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International Labor Day

May Day, 1930 is before us. The mobilization of the working class to show the solidarity of labor before the ruling class is an elemental task for all class-conscious and revolutionary workers. It is the duty of every worker to participate in the meetings and demonstrations of the workers on that day. All forces must unite to present a common, broad, militant front before the common enemy—the capitalist class of this country.

Outstanding on May Day, 1930, is the 13th year of the existence of the Soviet Republic, the first Workers Republic of the world, the fortress of the international proletarian revolution. The defense of its heritage, its victories, the fight for its preservation, is the first major task of the workers of all lands.

In the United States, mass unemployment is the gaunt spectre haunting the lives of million of workingmen and women. Labor on May Day needs to demonstrate and demand from the ruling capitalist class either work or compensation for the unemployed. Immediate fighting tasks for the American working masses are the struggle for the seven hour day and the five day week; for social insurance at the expense of the bosses and government; for the fight against the deadly speed-up system.

The masses of American workers are unorganized into any labor organization. Before the militants, the Left wing, the Communists, is the common responsibility to engage actively for the organization of the unorganized into fighting labor unions. The capitalist class in the United States is still on the offensive, endeavoring to smash all organizations of the working class. The united resistance of the progressive and Left wing of the labor movement is needed to resist the capitalist offensive and to prepare the forces of the workers in due time themselves to take the offensive against the bosses and the capitalist government.

A duty of the American masses is to demand the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States government and especially to demand that the United States shall extend long-term credits to the Soviet Union, which, at one and the same time aid partially to relieve the unemployed situation in the United States and the economic development of the Soviet Union.

The common struggle for the abolition of capitalist society and the establishment of workers rule, for a society without exploitation of one class over another remains as before. On May Day, 1930, let the workers join in solidarity against the capitalist system and resolve to carry on a fight for its overthrow.

I. L. P. «Turns Left»

The Birmingham conference of the I. L. P. has just passed by under the leadership of the Left wing-led by Maxton. What is of the greatest significance is the formal decision not only to endorse the opposition to the MacDonald-controlled Parliamentary Labor Party, but to instruct the 30 members following Maxton to establish themselves as a separate group in the House of Commons with the purpose of organized opposition to the MacDonald regime. This in itself will not, of course, lead to the fall of the Labor government, since the 59 liberals will make up for the loss. But the Birmingham decisions are of immense significance as indicative of the trend developing in the ranks of the I. L. P. which include many revolutionary, if temporarily confused militants. An article giving a more detailed analysis of the significance of the conference appears next week.

MAY DAY IN NEW YORK

With the Militant Workers - Against Whalen and the Legionaries!
ALL WORKERS OUT TO RUTGERS SQUARE ON THE FIRST OF MAY

The pure democracy of Walker and Whalen has spoken and the right to the streets on May Day has been granted equally to all citizens of good conduct! Here the American Legion, the Russian White Guards and the thousands of police armed to the teeth to protect and assist the reactionary forces—all on Union Square. There the militant workers of New York, with the Communists in the van—at Rutgers Square, with permission to march along a democratically prescribed route to Union Square after it had been "cleared" of the Legion and its Russian thugs-in-law. Elsewhere the respectable "socialists", who gather in the dark in quiet halls to condemn the un-democratic Communists and demand the removal of Whalen so that he may be replaced by another good democrat who will club only Communists: not "innocent citizens and bystanders" as well.

No more democratic arrangement could be expected from the guardians of American capitalist liberty. The socialists are given full rights to spew their mean venom upon the revolutionary movement. The black hundreds of the American Legion and their Russian co-blackguards are generously handed the Square which is traditionally the meeting place of the militant workers. The police are given the liberal right to use their clubs and tear gas bombs against workers who demonstrate their solidarity on May Day. The militant workers are given the right to be threatened by police club and machine gun if they don't behave on the streets like Sunday school boys. The Communist leaders Foster, Minor, Amter, Raymond and Lester are given the right to rest in democratic prison for demonstrating on the free streets.

Capitalists on the Offensive

The capitalist class in New York, the wisest in the country, has shown its power. It is not on the defensive! It is on the offensive! It knows the possibilities given the revolutionary movement in the unemployment situation, and it is curbing it from the outset. It granted Union Square to the Communists on March 6th, and then

showed its power by the savage, unprecedentedly brutal, manner in which it broke up the demonstration. As pious lovers of democracy, it did not refuse the Communist Party a permit for Union Square on May Day. No! It merely organized its band of toughs in the American Legion, allotted 10,000 well-armed police to help them, and installed them in Union Square.

It calculated on the weakness of the revolutionary movement to contest the holding of the Square with the armed Legionaries, White Guards and police. They would have reckoned in vain had the leaders of the official Communist Party succeeded in mobilizing such a mass movement of workers as would enable them to challenge the usurpers of our May Day meeting place. But the irresponsible, false policies of this leadership have compromised the chances for such a success in advance.

The Communist Party has decided to retreat from its original plan to start its demonstration in Union Square and contest for place with the Legion. It will, instead, hold its demonstration in Rutgers Square. The step is a correct one. It was indicated by us previously in the Militant and under the circumstances was not to be avoided. The isolation to which the leaders of the Party have doomed the membership made the Union Square contest difficult. But the fact that it has been a retreat has not been acknowledged; and that is necessary. The workers must learn to distinguish a retreat from an advance. Those who tell the workers that a retreat is not really a retreat but a victory, are criminally misleading them and preventing them from judging their own future. Upon the Party leaders and the Daily Worker fall the guilt of this light-minded mis-education.

The alleged "majority group" (the Lovestone Right wing) is overjoyed at the retreat. They speculated upon it and the hopes that the blunders of the Stalinist leaders would lead to a crushing defeat in Union Square for the Party and a justification for the cowardly policy of perma-

ent retreat which is the present line of Lovestone and Company. In the past, Lovestone went along with, and initiated, every criminal adventure for which his whole regime in the Party was noted. Today he has developed under the tutelage of that master of falling backward, Brandler, to the policy of criminal and permanent retreat.

The Militant, on the contrary, declared in its last issue: "The Party cannot fight this battle alone. It must appeal to the masses. Upon the volume of support which the masses give to this appeal, clearly manifested beforehand, depends the question whether the Communists should accept the challenge to fight for the Square on May Day, or make a temporary retreat before stronger forces of the enemy. All efforts in the next days must be concentrated in going to the masses with this issue."

The Party leaders failed to do this. They made the retreat inevitable with their narrow policy. But for Lovestone, retreat is a constant inevitability. May Day will show: Upon the strength of the Rutgers Square demonstration, upon the numbers which have responded to the call, upon the tempo of workers assembled, still depends the question of whether Mr. Whalen and his Legionaries shall be allowed to usurp the workers center in Union Square unchallenged.

Organize Labor's Resistance

The New York May Day demonstration is the most important one in the country. It is confronted with a growing offensive of the capitalist class and it must strengthen the resistance of the workers. It is the enemy that is on the offensive; the workers are on the "offensive" only in the fantastic proclamations of the Daily Worker. It is the enemy that dared to carry through the scandalous trial of the five Communists, with a denial of jury trial, of bail, of defense witnesses, in Star Chamber, and with the imposition of brutal, maximum sentences. It is the enemy that dared for the first time in years to take over Union Square with its Legionaries. For the first time in history the White Guard rats are out of their holes and offering to join the Legionaries to light Communism in America.

The workers must answer at the May Day meeting. But the Party leaders make a well-organized and concerted answer difficult. Their slogan of the "general political strike" under present circumstances is unrefined stupidity, guaranteed only to discredit this valuable slogan. The workers must rally to Rutgers Square, around the demands for work or compensation, for the 7 hour day and five day week, for social insurance, for extensive credits to the Soviet Union as a measure of alleviating unemployment misery, for the defense of the arrested Communist leaders.

The workers must give voice to their solidarity and demand a fighting united front against unemployment, the main problem of the American working class today. The Party members must press upon the bureaucratic layer that stifles Party democracy and initiative, and compel a united front of all revolutionary elements. The Communist Opposition is in solidarity with the May Day demonstration and will be found in its ranks. A solid mass of workers, capable of acting intelligently and militantly, will be our reply to the provocative, Cossack attacks of Whalen and his paymasters.

ON MAY DAY—ALL NEW YORK MILITANTS TO RUTGERS SQUARE.

UNEMPLOYMENT UNRELIEVED

The situation remains dismal for the millions of unemployed workers in the United States, who are occupied with the discouraging task of seeking non-existent jobs. Neither Spring nor Hoover have brought the awaited acceleration of employment. The report on industrial activity for the month of March, issued by Francis J. Jones, director general of the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, Washington, has to admit continued wide-spread unemployment and depression in the outstanding trades, manufactures and industries. The report in part, states:

"...There was no great improvement in industrial activity during March...The iron and steel industry has not reached normal operations and unemployment continued among the workers..

"Curtailed schedules continued in the boot and shoe industry, particularly in the New England States, where a large number of workers were employed on a part-time basis, with quite a number idle..."

Nor is the picture a prettier one for

the cotton textile workers.

"The cotton-textile industry remained unchanged, with a large volume of textile mill laborers working part-time and many unemployed..."

Pittsburg reports for the steel trades, expressed both publicly and privately, are gloomy. As per New York Times report, they "have a strongly conservative tinge". As we have stated before, the economic reaction is world-wide and is taking its immense toll everywhere through added joblessness and misery for the workers. The reports from Germany are that the steel market has grown more inactive, both in ingot steel and in the rolling mills. The steel trust is about to discharge 5,000 workmen and the Siemens & Halske company, 2,000, according to Berlin dispatches.

Φ

LOWELL, Mass.—All union bricklayers in Lowell are on strike for the 40-hour week with a compensatory wage increase from \$1.50 to \$1.65 an hour. Employers would not grant the increase.

The Policy of Bluff in the N. T. W. U.

Instead of sticking to the facts of the present condition of the National Textile Workers Union, Clarence Miller, the "third period" secretary of that organization, in a recent statement issued to the Federated Press makes the usual bombastic account that has become the style in all unions and other organizations controlled by the Stalinized leadership of the Communist Party.

Anyone who has the least knowledge of the past activities of the N. T. W. U. can readily notice the Munchausen remarks made in behalf of the union by the incompetent Miller. It is in line with the present policy of the Party to disregard the true conditions and to broadcast those things which look good in print.

After reading the statement in question, the unacquainted reader gains the impression that the N. T. W. U. is many times more powerful than it actually is. It starts off by announcing that since the union convention last December, half a million leaflets have been distributed. Of course, if the organization had distributed that many pieces of working class literature to the hundreds of thousands of unorganized textile workers of this country it would be quite an achievement. However, it is far from the truth.

The Southern Membership and Organizers

The imaginative Miller adds that at the present time the N. T. W. has 4,000 dues paying members in the Southern districts of the union. This also is exactly the opposite from the facts of the case. From the time that the Gastonia strike started, practically none of the Southern textile workers who joined the union has paid any dues. Especially is this true in the Gastonia section where the strike made it impossible for them to do so, due to the lack of funds. When the strike was ended, not only did the workers find it impossible to pay dues, but they practically were unable to hold any union meetings whatsoever, due to the terrorist Committees of One Hundred organized by the mill owners.

Up until several months ago, the national office of the N. T. W. U. had no record whatsoever as to how many Southern textile workers signed application blanks in the union. Actually the N.T.W. had practically no Southern dues paying members several months ago, or at the present time, when Miller issues his colorful statement to the Federated Press which, while it may make nice reading, is just hokum.

Miller also stated that the N.T.W.U. at the present time has 40 full time organizers covering 15 districts, including 16 in the South. Without going into detail as to the rest of the country, it is sufficient to remark that in the South, where the chance for real organization work is bright, organizers have been withdrawn from the field, so that at the present, only a skeleton of the union remains, giving almost a clear field to the United Textile Workers Union, with its policy of betrayal.

The possibilities for the growth of the N. T. W. U. are good, but only by following a correct policy. To issue statements such as Miller's, undermines the workers whom the union is appealing to. Will the official Communist Party continue its bluff policy in the N. T. W. U., as it also does in other unions which it controls, or start a real organization campaign?

The continuation of the former policy will mean the withering away of the N.T.W. The latter policy will result in participating in the day by day struggles of the textile workers and the building of the organization. The issue is clear and a decision must be reached. It is up to the rank and file members to demand the adoption of the second line of action. —FRANK BROMLEY

SAN DIEGO, Calif.—Several San Diego locals including the Culinary Alliance report to the Federated Trades and Labor Council that 50% of their members are jobless. Machinists reported that the navy is using enlisted men for work formerly done by shore workers, alleging lack of funds.

Max Shachtman, editor of the *Militant*, has just returned from Europe, after spending a number of weeks with comrade L. D. Trotsky in Prinkipo, attending the unification conference of the German Left Opposition, and the International Conference of the Opposition in Paris. In coming issues of the *Militant*, beginning with next week we will print a number of articles by Shachtman on the international conference, the prospects of the Opposition in Europe, especially in France and Germany, on the visit to comrade Trotsky, when many questions were discussed which are of interest and importance not only to the revolutionary movement as a whole but for the American movement in particular. Watch for these articles and insure getting the *Militant* regularly by subscribing for it now.

BLUMKIN ISSUE WILL NOT DOWN

In Bulletin No. 8 of the committee of the 9th district (France) we read the following:

Blumkin Affair: In a few words, Meche described what Blumkin had been—a militant Bolshevik who, until the 24th of December, the date of his death, held a responsible position in the U. S. S. R. About the 15th of December, after having paid a visit to Trotsky, he brought back a letter from the latter, a letter which was intercepted by the G. P. U. It is believed that Blumkin was thereupon condemned to death and executed. These are rumors which are neither confirmed nor denied by the Communist Party press. Meche believes that it is the role of the International Red Aid (in the United States the International Labor Defense—Ed.) to institute an inquiry for the exact facts. Rouquin objects that Meche puts the question in a political manner. As far as he is concerned, it is not at all the role of the I.R.A. to make the inquiry, but that of the Opposition; that afterwards, if the rumors are well founded, perhaps the I. R. A. will have something to say.

The Bulletin adds that discussion on the question will continue, for it has not been settled, and it seems to have deeply interested the rank and file militants.

Those of our comrades from the Opposition—or sympathizers—who are active in the I. R. A. should take advantage of the 50 days between now and the National Congress of the I. R. A., to ask at the meetings of the basic units questions which should be linked with the deportation of militant Communists to Siberia and the murder of Blumkin. LA VERITE

Ford Makes Profits on Men

DETROIT—(FP)—The balance sheet of the Ford Motor Co., just made public, discloses that the company made nearly \$82,000,000 during 1929. This contrasted with a deficit of \$72,000,000 during 1928. Thus, a net gain of \$154,000,000 was registered during the past year.

This huge increase was in large part sweated from the thousands who work for Ford. During 1929 speedup and wage cutting became notorious at the Rouge. So much so that workers would go to the Rouge only as a last resort. It took the present depression to drive them there in thousands. Only workers who have never been in Detroit have a good word for Henry.

The speedup which accompanied the 5-day week was so successful that Ford admitted himself well pleased with results. Workers, who were promised a wage increase commensurate with their increase in production, were not at all pleased with results—they got wage cuts instead of increases.

Ford Cuts Wages

The wage cuts took place in the following manner: Workers are promised a periodical raise when they go to work. Up until the beginning of last year these increases took place rather regularly. Then the company not only stopped granting the increases but began cutting high wage men by "transferring" them to another department. Thus, \$7.20 workers found themselves getting \$6 and \$6.80 a day. Whatever grumbling they might have on that, was quickly stifled when they saw the thousands clamoring for jobs when Henry had the Associated Press advertise for 30,000 men for him. The

almost incredible jump in unemployment which took place in October last finally "put them in their places."

Besides that, the company has broadened its policy of letting out parts contracts to outside firms—that is, to sweat shops. In this way thousands of high wage workers have been laid off and the company is getting the beneficial results of \$3 a day labor while getting none of the odium which attaches to so frank exploitation.

By such methods did Ford pile up his millions last year.

\$25 MINIMUM FOR N. Y. GIRL

NEW YORK—Confronted with the problem of finding living quarters for many girl workers who come to New York City expecting to find jobs and live alone on their wages, the Welfare Council has issued the following warning: "Stay away from New York unless you have an assured income of at least \$25 a week. This allows only \$8 for rent, \$10.50 for food, \$3.35 for clothing, \$1.25 for carfare, \$1.40 for recreation and nothing for laundry, medical care or emergencies.

WINNIPEG—(FP)—The biennial convention of the Canadian shopmen organized in the American Federation of Labor meets in Winnipeg June 2.

NEW ORLEANS—Union railroad trainmen have protested the confirmation of Yellow Dog Parker to the supreme bench. The Polly of bluff in the National ext Union

POLICE CHARGE INTO CROWD OF JOBLESS

CLEVELAND—(FP)—Four workers were hurt as mounted police charged a crowd of unemployed when a speaker allowed a red kerchief to fly in the breeze for a second. The unemployed were gathered in the Public Square to listen to the report of a committee which had demanded aid for the unemployed from the Community fund. The police were waiting for the slightest provocation to charge the crowd.

WOONSOCKET, R. I.—(FP)—Despite business men's promises to Hoover, wage reductions of 20% have been put into effect at the Royal and Arctic Mills of B. B. and R. Knight.

SAN FRANCISCO—1,200 union taxi drivers are asking a wage increase of \$4 to \$5 a day and a 9-hour day to replace the 10-hour shift.

PITTSBURGH CAR MEN STAND PAT FOR MORE PAY

PITTSBURGH—(FP)—By a vote of 1,819 to 112, union street car men are standing pat on their demand for a 5 cent increase on 2-men cars and a 15 cents boost for 1-man car operators. The increases would mean 75 cents an hour on the larger cars and 90 cents on the smaller. The union is also seeking six days' work with seven days pay.

FURNITURE WORKERS GET 40 CENT WAGE

WASHINGTON—Average hourly wages of furniture workers in this country last autumn were 49 cents, and the average full-time week's work was 51.9 hours, according to the report of a study made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

ALBANY, N. Y.—Employment in representative New York factories continued to decrease in March. Every month since October has shown a decrease in employment compared with the preceding month.

CHICAGO—The bakers union has signed up five hitherto non-union shops in Chicago.

JOBLESS TOLD TO LEAVE DETROIT

DETROIT—(FP)—The automobile industry has been inflated to such an extent that only a "migration of labor" will seriously affect unemployment here, says a report issued by the Union Trust Co. The review tries to be optimistic in its outlook for Detroit but has to admit that the only grounds for its optimism, "did not occur in any branch of industry or trade, but were financial in nature."

The report concludes, "Indications do not point to a complete solution of the unemployment situation in the immediate future."

As though to give added emphasis to this comment reports are current here that the Hudson Motor Car Co. has laid off 8,000 men. At the end of last week 2,000 were laid off, it is known. Workers say that an additional 6,000 were laid off this week-end.

Workers from the Ternstedt Mfg. Co., a General Motors subsidiary, have furnished the following revealing table:

Spring 1929	Spring 1930
6-day week	4-day week
Two Shifts	One Shift
9 hours	8 hours
Night and Day	Reduced force on days

"Nothing Doing"

Former workers who applied for jobs at this company were told that "there won't be anything doing for at least a month."

Downtown department stores have also been forced to retrench on their already severely reduced staffs. Two shifts are being installed—one from 9-1, the other from 1-5. This will bring salaries of counter girls and checkers down to about \$5-6 per week. Salesgirls may be able to squeeze out \$10-12 on the new schedule.

Welfare department officials admit 20,000 families dependent on the department during March—an increase of 6,000 over February.

Figures assembled by the Union Trust Co. indicate February, 1930 automobile production as 33% below that of February, 1929. Building permits have declined 70% below normal.

The local situation has become so acute that the city council admitted the existence of unemployment by adding five councilmen to an unemployment committee of eminent Detroiters. There is no labor representation on the committee. Workers expect no help from that quarter—committees have been committeeing since last October but idleness increases and hunger is ever more harsh. The workers want action.

BANKERS MOVE PHILA. HOSIERY CO. SOUTH TO GET SCAB LABOR

PHILADELPHIA—Over 350 union hosiery workers will be jobless here when the Cadet Knitting Co. recently purchased by southern bankers, moves its plant to Columbia, Tenn. At the new location the plant will operate non-union.

The purchaser is Caldwell & Co., Investment Bankers, Nashville. At the present time they are operating an open shop plant at Decatur, Ala., where workers are forced to sign yellow dog contracts. Products from both the Alabama and the Tennessee plant will be finish-processed in Philadelphia.

BOSTON—Over 4,500 workers in Massachusetts factories were added to the unemployed army in March, according to state department of labor figures. A decrease of 15% in hosiery workers' employment was caused by mills which shut down entirely "for reorganization". In 19 of 25 cities canvassed only half the plants employed 50% or more of the workers full time.

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

The Autobiography of Leon Trotsky

MY LIFE, by Leon Trotsky. Chas Scribner's Son. 640 pages. On Sale by the Militant for \$5.00 per copy.

The profoundest contribution the average bourgeois thinker has made to analyzing the struggle between the principal currents in the modern revolutionary movement which have clashed most violently in the Soviet republic has been that it is a struggle between Trotsky and Stalin "for power". Particularly is this the conception of the petty bourgeois and his intellectual off-spring, that hopeless section of modern society which constantly seeks salvation from the hammer and anvil by the intervention of some great man who has no relation to the classes and stands above them. It may be added that this idea has not failed to find nourishment in the hideous propaganda against the Russian Marxists conducted for almost seven years now by the ruling apparatus, especially in the whispering campaign of the earlier periods of the fight in which slanders were circulated against Trotsky that nobody—at least in those days—dared to say or write publicly.

Such a notion is not a new one. It did not arise for the first time in connection with the fight of the Opposition against the backsliding apparatus. Similar profound struggles have been explained in this way by philistines and small minds: one need but refer to the seas of ink expended in showing that the First International was wrecked on the reef of personal antagonism and place-seeking between Marx and Bakunin. The same shabby criterion will undoubtedly be applied in future social battles where outstanding personalities or outstanding mediocrities occupy a large place on the canvas of events. And that is so perhaps because there cannot yet be established, in the welter of ideas that make up social thought, a law against stupidity and ignorance.

The Role of the Individual in History

This does not mean to deny, but rather to affirm, that individuals play an enormous role and often a decisive one in the development or retardation of historical processes. It is on the reverse side of the philistine's blind adoration for all-sufficiency and omnipotence of "great men" that he frequently marks his mystic awe before the course of social forces which he does not understand and is incapable of influencing or guiding forward—an inability which he sometimes erects into a universal law. Man does not make history out of the whole cloth, said Marx; but nevertheless he makes it. And great men make great history. They are produced by social convulsions and conflicts and in turn they influence their production. Therein lies the inter-connection between the conflict and harmony of outstanding men and outstanding events, of individuals and the social struggle. And therein lies the great value, the permanent significance of comrade Trotsky's autobiography. It is as much a vital contribution to the conflict and harmonies we have mentioned as it is their product. It could only be written as a result of a social war on a huge scale. In itself it is a battle fought—and won.

That it is, as the reviewers everywhere have remarked, a work of extraordinary literary qualities, (it is one of the greatest literary works of our time), that it is uncommonly absorbing reading aside from all other considerations, that the book has a brilliant arresting style, an unusual power of narrative, that warm sense of humor, the wealth of imagery and color which has placed him in the front ranks of the modern writers—all this only enhances its worth, but does not determine it.

The Making of a Revolutionist

A review of a book is obviously not the book. In this case it can only be a quite insufficient comment on some of its most interesting sections, a comment which grays before the vividness of its subject.

Trotsky's life has of course been intimately bound up with the development of the most important event of our age, the Russian proletarian revolution, since the end of the last century. Fifty years of age, by far the greater part of his life been unchangingly devoted to the accomplishment and furtherance of the proletarian revolution and its aims.

The breath-taking variety of the circumstances under which he has pursued

this life-work makes his book read like a romance of adventure. At the age of 18, he had already plunged up to his ears in the earliest revolutionary organizations, in Odessa, where he immediately occupied an active and prominent place. At 19, following a czarist raid, he was given his first taste of prison life. From prison he was sent into his first Siberian exile, the first of three, from two of which he escaped, and from the last of which he was deported to Turkey by the usurpers who are so cruelly squandering the glorious heritage of the Russian revolution.

In his first exile abroad he made the acquaintance of the leaders of the then united Russian social democracy, also in exile: Lenin, Plechanov, Martov, Deutsch, Zussulitch and others. He had come before a crucial moment in the history of the Russian movement, the split between the majority (Bolsheviks) and the minority (Mensheviks), a split that involved his first break with Lenin which the record-forgers have so monstrously exaggerated and misrepresented in recent times. On the eve of the 1905 revolution, he was back again in St. Petersburg under an assumed name, and when the uprising occurred, he was named the president of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers Deputies after the unmissed disappearance of its first chairman, the democratic lawyer, Khrustaliov. The leader and spokesman of this dawn of the more lasting revolution to come more than a decade later, he was arrested after its defeat together with the other deputies and following a sensational trial, exiled once more to the Siberian wastes, only to escape abroad again.

Trotsky's Activity in Exile

For years in the teeming life of the emigrated and exiled Russian social democracy, he was head over heels absorbed in the struggles of the two principal factions (Bolsheviks and Mensheviks), denounced now by the one, now by the other, but at all times energetically laboring to assemble an armory for the inevitable second Russian revolution. True internationalist, he did not confine his activities to the Russian movement. He was found at the international congress, at conventions of the then imposing German social democracy, in Austria, in the Balkans, making life-long political and personal acquaintanceships in one place, as with Rakovsky, or venomous and implacable foes in another—Trotsky is hardly noted for any gentleness or hypocritical softness in his relations with political opponents!

After the fearful collapse of the Second International under the earthquake of the imperialist war, the fighter is again in the front ranks, raking the German social traitors with the same ferocity as the French "Defenders of the Fatherland", and condemned alike not only by them but also by their warring masters: In contumacious by the German Junkers and by expulsion from France. Expulsion also from Spain. Then a voyage to the new world—his only trip to the United States. In this country, an editor of the Russian Marxist journal, *Nervy Mir*, and a foundation layer—with emigrated Russians, with Lore, with Fraina and others—of the movement which took form in the Socialist Propaganda League, and later formed one of the elements that organized the necessary split of the corrupt Socialist Party and formed the Communist movement in America. En route back to Russia with the first news of the Kerensky revolution, he is interned in a Canadian concentration camp, deported, and then the arrival in Petrograd to be, with Lenin, the organizer and leader of the great victory. The Truth Confronts the Stalinist Liar.

His activities in and after the revolution itself, in the best years of the young dictatorship and of the Communist International are rich and indelible, and not all the oceans of mud, not all the befogging clouds of official propaganda can succeed in concealing them now for any length of time or for any substantial amount of people. History was too deeply engraved in that period to be recarved today or erased by filling the tracings with the permanent putty of official fraud factories. The simple re-telling of the events which really took place are sufficient to bring out the original precision of those carvings in highest relief. The few hundred pages of the book are a mortal blow to the whole

new school of what, for lack of a more appropriate designation, is called the Stalinist historian, bought and paid for to write history as it never happened for the purpose of weaving a monstrously inexact legend about the equally monstrous figure of Stalin. It is as though all the labors of these dark figures were brought together into one misshapen form and crushed under the concentrated truth of Trotsky's book. It is in this connection that Trotsky runs to questions that have frequently been posed by revolutionary workers: To precisely what extent is the struggle between the Marxist wing and the bureaucratic apparatus a "personal" struggle, one of "individuals"; and why is it that the Opposition, the leaders and foremost fighters for the revolution, was defeated in the Party which was in the best sense of the word its own? The answer is not too difficult to find.

A period of social convulsions and surge, a period of revolutionary advance, brings into the foreground the great individuals of the advancing class. But for a period of stagnation, or for a period of reaction, men of colorless talents are required—not a period of counter-revolution, it is clear, for that also requires men who are in a certain sense great men, but of a period of peaceful reaction, so to speak.

In a conversation with Trotsky, his friend Skylansky said: "You know, it is amazing how, during this last period, the mean, the self-satisfied mediocrity is pushing itself into every sphere. And all of it finds in Stalin its leader. Where does it all come from?"

"This is the reaction after the great social and psychological strain of the first years of revolution," Trotsky replied. "A victorious counter-revolution may develop its great men. But its first stage, the Thermidor, demands mediocrities who can't see farther than their noses. Their strength lies in their political blindness, like the mill-horse that thinks that he is moving up when really he is only pushing down the belt-wheel. A horse that sees is incapable of doing the work."

How Mediocrities Like Stalin Arise

The period of reaction that set in in Russia after the tragic defeats of the revolutions in Germany and Bulgaria in 1923 and the subsequent retardation of the revolutionary movement in Europe—the only real salvation for an isolated Russian Socialist state—"produced" its Stalin with the same inexorableness that it "required" the organizational beheading of the revolutionary section of the Party. It "required" the campaign against the pestiferous Trotskyists and their internal din and bustle, their "sectarian" insistence upon the "permanent revolution", their contempt for the sweet lulling music of socialism in one country, their constant prodding of the soft and self-contented, the revolutionist of yesterday who had become a "solid" Soviet citizen, who had "made" the revolution in the sweat of his brow and was anxious to settle down quietly to enjoy the fruits of it without being interrupted by the clamorous requirements of the international revolution. Only a period of social and political reaction could—to continue with inadequate "personal" similes and analogies—accomplish the monstrous historical perversions, these sleight-of-hand tricks by which a Lenin and a Trotsky are changed for a Stalin or a . . . Molotov, the rebel English miner for a Purcell, the Chinese coolie for a Chiang Kai Shek, the Russian factory workers for the office bureaucrat, the poor peasant for the smug kulak who will "grow into socialism". No other answer to the two questions, which are one question, can find a place in the mosaic of recent events.

The Stalinist Intrigue against the Bolshevik Revolutionists

But for such an enormous displacement of things, for such a turning of values upon their head, a most intricate and elaborate mechanism is needed, for processes in social life are not entirely realized by themselves. It is with an examination of the mechanics of the change, and not only with its dynamics, that a good section of the biography is occupied. With an uncommon meticulousness and respect for facts, Trotsky traces every intrigue against the revolutionary wing of the Party, and against himself, in particular, as its most notable exponent. He takes all the otherwise un-

related figures of the time, all the events, all the disconnected threads of men and things, and puts them together in their proper place. The result is a completely woven fabric, distinct in every intertwining of its cords, that enables the reader to understand and follow that horrible enormity that has been the beginning and end of wisdom in the official Communist movement since Lenin died: the campaign against a so-called Trotskyism. Not every lie can be replied to: that would require a Britannica; but the new ones and the old ones served up with a new sauce which are important or characteristic are destroyed with a surgical efficiency and completeness. It is much less a defense than an attack. It takes the men and less than men who are in today's high places. It tells us who they are, how and why they got there. We are startled by things we formerly only suspected or never knew. We learn for the first time for instance that scores upon scores of those self-labelled "Old Bolsheviks", who we had been taught for years, had been "loyal disciples of Lenin and Bolshevism" for anywhere from 20 to 30 years—the while Trotsky was a secondarily Menshevik, conciliator or what you will—were in cold reality (before the revolution, and some afterwards as well!) not only in the camp of Menshevism, but even further to the right. Between 1905 and 1917, many of these two-for-a-penny "Old Bolsheviks" were at best revolutionary democrats, or else had quit the movement entirely and retired to a quiet bourgeois life. We begin here to learn something about these sturdy "Old Bolsheviks" like Gussev who left the movement for ten years in the hard days of the reaction and turned up in 1925 in the United States to teach us that the essence of Bolshevism in this country consisted in the cabled manufacture of Lovestone, Pepper and Ruthenberg as the consecrated Leninistic leaders of the American Party. Trotsky mentions many others like Gussev to one extent or another, Yaroslavsky, Ordjonikize, Petrovsky of the Ukraine for instance, and their heroic deeds of the past. Had Trotsky been guilty at any time of half of their colossal blunders and conceptions that had not even a hat-tipping acquaintance with Marxism, Stalin would undoubtedly have dared to exile him in 1924 instead of waiting four years longer! It is precisely such people who find a place in the present period; in the first five years of the revolution the movement went forward without ever suspecting their existence—it never mattered.

A Great Political Document

Of them all, naturally, Stalin emerges the worst. The full length portrait Trotsky draws of him is a murderous one—for Stalin. No man can live long as a political figure of any consequence with so deadly an epitaph written for him, one may say, in advance. In regard to the history of the campaign against "Trotskyism", the facts, events and persons involved, the book stands as a challenge to every serious revolutionist. It is no platitude, but a profound truth, to say that he who dares read it, enemy though he may be at the commencement, must end by being, at the very least, tremendously influenced by Trotsky's point of view. We hope that every rebel worker, and particularly every worker in the official Communist Party, will accept the challenge.

The conclusion of the book—where Trotsky so splendidly castigates the democratic illusionists of the whole world on the subject of his application to the right of asylum—shows him at once oblivious to any "personal tragedy" and quietly confident of the future. Anybody who has been fortunate enough to be with him even for a few days on the deserted islet of Prinkipo and seen him at work with the same energy, devotion and self-assurance that marked him when he led the victorious Red Army, will know immediately that what he says about the future is not pretty literature but a natural conviction, the certainty that the course of events, interrupted and diverted from their proper line of march though they may be for the moment, must eventually vindicate the foreseings and foretellings of revolutionary Marxism. The work of the Communist Opposition is a contribution to this vindication. The autobiography of comrade Trotsky is another. It is a battle fought—and won.

—MAX SHACHTMAN

«PURE AND TRANSPARENT AS CRYSTAL»

By ALFA

Mysterious things are happening in the headquarters of the Communist International. The Apparatus has grown so powerful that it does not feel any longer embarrassed to perform its secret "functions" in the open. Articles and documents are being published that obviously have some very special—one may say, occult, meaning. In these articles the priests of the first rank speak a language which can only be understood by the priests of the second rank. To those of the third circle, the occult meanings of their language is unintelligible, and ordinary mortals can only guess what it is all about.

Number 1 (1930) of the magazine *Bolshevik*—the principal cook-shop of bureaucratic mysticism and mystification, contains three speeches of Stalin, which he made in May, 1929, at the Praesidium of the Comintern and its Committees.

The editors of the magazine have painstakingly emphasized, in the case of each speech, that it "is being published for the first time". But they have not explained for what reason these old—and alas, very poor speeches are set up in type at all. The speeches belong to the period when Lovestone, being still a member of the Praesidium of the Comintern, was competing with Foster for the position of priest of the first rank. The description of their competition, given in the speech, is not without a certain cynical precision. Here is how realistically Stalin has pictured the fight between these two clans for the right to represent in the United States the last revelations of Leninism.

The Race Between Lovestone and Foster

"The Foster group, wanting to demonstrate its loyalty to the Russian Party, declares itself 'Stalinist'. Very well! We, the Lovestoneites, will go farther than the Foster group, and we will demand that comrade Bucharin be recalled from the Communist International. Let the Fosterites try to beat that! We will show those people in Moscow how we Americans can play the market! The Foster group, wanting to demonstrate its intimacy with the Communist International, demands that the decision of the Communist International about the removal of Pepper be carried out. Very well! We, the Lovestoneites, will go further, and expel comrade Pepper from the Party. Let the Fosterites try to beat that! We will show those people in Moscow how we Americans can play the market." (The *Bolshevik*, 1930, No. 1 page 10.)

To value these lines adequately, one must remember that the talk is not about brokers, after all, but about two factions, one of which had been leading the American party for several years, and had put through the renowned campaign against Trotskyism. The other has subsequently been placed at the head of the American party in order to fulfill the tasks of the "third period".

Why Does Stalin Publish These Speeches Now?

One can not help asking: What purpose does Stalin pursue in publishing these speeches today, many months after they were spoken, and thus publicly placing on Foster, who is holding so high the banner of Stalinism, on the same level with Lovestone who was expelled from the Communist International? The mystery is great. Such an unexpected publication of speeches, made in the most secret conferences, would be simply incomprehensible, if one did not assume some new machinations behind the scenes, about which the priests of the first degree consider it timely to forewarn the priests of the second.

But can one be permitted to make such a disrespectful assumption? From other remarks in the speech of Stalin it would appear not. The general theme of the speech is—although you might not believe it—revolutionary morals. Yes, yes. No joking. Here is what the gifted orator has to say about it.

"Either we are Leninists, and our relations with each other, as well as the relation between the different sections and the Communist International, must be built on mutual confidence, must be

pure and transparent as crystal, and then there must be no room in our relations for rotten diplomatical tricks... Or else we are not Leninists, and then... and then, of course, everything is permitted: intrigues, falsity, dark hints, vile slanders, murder from ambush.

However, in so far as Stalin is a Leninist, he is, according to his own attestation "pure and transparent as crystal". To what extent this is true of him has been, as is well known, once and forever testified by Lenin himself in describing his character as disloyal. What then is the meaning of this unexpected publication of an old speech? For there must be a meaning.

Was it done only in order to completely discredit the expelled Lovestone? Suppose we admit that. What then about Foster? Why does the pure and transparent moralist cast mud at the same time on the present leader of this Party?

Let us read further!

The Mud upon the Crystal

"To characterize the way in which pure Communist morals are being distorted and covered with mud in the process of factional struggle, we could refer to such facts as, for instance, my conversation with comrades Foster and Lovestone... I am talking about the conversation which took place at the time of the Sixth Congress. It is characteristic that in correspondence with his friends comrade Foster alludes to this conversation as something mysterious, something that should not be mentioned aloud... Where does this mysticism come from? And what is it for, dear comrades? What could there be mysterious about my conversation with comrades Foster and Lovestone? To hear these comrades, one might think that I was talking to them about things which I would be ashamed to tell you about. But this is absurd, dear comrades. And what is all this mysticism for? Is it so difficult to understand that I have nothing to hide from comrades? Is it difficult to understand that I am always, at any moment, ready to relate to the comrades all the contents of my conversation with Foster and Lovestone from the beginning to the end." (Page 11, emphasis ours.)

Thus Foster is accused of no more and no less a crime than "distorting" and "covering with mud the Communist morals". But Foster is the head of the Communist Party in the United States! Foster is a member of the Praesidium of the Communist International. How are we to understand this?

We do not demand that every Communist, even though he belong to the breed of the leaders, should be necessarily "pure and transparent as crystal". That would be a too high, indeed a superhuman criterion. But still, between "crystal" and "mud" there are many intervening gradations. How shall a simple mortal explain to himself the fact that a player of the market, Lovestone, has been replaced by Foster, who covers with mud "the pure Communist morals". And why—this is the point of the question—does the pure-and-transparent-as-crystal leader of leaders, find it necessary to disclose this hidden disgrace so many months after the muddy Foster has replaced the gambler, Lovestone, at the wheel of government?

Arriving at a Decision

At least we learn from these speeches—what, to tell the truth, we did not doubt before—that Foster won his victory, not at all against Stalin but on the contrary, with the help of some conversation with Stalin behind the scenes. "Where does this mysticism come from, and what for, dear comrades." Precisely: where from and what for? Is it so difficult to understand that Stalin has nothing to hide from the comrades? Is it so difficult to understand that Stalin is "ready at any moment to relate to the comrades all and everything from the beginning to the end"—all, decidedly all?

In spite of our bewilderment, we can not resist the temptation of a hypothesis: Isn't this a just a first step towards

overthrowing Foster? It seems impossible otherwise to understand the necessity of slandering a recently appointed leader, mixing him with mud. Nor is the situation simplified by the following words in Stalin's speech:

"Where is the solution?" he asks himself, and answers: "Comrade Foster suggested one plausible solution. According to his proposition it is necessary to transfer the leadership to the minority (i. e., the Foster group). Can this solution be accepted? No, it can not be accepted. The delegation of the E.C. C.I. made a mistake when it sharply dissociated itself with the majority group (the Lovestone group) and did not at the same time dissociate itself with the minority groups. The proposition of comrade Foster with all its consequences falls of its own weight." (Page 12.)

It seems that in May 1929, Stalin flatly refused Foster the right to inherit Lovestone's place. Was it quite flat, though, his refusal? At that time it was understood that Foster had still to show proofs of his "loyalty"

Foster Proves His Loyalty

Stalin was accusing Foster, as if incidentally, of having been ready, in the interests of factional struggle with Lovestone, to use the "hidden Trotskyists". That was, in May 1929, the chief accusation. The task of Stalin's sermon, then, was not to discredit but to intimidate Foster. And it was wholly successful. Foster produced in abundance all the demanded proofs of loyalty. In his struggle against the Left Opposition he outdid himself. And in consequence, after a private conversation with Stalin in Moscow, Foster receives into his own hands the American "apparatus" and... from being a minority became a majority. During this operation while Foster was successfully "covering with mud" Communist morals, Stalin kept silent. But now, when Foster has completely received into his hands the destinies of official Communism in the United States, Stalin publishes his previous sermon with a mysterious note: "Published for the first time".

The matter is complicated still more by the following quite unexpected attack:

"Foster and Bittelman"—the orator here becomes indignant—"do not see anything improper in declaring themselves 'Stalinists' in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the Russian Communist Party. But this is really indecent, dear comrades. Do you not know that there are not (!), and there must not be (!!) any 'Stalinists'? Why should such indecencies be permitted from a minority?" (page 9)

It appears that to declare oneself a Stalinist is really indecent. Who would have thought so? In the same number of the *Bolshevik*, another "crystal", smaller in size, but no less transparent—Kuusinen—proves in 20 closely set pages that to be a Stalinist is the first, and as a matter of fact, the only duty of every official seriously interested in his own fate. The article of the incomparable hero of the Finnish revolution of 1918, is even entitled: "Stalin and the Bolshevisation of the Party"

Kuusinen Mumbles «Amen»

With his usual brilliancy, the author proves that all its successes in China, England and other countries, the Communist International owes to Stalin—all its defeats to someone else. On his part, Stalin praises Kuusinen highly in his speech. But we have to believe that all this is just a mere accident, which has nothing to do with the case. If Kuusinen in January 1930 declares himself a Stalinist to the length of 20 pages, it is his private business. But when in May 1929, Foster made similar announcements, he was trying to play on a rise of the market, and it was "really indecent, dear comrades".

Can it be that all this taken together is just a sad misunderstanding? It seems that we shall have to believe so, because—"Comrades, the Communist International is not a stock market, after all. The Communist International is the Holy of Holies of the working class. You must not confuse the Comintern with the Stock Exchange." Such are the incomparable, purely-Stalinist formulae. They are taken from

the same speech.

But nevertheless we hold to our conviction—that everything in the world has its cause, and everything in politics its purpose. Is it possible to assume that this speech is "being published for the first time" only in order to prove once more the political incorruptibility of Stalin?

What Next for Foster?

Taken by itself such an assumption is not absolutely incredible in the present "third period"—a period characterized above all by its monstrous, arch-American, shamefully-indecent advertisement of the personalities of the super-leadership. Still it is difficult to imagine that the reputations of the as yet undeposed leaders of the second rank might be dragged in the mud without any evident necessity—just casually besmirched in passing. If this is really so, it means that a new phase of the Bonapartist degeneration of the bureaucratic regime has arrived—a phase in which even the nearest associates are regarded in the same light as the "mob".

But we think that the nub of the matter is not only there. All the precedents—and there are more than few—point to the conclusion that in Stalin's faction the Foster stock is going down. Why? We do not know. We know only that it is not for reasons of principle. In that field it is doubtful whether Foster is inclined to cause any difficulties. What is the matter then? The mystery has not yet emerged from the keeping of the priests of the first two ranks. But why not ask the author of the speeches about it? He is the one who has no taste for mysteries. "Is it so difficult to understand that (he) has nothing to hide from the comrades? Is it so difficult to understand that (he) is always ready, at any moment to tell the comrades, from beginning to end—everything... except, perhaps, how and why he murdered Blumkin? (We intend to have an answer to that question too!)"

...But Foster, it seems, ought to be getting ready for a change of life—unless, indeed, the publication of this article should save him.

P. S. *Pravda* on March 7th brings the news that Stalin's speeches on the American question are published in the form of a pamphlet. The first edition is 100,000 copies. We were right. The matter is much more "profound" than it could have seemed to an outsider. However, such an unexpected circulation of such inane speeches (except for cynical casuistries there is nothing in them)—does not offer any key to the mystery. 100,000! Then it was really meant for the masses. But what will the masses make out of this sudden commentary on the sudden career of Foster? Is this new edition merely designed to show Foster that the boss is not joking? Or is this apocalyptic circulation only a by-product of the efficiency of the administrators as in the case of collectivization? It certainly becomes more and more difficult to find your way among the zig-zag of the general line. —A.

□

POLICE HELP AUTO PLANT SUBDUDE NEGRO WORKERS

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—(FP)—Two hundred Negro workers, at the gates of the Murray Wood Products Co. to protest against the abusiveness of white foremen and the brutality of company detectives, were forcibly dispersed and the mill placed under guard.

Police clubbed one young Negro unconscious recently for arguing with another employee and on another occasion detectives hired by the company called for police aid because a Negro truck driver objected to being cursed by a white foreman.

Murray Wood Products Co., manufacturers of auto bodies, does now believe in wasting money on wages. Unskilled men are started in at 20-25 cents an hour, but even this apparently is not low enough to suit Murray, which has been operating in Memphis for nearly a year. A large number of colored women have been brought in to do men's work at half the pay. For a nominal 10-hour day which in practice extends to 12, 13 and even 14 hours, they get \$1.25 plus a bonus. A bonus however doesn't amount to more than \$1 or \$2 a week for women or \$3-4 for men.

THE CRISIS OF ITALIAN FASCISM (FAENZA AND) MILAN

This much is certain—the economic crisis in Italy is growing more acute every day. The phases of this worsening are not the common manifestations of the crisis of capitalism to which the influence of foreign capital or some displacement in the international constellation of the “state of industry” might bring temporary relief, artificially reviving this or that branch of production. On the contrary this intensification of the crisis assumes the form of a reckoning to which we once applied the term, “the balance sheet of the blood and misery of the Italian proletariat”.

Besides this sanguinary adjustment of the balance of class forces, fascism is faced with problems that a mortal crisis impose on the capitalist regime of every country. The fascist solution of these problems is to guide industrial development along the lines commanded by the lenders of capital who have come to the support of the Italian industry in difficulties, through the action of the world exchanges, because their interests demand it, or rather because the contradictions between the rival imperialist groups force such a course on them.

Agriculture, on the other hand, which has been orientated towards the alleged possibilities of Italian independence from foreign exports, has reached the limits of its natural resources and is moving in a closed circle—a condition from which the state-subsidized financiers and big land-owners derive all the advantages, leaving the losses to be borne by the middle and impoverished strata of the “rural population”.

The Economic Stages of Fascist Development

Elsewhere capitalism has been able to solve economic problems by virtue of the important factors of colonial possessions or the possibility of expanding the apparatus of production. In Italy, where these factors are lacking, capitalism can find no way out other than by the increasingly intensified exploitation of the working class. After the initial triumph of capitalism over the workers' agitation of 1922, came the second stage of the capitalist offensive preceded by the consolidation of the bourgeois power (march on Rome) which marked the capitalist success as against the agitation of 1924-25. Following the second stage came a third, opened by the strengthening of the political domination of capitalism by means of the exceptional laws which violently strangled the working class in 1927.

This latest phase has now ended with the presentation of the balance sheet of fascist economic policy from 1922 to 1929. One must add that this economic policy has not even the merit of originality: it is a caricature of the economic policy inaugurated and defended by the “anti-fascists”. It is Nitti who is the recognized engineer of the “anti-fascist concentration”. The only difference lies in the fact that Mussolini accompanied this policy with his system of violence and terror while the anti-fascist would have applied the less expensive and surer method of democratic deception of manoeuvring with the middle classes and backward section of the proletariat, limiting repression to the proletarian vanguard.

Nitti or Mussolini?

That it has been Mussolini and not Nitti who for seven years has represented the Italian bourgeoisie is due solely to the fact that only terrorism could ward off the revolutionary menace to capitalism. This does not prevent capitalism now, however (thanks to the results obtained by seven years of terror and the plight to which the Communist movement has been reduced by Centrism) from believing itself capable of successfully intervening in the working class movement by attempting to substitute Nitti for Mussolini, or to engineer a combination of Nitti and Mussolini.

After the first victory of capitalism, there was a second and then a third. At the very moment when Italian capitalism is obliged to present its economic balance, the classic proletarian belt has had to be tightened to its last notch. But after this balance, what is the outlook for capitalist economy? A radical change is impossible. This is implied not only in our general thesis of the mortal crisis of capitalism, but also in view of the actual and specific conditions of Italian economy which can live only by the intervention of foreign capitalism and the bloody attack on the living standards and wages of the workers.

Let one of these two conditions (the in-

tervention by repeated spurts of foreign capital) begin to fail, and where will Italian capitalism turn? The answer to this question is obvious—the re-inforced oppression of the working class, at the very time when the inevitable sharpening of antagonisms will furnish the propitious condition for a movement of organized resistance to fascism and the bourgeoisie.

The “Concentrationist” (Anti-Fascist) Aim for a Social-Democratic Government

In good time we outlived the terms of this problem—and were continually repulsed by the Centrists who have turned not their first and not their last hand-spring. We tried to show that the essential factors in the manoeuvring of fascist policy (Vatican, plebiscite, tentative overtures to the concentration) and the internal dissensions of the fascist party were to be found in the economic reasons which forecast in the near future a new offensive on the miserable wages of the Italian workers.

And the news recently made public clearly shows this capitalist offensive against which transpired the episodes of resistance in Pouilles, Sulmona, Turin, Faenza and Milan. The “Concentration” (anti-fascist) press which is anxious to prove to the bourgeoisie the futility and dangers of fascism, and the benefits and advantages of a social-democratic government, tried to point out that these incidents, which followed each other in rapid succession, were without any inner connection. But the “Concentration” deceives itself when it pretends that the substitution of an anti-fascist for a fascist governing personnel can take place as a pacific transfer of power from one hand to another. In actual fact, however, the “Concentration” for whom this perspective is bound up with its direct and indirect relations with the foreign powers, and the forces of Anglo-American imperialism, understands perfectly that the perspective which would permit its accession to power is very different.

The Proletarian Insurrection Only Can Defeat Fascism

The struggle against fascism can only be settled by a proletarian insurrection; it is therefore in the proletarian camp that it is necessary for the “Concentration” to conquer such positions so that, in the course of the insurrection, it could intervene to direct the proletarian movement from its revolutionary development and into the channel of the conservation of the capitalist regime. This explains why a considerable element of the Centrist anti-fascist ideology of the Italian Communist Party has found its way into the “Concentration” (popular revolution, constituent assembly, Labriolism of the latest cut). The fact, moreover, that many of the political views of the Left Communists have been fraudulently adopted by Centrism—for domestic requirements in the struggle against us—can only increase the confusion. Far from acting as a stimulus to the struggle, Centrism is an element of disintegration, leading the workers to doubt the correctness of a proletarian policy instead of getting them to realize that what they ought to doubt, by unmasking its artificial shifts of scenery—is Centrism itself.

The evolution of the “Concentration”, owing to the necessity of deceiving the proletariat and that of Centrism from the need of fighting the Left—these are the political barriers between which the movements of resistance and rebellion against Italian fascism, are condemned to oscillate. They are the political barriers upon which the events of Pouilles, Sulmona, Turin, Faenza and Milan supervened. One thing is sure: either the workers will succeed in smashing these barriers, or their movements will follow an extremely bloody and painful course, permitting Italian capitalism to register new successes.

The two most recent movements, the character of which we must closely analyze are those of Faenza and Milan.

The Outbreaks at Faenza—a Signal of the Future

At Faenza the collisions occurred at two different times. In the first, Donati, who had reached the breaking-point of endurance, killed a few of the most notorious fascists. Thereupon the fascists immediately mobilized their forces; their objective was not, however, as on many other occasions, to wreak general devastation, but to cover the ground with corpses by means of floggings. During this fascist

mobilization, a family in the suburb of Santa-Lucia, offered up heroic resistance and some of their assailants were killed. These two incidents bear not the character of an explosion of individual hatred, but of an encounter which fits in with events, which elsewhere too, preceded and followed it. These peasants aimed to make a breach in the apparatus of brutal repression of the living conditions of the workers. By their sacrifices, they demonstrated that only violence could make this breach.

It is interesting to observe what was the reaction of the defensive mechanism of fascism, and why it did not have recourse to the usual form of reprisals. The present plan of Fascism is to “individualize” the reprisals on the peasants who resist and are already at the disposal of the Special Tribunal. It is consequently because Fascism understands that, if mobilization and carnage in any given locality may still be possible—the conditions now exist (verified by the simultaneous character of the recent anti-fascist incidents) which could transform an expedition into one or several districts into a revolutionary movement.

Faenza showed that the possibility of enduring fascist persecutions has now reached its extreme limit; that against these persecutions violent and aimed resistance is developing; and that the apparatus of repression, instead of pursuing the familiar tactic of collective reprisals, is hesitating, and from fear of the growing unrest, is “individualizing” its reprisals.

The Economic Causes of the Milan Movement

At Milan, the motives which occasioned the manifestations of Sesto and Miani-Silvestri, rise more or less directly from the economic situation.

It is a familiar fact that capitalism, before or in the course of an offensive for wage reductions, embarks on dismissals. To effect these staff reductions, in connection with the reduced possibility of the sale of commodities, the employers have decided on wholesale let-outs. The workers set themselves in motion to prevent this plan of the bosses from being put into effect with a struggle—the scope of the movement and the conduct of the dispute again proved that fascism did not resort to the system of wholesale violence and destruction out of fear of the consequences that would follow a fresh massacre. The federal secretary of the Milan Fascist Organization, speaking of the workers' movements of Miani-Silvestri, tried to prove that the workers were not guilty of the manifestations attributed to them. The old fascist tactic would have been to mobilize the apparatus of repression against the “adversaries of the regime”.

Italy is gripped in the frame-work of an economic policy which has no other possibility of development than a new offensive against the standards of the workers, the safety valve of capitalism in the sharpening economic crisis. What are the conditions which could enable the proletarian movement to uproot and crush the capitalist dictatorship?

The Proletariat Must Lead the Struggle Against Fascism

We have always protested against the pretended analogy between the fascist and Tsarist dictatorship. In Italy you have a dictatorship of capitalism; in Russia you had a government of the class which preceded the bourgeoisie in its historic role and which one cannot confound with the bourgeoisie at all. For this reason, in Russia the break-down of the Tsarist machine could result from a workers' and peasants' movement, and also from the conflict and friction between capitalism and the feudal classes. In Italy on the other hand, the overthrow of the fascist apparatus can only be brought about by proletarian movements. If these movements do not develop, if they are not gathered together and coordinated, the enemy apparatus will maintain its repressive force. This very aspect of fascism as a representative of the interests of capitalism, and the specific conditions and social relations in Italy, where the proletarian revolution is on the order of the day, bring into relief the regime in Poland or the Baltic countries, differences between the Italian regime and

In view of the weakness of its political position, Centrism would like to maintain its prestige by procuring the following species of “revolutionary theorem” to the masses: “the more perfect the operation of the repressive apparatus of capitalism,

the more is the political path we choose correct.” This curious childishness, applied to the Italian situation, would mean that the road of the revolution is one that proceeds not through the weakening of fascism, but through its consolidation until the happy day when capitalism can appeal to all its imposing fascist and social-democratic forces, and set in motion all the forces at its disposal in the present situation of balance of class forces. On that day the machine-guns of the proletarian vanguard will be recognized by the enemy as in the right.

For Marxists, however, the road of the revolution runs through the consolidated blocs of all the leading forces of capital, fascist and social-democratic; to the point where their control disintegrates and the proletariat can advance and conquer.

Policy of Centrism Has Been Ruinous

Practically speaking, the crumbling of the enemy forces depends on two essential factors: the economic situation and the activity of the proletariat through the channel of its Party. In the present Italian situation, the element of “economic crisis” exists—what is lacking is the activity and capacity of the proletariat. In place of a real capacity for struggle by the Party, we have in reality the political obstacles which have been mentioned—the action of the social-democracy and the ruinous effects of Centrism on Communist policy.

As regards the social-democracy, the experience of the Italian proletariat these last ten years speaks for itself.

As for the Centrists, in their analysis of the Sulmona and Faenza events, they put themselves to needless trouble when they try to infer from a distribution of leaflets etc. the existence of an organization able to lead the movement.

In the present situation, where organization is illegal, the elements permitting of the establishment of an organized force, or of a force capable of creating an organization, when the situation will permit, are those who show the capacity of a Party to politically envisage events, and assuring the confidence of the mass in the Party, a confidence capable of assuring leadership and development to the movements that arise.

Influence of Stalinized Communist Party at Minimum

Faenza, Sulmona and Milan show clearly that the influence of the Party as an organizing factor in the masses has been reduced to its minimum. If individual militants in the Party fight very actively in the movement, that is not enough to replace the enormous loss of prestige of the Party as an organization. This loss flows from the international mistakes of the movement, and particularly from the fact that those who ought to be leading the revolution in Italy are at the same time helping to exercise their repression on the revolutionary vanguard in Russia.

There are numerous indications that many elements of the Party are opposed to the disastrous tactic of Centrism and are evolving in the direction of our group. The Centrist bureaucrats are greatly mistaken if they believe that plenty of money and plenty of lies can perpetuate their leadership. The latter arises not from our “will” but because there are revolutionary reasons and requirements, as recent events prove.

The fact that Sulmona and Faenza preceded Milan, the fact that the manifestations of violence were of a much clearer character in the former than in Milan, raises the question of the relative influence of workers and peasants in the development of the situation.

The Policy of the Left Unites the Masses for Struggle

The well-known thesis of the Left is that the sole path to liberation lies in the unification of the workers' and peasants' movements under the leadership of the proletariat. This central position is again brought into full relief by the assassination of Gorton. But the fact that it is the peasants' movements which have been the most violent by comparison with the feeble movements in Turin and Milan, shows in itself the seriousness of the situation.

The development of the revolution in Russia also taught us a lesson on this head. If the beginnings of the revolution were embraced in the workers' movements of 1905 and the magistral policy of the Bol-

(Continued on Page 7)

A New Source of the International Communist Opposition.

By MAURICE SPECTOR

Diplomacy, called by Vladimir the field of lies, can never in a Marxist conception substitute for principle. The political opposition, as long as considering between the Russian Opposition and the German Communist Opposition, came to a head in a series of the abrupt turns of the wheel of history is futile. The Communist Left in Europe is passing through a process of differentiation which leads to a stronger selection and higher level on the basis of organic unity. The theoretical and tactical confusion revealed in certain groups by the Sino-Russian co-Munist was a peremptory warning. The world situation (Young Plan, London Conference, Three-Year Plan, Indian ferment, World-unemployment crisis) may at any time subject the Opposition to a crucial test. The "Third Period" stupidities of the official Comintern make it all the more incumbent on the Communist to give Bolshevik leadership.

The compass by which the revolutionary vanguard steers through the waters of events, striking the necessary balance between enthusiasm and objectivity—is the analysis of class relations in dynamic development. This is the method of Marxism, and for decisive reasons—the rich experiences of three revolutions, ceaseless preoccupation with theoretical fundamentals, pre-eminence of its leadership—it finds its finest living expression today in the Russian Opposition. Because as against the Thermidorian Right and bureaucratic Centralist factions, its basic line is still that of the Party under Lenin—the Russian Opposition is the Left. The Russian Opposition is the contemporary embodiment of Bolshevism hardened for decades in the struggle against opportunism as the main danger inside the labor movement, but also against "otsovism" against every form of ultra-Left adventurism. The Russian Opposition represents the spiritual heritage of October and the first four congresses of the Third International. The three issues which L.D. Trotsky proposed as the touchstone of adherence to the Left—Anglo-Russian Committee, Chinese Revolution and Soviet Economy (national socialism)—are no more "merely" tactical differences than the divisions of Bolshevism and Menshevism over the character of the 1905 revolution. They go to the root of the Communist program. They involve questions of the estimate of the epoch, the character of the Russian revolution, the role of the vanguard, the significance of the soviets, the national and agrarian problems.

It is clear that between the Marxist Left that is the Russian Opposition and the "Left" groupings in the Comintern before 1924, there is a yawning gulf. Conjointly with Lenin, in the period of the Second Congress, Trotsky demolished the sectarian abstractions of Gorter and Pankovsk, the theoreticians of the German Communist Labor Party (K. A. P. D.). Conjointly with Lenin, Trotsky at the Third Congress no less vigorously engaged the ultra-Left adventurism (the "Offensive Theory") of the eminent "Leninists" Bela Kun, Maslow and Thalheimer. The severe correction proved such a shock to Thalheimer that he lost his balance and ultimately staggered into the camp of the extreme Right, while Maslow declared a permanent vendetta against the Third Congress as the work of the Mephisto Trotsky who had seduced the innocent Maslowite Lenin.

These reminiscences of the Second and particularly the Third Congresses, unfortunately possess more than purely historical interest. They have a direct bearing on the subsequent fate of the Leninbund. For years a whispering and press campaign was carried on among the Left-inclined workers of Hamburg, Berlin, the Ruhr and elsewhere to depict Trotsky as the Right Danger and Zinoviev and Bucharin as the patron-saints of the Left! This gross distortion of the German Left, the obstinate Opposition to the Third Congress, the failure correctly to distinguish the tendencies in the Russian Party, were bound up with the ideological perversions of Maslow. The blunders of the Leninbund, the Urbahns theory of the so-called "hybrid" state, its fallacious analysis of the Thermidor, its bankruptcy in the Russo-Chinese issue, its oscillation between Brandier and

Korch, all show that the ghost of Maslow has not yet been laid and the evil of Zinoviev lives after him.

Maslow's method of approach to the problems of the Russian and International revolution was essentially eclectic. It was the method of the editorial writer who upon being asked to compose an article on Chinese Metaphysics read up the Encyclopedia Britannica under China and Metaphysics and combined his information. Maslow learned that Lenin's slogan in the revolution of 1905 was the democratic dictatorship (bourgeois democracy) and that there were two revolutions in 1917. He therefore instructed his associates that if the world revolution did not come to the assistance of Russia, the Bolsheviks would have "to retreat to the positions of 1905", that is, the bourgeois revolution. This fundamentally Menshevik theory is the prop of Urbahns' conception of "Thermidor". If Kamenev and Zinoviev would have had their way in 1917, the Bolsheviks would never, of course, have advanced beyond "the positions of 1905"—and there would have been an end to the revolution. The proletarian revolution is not followed by the bourgeois revolution, the proletarian dictatorship can be liquidated only by a Bonapartist or Fascist dictatorship. To conceive of a Thermidor as the threshold of bourgeois democracy in Russia in the epoch of imperialism, and civil war the epoch of the essential decay of bourgeois democracy is a grotesque misreading of history... In conversation with the writer comrade Urbahns once confessed that he had learned "a great deal" from Maslow. In retrospect, it would have been better if he had learned less and forgotten more.

III

The concrete issue of the Defense of the Soviet Union brought with it more than just a settlement of accounts with the Leninbund leadership. It urgently raised the problem of the unification of the whole International Opposition, which was far from homogeneous in its origins, its traditions and ideology. Here the mature leadership of the Russian Opposition proved indispensable, and it exerted the pressure of its natural prestige in favor of ideological clarity and against a bloc of motley opposition tendencies. Already on his arrival in Constantinople, Trotsky uncompromisingly put an end to all speculations on an unprincipled bloc with the Brandier Right. In equally decisive fashion, he rejected the contraband of "neo-syndicalism" of the Revolution Proletarian (Monatte-Loriot) group. Concurrently, he sharply disassociated the Russian Opposition from fraternity with those for whom the Opposition entailed no obligations of mundane political activity, for whom Opposition had become stagnation, routine and a refuge from Party discipline.

But of supreme importance in the ideological fusion of the International Left is the question of the Permanent Revolution, which comrade Trotsky has placed on the order of the day for discussion. The Opposition must be absolutely clear on the significance of this question. Those who reject the epigone-manufactured legend of "Trotskyism" must realize that the Permanent Revolution is the concentrated anti-thesis of the revisionist program of national socialism, the bloc of four classes, the theory of stages (colonial revolution), Workers and Peasants Parties, the peaceful cohabitation of socialism and capitalism the kulak growth into socialism (Bucharin). Why is it necessary to bring the Permanent Revolution up now, laments Radek, justifying his capitulation. During the period of the first four Congresses of the International it was not necessary to discuss the theory of the Permanent Revolution because its substance was the strategy of the International. It is the revision of Leninism by the epigones that brings the Permanent Revolution into relief as the essence of Bolshevism. It is the attempt of the epigones who before Lenin's April Theses had not advanced beyond the position of the bourgeois revolution, and who would now inflict the international working class with their reactionary theory—that has raised the question. It is the experiences of the Chinese Revolution that have raised the question.

The recently published theses on the Permanent Revolution are the re-affirmation in the present period of the April Theses of Lenin in all their implications. They link up the national with the international, the democratic with the socialist, the agrarian with the proletarian revolutions. They re-affirm that the emancipation of the peasantry can only come from the leadership of the proletariat. They repudiate the idea of two-class parties and maintain the necessity of the independent leadership of the Communist Party.

The misrepresentations and distortions of the theory of the Permanent Revolution—which is Marxist to the bone—was made possible by the domination of the Party and Comintern apparatus by the Right-Center Bloc under the pressure of alien class elements, the growing influence of the Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat.

IV

The American Opposition sees in the establishment of an International Bureau of the Opposition, an International Bulletin and Conference—a tremendously significant step forward in the struggle for the revolutionary line and the winning of the Comintern from the opportunist-Blanquist zig-zag of the internationally organized Stalin faction.

The American Opposition was formed under conditions that permitted no illusions of swift victory—or capitulation. It was organized after the Sixth Congress, that is, after the rupture of the bloc with Zinoviev and the capitulation of the Zinovievists. Our group in America attracted militants who realized the consequences of

the step they were taking—who saw the main stream of the Russian Opposition in the Moscow Opposition of 1924. We are a "Trotsky" Opposition, if we may say so without misunderstanding. We repudiate all admixtures of Zinovievism and Maslowism, the theories of Souvarine and those of the Smirnov-Sapronovists. In our Platform we justly recognize L.D. Trotsky as the foremost living teacher and leader of Bolshevism, the foremost representative of the legacy of Marx and Lenin.

With the Russian Opposition we are in complete accord that the Rakovsky declaration was no gesture of capitulation but a necessary demonstration of the united front with the Party. In the same sense do we regard the declaration of October 16, 1926 of the Party loyalty of the Opposition—to which Urbahns takes so much exception.

The situation in the American Communist movement has been immensely clarified since the Sixth Congress, and the greatest contribution in this direction has been made by the militants who formed the Left Opposition. None of the former Party groupings are any longer what they once were. Never was the Lovestone group such an undisguised and outspoken Right wing. Never was the unprincipled swamp-like character of the Foster faction more apparent. Never was there the clear and outspoken conscious Left wing that the American Opposition constitutes today. The limits of the old unprincipled factionalism and intrigue had their rise in the Zinoviev-Bucharin and Stalin regimes. The American Opposition has in the short space of its existence achieved a great revolutionary educational work for the movement that will sooner or later bear its fruit. For this the American Opposition recognizes its historic debt to the Russian Opposition.

MEXICAN WHITE TERROR CONTINUES

Taking advantage of the organizational weakness and demoralization in the ranks of the Mexican Communist movement, the government of the native bourgeoisie at Wall Street's service continues its series of repressions against the Communist and the labor movement in general through a series of arrests of the leaders on trumped up charges and the regular smashing of labor organizations.

On February 5 the new president-elect, Pascual Ortiz Rubio was officially inaugurated to office. Even the elements that supported him realized that the election would not have been won on legal grounds over the two opposing candidates, Jose Vasconcelos on the one hand and Pedro Rodriguez Triana, candidate of the "Workers and Peasants Bloc" on the other. Terrorism was used to keep the enemies of Ortiz Rubio from the polls and then he was proclaimed elected by over two million votes as against a few tens of thousands for each of the opposing candidates. As an expression of the popular sentiment against this fake election Daniel Flores, a youth of liberal-patriotic tendencies, attempted to assassinate the new president on the very day of his inauguration, inflicting several serious wounds. But wild hogs and Mexican presidents oftentimes have tough hides and the incident was utilized by the governmental forces as an excuse for a whole series of repressions against the leading elements in opposition to the existing regime. Numerous Communists, syndicalists, anarchists and "Vasconcelistas," supporters of the candidate Vasconcelos (who was supported simultaneously by large elements of the workers and peasants in spite of being sympathetic towards the Catholics). Flores was tortured as were several of the other detained elements, including several Communists, to secure a declaration that the whole thing was a Communist plot. During a demonstration of the Left wing forces in Mexico City where by a great effort the C.P. could mobilize 400 workers on March 20, still more comrades were imprisoned including several leading members of the Left Communist Opposition.

Communist Oppositionists Deported

According to latest reports it appears that due to the government's inability to bring concrete charges or the holding of a trial.

most of the comrades detained in the capital and also the five who had been sent to the penal colony in the "Islas Marias" have been freed again, with the exception of two foreigners, Esteban Pavletich, a Peruvian attached to the general staff of the Nicaraguan leader, C.A. Sandino, and Russel Blackwell (Rosalio Negrete) of the Left Communist Opposition, both of whom were deported from the country.

There appeared recently in the press of this country notices to the effect that the Mexican authorities had nipped in the bud a "Communist revolution" in the State of Veracruz. Although we have no definite information as yet it seems that once more the same method is being used to give an excuse to the government for continued repressions against the revolutionary movement. We do not believe that the adventurous course of the Stalinist leadership in the Mexican party can be so bad as to attempt an insurrectionary movement at this time.

The candidate of the Workers and Peasants Bloc that took part in the last presidential election in Mexico under direction of the Mexican Communist Party, in the midst of the repressions against the movement, made a public declaration congratulating Ortiz Rubio for having won at the polls (!) and pledging the elements of the Workers and Peasants Bloc to support the present regime.

Φ

MOONEY INCENSED BY LIBERTY MYSTERY YARN

SAN QUENTIN, Cal. — (FP) — Tom Mooney is incensed by falsified accounts of the San Francisco preparedness day explosion contained in a "mystery" series in Liberty, reactionary weekly. He declares the article was prepared from prosecution records and that no attempt was made to interview defense counsel or himself.

"To them," Mooney remarked, "it means money, a bit of public sensationalism, and perhaps a few extra magazine sales. To me it means vindication, freedom. Why didn't they bother to get their facts accurate and fair?" Liberty has offered \$1,000 for the best solution to the Mooney-Billings "mystery", which is no mystery to those familiar with the frameup.

THE EVENTS IN INDIA

The Naval "Pact"

In recent weeks the struggle of the Indian proletariat and peasantry against the intense exploitation of British imperialism and their home bourgeoisie, and for independence has been intensified. In Calcutta 19 were killed and over 100 injured in a demonstration against the domination of British capitalism. One killed and over thirty-three injured in Karachi. Similar conditions are to be observed everywhere. Trolley cars turned over and burned, telegraph wires cut, means of communication destroyed, are evidence of the temper of the masses. The British government is using every conceivable form of repression against a Indian proletariat. Armored cars, police armed with guns, lances, and sticks, militia, and civil troops are mobilized to thwart the struggle.

Thus far the movement is under the leadership of the Swaraj Party, the organization of the national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. Under the head of Gandhi with a policy of non-resistance, the movement is being misled into channels that will spell its death. When the Indian Nationalist Party, through the initiative of Gandhi, adopted at their congress in January, the resolution calling for "complete Indian independence" it only expressed the pressure of the masses. Gandhi's "march to the sea," with the intentions of boycotting the salt laws, and in this manner struggle for independence, carried with it elements that destroyed the original purpose. It must be remembered that the policy of Gandhi and the Party is that the independence of India can only be gained through a boycotting of the products of Great Britain and a "struggle" for independence with a policy of non-resistance (non-violence) to the British government. "Non-resistance" to the severe exploitation that the Indian masses undergo, to the shooting of striking and demonstrating workers, can only result in the betrayal of the revolutionary movement in India.

The Masses Struggle Despite Gandhi

Paradoxical as it may seem, Gandhi's mobilization of the masses, on the basis of non-resistance has already taken the form of militant struggle and RESISTANCE to the masses to the brutal regime of the British "Socialist" government. The demonstrating workers have taken the only possible course in the struggle against the domination of the British government—open struggle and resistance. It has as always overstepped the limits which the policy of Gandhi places on the movement for independence.

India is the foundation rock of the British Empire. The British investment in India today is over four billion dollars. Over fourteen percent of the British exports are sent to India. It is easy to understand, then, why the struggle of the Indian proletariat and peasantry for independence will meet the stubborn resistance of the British government. That stubborn resistance is already exhibited in the present reprisals. One can easily see how much fiercer will be the resistance of the British government when the movement for independence outstrips its present stage and reaches the point of an open conquest for power.

The British Labor Government Defends the Empire

The role of the "socialist" government of Great Britain is highly illuminating. The policy of Baldwin and the Conservative Party and MacDonald and the Labor Party alike is the use of violence against the Indian masses. Both defend the interests of British capitalism with enthusiasm. This is understandable, when we recall that one of the planks of the MacDonald administration is to save the tottering Empire. One cannot say that efforts of MacDonald and his "socialist" government in this direction have been lacking. The role of the Labor government in India is only an additional commentary to the fact that the only solution for the proletariat is the complete destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

One of the sad features in the present situation in India is the almost total lack of a Communist Party. The policy of the Communist International in India calls for the organization of almost every kind of Party except that of a bona fide Communist

Party. The Stalin leadership continues to carry over the same policy that was responsible for the glaring defeat suffered in China. The organization of a Workers and Peasants Party remains on the agenda of the Comintern in India. This flows from its false orientation that the revolution in India must be accomplished through and together with the national bourgeoisie. It led to the subordination of the Communist Party and its eventual collapse in China. It can have no other result in India. Neither the big bourgeoisie nor the petty bourgeoisie can lead a successful revolution for the overthrow of British imperialism. Neither can this be done by the most revolutionary trade unions. For that, the leadership of a Communist Party, which centralizes the political action of the masses, which gives it direction in the struggle, and prepares the revolution, is necessary. Without a genuine Communist Party capable of carrying out such tasks, one cannot hope for a successful struggle of the revolutionary masses in India. —A.G.

The Persecutions of the Indonesian Revolutionaries

Hundreds of comrades in Indonesia (Dutch East Indies) have been deported in recent years to the island New Guinea for their participation in the revolutionary movement of their native country.

Immediately after the revolts of November, 1926 and January, 1927 (in West Java and West Sumatra), the colonial government took revenge by the arrest of several hundred of comrades all over the Archipelago. The greatest part of them were not involved in the revolts. They were leaders of Indonesian labor unions, local leaders in the political movement. All of them have been isolated in a special camp—three hundred kilometers inland on the borders of the river Digoel at Tanah-Merah.

After some time the government split the camp and established a new one for the comrades whose mentality was "irreconcilable." At least 1500 Indonesians have been brought to Tanah-Merah, of whom some hundreds are inside the new camp at Tanah-Tinggi.

They have to stay there indefinitely; the power of the governor-general could deport them without any sentence (lettre de cachet!)

In the most important daily paper of Holland, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* of March 7, a telegram from Batavia was published. From this telegram we know that since August 1929 many efforts have been undertaken by the deported comrades to escape from the camp. In the so-called People's Council at Batavia, the representative of the governor-general declared (March 6th) that 61 comrades disappeared. Until now, all of them except 8 have been brought back, though 41 passed the boundary and may have thought that their march of more than 600 kilometers with terrible difficulties and dangers had the result that they had regained their liberty.

Demand the Right of Asylum

The authorities of Papua territory annihilated finally their hope. They were thrown in jail because...they had acted against the regulation for immigration! The court sentenced them for this reason and decided their deportation. In this way the Dutch authorities got the chance to send a steamer to Thursday Island. We learn from the "Statesman's Year Book of 1929" that the governor of that territory, who is the responsible man, has to obey the orders of the governor-general in Australasia. Obviously, the power of the colonial department, in London counts with these colonial officials. Will the Labor Government of England, of Ramsay MacDonald respect the right of Asylum regarding coloured revolutionaries? It recently abandoned and refused this Right of Asylum for politicals in the case of comrade L. D. Trotsky who applied for admission to England.

Meanwhile, it is the duty of all workers to declare their solidarity with the Indonesian comrades. Every effort should be made to prevent the return of these coloured fighters into the hands of the Dutch government which viciously treats the political prisoners.

The final text for the Three-Power Naval agreement is being prepared for its signing. The farce in London lends additional knowledge to the fakery of the imperialists in their pretensions of disarmament. The conference could not overcome the contradictions of the powers present and resulted in a sham treaty of three nations. Even the capitalist press is forced to recognize this. E. L. James in the *New York Times* of April 18, cites as the shortcomings of the conference, the following:

"One, failure to achieve any radical reduction in the war fleets of the world; for limitation of the navies of America, England and Japan involves no great cuts and leaves the world facing additional construction by the other powers.

"Two, failure to limit the fleets of the five nations as proposed when the conference began.

"Three, failure to make three-power limitation absolutely definite, since the contingent clause will permit greater building by England, and consequently by America and Japan, should the French and Italian building increase.

"Four, failure to agree on the eventual abolition of battleships, as desired by the English.

"Five, failure to abolish submarines, as suggested by America and Britain."

The "Safeguard Clause"—Build Larger Navies

The "safe-guard clause" in the treaty which will permit additional naval construction tears the veil from the agreement. The "socialist" Chancellor of the Exchequer, Snowden, denies very sharply that the clause had in mind the construction of armaments by other powers thereby giving permission to further construction by those countries making up the treaty. The Americans are more blunt.

Senator David Reed, one of the leading delegates of the United States declared: "It is perfectly reasonable that we should be protected against a sudden outburst of building by some other power. . . Yes, without consultation. . . Great Britain would simply notify us and begin to build. . . Then the United States and Japan would get in touch—through diplomatic channels and not by a conference. . . Each of us would be free to build. . . I want to say again that this agreement has been reached in an atmosphere of perfect good will. . . Nobody was forced to give up anything."

And so, we have "disarmament"! The conference concludes with the greatest lessons for the working class. The proletariat must be on guard constantly against the menace of war. The conference met only to gauge the strength of the various capitalist powers; and to agree that their common enemy was the working class of the Soviet Union. The three-power treaty carries with it all the explosives for the conflict, and was a last minute resort to keep the conference from collapsing without even a show.

☐

SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE UP 61%

NEW YORK—Soviet purchases and sales in the U. S. from October 1929 to April amounted to \$98,000,000, a gain of 61% over last year's first half figures, according to an announcement of the Amtorg Trading Corp. The purchases of American industries, agricultural and automotive equipment and supplies, totalling \$56,700,000, were nearly four times those of the corresponding half-year of 1928-29. Orders for industrial and transportation equipment, totalling \$24,800,000, increased 2 1-2 times, while purchases of agricultural equipment, valued at \$24,700,00 increased more than six times.

☐

PHILA. SHOE WORKERS AWAIT MILITANT UNION LEAD

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—Shoe workers in the Quaker City are awaiting leadership to unionize their industry. The example of the Laird-Schöbler strike last year has proved that cobblers can fight and stick.

Never have conditions been worse than now. Cutters are earning \$18 to \$25 a week, where formerly they got \$40 to \$50; fitters get \$15 to \$25 against a previous scale of \$70-80.

Formerly wages averaged, year around, about \$32 a week for shoe workers but now they feel fortunate to knock out an annual wage equivalent to \$20 a week.

WAGE CUTS THREATEN DENVER LABOR

DENVER—(FP)—While the state industrial commission is blocking wage increases on the basis of the request of Pres. Hoover, wage cuts and layoffs continue without interruption.

Union bakery workers have just been served notice that their scale of \$32 a week is to be cut to \$26 a week on May 1. During a previous strike the union conducted a cooperative bakery and whipped the bosses in a strenuous fight.

Railroad shops are laying off men steadily; the tramway has just consolidated lines in such a way as to cut down its force; Montgomery Ward has fired 140 within 6 weeks; the building trades are hard hit.

☐

MINNEAPOLIS—(FP)—Over loud and boisterous protests of the American Legion and several civic organizations, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union has obtained the city auditorium for a protest meeting on unemployment April 23.

Clashes in Italian Fascism

(Continued from Page 4)

shelik Party during the war, the first mass movements which accompanied the face of Tsarism emanated essentially from the peasants in the army and countryside. We know that the spontaneous tendency of these movements, from the political point of view, resulted in the "defensism" of Kamenev and Zinoviev, whose position was beaten down by Lenin in April, 1917, and that the proletariat was able to intervene in the course of events, to rise and conquer in the name also of the interests of the peasants.

The agrarian zone of capitalist economy is that destined to feel the first reaction of the economic crisis by virtue of its secondary position in the economic fabric. On the other hand the tentacles of the capitalist defensive apparatus on the countryside are lighter and more tenuous than in the industrial cities. Police forces are very inferior and at the same time the fascist ranks are depleted by the development of the economic situation and can no longer serve as "shock troops" of the reaction. In the cities the shock troops are recruited by the police forces and not by the fascist organization. Today Mussolini authorized the "free withdrawal" from these organizations. He remembers that in the Matteotti case, many of the forces of Fascism deserted in the face of danger.

The inferior quality of the capitalist defence in the country provides a quicker chance of explosion than the city. But if in the country, revolt is easier than in the city, resistance there is incomparably more difficult. A local movement in the country is fated to be rapidly strangled by the mobilization of another locality. In the city the local movement has far greater chances of resistance.

Unite Faenza and Milan under Communist Leadership for the Proletarian Revolution

For real results in Italy it is necessary to coordinate the movements in both town and country.

The fact that the event in Milan was separated from Faenza by only a few days, justifies us in establishing that a change is effecting itself in the fighting capacity of the Italian workers. But to organize its resistance, a force capable of leading to battle is required. At the moment when the new offensive of capitalism on the workers is opening, in a situation which compared with that of the Matteotti period, is far more favorable to revolutionary developments, we must examine recent experiences objectively and without illusions. They teach us that, bounded by the limits of social-democracy and Centrism, the anti-fascist movements in Italy are fated to result in a new success for capitalism.

These experiences confirm for us that only with a Communist program, and thanks only to Communists (and not to the Right or Centrism which have been definitely compromised in the Italian and international movement) can the liberation of the Italian proletariat be realized.

To unite Faenza and Milan, the struggle of the proletariat and peasantry, to give these movements the possibility of developing, can only be the work of the Communist program applied by Communists in their own Party.

—From PROLETAR

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

THE NOOSE ON THE "NEW LINE" PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

Dear Comrades:

That the sounding of a personal opinion within earshot of the caricature Communist Party of the U. S. A. has become, to the American agents of the Stalinist bureaucracy, a bugle call for loosing the terror upon the dissident voice, is surely no longer news. Nor does the unanswerable charge, levelled against the "third period" Bolsheviks, Foster, Minor, Browder and Co., of having delivered the death-blow to the International Labor Defense as a broad, non-partisan workers' organization any longer retain the ring of novelty.

But that personal initiative in the class struggle, no less than personal opinion, now opens the most "loyal" of Party members to persecution, and that the services of the I. L. D., such as they are, are refused to the worker who has displeased the Centrist drill-master, is not yet very widely known.

A sympathetic and morally exhilarating incident showing to what lengths that twoling power revolutionist, Engdahl has "Bolshevized" his Party bureau has just been brought to our attention by the victim himself, a Philadelphia comrade. It is superfluous to state that neither the Daily Worker nor the Labor Defender has ever been moved to "Bolshevik self-criticism" of the crime perpetrated against him; nor have the responsible machine-people been taken to heel.

An Active Party Rank and Filer

Thomas Dunn, the young worker involved, was admitted to the Party two years ago and from the first was marked out as a loyal, courageous, active comrade, heart and soul in the movement. Shortly after being assigned to a unit, he took part in a Washington, D. C. demonstration, was arrested with 25 other Communists and served a 30 day sentence in a Virginian dungeon. He had been back in Philadelphia less than a week when the demonstration of solidarity with the Colombia banana strikers was staged before the United Fruit Co. pier in that city; and numbered among those who refused to break ranks despite police "persuasion", he was again hauled up and slapped with a 30 day sentence to Moyamensing, the notorious Mellon-Vare shambles.

Between vacations in the capitalist jails, comrade Dunn gave virtually all of his time to rank and file Party work, serving on half a dozen committees, distributing leaflets, assisting at open-air meetings, doing clerical jobs in the district office when unemployed, etc. Finally, he was elected secretary-organizer of his unit, located in the proletarian Kensington area.

A Strike Is Called

At this time he got a job as a food-handler in a certain warehouse and almost immediately he set about organizing a strike of the ruthlessly exploited clerks and truckmen, who had long been nursing their grievances and lacked only leadership to plunge into struggle. When the walk-out was called, Dunn found that a sink had prepared the boss for a counter-action—the "ringleaders", with himself at their head were summarily fired, notwithstanding which, a picket line was formed outside the warehouse. Running into the same sink later in the day, the young strike leader demanded an accounting. He was attacked at first with curses and, since these proved ineffective, with fists. The stoolpigeon's blows were returned in kind and with interest, whereupon the boss, probably prompting the attack from ambush, sent in a hurry call for the bulls.

Dunn was clapped into jail. Charges of conspiracy, assault and battery, inciting to riot and divers assorted crimes were lodged against him. All this occurred in April, the case coming to trial on the first of November, when the International Labor Defense covered itself with "glory" by refusing to lift a hand in the young militant's defense. So Dunn, with a state lawyer "defending" him was railroaded to Moyamensing for a six months stretch.

The Failure of the I. L. D. to Aid the Arrested Striker

What was the principal reason for this indubitably class-conscious, this laudably Leninist, this utterly revolutionary act on the part of the now thoroughly Stalinized I. L. D.? Was the comrade in question tainted with the concepts of the Left Bol-

shevik Opposition? On the contrary, he was a loyalist of the loyalists, against whom not a breath of suspicion had been directed. Even allowing for this insane "Third Period" ideology, under which no class-war prisoner with political beliefs running afoul of the Stalinist corkscrew "line" can expect aught but contumely from the bureaucrats; even supposing that Engdahl and his fellow jumping-jacks fight the capitalist courts only on behalf of yes-yapping Party automatons, the International Labor Defense was in duty bound to put up a struggle for comrade Dunn. It failed ignominiously.

Let it go on record that the Trotsky-eating Herbert Benjamin, then Philadelphia district organizer, and his wife, Jennie Cooper, as district head of the I. L. D., formulated the truly new Bolshevik tactic which helped to railroad a Party member in good standing to prison. The contribution of this precious pair to Stalinist "strategy", though not up to Stalin's own achievements along this line, exemplified in the cold-blooded murder of Blumkin, yet deserves signal mention.

The strike broke out so suddenly that Dunn had no time to inform Benjamin or Murdock, the T. U. U. L. organizer, even if they could have been located at the district office. Before he knew what had happened, the strike leader was in prison. He was bailed out, but not by the I. L. D. When the time for trial arrived, Cooper made it clear, that so far as the Party and I. L. D. were concerned, he could go up the river for life—because he had called the strike without orders from the Communist Party or the T. U. U. L. Consider the political implications of such a stand by these comrades.

His family got the comrade out on parole after he had spent nearly three months behind the bars. Later he brought charges against Cooper, but nothing resulted from them except a genteel vote of censure, which was hushed up at the source by the hand-picked "control-commission". The commission also "ruled" that the money expended by Dunn's fatherless family on the lawyer who obtained his release was to be replaced by the I. L. D. This little reparation has still to be made.

Isolationism is being carried out to its logical, albeit grotesque, conclusion. The American Party bureaucracy more and more isolates itself from what small measure of sanity it retains in the "third period."

—J. ARCHIPENKO

Φ

COMMUNISM AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO — III.

Dear Comrades:

One of the most important problems facing the Communist movement in America today is the Negro problem.

The dark-skinned proletarian is destined to play, along with his white comrades, an important part in the world proletarian revolution. The Negro is one of the most brutally exploited of the American proletariat. Along with this goes Jim-Crowism, peonage, concubinage of Negro women and lynching.

The task of the Leninist Opposition in dealing with the Negro problem must be a determined assault upon these evils in particular and the social caste system in general. The Negro masses must be taught that the only way to social, economic and political equality is through the gateway of proletarian revolution, the key to which is scientific communism, as embodied in the Leninist International Opposition.

The Negro "leaders" will only betray the dark masses to their imperialist masters. They are doing that very thing today. Hundreds of Negro workers are awakening to that fact. The Negro workers can now see their sorry economic plight. They can see the fruits of years of "leadership" by Negro preachers, politicians and social workers.

Negro business is failing year after year. It cannot keep pace with the mergers, chain stores and industrial monopoly. It is approaching its doom. Unemployment, that creeping paralysis of capitalist society, mercilessly squeezes and saps the very existence of the Negro workers. White chauvinism is a bed-fellow of Negro unemployment.

Now that the International Left has formed a Provisional International Secretariat, I think that more attention should be given to the Negro question and the special organizational needs and problems dealt with. The Opposition must recruit as many Negro workers and radical students as possible into its ranks; wage a determined fight against white chauvinism both inside and outside the Communist movement.

The Negro's future liberty and salvation are inextricably bound up with international Communism and its inevitable victory over world capitalism.

J. M.

Φ

ON ORGANIZING THE SEAMEN

New York

Dear Comrades:

This fact has been established with all those familiar with the marine industry for years. In 1917 Andy Furuseth, speaking on the possibilities of organizing the Eastern Coast where the backbone of the industry lies, said: that even the Salvation Army, if so minded, could organize seamen. That is basically even more true today.

However, since 1917, a number of things have taken place, among which is the outstanding fact that by 1919, the International Seamen's Union claimed a membership of 115,000 out of a possible 140,000. After succeeding in this almost unprecedented manner, in knitting together this tremendous mass into a labor organization, the organization was almost completely disorganized a year later by the first test which the union was called upon to face.

Two years later, despite the defeat and disillusionment, the I. W. W. succeeded in carrying on organization work to the point where in 1923 they could count 25,000, but only soon to have their organization smashed, not by internal rottenness, as in the case of the I. S. U., but by lack of coordination and perspective. However, the sharp and significant difference between the Marine Transport Workers Union of the I. W. W. and the I. S. U. before the war was the fact that the I. W. W. for the first time brought to life a real rank and file organization. All organization work was done as a result of tremendous effort from below. It seemed as if all the latent militancy in the marine industry centered itself in Industrial Union 510 of the I. W. W.

To go into the detailed reasons for its failure would require more than the allotted space. It is sufficient to say that it was possibly the last time a real working class revolt was wrecked by the machinations of stupid bunglers in the General Office of the I. W. W. With these introductory remarks one can safely approach the convention called by the Marine Workers League.

The Narrow Line of the Marine Workers League

In the first place, to those familiar with the facts, the strong efforts to force the official Communist Party, in control of the Marine Workers League, really to permit seamen to carry through the organization of a union are, one may say, two years belated. Two years ago, the need for organization in the industry became so forcibly noticed by all members in it that elements who ordinarily would not come within smelling distance of anything remotely related to the Communist movement were drawn into the Marine Workers League or its counter-parts, whatever the names that may have been given to them in the past.

Leading elements who for years had distinguished themselves in the bitter organization battles in the I. S. U. and I. W. W., threw themselves into the organization with the question: "When do we start to organize a union?" They were told to "Wait until the the Party faction fight is over". When these new elements answered that they were not interested in Party factional fights, but interested in organizing a marine union, they found themselves attacked on all sides for being motivated by syndicalist impatience, or whatever the "third period" equivalent is termed.

However, at last the mountain has come to Mahomet or vice versa—after all the "third period" preparation—which first of all made certain that anyone who isn't a pure in hewing to the Party line to the last degree is eliminated from any po-

sition where he may in any way have any influence. After two years of careful combing, persuading and expelling, we are told that for April 26, 1936 a convention has been called in New York City. Led by those deep-sea seamen, Mink, Sparks, the doughty Hines—there is to be launched a real revolutionary marine union under the sponsorship of and pre-arranged by the T. U. U. L. Of course, it is understood that none of the "disrupters", such as the Russells, McDonalds and many others, will be there.

Unite All Militants to Build Seamen's Union

There is serious need of a real working class approach to the problem of the marine industry. There is no basic industry that is so strategically placed in the working class scheme of struggle, especially with inevitable war developments. In the unquestioned development of the merchant marine as a naval arm, which is provided for by the Jones-White Act, an effective industrial union, having a real base among the workers in the industry, can serve as the most powerful weapon in the coming struggles of the American working class.

Adventurist speculation that may wreck the ground of appeal by militants is criminally inexcusable. Certainly, the revival of I. U. 510 of the I. W. W., though doomed to failure, is an indication that the reaction against cheap adventure has set in. The time for a real marine union is here, provided the militants who through years of struggle have established a claim to leadership, can be utilized. We must remember that in this industry that all militants have gone through the organization of the Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W. and to imagine that one can build a militant union without these elements is to give birth to one more of the still-born unions of the official Communist Party leadership. There is still time for the genuine Communist elements to realize that there is needed a real united front of all militants in order to organize an effective union in the marine industry.—M. R.

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