison with the tasks posed before it by the entire situation. This weakness has been inherited from the past, and is the result of objective historical conditions as well as of the false policies first of the Maslow-Fischer, and then, of the Urbahns leadership. These people believed and taught all Opposition workers to believe that the official party must inevitably collapse and lose in influence, and that the Opposition, reinforced in its struggle with the party, will arise as a new party on its ruins. Consequently, every serious worker had to ask himself: if all that has been created in the course of the last ten to twelve years must collapse and new people build on new ground, what guarantee is there that the results are going to be better? This question is correctly posed. The only guarantee lies in the living experiences of the proletarian vanguard, and experience is gathered in events and years. **Wide circles of revolutionary workers will begin to follow and confide in the Opposition, only when they are convinced by experience that it not only does not renounce all of the experiences accumulated—by Communism in Germany and in the entire world—but on the contrary, that it bases itself on these experiences in order to draw from them, together with the proletarian vanguard, the correct conclusions.**

THE STRENGTH OF OUR PARTY IS OUR STRENGTH

Of course, the working-class, too, has its casualists, mere critics who form little groups that remain for years on the periphery of the labor movement and content themselves with impotent criticisms, apart from the large tasks and perspectives. These sprouts of ultra-Leftism rejoice over every failure of the Communist party, and hope superstitiously that out of the failures of the proletarian vanguard there will somehow grow up their own power.

With these sectarians, who in Germany play all the colors of the rainbow, we have not and can not have anything in common. For us, the victory of our policies depends not upon a weakening but a strengthening of the Communist party.

Is there any contradiction in this? Do we hear the possible objection—even a two-fold contradiction:

First: Can we expect a consolidation of the Communist party under the present leadership?

Second: Does not a consolidation of the party lead to a consolidation of the present leadership, which experience has proved incapable of leading the proletariat?

Both objections are incorrect, because they are not dialectic.

That the influence of the party can grow despite the present incompetent leadership has been proved anew by the last election. A correct leadership is the indispensable condition for durable successes and more so—for the complete victory of the proletariat. But a growth of the party's influence can take place in spite of the incompetent leadership, through the intercession of objective causes. We can say with certainty that the German party leadership has done nothing, beginning with the March days in 1921 and especially in October 1923, to this very day, but weaken the revolution, the proletariat. On the other hand, we have the hopeless international position of Germany, the avaricious and malignant policy of the German bourgeoisie, the infamous and treacherous rôle of the social-democracy, which force huge masses to tread the road of revolution. The fact that the bureaucratic Stalinist leadership, blind and self-confident, deaf and ignorant, opportunistic and adventurist as it is, by its entire policy prevents the revolutionized masses from rallying to the banner of Communism—this fact constitutes under the present circumstances a very serious source of strength for national socialism.

The increase of Communist votes at the last elections seems important by itself, when it is measured with the parliamentary yard stick. But it is extremely unimportant from the point of view of revolutionary possibilities and tasks.

We can say that at the last elections, the party gained the arithmetical difference between those masses whom the bourgeoisie and the social-democracy have driven towards it and those whom the leadership of the C. P. has repelled. And we can add with full justice that the gains of the German C. P. as those of all the other sections of the Comintern, would have been

By LEON TROTSKY

incomparably smaller, their losses far greater, were it not for the voice of censure and admonition of the Left Opposition, its analysis and its prognosis. No matter how weak we still are organizationally, we have nevertheless already become a serious factor in the inner life of the Communist party, and a factor of its consolidation at that.

The Rôle of the Thälmanns

But does not this consolidation lead to the strengthening of the present leadership? And is not the present leadership the main obstacle on the road to the proletarian revolution? The latter is absolutely correct. **Thälmann, Remmele, Neumann** are a combination of the worst features of bureaucratic irresponsibility, philistine self-satisfaction, barracks discipline and a peculiar adventurism of subordinates, one in which adventures are executed on command from the authorities and in which the adventurers know in advance that they will be left unpunished.

From political extremism, for which nothing exists save the "conquest of the streets" in the name of the immediate dictatorship of the proletariat (on paper), such a leadership can without any disturbance go over to possibilism by turning with every wind that blows from the petty bourgeoisie, even as far as chauvinism. The head of the officious Centrist is so constructed that all the winds of eclecticism constantly whistle within it. The revolutionary German workers would never tolerate this kind of leadership voluntarily. It is appointed, supported rescued and foisted upon the vanguard of the German proletariat by the Stalinist faction in Moscow. This is absolutely indisputable. But is it correct to say that a strengthening of the influence of the Communist party in the ranks of the German proletariat leads to a strengthening of the present leadership. No, that is not correct. This is the essential contention, false to the core, of all and every sort of ultra-Left and pseudo-Left sectarianism.

The Stalinist bureaucracy was able to attain its present power in the U. S. S. R. as well as on a world scale, only thanks to the enduring revolutionary ebb.

The Stalinist faction delivered its first blow at the Left wing, after the Brandlerist leadership had so disgracefully neglected the revolutionary situation in 1923.

The Stalinists submitted the Left Opposition to a merciless destruction, after Chiang Kai-Shek, yesterday Stalin's confederate, had destroyed the Chinese revolution. The years of capitalist stabilization were years of consolidation for the Stalinist apparatus. And that is by no means an accident. The decrease of mass activity, the decline of the revolutionary mood of the masses, the growth of apathy—these causes alone could make possible the enormous growth of party bureaucratism, supported on the state apparatus for material means and for means of repression.

Defeat of the Opposition Weakens Party

Thus the defeats of the international revolution, the weakening of the Communist parties, the weakening of the Left wing (Bolshevik-Leninists) within the parties and the growth of the power of the Stalinist apparatus have proved to be parallel and interconnected processes.

This simple and indisputable generalization alone permits us to construe several prognoses. A real radicalization of the masses and influx of workers under the banner of Communism will not mean a consolidation but a collapse of the bureaucratic apparatus. Thälmann, Remmele, Neumann—we repeat—can hold on to their leading positions only through the enfeeblement and the sterility of the revolutionary movement, only through a decline in the activity of the workers. Growth of Communist masses means a growth of revolutionary tasks, a growth of the requirements of leadership. **The experiences of the last twelve years have**

not been in vain. They have been stored up in the minds of thousands and tens of thousands of advanced workers, covered by a crust of formal discipline, but they will break open with all their force with the rise of the revolutionary period, when the advanced workers look with entirely different eyes upon the leadership that is destined to lead them in the decisive struggles.

The present increase of Communist votes, alongside of the growth of the fascist danger, must already have raised the revolutionary consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, and its critical spirit toward its own leadership as well. With this, the possibilities of propaganda and agitation increase also for the Bolshevik-Leninists.

What could destroy the Opposition, in the spirit of the street corner sect, which lives upon defeatism and malice, hopeless and without any perspectives.

In order to fulfill its historic rôle the Opposition must be impressed with the inseparable connection between the successes of the party and its own successes. Only in this way will the Opposition find its way into the ranks of the proletarian vanguard, from which it has been isolated by the combined forces of capitalist stabilization, the reprisals of the apparatus and the mistakes of its own leadership.

From what has been said it is clear that an unbridgeable chasm separates us from the Brandlerites and that the split with the Urbahns League was correct and salutary.

Therein lies the essence of the present situation: that while the Stalinist apparatus has become a deeply reactionary force supporting itself on capitalist stabilization and political sterility, the Opposition, on the con-

ditionary side and the banner of the party.

The further march of developments will reveal ever more clearly, provided we have a correct policy, that the ruling apparatus has fallen into complete antagonism to the needs of the party, while the fate of the Opposition, on the other hand, has become bound up with that of the party and the proletarian revolution. Dangers Confronting the Opposition

In the past half year the German Opposition has accomplished a good bit of preparatory work. A separation, of the fundamental lines has been executed, a separate organ, **Der Kommunist**, has been created and it has struck a correct course in relation to the official party. Finally, hand in hand with the other sections, the basis has been laid for an international organization of the Left. All this, in its entirety, forms the conditions for the development of a correct policy and consequently also for the growth of the influence of the Bolshevik-Leninist faction. And yet, only an insignificantly small part of the historic work, which faces the Left wing of Communism, has been accomplished. **Loss of time, as well as the neglect of a revolutionary situation is a thoroughly real danger, posed not only before official Communism but before the Opposition as well.**

Experience has proved anew how much time is lost by petty conflicts and group struggles which are inseparably bound up with the life of sectarian circles. There is no other method of getting rid of this inheritance of the past than that of holding up to view the gigantic revolutionary tasks in all their greatness, and that of mobilizing the spirit of sacrifice and devotion of the best elements of the Opposition for their solution. I wholeheartedly hope that your conference will do justice to this great task.

With firm Communist greetings,

L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, September 17, 1930.

Father Manuel and Comrade Epstein

SAN ANTONIO
THIS IS THE MAN
EL PADRE MANUEL
GOD IS WITH US
CROSSES, ROSARIES, MEDALLIONS,
HOLY PICTURES
HARRY EPSTEIN
423 Delmar St.,
San Antonio, Texas

This legend, illustrated by a picture of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child, encircled by a host of angels, is inscribed on a calendar hanging from the wall of many Mexican workers' homes in San Antonio.

God's sun has rarely shone on so pious a creature as Father Manuel. A fervid proselyte, a man of piety and devotion. A true defender of the catholic faith.

"I went to six o'clock mass this morning," he reproaches his customers, "why were you missing?"

"Verily, God must be in him", murmurs every good catholic, leaving him with a benediction.

The good people of the Catholic fold in San Antonio know him as Father Manuel when he changed his personality by a draught of the magic chemical. And even so is Father Manuel. At the stroke of six, the holy father is wondrously transubstantiated, out of the body of Christ, and into the person of Comrade Epstein, leader of the San Antonio branch of the Communist Party of the United States, section of the Communist International! Hard to believe? But it is nevertheless true.

Mr. Hyde, in his transformation, would trample children to death in his mad rage. Comrade Epstein tramples underfoot the Trotskyist traitors. The welkin rings with his denunciation of these counter-revolutionists! How he demands their blood—nothing less! Just as he affirms his faith in Pius XI up to six o'clock, he affirms his faith in Stalin I after six. He shuns the sully contact of the infidel before six, and of the Negro and Mexican "ignorant

workers" after six. The sacred fire burns within him at all time.

At six in the morning, he is again transubstantiated. Comrade Epstein once more becomes Father Manuel. Again, like a humble friar, he wends his way from door to door, urging the benighted to greater piety and selling them his crosses, rosaries, medallions and holy pictures. Of such is the Kingdom of God. This is the resurrection and the faith.

This is a true picture of a party member in San Antonio. We invite the Daily Worker to challenge it. The rest of the party membership there is not much better. They make an economic living by fleecing the Negro and the Mexican, and save their political soul by shrill protests of loyalty to the latest party "line". It goes without saying that they consider Trotsky worse than wrong. How long will this rubbish be tolerated in the party?

—CHARLES CURTISS.

After this was written, the **Daily Worker** published a statement announcing the expulsion of Epstein. The other Epsteins of varying shades remain. It is barely necessary to add that the statement also makes an attack on the "Trotskyists" and on comrade Curtiss in particular. The attacks on the Opposition are not new; they are an unoriginal repetition of Father Manuel's political philosophy. The attack on comrade Curtiss is, of course, a typical Stalinist "payment" to the Opposition for the crime of having pointed out in time an open sore in the movement which the Stalinists themselves only discover long afterwards.

OUR NEW PAMPHLET

Right after this issue of the **Militant** goes off the press, we are preparing to print a new pamphlet in the series which we have planned. It is "World Unemployment and the Five-Year Plan" by Leon Trotsky. The pamphlet deals with the proposal advanced by the Left Opposition for combining the unemployment crisis with the demand for the extension of credits to the Soviet Union to enable it to make more rapid progress with the industrialization and collectivization of the country. In addition, it contains a reply to the objections made to this proposal by the **Rude Pravo**, official organ of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. The pamphlet is admirably suited for distribution, especially at the present time. The introduction is written by Arne Swabeck, with special reference to the situation in the United States. Orders should be sent in immediately. The rates are 10 cents per copy and 7 cents in bundle orders of five or more. Send funds and orders to the **Militant**.

DEBATE

"IS THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP NECESSARY?"

James P. Cannon
Communist League of America
says, YES!

at the
LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and Second Avenue
on
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1931

Admission: 35 Cents

AUSPICES: JOINT ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

Walter Starrett
"Road to Freedom"
says, NO!

8 P. M. sharp

A Policy for the Amalgamated Left Wing

The crisis in which the Left wing in the Amalgamated finds itself at present is a result of a series of errors committed by the Party leadership in their misconduct of the T. U. E. L. and T. U. U. L. in general, and the A. C. W. in particular. They are errors of a fundamental character, and are a reflection of the inconsistency of the Communist movement in the whole period since 1924. During this period, adventurism and opportunism alternated with each other in rhythmic succession, causing the movement to pass through periodic crises.

The Left wing in the Amalgamated has also gone through this period and suffered the results. The united front with Hillman and his lieutenants in the period of the Left wing's ascendancy in the A. C. W., its consequent defeat due to Hillman's betrayal, followed by a period of adventurist defiance of the Hillman machine and another repetition of the same game which culminated in the organization of the Men's Clothing Section under the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

To issue successfully out of this crisis it is necessary for the Left wing workers in the men's clothing industry to take up a serious analysis of past mistakes and adopt a correct Leninist course of working within the existing union which embraces the bulk of the workers in the industry, i. e., the A. C. W. A correct Leninist course implies a correct united front with those members willing to take up sincerely the struggle for the concrete needs of the membership.

The Present Line and its Main Features

The new line underlying the organization of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, as well as all the other unions of the T. U. U. L., as formulated by the fourth congress of the R. I. L. U., is "to build independent revolutionary unions and combine these into a New National Center. The old T. U. E. L., based on minorities in the general organization of the revolutionary unions. We no longer urge the unorganized workers to join the A. F. of L. but to affiliate themselves to the T. U. U. L. unions. The work of our organized groups in the reformist unions based upon the tactics of the united front from below is subordinated to the building of the revolutionary unions. It is orientated upon drawing these trade union workers under the ideological leadership of the T. U. U. L. and, as speedily as practicable, into mass affiliation with it." (The Communist, October, 1930, article by Foster.)

What are the reasons for the change in line? The reasons for the adoption of the new line are outlined in the same article as follows:

1. The pressure of the masses on the T. U. U. L. leadership for the organization of new independent unions as exemplified by the independent movement of the Passaic workers, the miners and the needle trades workers, in which cases the leadership lagged behind the masses. The Pepper-Lovetone leadership was consciously opposed to the organization of independent unions.

2. The onrush of the "third period" with its accompanying radicalization of the workers and the sharpening of the class struggle which necessitates independent revolutionary organization and leadership.

Basic Mistakes of "Third Period" Ideology
These reasons, given in justification of the ultra-Left policy of which the first is aimed to prove the soundness of the second, i. e., the theory of the "third period" which is held sacred by the Party bureaucrats and on the altar of which no sacrifice is too big to be brought, are not only false as justification of the new policy but, in their connection, are artificial and historically untrue.

If we are to draw the proper lessons from the experience of the Left wing, particularly in the needle trades unions, we must analyze the struggles in connection with the objective conditions which they were conducted and not upon the basis of the abstract theory of the "third period", which was manifestly invented to cover up the mistakes of the past. That the leadership of the Left wing in the needle trades union committed a terrible mistake by surrendering the masses to the Sigmans and the McMahonns, we agree completely. But that is no earthly reason why new "revolutionary unions" should be built in such industries where the main bulk of the workers are already organized and could be drawn into this new union only individually or in small groups.

Certainly in general the objective conditions are ripening for the application of a correct policy of building new mass unions in the unorganized industries. In the men's clothing industry specifically the task is not to apply the split policy of withdrawing members piecemeal from the existing union, but, on the contrary to win

By ALBERT ORLAND

this membership for militant unionism which presupposes a complete separation from and elimination of the existing reactionary union leadership. This must be recognized decisively before any "new turn" can become a correct turn.

The theory of the "third period" and the ultra-Left policy based upon it, have no connection with reality. The theory is a mere phantom evoked by the Comintern leadership to bring them salvation from their sins, and the ultra-Left line is the price they must pay for that salvation.

The new line was an unavoidable reaction to the opportunistic policies which caused terrible defeats to the movement. It was bound in its turn to bring fresh defeats and disappointments—the signs of which are already noticeable.

The "New" Change of Tactics

The latest indications of a change in tactics by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union have given rise to various conjectures as to its character, some of which have been entertained by the writer. In a previous issue of the *Militant*, I ventured the opinion that the change in tactics, which is undoubtedly attempted, and which points in the opposite direction, is not, however, fundamental. For a fundamental change in tactics must be preceded by an analysis of the mistakes of the past and a clear statement of the new tactics, neither of which has been attempted and brought out into the open. What then can we expect from the change except disappointment?

What does the change consist of? The slogan joining the new union has been replaced by the slogan of "rank and file committees". The workers are no longer urged to join the new union individually, but the orientation is made on shops. This is a step in the right direction. But has the basis of activity been changed? The orientation is still on the new union, which is basically a wrong orientation. The N. T. W. I. U. is an **abstraction** today as far as the clothing workers are concerned. There is not a single shop under its control and the membership from the ranks of the clothing workers is negligible. Before a foundation is to be laid for a new union in the clothing industry, the influence over the masses must be won and that can only be done in a struggle against the A. C. W. officialdom through a series of preparatory stages. Such a struggle can only develop by participation in the daily struggle of the masses for which all channels, legal and extra-legal must be utilized. But for that, a radical change in the organizational and ideological outlook of the leadership is necessary. The leadership, however, has its roots in the "third period" ideologically, and is orientated on the N. T. W. I. U. All their practical activities must necessarily collide with their theoretical outlook. The winning of the masses in the A. C. W. requires patient and systematic activity, coupled with confidence in the masses. It requires a broad united front with workers of various political beliefs or affiliations on the basis of their common interests.

The leadership, however, regards the A. C. W. as a recruiting ground for members into the N. T. W. I. U., true, not for individual members but for groups, but that difference is not basic. As to united fronts from below, the leadership has never been sincere about it. They have always adhered to mechanical control, and the atmosphere created around their close range of followers has been poisoned so systematically as to make any real united front physically impossible.

All these considerations lead us to the conclusion that the latest change in tactics will not produce any change in the situation. For a real change in the situation, a change in the fundamental policy is necessary and the party leadership has not yet committed itself.

What Is to Be Done?

The Left Communist Opposition should initiate the work of rebuilding the Left wing in the A. C. W. A clear statement defining the aims, policies and activities should be made and distributed among the rank and file militants in the union, this statement to contain a review and analysis of the policies, past and present, of the T. U. U. L. The following points must be emphatically stated:

1. An open and unequivocal rejection of the slogan of a "new union" and the attempts to withdraw the membership individually or in small groups from the A. C. W. now embracing the bulk of the workers in the industry. The substitution of the slogan of "militant industrial unionism" and the building of a left wing organization to attain this object.

2. A fight against the Lovestone opportunism which leads direct to unity with fake progressives and hence with the re-

actionaries themselves completely sacrificing the Left wing ideologically and organizationally. A fight against "third period" adventurism which proceeds from a condemnation of all existing unions as company unions and thus to liquidation of correct Left wing activities within them.

3. United fronts based on the Left wing's program with sincere rank and file elements.

4. Participation in all forms of legal expression of the rank and file of the union membership, such as elections, referendums, conventions, the struggle for democratic control, etc.

The activities should be based on existing divisions in the industry and the union, such as trade branches, local units and

Stalin-Bucharin and the Chinese Revolution

A LETTER BY TCHEN DU HSIU

(Continued from last issue)

The Communist International and the Central Committee have for a long time opposed any review of the record of failure of the Chinese revolution. And now, because I have constantly criticized them, they have suddenly invented the following declaration: "He (i. e., I) is not sincere in recognizing his own error of opportunist leadership in the period of the great revolution and has not decided to recognize where his real past errors lay; therefore, he must inevitably pursue his past erroneous line." These words are a self-revelation. In reality, if I were to stultify my mind, and care nothing about the interests of the proletariat; if I had not decided to recognize my real past errors, and had been willing to do their dirty work and have them continue with their past false line, they would nevertheless, as before, depend upon the old opportunist's (i. e., my) pen and mouth to attack so-called Trotskyism in order to cover up their errors. How could they expel me from the party? Am I, who have struggled against evil social forces for the greater part of my life, willing to do such a base work—to confuse right and wrong? Lee Li San said: "The Chinese opportunists are unwilling to absorb accurately the lessons of the failure of the past great revolution, but try to hide behind the banner of Trotskyism in order to cover up their own mistakes." In reality, the documents of comrade Trotsky accuse me much more severely than do those of Stalin and Bucharin; and I could not but recognize that the lessons of the past revolution pointed out by him are one hundred percent correct, and I could never reject his words because he criticizes me. I am willing to accept the severest criticism of my comrades, but unwilling to bury the lessons and experiences of the revolution. I would rather be expelled now by Lee Li San and a few others than to see the party crisis without attempting to save the party and be blamed in the future by the masses of the party members.

Comrades! I know that my expulsion from the party by the Central Committee is the act of a few men for the purpose of covering up their errors. They not only want to save themselves the "trouble" of hearing my opinions expressed within the party and advocating an open discussion on political problems, but also to demonstrate by my expulsion that all the comrades must keep their mouths closed. I know that the masses of the party members never entertained the idea of expelling me. Though I have been expelled by a few leaders at the top of the party, yet there has never been any hostility or bad feeling between the masses in the ranks and myself. I shall continue to serve the proletariat hand in hand with all those comrades who are not following the opportunist policy of Stalin's clique both in the International and in China.

Comrades! The present errors of the party are not partial or accidental problems: like in the past, they are the manifestation of the whole opportunist policy conducted by Stalin in China. The responsible heads of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, who are willing to be the phonograph of Stalin, have never shown any political consciousness and are growing worse and worse; they can never be saved. At the Tenth Conference of the Russian party, Lenin said: "It is better to have a small organization if there are fundamentally different political opinions and there is no way of solving the problem." Based on this theory, he led the faction of the Bolshevik movement. Now, in our party, there is no other way permitted (legal or open discussion in the party) to overcome the party crisis. Every party member has the obligation of saving the party. We must return to the spirit and

shops, so as to provide outlets for direct and immediate expression of the demands and grievances of the workers. These activities, however, should be carried on under the direction of a centralized body, representing all branches, to be elected by a democratic vote.

A program should be worked out embodying all the immediate and ultimate aims of the Left wing opposition, to possess enough flexibility to be applicable to varying situations but to be clear and consistent so as not to allow a distortion of principles.

The activities should be based on current issues concerning the workers, with a view to developing them to embrace the broad masses and creating a basis for mass action for the realization of the ultimate aims of the Left wing movement.

The above propositions, not being a complete program, can, however, serve as a basis for the beginning of the work of the Left wing in the A. C. W. A

political line of Bolshevism, unite together solidly, and stand straightforward on the side of the International Opposition led by comrade Trotsky, that is, under the banner of real Marxism and Leninism, and decisively, persistently and thoroughly fight against the opportunism of the Comintern and the Central Committee of the Chinese party. We are opposed not only to the opportunism of Stalin and his like, but also to the compromising attitude of Zinoviev. We are not afraid of the so-called "jumping out of the ranks of the party" and do not hesitate to sacrifice everything in order to save the party and the Chinese revolution!

TCHEN DU-HSIU.

December 10, 1929.

Norwegian Fascists and Comrade Trotsky

Comrade Trotsky, as already reported by the capitalist press, has been invited by the Norwegian Student's Alliance to come to Oslo to lecture before this body, and has been granted permission by the Norwegian government to enter the country for an eight days' visit to be strictly confined to the purpose stated and on condition that Comrade Trotsky does not interfere in Norwegian "politics". So far the other capitalist powers have hastened their rejection of a visa for passage through their territories, and whether Comrade Trotsky can actually reach Norway remains to be seen. Meanwhile, however, this question has created some interesting developments in Norway.

The bourgeois press of the country un-animously raised a terrific howl of protest against the visa. "Nationen", the official fascist organ, takes the lead calling upon the "sons of Norway" to use physical force to prevent Trotsky's entry. To this provocation the organ of the labor party of Oslo remarks: "It is hardly to be assumed that the government could afford to compromise itself to the extent of withdrawing its permission for entry, as that would make of the Norwegian bourgeois society a laughing stock of the world. . . . To the fascist press we will just calmly reply that if they should undertake such insane action as using force against the entry of Trotsky they will become convinced that there are several thousand sons of Norway—and of a better sort—who will feel proud of the visit to their country of a man like Trotsky. That he has been victorious in a war with superior enemies, with the bourgeoisie of England, France and the United States, as well as with the Russian white guards; has secured for him a place of honor in the history of the international labor movement—regardless of internal faction struggles."

"Mass-murderer is the title the bourgeois press bestows upon Trotsky. It cannot forgive him for supplying the red army with guns and cannons which became dangerous to the enemy. He was sufficiently inhuman and brutal to fight the counter-revolutionists with their own weapons. And he founded a powerful means of defense which makes it ever more dangerous for world imperialism to carry out its foul designs of an armed crusade against the workers' Soviet state, upon which the Russian white guard emigrants still pin their hopes."

So long as our Soviet republic will remain the only border land surrounded by the whole capitalist world, so long will it be an absolutely ridiculous fantasy and Utopia to think of our complete economic independence and of the disappearance of our dangers

—LENIN.

IN THE LEAGUE

For the period of the coming three months one of our plans call for an intensive campaign for new subscribers to the **Militant**. Our goal is the definite return to the **Weekly** at the end of this period. With the proper response from our branches, our readers and sympathizers the goal will become a reality.

Our branches should make up competing teams and set to work with some inducement for the winning team, that is, the one securing the most subs on a yearly basis. We offer for this period a special three months trial subscription of 25c, also a special combination offer of either one of the three books with a yearly subscription. "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International", or "The Strategy of the World Revolution" (both by L. D. Trotsky), or "Since Lenin Died" (paper cover) by Max Eastman, for the price of \$2.00, good only for this period. This campaign commences Feb. 1st, continuing up until May 1st. What is your answer?

We will also have special prizes for the best individual sub. getters. A sufficient number of new subs offers the opportunity for the active comrade of acquiring either "My Life" by L. D. Trotsky or "The Real Situation in Russia!"

* * * *

Our permanent pledge fund for publication of revolutionary literature and strengthening of our organization is just beginning to get under way. Any comrade interested in our work of publishing fundamental Marxian literature—in addition to the recent works of Comrade Trotsky also those of the revolutionary classics not yet published in English—should by all means enter this regular pledge fund, set the sum he feels able to advance regularly every month and meet the payments. Comrades Vincent Dunne of Minneapolis, T. Boisner of Los Angeles, Calif., and Antoinette Konikow of Boston, Mass., have been the first to enter the fund with a regular pledge of \$5.00 monthly. The Kansas City branch pledges \$20.00 monthly and the New York branch \$75.00.

* * * *

Recent developments in the revolutionary movement and in the general situation of the country have brought new life to our organization. Thus in Philadelphia and in Cleveland where our supporters had for some time showed a lack of activity in an organizational sense, the comrades now report that they are getting together, endeavoring to build up regular organized activity once more.

In the International Left Communist movement, there are many interesting developments, particularly in the form of new adherents to our movement, which are all recorded in our "International Bulletin", so far printed in French and German only. This material is now being translated and each monthly issue of the bulletin reproduced in mimeographed form. Issue No. 1 is out and copies can be ordered from the **Militant** office at 10c each.

* * * *

Our Minneapolis branch reports that in a special ward election to be held in the city, upon the failure of the official party leadership to file a candidate, our comrade John S. Brinda will carry the Communist banner as an officially filed candidate.

Comrade Brinda was one of the leaders of a splendidly fought eleven months upholsterers' strike in Minneapolis in 1927. His revolutionary position is well known in the ward and the campaign, we can conclude in advance, will bring additional strength to the Communist movement.

* * * *

The Chicago branch is conducting a class in Marxism with comrade Hugo Oehler as instructor every Wednesday 8 p. m. at 1214 N. Washtenaw Ave. The branch is the main active force in building up the Workers Forum held every first and third Friday, 8 p. m. at Fleiner's Hall, 1638 N. Halstead St. It invites all interested workers to join in both of these activities.

OPEN FORUM

For the past few months, the New York Branch of the League has been conducting very successful Forums at the 14th Street Labor Temple. These Forums have become an institution in New York, a clarification ground for Communist workers. The most vital problems and principles of communism have been taken up and discussed. Experienced speakers and working class leaders of long standing like comrades James P. Cannon, Arne Swabeck and Max Shachtman have presented the views of the Left Opposition on such important topics as "Prospects of the American Revolution", "Alignments for the New War", "The Historic Role of the Opposition", "The Unemployment Question", "The Present Crisis—What Next?" etc. in a most interesting and informative manner.

The discussion, in which all are given the floor and in which party members and sympathizers particularly have participated, has shown a remarkably high level of interest and intelligence. All sorts of questions related to the struggle of the Opposition and to the Communist movement in general have been raised at these lectures. They have received the utmost attention from the speakers, who give clear and unequivocal answers.

Some of the problems to be discussed shortly are: "Can the Left Opposition Make a Bloc With the Right?", "Recent European Strikes — Strike Strategy", "Dialectic Materialism" and the "Communists and the Progressives" etc. **All workers are urged to attend and participate in the discussion.** Admission: 25c. Free for Unemployed Council members. Look for the exact date in the **Militant**.

Weisbord and the Liquidators

The "Textile Unity Committee of the National Textile Workers Union", that is, the group of Lovestone adherents whose aim has been to liquidate the Left wing in the textile industry, has now taken a further step in its evolution, implicit in Lovestone's policy from the very beginning, which should now make clear the Right wing's rôle in the Communist movement to every militant. We learn of this recent step from a letter sent out by Albert Weisbord, who was in alliance with the Lovestoneites in this movement from its inception.

When the "Unity Committee" was first

organized by the Lovestone faction, with the aid of Weisbord, the latter made every endeavor to draw the Left Opposition to its support as a good "united front" proposal. At that time, several months ago, we rejected the whole plan and warned Weisbord and others that the Lovestone committee was a liquidationist movement which would reveal itself completely as soon as Lovestone was able to delude a sufficient number of textile workers to go along with it. Weisbord, intent upon doing "mass work" at all costs, and determined to realize his plan of a bloc with the Right wing in order to save the Communist movement from . . . Menshevism, continued not only as a member of the committee, but came forward as its most active spokesman. His rôle in the committee, wily-nilly, was that of bell-wether, leading the textile workers among whom his record and prestige still held into the Lovestone camp. It goes without saying that Lovestone had this rôle of come-on well marked out for Weisbord from the very beginning.

Utilizing Weisbord—and not utilized by him—Lovestone succeeded in holding a few meetings of textile workers in the East and making ready for his next step, just as he has already done in the needle trades, among the food workers, in the miners' union and everywhere else that the Right wing has a foothold. At the last meeting of the committee, the Lovestone faction adopted a stand which, according to Weisbord now, "stood for the liquidation of the National Textile Workers Union and for a united front with the United Textile Workers and the Associated Silk Workers' officials".

This "new program" is not at all unexpected. It is part and parcel of the Lovestone course in the trade unions, which consists of a bloc with discredited reactionaries posing as "progressives" directed against the Communist party and Communist influence in the labor movement in general, all under the guise of "mass work". That course did not begin yesterday, or at the "last meeting" of the Textile "Unity" Committee. We warned against it in time and rejected any bloc with the Right wing faction to further this aim. We called the liquidators liquidators, while Weisbord was protesting, **only a few weeks ago**, that it was **not** a liquidationist movement. He writes now: "The committee is no more a committee to put fight into and to build up the N. T. W. U. but a committee to help the A. F. of L. and the Muste fakery to sell out and to betray the workers." The fact is: It **never** was a committee to put fight into the N. T. W. U. It was from its inception a committee to liquidate the Left wing in the textile industry, and Weisbord contributed his modest services in this direction.

This is not the first instructive instance of where individuals have come forward with the acknowledgment that the standpoint of the Left Opposition against a bloc with the Right wing is correct for . . . Germany or France or Iceland but does not apply in . . . the United States. The results of the short-lived and destructive experience with the "Textile Unity Committee" are rich with proof of just how much wisdom is contained in such a point of view, defended by Weisbord and rejected by us. At a time when clarification on all the principle, of all the strategical and tactical questions in the Communist movement is a burning necessity, muddlers and confusionists are the most dangerous obstacle. The Left Opposition has not yet had the occasion to depart from its principled position. The latest experience of Weisbord has, far from invalidating it, only served to confirm its correctness.

A WORD FROM BERLIN

A comrade writes us from Berlin:

The situation in Germany has become extremely accentuated. The moods of despair grow among the masses, the whole country is in a state of deep social ferment which must lead to an explosive outbreak. The disparity between the strong Communist sentiment in the masses and the radius of action of the party is frightful. Despite its four and a half million votes, the party sets in motion throughout Germany tens of thousands at most in any move, as a consequence of its tactical blunders. The results of this incapacity in the party are ruinous. The cadres of the party do not recognize that the blame for this catastrophic condition is not borne by the masses, but that the policy of the party makes it impossible to unleash the stored-up energy of the masses. That is how pessimism towards the masses rises in the party itself, as well as a certain mood of despair.

Wherever we have fractions, our influence has generally grown. In Berlin, that is, especially in Wedding, the most revolutionary and decisive working class quarter of Berlin, our comrades harass the party apparatus and we frequently learn from leading party functionaries that in many nuclei, with which we have no connections at all as yet, our conceptions and very often our proposals are defended. . . .

Proletarian Party Meet

The Proletarian Party, we learn from Chicago, is to hold the national convention in Detroit in May of this year. The significance of this gathering lies in the fact that the more than four years that have elapsed since the last national convention of the party have constituted a period in which the Communist movement has passed through its severest crisis from which it is far from issuing today. It is precisely in these years that the revolutionary movement has witnessed the transformation of the Leninist International into the international apparatus of the Centrist faction of Stalin. It has not only been a period of one crashing defeat for Communism after another (British general strike, uprisings in Poland and Vienna, the catastrophic conclusion of the second Chinese revolution, etc., etc.), but also of a theoretical backsliding into the morass of revisionism in the most fundamental conceptions of Marxism.

The Proletarian Party, as is known, has considered itself a Communist organization, loyal to the principles of Marxism—and the international proletarian revolution, even though it remained outside the framework of the Communist International. In so-called specifically American questions, the P. P. has maintained a sectarian hostility to the official Communist Party, refusing the instructions of the Comintern to merge with its American section; in international questions, the official position of the P. P. has been an unqualified endorsement of the prevailing policies of the official International leadership not only in Europe in general, but in the Soviet Union especially. So far as its attitude towards the struggle within the Comintern is concerned, its principal declaration has been a disgraceful article by one Nowak, which repeats all the dreary and platitudinous slanders against the Opposition borrowed from the files of the Inprecorr.

This nationally-restricted outlook, largely akin to that of the Right wing Brandler group in Germany, has not met with the unanimous approbation of the P. P. membership, whose schooling in the elements of Marxism has made it difficult to swallow the feeble substitutes for Marxist science which are put forward by the "theoreticians" of the Stalin school. In some sections of the membership, notably in Chicago, a new interest has been aroused in the fundamental questions of principle raised by the Left Opposition, accompanied by a desire to study, to understand and to take a definite position on them. The realization is penetrating some of the members of the P. P. that the Communist movement today is no longer a whole, but a body divided into three parts: the liquidationist Right wing, the Centrist swamp, and the Marxist Opposition. The leanings in the direction of the latter which have been manifested by some of the P. P. comrades are the healthiest sign of a ferment in the Proletarian Party that have been seen for years.

Not even the isolated existence of the P. P. can forever be a barrier to the entry of the fundamental disputed questions. Whether these questions will actually come up for discussion at the P. P. convention depended in large measure upon the ability of the advanced members compelling such a discussion despite the unwillingness of some of the party leaders. It can be said that should the convention take place without such a discussion, it will end without having accomplished anything and could just as well never have been held—a gathering of revolutionists which refuses to take up these questions that have split the movement is a gathering from which all life is removed because it is removed from life itself. We hope that this will not be the case, because an objective and honest examination of the disputed questions would mark a big step forward by the P. P.

In future issues of the **Militant**, we expect to return to the question of the Proletarian Party and its Detroit convention.

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