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The 5 Year Plan and World Unemployment

RALLY WORKERS ON MAY DAY

The solidarity of labor against capitalism is the watch-word of May Day demonstrations by the working masses throughout the world. To unite the workers to see as their common enemy—the bosses and capitalist government; and to see in the Workers' Republic of the Soviet Union the first fatherland of the workers; to struggle militantly against capitalism, to overthrow it; and to aim to achieve in each country a government of the toilers. This summarizes by contrast the objectives of the class-conscious workers for May Day, 1930.

In the United States the millions of workers find themselves enduring the scourge of unemployment, caused by capitalism. They find themselves either thrown out of work, or wages reduced, work speeded up and hours of labor increased. Reaction, under the leadership of President Hoover is in the saddle. Rough-shod, it rides brutally over the basic needs of the workers. Protest against unemployment is met with arrests, persecution; jailings; removal of civil rights, such as the right of assemblage and press; deportation of foreign-born, etc. Arrogance, brutality, extreme exploitation by the ruling class are the order of the day.

The Situation of American Labor

The U. S. government persists in its refusal to recognize the Soviet government of Russia, now in its 13th year of existence. The agents of the bosses in the workers' ranks, namely, the American Federation of Labor officials, Wm. Green, Mathew Woll, et al, stand by and approve bourgeois rule in the United States.

The Labor movement in the United States finds itself weaker than at any previous time in its history. But potential power is still there; it need only direction and militancy from conscious revolutionaries who understand the immediate and ultimate interests of the workers. These elements are the Communists. Unfortunately, the Communists in the United States, even as throughout the world, find their forces divided, split into three fundamental groupings. An effective struggle against capitalism presupposes the struggle for the unity of the Communists again on a common principle platform. Notwithstanding, May Day demands from the official Communist Party, and from all Communists, in and outside the ranks of the official Party, the initiation for May Day of a genuine mass united front of workers and all workers' organizations against the employers, on a number of immediate and burning issues that concern all the workers in the United States.

The Issues for May Day

What are some of these immediate demands of the workers that must serve to unite them on May Day, 1930? They are: The struggle against unemployment; for work or compensation for the unemployed at the cost of the employers and the government; for the seven hour day and five day week; against any reductions in wages and for an increase; for a united front against the repression and persecution of workers by the bosses agents, the police.

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Opposition Paper Published in the Argentine

La Verdad (Truth), organ of the Left Communist Opposition in Argentina, has issued its first number (4 pages), and hereafter will appear regularly. It is printed in the Spanish language and will also circulate among Spanish speaking workers in other countries.

Among the contents of the first issue are Lenin's "Testament to the Party", suppressed by the Stalinist regime, and which now appears in print for the first time in the Spanish language in the South American countries; articles by Robert Guinney, Dvorin and others on the situation in the Communist movement of Argentina and South America and in the International; a statement of principles and organization, declaring adhesion to the Left International Opposition led by L. D. Trotsky and many other articles of importance to the workers of the Argentine.

La Verdad is further evidence that the ruthless efforts of the regime of the bureaucrats—from Stalin down—in the Comintern will fail to stop the development and penetration of the ideas of the Left Opposition among the Communist workers and sympathizers.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) and the Militant greet La Verdad and the Opposition in the Argentine. We are confident that the militant and conscious efforts of the Argentine Opposition will in time bring the regeneration of the revolutionary movement there and the reestablishment of a Communist Party on the original foundations of the Communist International as led by Lenin.

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12 W. Va. Miners Fatally Gassed

ARNETTSTVILLE, W. Va.—Twelve miners, among them four Negroes, were fatally gassed and burnt in a mine explosion in the non-union Yukon mine of the Crown Coal Co.

6-HOUR DAY AIM OF TWIN CITY RAIL WORKERS

MINNEAPOLIS—On April 1st a large gathering of Minneapolis and St. Paul railroad workers held their second meeting at Woodruff Hall, Prior and St. Anthony Aves., St. Paul, for the purpose of developing a nation-wide movement for a six hour day on the railroads. A third meeting has been arranged for Tuesday, April 22nd at the same hall.

The first Twin City Conference of Railroad Workers was held on March 19th and was called originally by Local No. 206 of the Switchmen's Union. Among the points discussed were the railroad mergers and speed-up, the need for a six hour day and five day week without any pay cut, and other problems affecting the organized and unorganized railroad workers throughout the United States. The Conference went unanimously on record to fight for the six hour day, for the organization of the railway workers, as well as for other demands of an economic and political character.

A Provisional Committee, consisting of members from the different local unions, has been set up to organize these meetings and to send out the calls. The Provisional Committee consists of: G. H. Farrell, Railway Clerks, No. 319; Ulrick Ulrichson, Railway Clerks, No. 1310; V. F. Case,

ST. LOUIS BUSMEN WIN STRIKE

As we go to press, we learn that the St. Louis bus drivers have won their strike. A flat 9 1-2 hour day is established, instead of as much formerly as 13 hours; a six day week supplants the seven day week; garagemen work 44 hours with a Saturday half holiday. The union is recognized. Other demands of a secondary nature are also gained.

* * *

ST. LOUIS—(FP)—With 5,000 members of the St. Louis street car men's union assessing themselves \$1 a month. The strike of bus drivers and conductors enters its third week assured of financial support. The international union is also granting relief funds.

The members of this young union voted a unanimous "No" to the company's proposed terms of strike settlement, which would tie the men for three years under 'open shop' conditions at wage rates in effect prior to the strike.

Not a bus has moved since the walk-out. Threats to operate busses with cabs under police protection have not passed the threat stage. The Central Trades and Labor Union has voted to accept the new union and exempt it from payment of per capita tax until the strike is over.

The central body stands ready to go into action with strike relief machinery in behalf of the 750 strikers if the situation warrants. The strikers offer to return to work when the right to organize is recognized. Pres. R. W. Meade of the St. Louis Bus Co, who boasts that he has broken six strikes during his career, refuses to consider any proposals which fail to give the company the world encircled by an airtight fence.

Consider Labor's Economic and Political Problems

The question of setting up a permanent organization in the shape of Railroad Councils in each railroad center is also being considered. These Councils will consist of elected delegates from the several locals in each place or terminal. The purpose of these Railroad Councils is to provide a medium which will enable the workers from the 21 different Railroad Crafts to get together periodically to take up the many growing problems the railroad workers have in common, of which the growing unemployment is an immediate and serious one.

It is also proposed to induce railroad workers in other terminals to set up similar councils in connection with the six hour drive.

The Twin City Railroad Workers Con-

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By L. D. TROTSKY

The internal development of the Soviet Union is reaching a critical point. No matter in what way we evaluate the present course of the collectivization which, in one year, has surpassed by two and a half times the plan elaborated for the whole five years (fifty percent of the peasant holdings collectivized instead of the twenty percent prescribed at the end of the five years), it is clear that the tempo of collectivization has already blown up the whole five year plan. Up to now, the official leadership has maintained silence on this point. But it would be impossible to be silent for long. To imagine that all the other elements of the plan—industry, transportation, commerce, finance—can develop on the formerly prescribed scale while agriculture makes totally unforeseen jumps, would signify to see in the economic plan not an organic whole but a simple sum of various departmental orders. Until recently it was recognized, at least in principle, that the relations between industry and agriculture ("smytchka") form the principal axis of the plan. Well, what has happened to this axis? If the "smytchka" was taken into consideration in the plan, then it must now have been destroyed by the prodigious leaps of the collectivization which nobody foresaw. On what side will an equalization be made?

At this very moment, "complete collectivization" has already aroused among the frightened leadership a certain backward movement. At what point will the commenced recession come to a halt? It is as yet impossible to foretell. It is probable that this time; also the retreat will extend much further than is required by the objective conditions. But the retreat itself is unavoidable. It is quite probable that because of the effects of the signs of inflation there will begin a revision of the slogan "The five year plan in four years".

The Bureaucracy Runs Blindly

Retreat is always a painful operation, in the military field as well as in politics. But a retreat carried out in time and in an orderly manner can prevent unnecessary losses and prepare the possibility for developing an offensive in the future. The fatal danger is always a belated retreat, panic-stricken, under fire, when the enemy is at your heels. And that is why we, the Left Opposition, are not afraid to call back the bureaucracy which is running ahead blindly. It is necessary to call a halt to the prize races of industrialization, to revise the tempo on the basis of experience and theoretical foresight, to reconcile collectivization with the technical and other resources, to subordinate the policy towards the Kulak to the real possibilities of collectivization. In a word, after the periods of "Khvostism" (the policy of dragging along at the tail of events and movements. —Ed.) and adventurism, it is necessary to take the road of Marxist realism.

The plan corrected in this sense would present a minimal variation. It would necessarily proceed from the situation which has been created up to now as a result of great successes and no less great mistakes. Such a plan cannot eliminate the contradictions that flow from the historical past and the world environment. But it must reduce to a minimum the results of mistakes, partly mitigating and partly post-

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Minnesota's «Farmer-Labor» Meet

The «Practical» Politicians and Business Men Take Charge

The St. Paul convention of the Farmer-Labor Association closed March 28th after two days of gerrymandering by the small group of political adventurers who have in devious ways attained power in the organization.

Following the course marked out several years ago by men of the Starkey-Shipstead type, and with the example of the shameful campaign in 1928 as a guide, the organization was appropriated by the banker-farmer-office-holder delegates and turned over to Floyd B. Olson who "accepted" the endorsement for governor.

Out of the hundred and fifty odd delegates present, less than half represented any organization. The overwhelming majority were especially picked by the machine for the task of keeping out the platform and program of the Left wing and trade union elements. These were presented by the Hennepin County (Minneapolis) delegation, who, with a dozen notable exceptions, were members of organized labor.

The Hennepin county convention under pressure of the Left wing had been forced to adopt a series of proposals for the State convention which embodied the idea that all candidates of the F. L. P. put forward the organizational and agitational program of the labor movement in the campaign. The rank and file were for this and demanded that these proposals be embodied in the platform. They were in dead earnest about this and even succeeded in placing one of their leaders on the platform committee.

Olson had notified the convention in a brutally frank letter on the first day that "...I shall assume that if I am endorsed and elected to office as a candidate of the F. L. P., I shall have absolute independence the selection of men and women..."

Left Wing Presents Program; Denied Expression

Lommen, who is known in the Party as "the Steel Trust Senator", was in full charge of the platform committee. Knowing that Olson was already nominated and that the platform already prepared could not be changed, he quite naturally assumed that the demand for "absolute independence" was also already accepted. He did exactly what he was told to do; brushed aside the entire document presented by the trade union workers; and buried a couple of minor demands under a heap of words and rubbish. He handled Walter Frank, the Hennepin Co. trade union centrist, as an experienced and determined politician handles another with less experience and little determination, and brought out the most reactionary platform that has even been adopted by a F. L. gathering in Minnesota. What should have been the center of a really stubborn fight in the convention against the obvious manipulations of the machine fizzled out completely for lack of proper direction and leadership.

Under the chairmanship of the arch-reactionary Rolster, with the secretaryship in the hands of the equally reactionary Starkey, the Communists and Left wingers were denied any voice in the proceedings. The Left wing workers were unable to have their platform resolution even considered. This resolution proposed a platform of political demands coupled with trade union demands for the closed shop, for a six hour day and a five day week, etc., and also proposed a complete re-draft of the program as well as a change in the structure of the party in order to abolish individual membership and to base it upon the workers' movement.

Left Wing To Continue Fight For Fighting Workers' Movement

The slickers who came in by the individual membership route together with the trade union bureaucrats, who controlled this convention, trampled upon the workers demands and actually, in the person of Starkey, openly insulted them, by crumpling the Left wing resolution before their faces.

In spite of the feeling in the ranks of the workers against fusion with the Democrats, the manipulators in control, by the action of the convention, and in accord with the wishes of the majority of the endorsed candidates including those for the highest posts, have made fusion almost certain.

In the coming campaign and in the following period the Minnesota workers have the task before them to salvage the movement, to keep their unions out of the hands of the clique now in control of the F. L. P.; and to shape a course toward a Labor party, which must be national in scope, based upon the unions and other workers' organizations and with a class-struggle platform. The Communists in this movement, must undertake to clarify and educate the masses and to steer them towards Communism.

(The comrades of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in Minnesota have prepared a detailed analysis of the Labor Party situation in Minnesota. It will be presented to the Minnesota workers in either leaflet or pamphlet form.—Ed.)

ECONOMIC REACTION WORLD-WIDE

The depression affecting not only the United States but the leading capitalist nations throughout the world, and that brought on a huge unemployment crisis, continues. Seasonal improvement has not changed the basic condition. Uncertainty, doubt and pessimism animate even the more optimistic capitalist elements. No proposals have been set forth by the ruling interests that are likely to have any really important consequence on the mass unemployment situation.

The National City Bank, in its April bulletin, summarizes the situation briefly as follows:

"It is now evident that the failure of business to make a more rapid recovery since the first of this year is due to fact that the situation is not simply a domestic one but that we are involved in a world-wide reaction. (Our emphasis.) The fall of prices of staple commodities has been even more serious in other countries. This is most clearly seen in the state of British industry and trade..."

"The world's industries," the bulletin goes on to say, "have more than recovered their pre-war capacity, but the markets are overloaded with staple goods...Despite the improvement in the past few weeks, the aggregate volume of manufacturing and trade is still running considerably below that of the same date in 1929..."

Bosses and Government Do Nothing For Jobless

The United States government, President Hoover and state and local governmental agencies know full well the acuteness of the situation. But not one step do they take to appropriate sums of money to compensate the unemployed workers. Every remedy is sought except the ones that will really aid the jobless worker. The willing lackey of the bosses, Wm. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, warns the Senate Commerce Committee that the alternative to unemployment relief is revolution. This labor faker fears the workers' revolt that will put him and his kind on to the scrap-heap, and would like to stave off the inevitable historic event.

No responsible person or group holds out hopes for substantial change in the future. The condition of mass unemployment is of long standing. Yet investigators, Congress and other bodies are still "taking the census of the unemployed" and "awaiting more data". Public works and construction are the byword of all, but they remain on the blue-prints. None of these capitalists or politicians whisper a word about the development of large-scale economic relations with the Soviet Union.

LABOR PARTY SENTIMENT POLLED IN PHILLY

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—By a vote of 10,575 to 7,425, readers of the Philadelphia Union Labor Record, organ of the Central Labor Union decided in favor of the A. F. of L. on-partisan political policy as against a straight labor ticket.

"Out of the maze of letters commenting on the referendum," states the Record, "most of them came from Labor Party enthusiasts, while others, evincing an opposite viewpoint, felt that while there was a growing tendency toward the Labor Party, and that it would eventually come, the time was not yet ripe."

"What the vote did show however," sums up the Record, "is that the shadow of a Labor Party is immediately before us, if not this year, then in the not far distant future."

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NEW YORK—Three Brooklyn judges in special sessions dispensed a little wholesale "justice" by sentencing 26 members of the Independent Shoe Workers Union to 30 days in jail for violating an injunction against picketing struck plants, and contempt of court.

economic relations with the Soviet Union. Why? This is one of the genuine ways to relieve unemployment in the United States. Every worker must put this question.

Relieve Unemployment Through Broad Economic Relations with Soviet Union

Let the United States government extend long time and large-scale credits to the Soviet Union, which has always made good on its obligations, and hundreds of thousands of unemployed American workers can be employed and at the same time there is promoted thereby the development of the economy of the Workers' Republic in Russia. It is necessary to break this united front of Hoover and the bosses, Green, Woll and the labor fakers against the Soviet Union and thus against the immediate and ultimate interests of the American working masses

The workers, organized and unorganized, have a common interest in a struggle against the capitalists and their tools. To make unemployment relief mean anything, the workers must fight for the shorter workday, the 40 hour and five day week; for the abolition of the speed-up; for work or compensation at the cost of the employers and the government, to be administered by the workers' committees and organizations; for the extension of large-scale credits to the Soviet Union by the U. S. government.

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20,000 Rush Ford's Plant for Work

DETROIT—Twenty thousand unemployed men gathered at the gates of Henry Ford's River Rouge plant were brutally dispersed by police who hurled tear gas bombs and laid about them with clubs. Eyewitnesses reported scores injured. Three of the jobless were arrested.

Rumors spread throughout Detroit that Ford would hire thousands of men. At 6 p. m. crowds were in front of the Ford gates, pushing to the front in a long weary vigil which they hoped would reward them with work the next morning. Monday morning they were told that the rumor was a fake. Hungry and desperate, the shivering thousands refused to leave the Rouge gates.

Hundreds of police reserves were rushed to the plant when the crowd grew angry at the deception. The jobless stormed the steel fence protecting the plant, smashing it underfoot and assailed the employment office, breaking windows and hurling missiles.

Mounted police rode ruthlessly through the ranks of the unemployed, beating with their clubs and hurling gas bombs.

Toothless Foster Silent at Party Plenum

Thursday, April 3rd marked the ending of the Plenum of the Communist Party. It can be described as the dullest, most inane and valueless Party gathering ever held in its entire history. At the opening of the Plenum a cable (where have we heard of this before?) arrived from Moscow, stating that the thesis on the economic and political situation in American was unsatisfactory and had to be revised. So discussion on the political questions was postponed till the end of the Plenum and the thesis could be changed.

The Plenum proceeded to occupy itself with lengthy and wordy general discussions. The floor was occupied largely by Johnstone, Browder and the Comintern representatives. The Plenum delegates were made up of fourth-raters. Never was the level so low.

Wm. Z. Foster did not so much as open his mouth during the sessions. He declared that he had left his teeth at the dentist! Maybe it was just as well.

The only opposition that showed itself in any way at the Plenum came from Fred Biedenkapp (ye gods and little fishes!) who had certain objections to offer on the trade union policy. Yet even this opposition, in a gathering of mediocres, was not permitted to express himself before the enlarged session but only in closed executive session...The Plenum goes down as the low-water mark in Party history and activities.

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Rally Workers on May Day

(Continued from page 1)

etc., for the unrestricted right of press speech and assemblage; for the extension of large-scale credits to the Soviet Union by the U. S. government. These and like demands form a base for a united struggle and demonstration of workers of all political and economic views on May Day.

For a United Front

The policy of the official Communist Party in the United States, as led by Foster, Minor, Bedacht, et al unfortunately, sees in May Day only a Communist demonstration. There persists the false conception that the mass of workers in the United States will rally on May Day under the leadership of the Communist Party. This by no means represents the actual development of the mass of American workers at the present time. The united front still remains one of the main levers by which the Communists will rally the workers to its banner.

Our aim on May Day should be to draw every worker into a common movement against capitalist rule and for specific demands. For the Communist Party to refuse to enter into or develop a united front movement for May Day is to limit sharply the mobilization of the workers' forces for that day. This course is wrong narrow, sectarian and has the result to divide, not to unite, the masses in a common fight against capitalism. May Day draws near, but there is still time for a broader movement. We call upon the official Communist Party to act accordingly. The Communist League (Opposition) at these conferences will work for a May Day mobilization on the above basis.

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DETROIT—Patternmakers of the Kettellwell Co. have won a strike against wage reductions.

If the number on your wrapper is

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

THE SITUATION AMONG THE COAL MINERS

By ARNE SWABECK

Open rebellion on a wider scale than ever before is once more the answer to the rule of corruption and reactionary policies which have long dominated the United Mine Workers Union and reduced it to a mere shadow of its former strength. Its main result to date, that of setting important working class forces into motion, notwithstanding its as yet obscure direction, may have far reaching significance for the immediate future of the American labor movement. Without recognition of these facts, a correct estimate of the events in connection with the split producing two unions, both laying claim to the title, United Mine Workers of America, cannot be reached.

The old union now even more securely lodged in the grip of John L. Lewis, with his arbitrary powers extended and his past reactionary wrecking policies given the seal of approval by a delegation largely representing locals and districts long since defunct, at the Indianapolis convention, is well known to the coal miners. As far as the rank and file membership is concerned, the past history has left its marks. The cowardly retreat of the Lewis administration in the face of the government injunction in the 1919 national strike and subsequent crushing of insurrectionary strike movements; the sell-out of the 1922 national strike, leaving some 100,000 Pennsylvania miners who had just joined the union in the lurch; the betrayal of the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners and the defeat of their strike in 1927-28; the breaking up and destruction of district after district with the suppression of all opposition, expulsions and gunman rule—these are but a few high points of Lewis' regime. They are so commonly known that it cannot be expected that the coal miners should now hark back to support the remnants of his union or even have much sympathy left for it.

A most vital question therefore is what the new union signifies and what its prospects are. Its leadership, apparent at the Springfield convention, can be recognized at a glance: A combination of forces composed of a section of the old corrupt and reactionary officialdom—the Fishwick-Farrington machine; socialist party types like Germer and Ameringer; and progressive, or one time progressive, elements, typified by Howat, Brophy and Hapgood.

Serious Errors of Wrong Analysis

The official Communist party disposed rather quickly of the significance of this new union and the perspectives for it. It was viewed merely as a matter of Peabody, the coal operator magnate, hiring some more help and already asserting his ownership of the union. That, of course, is no analysis whatever, since it fails entirely to recognize the workers set into motion or take account of the objective position of the new union. Conclusions for a policy based upon such an analysis, can lead only to further fatal mistakes, to neglect of opportunities for extension of militancy, and to even further isolation of the Left wing directed by the Party. It is upon just such mistakes that the Fishwicks and Walkers thrive and are able still to maintain a hold upon the miners.

A series of tactical mistakes have been made by the Left wing under the official Communist party direction, which in sum and substance has assumed the character of a system of wrong policies ever since the formation of the National Miners Union. It culminated in the last ill-fated Illinois strike, and to a great extent made it possible for Fishwick, Farrington and Walker to leave the sinking ship of the Lewis administration and to edge in on the crest of the naturally maturing rebellion. Moreover, the Left wing became impotent and no positive factor at all in these events.

What Does the New Union Signify?

First of all, it should be remembered that the new union came about as a rebellion against the worst features of the corrupt regime of John L. Lewis and threw into its foremost ranks, Howat, the one who to the miners symbolizes their traditional militancy. In that sense it certainly signifies a step in a

progressive direction. Secondly to regard this first step as a finished product would be sheer folly. This important section of the working class set into motion, breaking the bounds of the Lewis rule, cannot be expected to be checked or cowed by a Fishwick or other, like him, coal operator agents. Thirdly, there is the objective position of the new union, with a basis of rebellion, to be considered. Competition with Lewis in delivering the goods to the operators, after what has happened to his union, does not lead one to believe that much rank and file support could be gained along that road. No; to avoid stagnation and early death it will be compelled at least to move in a forward and a progressive direction. The rank and file, who have proved their fighting capacity in the past, will be certain to press in that direction and there is no better way at present to eliminate Fishwick and all his henchmen of the old machine. This forward course should be aided and given definite meaning by the Left wing.

Rather indicative of the trend of developments, aside from the factors already mentioned, is such an incident at the Springfield convention as the driving of Fishwick from the chairmanship at the first session and the election of Howat for that post, and later on for the Presidency of the union. This is solely because Howat symbolizes to the miners their militant struggle against the operators. On the other hand, the fact that the seating of Frank Farrington—an openly acknowledged agent of the Peabody coal company, who had the crust to tell the delegates that he accepted his \$25,000 a year position in order to "step aside, secure a wage cut for the membership and thus save the union"—the fact that the acceptance of his credentials could command such a big majority vote clearly show the immense strength of the reactionary Fishwick-Farrington-Walker combine within the union. But even that relationship can be changed, and more swiftly so, with a broadly organized Left wing in this union giving the necessary direction for the struggle: Or—will anybody perhaps maintain that Left wing workers have no business within a union which has in its ranks the majority of the organized soft coal miners in the United States and has union control over their jobs?

Reactionaries Strengthen Hold—But Workers Move On

At times, when workers are stirred into action, one can always observe reactionary forces, labor lieutenants of capitalism, becoming active. They endeavor to follow the tide, try to get into a commanding position and assume, if necessary, a progressive front, both to advance their own personal interests and to serve their masters at the opportune moment by using their position to check the movement, to lead it into harmless channels, and to work for its complete annihilation. At present the wrecking career of John L. Lewis has left him much discredited in the eyes of the workers; but the Fishwick machine is there to continue Lewis' role. That has been sufficiently established by its record in Illinois of wage cuts and sell-outs, expulsions of militants and the use of gunmen, police and militia against struggling miners. History has repeated itself, and this machine has been able to maintain itself in a commanding position within the present rebellious movement. The militants cannot compromise a single one of their principles with this outfit. Against it the ceaseless struggle must continue.

Concerning the so-called progressives, Brophy, Hapgood and the others who as yet, in the eyes of many miners, symbolize militancy against Lewis and the operators, there can be no illusions whatsoever. They are careerists who regard Communism as weakened and compromised today; they do not find it useful at present to cover themselves with sympathy for it. These Amer-

ican species of trade union centrists need to be steadily exposed for their weaknesses and vacillations. The miners must continually be on guard to thwart inevitable betrayal and treachery from them. A powerful Left wing in this new union will be one of the ways to guide this movement into militant channels, and at the same time to expose more effectively these so-called progressives who will more and more openly, as time passes, be the fig-leaf for the Fishwicks, Lewises, etc.

At this very moment additional evidence has been given to indicate that the miners will continue in motion in a progressive direction. A number of Illinois local unions have already made decisions to reinstate all members expelled by the Fishwick machine since 1928. These are the expelled militants who were with the "Save the Union" movement.

How Far Will the Rebellion Reverberate?

Unquestionably, this open rebellion and split, which brought about this new miners' union, set a precedent dangerous to reactionary machine control in other trade unions. It is certain to produce reverberations within the A. F. of L.; if nothing else, then at least the problem of facing a new "dual" union with a considerable base among the workers. Indicative of this already is the support thrown by Green to John L. Lewis as against the new union.

The impotence of the present A. F. of L. officialdom, from the top down practically speaking, and failure to secure even the slightest assistance for the workers during this crisis, has been glaring. Their absolute partnership with capitalism is now laid even more open and bare. The assaults of the employers, who take advantage of the crisis and permanent and mass unemployment, as well as the prospect for coming, perhaps turbulent, defensive struggles by the workers may also seriously shake the apparently secure position of this trade union bureaucracy.

In regard to the present status of the coal miners, one must not fail to take into account the several serious defeats suffered during the last few years, in which official treason was no small factor. The immediate effects of a serious economic crisis and the extensive displacement of labor by machine and mechanical mining, coming closely upon the heels of these defeats, will not tend to produce the swift development of offensive battles by the workers. But on the other hand, these very problems, embodying continuous assaults upon their meager existence, become bound up with active resistance—with struggle. Under these conditions, plus the quite solid phalanx presented by the coal operators toward the workers' aims, the most thorough preparations and most complete organization possible become questions of serious import. We reserve this particular point for another time. But certainly it must be admitted that with three unions in the field, this problem is, at best, yet more complex. However, that fact merely serves to emphasize the continuous process of development and change in the social world. In this case it represents a new "stage in a long struggle to reconstitute the miners' organization on a national scale on a militant basis."

Left Wing Facing Serious Problems

The National Miners Union remains the only union resting programmatically on a class foundation; but, as has often been emphasized, despite its objectively favorable position and the courage and determination displayed, the other two unions retain the membership of these miners who are at all organized and have union control over their jobs. Will the Left wing and the Stalinized Party leadership continue its policy of trying to withdraw the best elements from these unions where they have job control, thus eliminate these elements from the industry and isolate itself from these important sections of organized workers; or will it again take up the correct Leninist

position of maintaining the closest contact and extending its influence among them? That is now the decisive question. A return to a correct policy can yet make the National Miners Union—that is, the organized Left wing—an important factor both in developments in the unorganized fields as well as within the organized sections. But its methods and functions must of necessity constantly change in conformity with developing conditions.

The union still under control of John L. Lewis embraces important sections of coal miners. Within it are, particularly in the light of the latest events, possibilities to spread the ferment and to do away with this corrupt regime.

The new union is officially committed to the aim of the six hour day, the five day week and unemployment insurance. These were adopted at the Springfield convention, the presence of the Fishwick machine elite notwithstanding. These two points, the shorter work day and social insurance, were the two specific points correctly emphasized in the Comintern address to the American Party membership last year as practical demands to be put forward in the daily struggles of the workers. Their adoption by the new miners union should serve to make it a more favorable starting point for further development toward a greater militant basis. But this will require systematic, correct Left wing activities and devoted work.

In conclusion it is well to restate the position of Lenin:

"Undoubtedly, the leaders of opportunism will have recourse to all the tricks of bourgeois diplomacy, will appeal to the help of bourgeois governments, to priests, police courts, in order to prevent Communists from entering the trade unions, by all and every means to put them out, to make their work inside these organizations as unpleasant as possible, to insult, hound and persecute them. It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to go the whole length of any sacrifice, if need be, to resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge, to anything in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them and carry on Communist work inside them at any cost." ("Left" Communism, page 36.)

Machines Displace More Miners

Displacement of coal miners by machinery makes a new record in the stripping operations on the Northern Pacific Railroad properties at Coalstrip, Montana. The Scientific American describes the new Bucyrus-Erie coal loading shovel that lifts out more than eight tons at a time, dumps it into gondola cars skirting the pit and returns for a new load all in 45 seconds. Operated by only two or three men it digs and loads 5,000 tons in a 10-hour shift. With the aid of a smaller loader a total of 20,000 tons are loaded in 24 hours, enough to fill 300 of the 70-ton cars recently purchased by the company.

A dirt stripping machine bites out 15 tons of earth at a chunk, depositing it a city block away at a height of 10 stories if necessary all in one operation. The pick and shovel men is out of date here.

Miners unemployment grows.

Φ

SIXTEEN COAL MINERS DIE IN BLAST

KETTLE RIVER, Ky.—Rescue workers striving to save 16 coal miners trapped by a gas explosion in the mine here, have found bodies of six. The other 10 are believed dead from heat and gas which filled the shaft after the blast had crippled the ventilating system. One victim was 17 years old and the others had wives and children.

Over 30 rescue workers, who believed the remaining bodies may not be found for several days are themselves in danger from the fumes.

The Five Year Plan and World Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

poning the manifestations of a crisis, and in this manner gain a new breathing space for the isolated Workers' State. The task of the moment is a planned retreat from the position of adventurism.

However, in addition to this "minimal" variation, it is necessary to prepare immediately another, more extended variation, calculated not only on the internal but also on the external resources. The perspective of the proletarian revolution in Europe is by no means less of a reality than the perspective of a genuine collectivization of the Russian peasants. More correctly, the second perspective becomes a reality only in connection with the first. The official leadership of the Communist International conducts its policy as though we were on the eve of the insurrection of the European proletariat. At the same time, the economic plan for ten-fifteen years is constructed with the aim of "out-distancing" the whole capitalist world by means of an isolated Workers' State. This incompatibility, flowing from the reactionary, utopian theory of socialism in one country, runs through the program of the Comintern and all its policies. Nobody knows the dates, but it can be said with certainty: the conquest of power by the European proletariat is undoubtedly closer to this date than is the liquidation of the classes in the Soviet Union.

The elaboration of a minimal plan with the aim of mitigating the approaching crisis must necessarily proceed from the fact of the present isolated position of Soviet economy. But simultaneously it is necessary to create a variation based on the mutual interlinking of Soviet and world economy. The general plan elaborated for ten, fifteen or more years can under no condition be construed any other way.

Obviously, systematic and all-embracing economic cooperation of an international character will become possible only after the conquest of power by the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries. However, the time of this overthrow cannot be foreseen. That is why preparations must be made in time, politically as well as economically.

World Unemployment and the Soviet Union

Secondly, there is every reason to count that under the conditions of the present commercial and industrial crisis, particularly in case of its further aggravation, the Soviet government, by a correct policy, can gain an incomparably larger access to the resources of the world market. Unemployment is a factor of huge importance which can make its impress upon the policy of the next future. Under the blows of unemployment the powerful edifice of the conservative trade unions and the social democracy can suffer deep-going cleavages before the infinitely more powerful edifice of the capitalist state begins to crack. But this will not happen of itself. The correct direction of the working class struggle acquires an exceptional significance in the conditions of a social crisis. The general strategic line of Communism must obviously, more than ever before, be directed towards the revolutionary conquest of power. But this revolutionary policy must be nourished by the concrete conditions and tasks of the transition period. Unemployment occupies an ever more central place among them. One of the most important slogans of the transition period can and must become the demand for economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. But the agitation under this slogan must in turn have a thoroughly concrete character, armed with facts and figures. It must base itself on a general economic plan which takes into account the ever-increasing interlinking of Soviet with world economy. This signifies that the general plan must be built upon a genuine Marxist foundation and not upon the theory of an isolated socialist society.

In the present European and world unemployment, conjunctural events are bound up with the organic processes of capitalist decay. We have more than once repeated that conjunctural cycles are inherent in capitalist society at every stage of its de-

velopment. But at different stages these cycles have a different character. Just as in a person's declining years a flow of strength is always uncertain and brief and every illness, on the contrary, affects the whole organism, so the conjunctural cycles of imperialist capitalism, especially in Europe, show a tendency towards the diseased swelling of crisis by comparatively short rises. The question of unemployment, in these conditions, can become the central question for the majority of the capitalist countries. It is here that the knot is tied between the interests of the Soviet Union and the interests of the world proletariat.

The task by itself is clear and indisputable. It is only necessary to approach it correctly. But that is precisely where the difficulty lies. At the present time, the international education of the world proletarian vanguard is based on two ideas: "The Soviet Union will build socialism without you" and "The Soviet Union is the fatherland of all the toilers". The first idea is false, the second abstract. Moreover, the one belies the other. This explains the astonishing fact that the struggle against unemployment is now directed by the pocket calendar of Kuusinen and Manuilsky ("March 6th", etc.), and passes over the economic problems of the Soviet Union. Yet the connection between the one task and the other is quite obvious.

Ways to Aid Unemployed and the Soviet Union

Complete collectivization on the basis of the peasants' holdings is an adventure pregnant with a crisis in agricultural production and with dangerous political consequences. But if the possibility arises to fructify the collective farms in time by an influx of advanced technique, then collectivized agriculture could pass far more easily through the period of infantile illness and be able, almost in the next few years, to realize a greatly improved harvest, with such stocks for export as would radically change the picture of the grain market of Europe and later on put the consumption of the working masses on a new foundation. The menacing disproportion between the swing of collectivization and the state of technique flows directly from the economic isolation of the Soviet Union. If the Soviet government could even use only the capitalist credits "normal" in interstate relations, the tempo of industrialization, as the framework of collectivization, could even now be considerably enlarged.

By all these circumstances, the Communist Parties of the West are placed before the task: of tying up, in their agitation, the question of unemployment with the most essential factors in world development, and, in the first place, with the economic development of the Soviet Union. And what is needed for this?

First, to stop fooling the workers of the West with regard to the genuine situation in the Soviet Union. Together with the indisputable and immense successes arising out of nationalization, to show them honestly at the same time the internal contradictions arising out of the isolation of the Soviet Union and mistakes of leadership, and threatening it with political dangers.

Second, to explain to them that these dangers could be considerably diminished, and later overcome, by the establishment of a broad and coordinated interchange between the Soviet Union on the one side and Germany and England, for example, on the other.

Third, to demonstrate that many tens, and later on hundreds, of thousands of workers would be able to find work in the annual, planned orders for machinery and agricultural implements of the Soviet Union.

Fourth, to explain that through these conditions the Soviet Union would receive the possibility to export a far greater quantity—leaving aside wood and other raw materials—of grain, butter, meat and other products of consumption of the broadest masses.

The importation of machinery and the

exportation of raw material and food products could, by an adequate agreement, be set into direct dependence upon each other, on the basis of a large plan equally accessible to the understanding and the checking of the Soviet as well as the foreign workers.

The successes hitherto achieved in Soviet industry assure a necessary basis for this entrance into the international arena. It is not a question of naked agitation, but of serious, well thought out economic proposals, motivated by all existing experience and clearly formulated in the language of technique, economics and statistics. In this connection the Soviet government must certainly proclaim its full readiness to facilitate an all-sided examination of the accomplishments of the economic agreement for interested labor organizations (trade unions, shop stewards' committees, etc.).

Unemployment and the United Front

If we approach the question politically and in the first place from the point of view of the relations towards the social democracy and Amsterdam, the task can be formulated as an application of the policy of the united front on a scale such as it has not been and could not be practiced up to now.

But is it possible to hope that MacDonald, Hermann Mueller, the trade unionists of Amsterdam and the American Federation of Labor would consent to such a combination? then is it not utopian? is it not conciliationism? etc. Such an objection will undoubtedly be made by those who yesterday hoped that the British trade unionists would declare war against imperialism for the defense of the Soviet Union (Stalin and Company). We did not nourish these pitiful illusions at that time and we do not nourish them now. But it must be considered that economic agreements of a social democratic government with the Soviets for the diminution of unemployment in its own country is nevertheless far more probable than the war of the reformists against imperialism. When the crisis develops further, the reformist governments, which base themselves upon millions of organized workers, can be driven into such a vice that they are compelled—to one extent or another—to yield to economic cooperation with the Soviet Union.

We have no desire or need to guess the extent to which it would be realized in actuality. Should the social democracy be averse even to the discussion—in the first period that is most likely to be the case—then the plan will at the very outset imbue the masses of the workers to struggle against the social democracy. In any case, the reformists in power will find it more difficult to defend themselves from an agitation based on a concrete plan of economically advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union than from the shrill yelpings on the subject of "social fascism".

It is evident that this plan of campaign in no way assumes the softening of our political relations towards the social democracy. On the contrary, by correct direction the campaign outlined above can seriously shake the positions of the international social democracy which for the last few years received immeasurable support through the policies of Stalin-Molotov.

Socialist Construction and the International Revolution

The necessity of posing the task of socialist construction in an international sense rises out of the internal needs of the economic development of the Soviet Union and at the same time represents the most persuasive and irrefutable propaganda in favor of international revolution. But in

* The paper of the Italian Left Communists, *Prometeo*, says quite appropriately that if it is very difficult for the social democrats to refute the accusations that they are agents of the bourgeoisie, it is, on the contrary, very easy for them to refute the affirmation that they are Fascists. In labeling the social democrats social fascists, the Comintern renders them a signal service.

order to enter upon this road it is necessary to learn over again. Instead of a soporific optimism, the revolutionary tocsin must be sounded. It is impermissible to be content with the ritualistic conjuring against military intervention. It is necessary to put the economic problem squarely. The Communist agitator must say openly and honestly to the masses of the West:

"Don't believe that socialism will be built up in Moscow without you. They have accomplished quite a bit, but they cannot accomplish everything. The many things they have already accomplished are only a small part of what is still to be done. In order to help them, such measures must now be taken as will at the same time help you workers against unemployment and the high cost of living. The Soviet government has an economic plan for cooperation with foreign industry.* Everybody can familiarize himself with it. To be sure, you are not obliged to put blind faith in me or in the Soviet government. Demand the examination of the Soviet proposals by our trade unions, our party, or by our social democratic government (Germany, England). This government must be compelled finally to take the road of economic agreement with the Soviet Union because that is the more effective and advantageous road of struggle against unemployment."

But is there any hope that with their present leadership the Communist Parties are capable of a serious revolutionary mobilization of the masses? We will not decide this question beforehand. The policy which we defend has such profound roots in the objective situation and in the historical interests of the proletariat that it will finally make its way through all the obstacles. It is entirely a question of time. But that is a very important question. The duty of the Left Communist Opposition is, therefore, to use all its strength to shorten the period.

Prinkipo, March 14, 1930

** We proceed from the assumption that such a plan must be created.

Φ

STEEL SLAVES NEED UNION

PITTSBURG, Pa.—W. E. Chalmers, of the University of Pittsburgh who spent months in a survey of labor conditions in steel trust towns, among other things says:

"Contrasted with a highly efficient labor spy system maintained by steel corporations to ferret out discontented workmen, is the absence of any union in the field to lead in the fight against sharp wage cuts, unemployment and long hours

"The sweep of technology through the steel plants," has been unparalleled in any other industry. In a 3-year period from 8 to 23% of the working force has been eliminated in various departments of typical mills. The Edgar Thompson works at Braddock a Pittsburgh suburb, have cut the number of workers from 7,000 to 5,000 in four years while maintaining production.

"On the other hand the big steel corporations have never been so prosperous. Although the fourth quarter of 1929 was one of industrial depression, U. S. Steel reported the highest profits of any quarter in its history. Record profits have been matched by record unemployment, sharp wage reductions and the maintenance of long hours.

"In continuous process departments of the bigger mills, the 8-hour day is in effect. In other departments, and in some of the smaller mills, the 10-hour day is customary, but 12-hour shifts and the 7-day week are by no means uncommon. Four thousand men are on the 7-day week in the Pittsburgh area alone. Every third week U. S. Steel Corp. workers must work 16 hours straight in 24 hours."

Efforts to organize these mills, despite discontent, will not be easy, said Chalmers. The steel trust and other companies, following the 1919 revolt, organized an elaborate spy service. Company towns are under the iron rule of company henchmen; free speech and assembly are unknown; eviction can follow agitation; and boarding house keepers are often company agents."

Throughout the World of Labor

IN THE SOVIET UNION

Our Statement to the XVI Party Congress

January, 1930

Moscow

With regard to our tasks and immediate tactics our opinion is the following: it is especially important that Rakovsky, Mouralov, Kossior and the other comrades prepare a statement for the Sixteenth Party Congress, in the name of the entire Opposition. This declaration must be addressed to the masses over the heads of the leaders. The sense of this declaration must be: to explain the preceding statement and to reply to the apparatus bureaucrats; to dissipate any possible illusions concerning Centrism; to denounce once again the nature of Centrism—in particular that which concerns the problem of the workers, the Party regime, and the problems of the Communist International.

Centrism has not changed in the slightest. It remains true to its nature, but veils itself under a barrage of "Left" phraseology.

With respect to that which concerns the International problems: we still live in a period of reaction, which draws to a close. Our tasks are: to recapture the lost positions; to systematically organize and prepare the proletariat for the coming battles; to show up the inexperience and stupidity of the high-powered politicians, who discover a revolutionary situation today in order that on the morrow, having burned their fingers thereon, they can turn their backs when it actually exists; to point out the causes for the fiasco of all the red demonstrations; to sum up all of the "bolshyization" of the Communist International, and especially to combat the anti-internationalism, the pernicious theory of socialism in one country—which debases the world wide significance of the October revolution and gives birth within our ranks to economic adventurism; to once again put forward the slogan of the Soviet United States of Europe.

What To Tell the Party

In our statement the complete truth must be told to the Party and to the working-class. They must be forewarned of the threatening crisis which, today, is closer than ever. An infinitesimal minority tends towards making concessions to Centrism at the time of the Sixteenth Congress. Their path is not ours. Without a thrust from the base we shall not influence Centrism. This "thrust" must be prepared—therein lies the problem.

One of the most serious of moments appears to be in the country—with respect to the malodorous situation in the collectives. This is explained to a large extent by the possibility of avoiding difficulties, of utilizing credits and machines. Unions of poor peasants must be organized more than ever before. Only these unions, under a proper leadership, can give a clear cut class character to the collectives and orientate the movement upon our path.

The apparatus, acting only through administrative means and by thrashing about in the press, can make the collectives the opposite of what they should be. They can become the organizational centers for all the enemy elements in the country. Unquestionably, the Kulak movement is growing. A serious warning is given by an incident which occurred in the Ivanovo-Vosnessensk district, where a crowd of peasants, under the direct influence of the Kulaks, arose to beat up the Communists.

The Centrists' Adventures

It is urgent and important that the causes for the enormous destruction of cattle be analyzed. Despite a certain halt in the grain crisis and an amelioration in the rationing of meat, the real salary of the worker shows no signs of any increase. Particular attentions must be given to the spirit of the proletariat. The Mensheviks already profit by their discontent...

By not letting up their blows against the Leninist Opposition, Centrism has favored the possibility for all anti-Soviet elements to raise their heads. The attention of the entire Opposition must be drawn to this side of the question—the resistance to counter-revolution. A pitiless struggle must be waged against these elements, the Social Democrats up to the Right wingers in the Party!

...The entire Centrist politics, with its present "Left" aspect, is more and more becoming transformed into a bureaucratic adventure. The counter-revolutionaries are rapidly mobilizing their forces, and the politics of Centrism furnish them with forces. That is why the truth must be put brutally and the problem posed in this manner so that every comrade understands: the Party course must be changed or reaction will triumph....

—A WORKER

Φ

The Communist Workers And the Opposition

At almost the same time that the Stalinist Political Bureau published an insidious "piece of news" in certain Leningrad newspapers about the supposed sabotage of a Trotskyist, the Pravda published a letter from a correspondent which is entitled "The Swan Song of a Trotskyist Group". The author of this letter, after some generalities concerning the struggle of the Party on two fronts, goes on to the following items:

"Thus, for example, a few weeks ago, at the Party purging of the nucleus in a repair shop at Belgosstroi (Minsk), a group of Trotskyists was uncovered who claimed themselves to be 100% for the Party line, and who were carrying on a desperate struggle against the Party. The group had published and distributed counter-revolutionary tracts, collected funds for an "anti-Party campaign fund", demoralized the less firm Communist and non-Party factory workers. This group was composed, amongst others, of party members and avowed Trotskyists who had been expelled from the Party. An agreement of mutual support had been concluded between the 'Communists' and the Trotskyists. Thus the 'Communists' of the factory nucleus had attempted to introduce some non-Party elements of their group into the Party. In their turn, the latter did not permit attacks upon the pseudo-Communists. At the last purging, for example, a certain Trotskyist, Reinzelberg, foaming at the mouth, had defended a member of the secret Trotskyist Party, Buslovitch."

Then the correspondent includes the discovery of the group and the statement wherein the leaders admit their errors, of a type well known in the statements which are lent to or extorted from the Oppositionists.

The Opposition and the Rank and File

This text permits of a certain number of lessons. But first, it must be pruned of its "third period" literature which is more copious than nourishing. It must be pruned also of insults and absurdities (the campaign fund against the Party, etc.). What remains is that in the large working center of Minsk, among the railroad workers, among the rank and file Communists, there was formed an organized group, unknown to the apparatus functionaries, which struggled for the program of the Opposition. The Communists of the nucleus had formed a united front with their expelled comrades and coordinated their struggle against Centrism. Thus, spontaneously, a secret fraction was formed which brought together in Communist work, the rank and file Communist workers and the expelled—and this among a group of railroad workers in a large industrial center. The life of this

small group shows clearly the agreement of the rank and file workers with the Oppositionists, which the official press wears its lungs out in attempting to pass off as counter-revolution. It furthermore shows by a concrete example what work in common brings together the Oppositionists and the revolutionary rank and file workers. The example of Pravda's indignant correspondent illustrates the "united front" towards which the Left Opposition in Russia tends and which newspaper writers qualify as retreat or capitulation.

A. Nikitine can express his indignation. Such "swan songs" cannot sound too agree-

able to the ear of the apparatus bureaucrats. And when the correspondent Nikitine in the end of his note states "that it is becoming incomprehensible that the Trotskyist group could have existed and could have carried on its disorganizing activity without the local organizations knowing anything about it", he only confirms the nature of the regrouping which, in workers' centers, calls the most informed of the militant workers to unite with the Opposition for Communist work.

This pretended swan-song brings us the proof that the revolutionary thought of the Russian Opposition is very much alive.

IN INDIA

Gandhi Enters the Field of «Struggle»

Last week we made clear the fundamental facts concerning the problems of the Indian revolution. We pointed out the impasse in which the nationalist chiefs found themselves, and in particular Gandhi, caught between the thrust of the masses on the one hand, and the pressure of the British on the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois classes on the other.

On March 2nd, Gandhi, who has begun the campaign of "civil disobedience", foreseen by the Congress of Lahore, sent "an ultimatum" to Lord Irwin, the viceroy of India, which serves to illustrate this situation. In the matter of the ultimatum, it is an appeal to the kindness of the viceroy, an anguished petition full of irreconcilable contradictions. "I hold the British laws," writes Gandhi, "as applied to my country, to be an iniquity and a curse. But I feel no hatred for the British, nor the least wish to harm their legitimate rights in this country." But all this in no way approaches the duplicity of what follows. "The National Congress has declared itself for independence. The Dominion status would assure it to us. You, yourself told us so, but since your declaration I have become informed that the politicians of Great Britain had no intention of conceding it to us."

Gandhi on His Knees Before the Lord Viceroy

In the sentence which we underlined, Gandhi unites the claim for independence and that of Dominion status. He writes that Dominion status would assure independence, would lead to independence. And yet Gandhi cannot be ignorant of the fact that these are two quite contradictory things. Dominion status is a form of government in the group comprising the British Empire, accomplished to the benefit of the native bourgeoisie; it is the demand of the industrial and commercial sections of India; and it is also a promise that the Labor Party has made, but is, however, unable to keep. But independence, that is to open the door to the proletarian revolution.

Gandhi fears this second eventuality. He writes to the viceroy that his intransigence "explains the progress which the party of violence has made among us, and explains the increasing seriousness of the situation." In other words, Gandhi fears the weight of the revolutionary masses, and he also tries to make use of them as a scare-crow against the viceroy. But the end of his petition is more pitiful. He writes, "It is evidently in your power to prevent me from acting by locking me up. But, myself gone, I have the conviction that there will be hundreds of faithful companions to continue the struggle. While there is yet time, I beg of you, on my knees, to prevent the irreparable."

The Workers Will March Beyond Gandhi

Lord Irwin, viceroy of India by the grace of MacDonald, was satisfied with an indirect reply. His secretary answers to the Mahatma: "The viceroy has learned with the deepest regret that you contemplated a form of action which, manifestly, allows of a violation of the law and a danger to the public peace." Sick at heart,

Gandhi is forced to renew the struggle for non-cooperation, and to preach the boycotting of British goods and the refusal to pay taxes. What can be clearer to Lord Irwin? It is a violation of the law, it is a danger to the public peace. Take care!

How far will Gandhi go in his campaign? The immediate future will tell. But when Gandhi stops, the revolutionary masses will not. It is in the perspective of this continued development of the activity of the worker and peasant proletariat, that the responsibilities of the Communist International enter.... At the moment, there is no Communist Party in India. There are only agitators who fight in the Left wing of the nationalist movement, in the bureaucratic manner of Molotov, by attacking the assemblies where Gandhi and the other nationalist leaders take the floor, instead of carrying on propaganda and class struggle activity within the masses by means of a class party. Only the formation of this party can make the perspectives favorable for the proletariat.

Φ

The Durban «Raid» in South Africa

As an example of the confidence with which policies are foisted on the Comintern sections and afterward justified, you will be interested to learn that a police raid recently carried out in Durban against defaulting native tax-payers, who, however, offered no resistance, was hailed in the Inprecorr recently as a triumph for the Comintern's new South African slogan. The raid was falsely referred to as a "native revolt" due directly to the application of the new policy which had increased the influence of the C. P. What are the facts?

1. There was no revolt. The police raided the native locations in Durban, without prior warning, to compel defaulters to pay their taxes. There was no attempt at resistance to the police, who were armed, the taxes were paid, and those who were unable to pay were put in jail.

2. The Communist Party has no influence in Durban, it cannot muster half-a-dozen members to form a branch. And so the new policy has been proved correct by a revolt which never happened, produced by an influence of the C. P. which is non-existent. These statements incline South African Communists—both in the Party and out—to laugh. But they are apparently swallowed whole in other countries, where faithful worshippers at the shrine of Stalin acclaim the correctness of his line. When will the Comintern cease to mislead? In fact, its line in South Africa is proving as true as did its line in China.

C. Frank Glass

Johannesburg, So. Africa

Φ

JAPANESE RADICAL HELD FOR DEPORTATION

SAN FRANCISCO—Sadaichi Kenmotsu, Japanese Communist being held at San Francisco for deportation, was granted a stay of hearing on a habeas corpus motion. He is out on \$3,000 bond. Kenmotsu was arrested during the unemployment demonstrations in March.

Sellier is Right - Lovestone Wrong

Ca Ira, organ of the P. O. P. (Workers and Peasants Party) of France, the newly-formed party of the French Right wing, writes on March 1: "Analyzing our manifesto, our friends from Germany (the Brandler group), after some criticisms of details, conclude that outside of Alsace we are the group closest to their position and the one possessing the greatest influence. We are proud of this new approbation, sent to us by old militants. It is the commencement of our international contact."

Revolutionary Age, organ of the American Right wing, following the tip, changes the last line in its chorus of previously unstinted praise for the good French comrades, by submitting them to a timid "criticism of details." In its issue of March 1, it writes: "The Six (that is, the movement led by the six expelled municipal councillors) have taken the road of a new Party. On December 28, the conference called by the 'Six' decided upon the formation of a 'Workers and Farmers Party'... The apparent purpose of this move was to create an 'election Party', a parliamentary apparatus for the expelled. This step—which is directly contrary to the line (?) and experiences of the international Opposition movement—has set back the development of the French Opposition a great deal."

Thus the brave internationalism of the Right wing. The suspicious tardiness of the "criticism"—the P. O. P. was organized nine weeks ago and an analysis of it published a short while afterwards in the Militant—we will leave to more qualified parties to explain. But we must establish, if only on the interests of strict accuracy that Lovestone is wrong and Sellier the leading spirit of the new draft of French Mensheviks, is right, at least so far as the disputed point is concerned. And as between the stated view of Lovestone that Sellier and Co. should have constituted themselves only as a fraction for the "conquest of the Communist Party", and the action of Sellier himself in forming a new party, the more natural and proper path is the Frenchman's.

Internationalism Is Forgotten

Indeed, what have Sellier and his friends in common with revolutionary Marxism that they should form a faction to win even the shivering shadow of the once powerful Communist Party of France? Nothing, so far as we can perceive. The P. O. P. is a purely parliamentary apparatus to safeguard the municipal, and in general, the electoral bottoms of its leaders. In the trade union field (C. G. T. U.), it has allied itself with the syndicalist-reformist elements who are for the "independence of the trade unions"—that is, for their dependence upon the reformists and their masters. Its leaders' activities in the municipal councils are largely indistinguishable from those of a "Left" social democrat of, let us say, the more "solid" Austrian school. They do not even bother, as Lovestone and Brandler do out of politeness to the confused Communist workers still in their ranks, to call themselves a Communist movement; on the contrary, apparently taking Stalin's slogan as good revolutionary coin, they have labelled themselves a "workers and peasants" party. In their manifesto, which was posted upon the billboards and walls of Paris as I passed through that city two weeks ago, they addressed themselves to the good and honest French citizenry, and out of sheer oversight we presume... did not as much as mention the Bolshevik revolution or the Soviet republic. They did appeal, however, for a rail: to the P.O.P. on the basis of the good old revolutionary French traditions of—1789.

After all, one can read the material of Brandler and Lovestone and find some vague mutterings about the Russian revolution and internationalism, like the incoherent babblings of a man waking out of a sleep and talking about something that happened long, long ago. But Messrs. Sellier and Co. are "sobered up", they are quite through with what they consider yesterday's bubbings of revolutionary beverages "artificially imported" from Moscow. What have they to do with Internationalism and with a revolution in far-off Russia (or any other country, it might be added)? Let Stalin build up his socialism in Russia: that's his affair. And let Brandler build his "Communist" Opposition in Germany,

if he wants to. As for ourselves, say Sellier, Gelis, Chasseigne, Dunois and Co., let us build our modest little election machine in France. Everyone to his own taste! Live and let live! These are the fearless slogans emblazoned on the standards of the Right wing "international".

Travelling Toward Menshevism

At the conference to constitute the P. O. P., by the way, there was also on hand Maurice Paz, erstwhile Oppositionist of the Left. He too made his essential criticism of the Selliers the fact that they were forming a "second party". Paz has found bad company. Like him, Lovestone is little concerned with all these petty, bothersome questions of Communist principles. What is important is the question: Second party

Naval Parley Bound for «Davy Jones' Locker»

Officially the London Naval conference still exists. The issues of naval tonnage, and limitation of armament construction, minced with all the verblage that preceded the conference, remain, today after almost three months of negotiations. Not the slightest progress has been made between the imperialist robbers.

During the course of the conference every conceivable method was employed by the Powers to bludgeon each other into agreement. From the beginning it was clear that the conference meant to establish the "agreement" of the hegemony of the British and United States fleets over the seas. The conference was an attempt to get "official" sanction from Japan, France and Italy.

The assumption of the United States to leadership in world economy and the deposition of England from her former role gave the political basis to the conference. To do away with the old watchword—"Britannia Rules the Seas"—became the object of America. In this she was successful, insofar as it dictated to Britain the ratio of naval strength giving her (United States) a free hand to roam the seas, and maintain a naval fleet second to none. What became necessary following this agreement between the two leading world powers, was to establish a form of restraint on the other powers, to establish the relative strength of Japan, France and Italy in relation to themselves.

Conference Cannot Solve Its Problems

The demand of the Japanese for a naval strength of 70 percent of the United States and England became the first obstacle. The proposal for a reduction of this ratio met the stubborn resistance of the Japanese delegation. The French position calling for a tonnage of 725,000 tons, a great part to be built by 1936, remains, despite all attempts to force France into reducing this figure. Italy stands on her original proposal of parity with France. To allow France such a high tonnage, and a fleet that, would in six years be the most modern afloat; and to allow Italy parity with France would present a direct threat to the British interests in the Mediterranean, and generally be a threat to both England and the United States.

With the growth of the intensity of contradictions between the capitalist powers, the possibility of their "agreements" become more and more slim. The prediction of the Communists that the conference would inevitably run into a blind alley has been sustained throughout the course of the deliberations. There is no solution to war under capitalism. All the problems facing imperialists prior to the organization of the conference that was to "solve" them, stand as before.

Recognizing that the probability of a five-power treaty was doubtful, attempts were made for a tripartite treaty between England, the United States, and Japan. With the hope that this would be successful, America and Britain threatened the conference that unless France and Italy would agree to the proposals for reduction of their fleets, they would proceed with a three-power agreement.

Japan threw the wrench into this wheel, by rejecting the proposals of the United States and Great Britain, that Japan accept a reduction below the Japanese figure of a 70 percent ration of the English and Amer-

ican fleets. And alas, it is precisely in this last question that Sellier is correct and Lovestone wrong.

It is necessary, again in the interests of strict accuracy, to conclude with one more aspect of the issue. Sellier would be wrong and Lovestone right if it were a matter of not organizing a new party but instead of that, a faction—in the socialist party, a faction allied—from the Left side, if you wish—with M. Zyromski and his friends. Indeed it is not so long ago that Lovestone, as secretary of the American Party, proposed to its Political Bureau that Party members be sent into the Socialist Party to build a "Left wing" there. Is there any reason to doubt that now, travelling with express speed away from Communism, Lovestone and Sellier will not soon realize the step that Lovestone advocated in an unguarded moment? In our opinion there is none.—M.S.

And additional attempts to revert to security pacts as a solution to the French problem at the conference met with failure. The powers evidently feel that the time is not yet ripe to enter into agreements of a political nature, at this stage of the game. They are content to play for time during this "peaceful" period of the war preparations. A political pact with either the United States or Great Britain, France claims, would enable her to lower her demand for a 725,000 tonnage ratio. But with Japan's refusal for a reduction in her demand, France's assumption of the same position, and Italy's refusal to agree to less than parity with France, the naval conference stands lifeless.

Attempts at Security Pacts Fail

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Secrecy Prevails in Conference

E. L. James in the New York Times of April 5, sums up the present situation in London in the following manner:

"Thus the complications of the naval conference do not lessen, and while there have been many interesting proposals no one knows exactly what the situation is. There has been no meeting of the conference for six weeks. There have been only private talks in the greatest secrecy, of which no record was kept. If the whole official record of the decisions of this conference were compiled, it would not fill twenty typewritten pages.

"There probably never was another conference so secret in its work. This means that if it ever gets down to making a treaty an immense amount of work must be done in setting down what has been agreed. It probably will be found that no two delegations agree on any point."

The collapse of the conference was inevitable from the moment it began. The mask of its pretensions has been torn through its complete failures. Technically the conference is continued—actually it has been dead for weeks. The conference demonstrates that under capitalism the contradictions that exist cannot be solved through peaceful means. War and capitalism are identical. The solution to this problem is the overthrow of this system of exploitation and war. It is the duty of the proletariat to destroy this system and its lackeys, to establish a system without classes, exploitation and war—a Communist Society.

Φ

STREET RAILWAYMEN ASK RAISE

PITTSBURG—(FP)—Three thousand members of the Amalgamated Assn. of Street Railwaymen are asking an increase in wages from the Pittsburgh Railways Co. when the present agreement expires in May.

The union seeks a raise of five cents an hour for motormen and conductors to 75 cents per hour and a raise of 15 cents per hour to 90 cents for operators of one man cars. Negotiations have been in progress for nearly a month. No settlement has been reached. The local has been given the approval of the national officers for strike action if it becomes necessary.

Police Kill Worker at Anti-Fascist Meet

NEW YORK—Benito Mussolini, using the U. S. immigration service, reached out in a Cooper Union anti-Fascist meeting in New York to nab Armando Borghi, an anti-Fascist leader. As a result one unknown worker is dead and another wounded.

Borghi, with Vincenzo Vacirca, a socialist and both opponents of Fascism, were speakers at a Cooper Union meeting called to discuss labor strategy after the fall of Il Duce's castor oil regime. The meeting was nonpartisan and a Republican party member was chairman. Just as Borghi finished his speech a federal agent stepped on the platform to arrest him. Borghi jumped off the stage into the audience, which rose in excitement.

A city detective was being ejected from the meeting when he drew his gun and fired wildly. The shot wounded one man, glanced off, and instantly killed an Italian worker. None knew his identity nor political affiliations.

Borghi was seized for deportation several years ago, on the advice of fascist agents in Washington. Liberals and radicals put up a fight to keep him from being returned to certain death in Italy. Stays of execution had been granted to him, but he had not been notified that federal agents were after him.

Φ

ROCHESTER TYPOS SHARE JOBS WITH UNEMPLOYED

ROCHESTER, N. Y. —(FP)—Married compositors on Rochester newspapers will go on a 4-day week, while single men will work only three days weekly, under a program voluntarily adopted by the three newspaper chapels of the Typographical Union to relieve unemployment among printers here. The action follows a reduction of working forces by the newspapers.

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. McDonald's 65 Sixth St.
WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 205 Tent St. N. W.
PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.
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SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. We.'y St.
BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St near Washington; Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.
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DETROIT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 620 West 12th St.
ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. cor., 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. cor.
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SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.
TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St. St.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.
CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West
In addition to the stores listed above. The Militant also can be obtained through members and branches of the Communist League of America.

Beating the War Drums

The periodicals of the ruling class in this country have in the past year devoted a great deal of space to the topic of war. The United States' new role as the leading capitalist nation in the world, with its search for markets, raw materials, and new fields of exploitation, brought with it an extension of its military preparations and development of every character. "Dollar Diplomacy" in its penetration into the world arena, is followed by the gun. The capitalists of this country, just as the capitalists of all other countries recognize that in order to safeguard their economic interests, the armed forces behind it are essential.

The inevitability of conflicts between the imperialists is evident through their attempts at meditation. A glaring failure of this character is the London naval conference. But the whole history of capitalist diplomacy shows the same result. Attempts at agreements, limitation of armaments, negotiations for peace, have all meant: preparation for war, the search for alignments, and the aim to discover the strength of their opponents. The imperialists recognize the inevitability of war and are continually in preparation for it. They write about it, speak of it, and are constantly on guard against the "enemy." A few weeks ago, a sham airplane battle was held in the vicinity of Los Angeles against the "red forces". This is indicative where the wind blows. At other times practice battles are fought against the fleet of Great Britain or Japan. The minds of the masses are being prepared.

War Department Calls For Free Hand

The armed forces, however, while playing a tremendous role during war, are not sufficient. The resources of the belligerent nations are the backbone of war. The organization of industry on a war basis at a moment's notice is the object of the ruling class. And so *Nation's Business*, the organ of the United States Chamber of Commerce, poses the question: "Who's going to win the next big war? And why?"

Assuming, and correctly so, that war is coming, this journal proceeds to promote a plan for mobilizing the industry of this country up to war strength at a moment's notice. The proposal called, "educational war orders for munitions", is set forth in a bill backed by the war department, the navy department and the Chamber of Commerce. The Bill has already had hearings before the House committee on military affairs.

In order to avoid all possible delays in the event that war breaks out, the Bill intends that the Secretary of War shall have complete power to place war orders for munitions without advertising for bids, and without being bound to award them to the lowest bidders. This would mean that the small industrial concerns would be pushed out in favor of the large industries that can over night begin the production of war implements. The War Department does not want to bother over "small concerns with no capacity worth consideration in war time."

Turning the Factories into War Machines

Nation's Business very clearly states:

"Making munitions is much more difficult and complicated than turning out trucks or tractors or pleasure cars or typewriters. Cannon must be as accurate as watches. Shells must be perfect."

"War is now a fight of the factories, a battle of machines...The nation whose manufacturing plants can most quickly be tuned up to quantity production of cannon, shells, searchlights, fuses, gun carriages, and what-not, will win a victory."

"Government plants in the United States have the capacity to fill only from five to ten percent of our munition needs in a war against another major power or combination of powers. So the matter comes down to the large, efficient well-managed establishments that in time of peace make automobiles, typewriters, sewing machines, multi-

graphs, street cars, machine tools and other articles of ordinary commercial usefulness. In war the victory will go according to the way such plants have been taught beforehand their war-time jobs".

As far back as November, 1928, the *Annalist* in a lengthy article on the chemical industry pointed out that, while from an industrialist viewpoint the development of this industry was essential to the United States, yet of even more importance was the use to which the chemical industry could be subjected during war. The article illustrates that the chemical industry not only serves as one of the most important branches of a war-producing plant, but can without the slightest difficulty be transformed into manufacturing war products. While *Nation's Business* does not mention the question of the chemical industry in relation to the war, it is evident that its importance has not been minimized, since one of the writers of these war articles is E. T. Trigg, chairman of the committee for National Defense of the United States Chamber of Commerce. He is also the president of the John Lucas & Co., manufacturers of paints—a chemical industry.

All Workers to be Entrapped

The employment of women on a mass scale in the event of war is one of the chief aims of the Bill. A picture appearing above the leading article on the journal, shows women working in a munitions plant. This picture is headed by the following caption: "Gauging of cartridges is only one step of many in their manufacture." The development of modern industry, making possible the employment of women in industries such as chemical, electrical, iron and steel, etc., is closely related to the question of war production.

It is clear that in the event of war the capitalists will utilize every conceivable force. We will witness the armed forces, the organization of industries on a war basis, the utilization of the women and children, and a virtual existence of martial law in the home country.

The war problem is of greatest importance to the proletariat. The workers bear the heaviest burden during war. Even exemption from the actual armed forces does not exclude one from participation in war. To begin now with the struggle against capitalist war is of paramount importance to the working class. This struggle cannot only be conducted with manifestos, meetings and protests. There is needed the actual organization of the masses. Such an organization against war must be carried directly into the shops. Parliamentary and legal means will not suffice. The role of the Communist must be that of leading the masses in the proper direction. To give leadership in the struggle, to help in the organization of the fight—to the destruction of capitalism. Defeat war by its own means.

POLICE BOARD APPROVES BLACKJACKING

LOS ANGELES—Police Commissioner Mark Pierce wants to see more official violence against Communists. "The more the police beat up and wreck their headquarters the better," Pierce shouted. "Communists have no constitutional rights and I won't listen to anybody who defends them." Two other commissioners agreed with this idea.

STUDENTS BACK JOBLESS AGAINST POLICE

DETROIT—Over two thousand students meeting here in a laboratory conference on social conditions have passed a resolution condemning the Detroit police department for its "brutal suppression of the unemployed and its demonstrations." It called for absolute freedom of speech and assembly at future unemployed meetings and expressed the "fraternal solidarity" of the students with their "jobless brothers and sisters."

TROTSKY ON FOSTER AND LOVESTONE

In the Revolutionary Age (March 1, 1930) the Lovestone Right wing attempts to show that the American Party in its activities and leadership is accepting the line of the Opposition. It happens, unfortunately, that this is not so. This time Lovestone quotes from the letter of comrade Trotsky to the American Opposition. In that letter Trotsky makes a scathing criticism of the then leaders of the American Party, Lovestone and Pepper. This letter also contains some views on Foster. What comrade Trotsky said in that letter written in Constantinople in April, 1929 is borne out by all events that have transpired.

In reference to the Stalin apparatus and its American lieutenants, Trotsky writes: "Lovestone and Pepper did not create this regime but they are its staff officers. I convicted Lovestone of a foul ideological falsification (see my book 'Europe and America'). Under a fairly normal regime that alone would have been enough to bury a man for a long time, if not for good, or at least to make him confess and repent...The spirit of the Lovestones and Peppers is fundamentally opposed to the spirit of the proletarian revolution."

Trotsky then discusses Foster. Lovestone, in his characteristically dishonest manner, quotes only a brief sentence from the letter, namely: "The latter (Foster) always seemed to me made of more trustworthy material than Lovestone. In Foster's criticism of the official leadership of the Party there was always much that was true and acute." Lovestone stops at this point and quotes no further. But the letter continues: "But as far as I understand him, Foster is an empiricist. He does not want to, or is not able to carry his thinking out to the end, and make upon the foundation of his criticisms the necessary generalization. For that reason it has never been clear to me in what direction Foster's criticism is pushing him: to the Left or to the Right of official Centrism...This same empiricism apparently suggests to Foster the whole form of his activity, which consists of struggling against the little devil with Satan's support. Foster tries to conceal himself with the defensive coloration of Stalinism in order by this contraband route to move toward the leadership of the American Party."

If Lovestone were honest he would have quoted the entire section the letter, but that would run against his grain. Comrade Trotsky's analysis of both Lovestone and Foster has been confirmed completely during the course of the Party events in the last year.

NO WAGE INCREASE FOR MEMPHIS STREET CAR MEN

MEMPHIS—(FP)—Any thought of a wage increase for street car men was dispelled when the union's executive board, after conference with the company officials, recommended continuance of the existing scale for another year.

The vice president of the street railway company complimented the men on their "patriotism" in following Pres. Hoover's admonitions.

CAPITALISM BLAMED FOR CRIME PROBLEM

BUFFALO, N. Y. —(FP)—Inequitable distribution of wealth and an unfair industrial order prevent a solution of the crime problem, declared Dr. Nathaniel Cantor, professor of sociology at the University of Buffalo, in a recent lecture at the University.

GREENVILLE, S. C. —Cotton mills in the Piedmont section are running at only 75% capacity, as against 83% two weeks ago, according to the president of a large chain of mills.

BOSTON—10,000 union carpenters in Boston are demanding restitution of the 5-day week, gained in 1915 and lost in 1921.

MADISONVILLE, Ky.—One thousand miners have struck for a wage increase in western Kentucky coal fields.

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we believe, has fulfilled a vital role in the best interests of the working class and Communist movement in the United States. It gives a true picture of the situation in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

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prints the original and incomparable writings of Leon Trotsky, the leader of the Left Bolshevik Opposition, now exiled in Turkey by the Stalin bureaucracy. In so doing it makes clear to all intelligent and honest revolutionary workers, the revisionist policies of the present leadership of the international Communist movement as directed, since Lenin's death, by Stalin and Bukharin and their Centrist and Right wing supporters in the various countries.

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fights for the rebuilding of the revolutionary movement on the foundations laid by Marx and Lenin and against the Stalin-Bukharin revisionists, and thereby best serves the cause of international Communism.

We call upon our readers to help maintain the *Militant* by giving financial support to ensure its continued existence as a fighting weekly for the cause of Bolshevism.

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FINES AND JAIL FOR JOBLESS

SEATTLE—Of nine workers convicted on a charge of unlawful assembly in connection with the unemployed demonstration Feb. 26, three were fined \$25 each and six \$10 each. Notice of appeal has been filed by the Intl. Labor Defense. Six other workers convicted in connection with the March 6 demonstration have appealed from a 60-day jail sentence for three and a \$20 fine each for three.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

THE PARTY MATHEMETICIANS AT WORK

New York

Dear Comrades:

The Communist Party of the United States led by Stalinist "yes men" continue to highly exaggerate reports on the response of the workers to its appeals. If a worker in any other country would read the *Daily Worker* regularly for 30 to 60 days and have no other information on the economic and political situation in the United States, he would come to the conclusion that the American proletariat was rallying by the hundreds of thousands to the banner of the Communist Party.

As a result of this accepted view by the Party leaders the Communist Party is calling for a mass political strike on May First, in spite of the fact that all recent appeals for political strikes have been obvious failures. August 1, 1929 and March 6, 1930 are two recent examples of the Party's appeals for political strikes that were not at all answered by the workers. Those workers however, who picked up the *Daily Worker* after the August 1, International Red Day demonstration and the Unemployment rallies on March 6, were informed that hundreds of thousands of workers responded. According to the *Daily Worker* of April 2, 1,250,000 workers demonstrated on March 6 in every industrial center of the United States at the call and under Communist Party leadership. Is this so?

Unemployment is an immediate and burning issue for millions of workers. It is understandable why they can be set into motion on this issue. The *Militant* has previously accurately evaluated the March 6 demonstrations. A few additional comments may clarify further. We judge the exaggerations in relation to March 6 only insofar as New York is concerned, which was the most successful. The Party leadership and the *Daily Worker* states that 110,000 workers assembled in Union Square on March 6.

The March 6th New York Demonstration
Counting every one present, 60,000 is the maximum figure. Probably the total crowd did not total 50,000. Of the 50 to 60 thousand assembled, at least half were present only out of curiosity. One only had to mingle with the crowd for less than 10 minutes to discover that. The writer saw many high school and college students, as well as business men, who in speaking among themselves, stated that they wanted to see the riot, while others, anti-radical to the core, asserted that they were waiting to watch the reds get beaten up. When these same persons appear in Union Square May 1, will these elements be counted as adherents of the Veterans or of the Communist Party?

The claim that 110,000 were present is ridiculous, and then to claim that they were all demonstrators does more harm than good to the Communist movement. It is, however, in general line with the Party policy to double or triple the attendance of any meeting or demonstration when a report appears in the Party press. This has resulted in any number of workers losing confidence in the *Daily Worker* and Party press as an accurate spokesman of the working class.

In the Unions

The same irresponsibility to be found in relations to demonstrations can also be discovered in the trade union policy of the Left wing unions under Party control. In addition to barring non-party members from playing any leading role in these organizations, the Stalinists exaggerate the strength of the Left wing organizations and constantly tell of the decay of the Right wing unions, even when it is far from the actual facts.

Untruths and Illusions. Don't Help the Communists

In New York City, where the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union has lost control of the needle trades workers to the Right wing International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the International Fur Workers Union, the Ben Golds and Rose Wortises, instead of admitting that the union is only a skeleton, do not admit past mistakes, but try to bluff the workers.

Becoming more and more disgusted by the tactics of the Stalinists, they are driven into the Right wing camp.

In the National Miners Union and the National Textile Workers Union, the same situation is to be found. The Stalinists make no attempt to face the problems of the workers, but instead take the easier path of issuing revolutionary statements. These look very good on paper but do not help to organize the workers. This policy must be ended, and in its place a program adopted that will rally the workers in struggles that will advance the workers' and Communist movement in this country. A first step should be to end the attacks on the supporters of the Left Opposition who are members of the Left wing unions. In general too, union members who are willing and capable to do work in the organizations must not be barred because of their political or lack of political point of view, as is the case now.

The "Cooperative" Cafeteria

The *Daily Worker* and other Party organs use up valuable space to condone the murder of comrade Blumkin at the order of Stalin, because he supported the Leninist program of the Opposition led by Trotsky. May we note a few other practices of the Stalinist Central Committee during the "Third Period"?

Up until a few months ago the *Daily Worker* press which prints the vicious, lying attacks on Trotsky and the Left Communist Opposition, also printed, daily the *Nove Russkoye Slovo*, organ of the monarchist forces in the United States. Shall we say that the *Daily Worker* is the ally of General Koutieпов? For this white guard sheet stands on the same program as Koutieпов and the other counter-revolutionary forces who want to reestablish a monarchy.

The Communist Party disgracefully fools the New York workers by allowing the privately owned cafeteria in the Workers Center, 26-28 Union Square to use the name of Cooperative Cafeteria. When the Proletcos, a cooperative owned by the Party sold the restaurant to a private individual several months ago, the use of the name, Cooperative, was included. At the present time thousands of workers regularly use the cafeteria, under the impression that it is a left wing institution and the profits go towards the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit*, while actually they go in the pockets of the capitalist owner.

The proletarian members and the Left wing workers who support the Party must demand the end of exaggerations and bombast, a truthful policy in the Party press, a revival of the left wing unions on a broad basis and the ending of such treachery as the fake cooperative. Until that time all the so-called "victories" of the Communist movement in the United States are built on sand and will crumble at the first real major conflict with the capitalist class.

The capitalist class and its agents are mobilizing against the party for May Day. Let the Party answer by a united struggle in which all possible forces can participate and defeat the plans of the bosses. It is up to Foster, Minor and their associates. What will the answer be?

—FRANK BROMLEY

Φ

DIVIDENDS GO UP! WAGES COME DOWN

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

If you are a worker out of a job and tramping the streets begging for a chance to work; or if you are still working, but your wages have been slashed to the bone, buck up and take heart, for your royal high chief and master, Big Business, is doing well. This should gladden the hearts of millions of unemployed and their families, whatever might be their present state of misery. Likewise, for all those who have been compelled to speed up and take a wage cut under threats of a layoff.

In regard to dividends for the first quarter of 1930, the *Chicago Tribune*, a newspaper always lavish with its praise of "Big Business," has the following to say:

"It is estimated that payments today reached approximately \$550,000,000, and

that for the entire month they total close to \$700,000,000.

"Eight hundred important corporations and upward of 1,800 companies of all descriptions make disbursements this month. Dividend declarations during March are estimated at \$427,121,988, and for the first quarter at \$1,170,082,645. That was an increase of about 17 percent compared with the corresponding period of last year."

Meanwhile, the Hoover big business conferences in the early part of the winter are daily being revealed as nothing more than a get-together for the purpose to plan systematic reductions of wages. To put it over more successfully, it was necessary to adopt a plan based upon progressive stages and, cynically, salt it down with ballyhoo propaganda about no wage reductions in order to lull the unsuspecting workers to sleep, and thus to take them by surprise.

Mr. Owen D. Young, of Reparations fame, erstwhile partner of J. P. Morgan, let the cat out of the bag the other day when he made a guarded statement about necessity to reduce the standard of living of American workers in order to compete profitably, for the American capitalists, for the world trade. Nevertheless, working men and women are asked and expected to be cheerful in their state of misery. Remember, Hoover and Big Business are doing quite well.

—J. MIHELIC

Φ

MATTHEW WOLL PROVES HIMSELF

Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Comrades:

If any further confirmation of Matthew Woll's character were needed, the readiness with which he joins the anti-Soviet religious propagandists would be sufficient. As acting president of the National Civic Federation, Mr. Woll has been an efficient steward to the capitalist barons. And, like a trusty servant, he is alert to guard the ranks of the menials against the intrusion of any unorthodox ideas: political, economic or religious.

So Mr. Woll adds his pious voice to the hallelujah chorus now pronouncing anathemas upon the Soviet Union. He says in part:

"There is only one issue in the Soviet situation as far as Americans are concerned, and that is entirely one of principle. The question is not whether Russians are being a little better fed this year than last, or whether they are being a little more poorly fed this year than last. The question is whether or not we believe the freedom and democracy of our civilization superior to the dictatorship... of Communism."

All of this sounds suspiciously like the old war-cry, "Make the world safe for democracy." Only this time it will be, "make the world safe for God." For the nth time the world is to be drenched in blood in the name of religion—if the preachers, plutocrats and Mathew Wolls have their way. Before we go out to save God and Gold, we would request Mr. Woll to show us "the freedom and democracy of our own civilization." One suspects that, like God, they exist only in flights of rhetoric.

Woll's Poison Goods

The distinguished "labor leader" closes his comment, anent the Russian situation in two pithy sentences: "It is, in short, one system against another. And the conflict between the two will continue until one or the other passes from the scene. There is no such thing as compromise possible in such a conflict..." "It is evident that the world at last senses something of the full truth about the Communist situation."

The first point is a naive statement for a politician of Mr. Woll's calibre to make. Of course the conflict between capitalism and communism is irreconcilable; in the very nature of things there can be no basis of compromise. On the one side are arrayed the capitalists, the preachers, the reformists, the pink-tea radicals, and the goose-stepping, so-called labor officials. On

the other side stands the exploited proletariat, but wrathful and mighty, refusing any longer to swallow the poisons of religion and patriotism.

As Mr. Woll says, "It is evident that the world, at last, senses something of the full truth about the Communist situation." The full truth, realized by the workers of the world, will dissolve the economic system by which the Mathew Wolls profit, throwing both them and their capitalist masters out of jobs. We have learned to distinguish between bearers of truth and purveyors of poison. By the label on his wares, Mr. Woll cannot be placed in the former category.

—HAROLD PREECE

Φ

Rail Workers For Six Hour Day

(Continued from page 1)

ference at its gathering of March 19th unanimously passed the resolution printed in part below, concerning the recent convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association.

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RESOLUTION

Whereas, the approaching State and Congressional elections present exceptional opportunities for the advancement of the cause of the workers who now suffer the misery of widespread unemployment and

Whereas, the present program and platform of the Farmer-Labor Association does not in any respect represent the needs or demands of the workers either employed, unemployed, organized or unorganized, and

Whereas, all the outstanding elected officials of the Farmer-Labor Party by their activity or lack of activity, both during election campaigns and while in office, have reflected the ideology of the Party, which is dominated by the outlook of the small property holder rather than by that of the worker and

Whereas, this state of affairs has resulted in a decline of interest of wide sections of workers in Labor Party activity and support, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this delegated meeting of Railroad workers recommends to the Hennepin County and State Conventions of the Farmer Labor Association (of Minnesota) a complete redraft of the program and that, among others, the following definite proposals be included in the new draft:

1. The organization base of the Party to be the economic organization of the workers. All individual membership to be abolished.

2. Candidates of the Party to be members of the Party, who shall be pledged to the full program and who will sponsor during election campaigns and after election among other demands the following proposals:

- 100% organization of the workers. Against the Open shop.
- For the organization of a National Labor Party, based on workers organizations.
- For a 6-hour day and a 5-day week for all industries.
- For unemployment wages, furnished by taxation of profits, to be administered by the organization of the workers.
- Against the use of police, the courts or any branch of the governmental armed forces in labor disputes.
- For the abolition of all private employment agencies; workers to be employed through their organizations.
- For two weeks vacation with pay.

Unanimously adopted at St. Paul Woodruff Hall, March 19, 1930.

Sec'y. P. G. Hedlund, Firemen, No. 814

Chairman, J. P. Barr, Switchmen No. 206

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NEWARK, N. J. —Beginning March 31 all Steiner & Co. employes in New Jersey pajama plants will be on a 5-day schedule without pay reduction.