

The

MILITANT

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Communist League of America
(Opposition)

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THE MASSACRE AT MARION

The Trial in Charlotte

While mill owners' guns were barking death to five textile workers in Marion, the second trial of the Gastonia defendants was getting under way. The utter worthlessness of the case for the prosecution in the first trial, the great difficulty it would experience in getting a conviction under first degree murder charge against the thirteen men, has now been partially "remedied" by the new set of charges brought against the defendants. Three women and six of the men have had their cases dismissed "with leave", and the other seven men, including their leader Fred Beal, have had their charges changed to call for a sentence of the 30 years in prison that go with second degree murder.

The fact that the prosecution has been forced to change its line of action and back down from the charges that involved death sentences for the defendants is a definite victory for the workers of the United States. Had it not been for the protest movement, had it not been for the consequent fear of the North Carolina capitalist class that an attempt to repeat the crime of Massachusetts would make them the center of a nation-wide working class attack, this victory would never have been won, and the workers would still be in the shadow of the electric chair.

But this victory is not the whole battle. It is only a part of it. With the apparent softening of the charges, the prosecution wants to secure an easy conviction. The peremptory (absolute) challenges of the defense have been radically reduced (from 168 to 28) and this makes it all the easier for the prosecution to pack the jury and cinch the frame-up. The temporary removal of the women defendants from the case is a "chivalrous" gesture by which the prosecution wants to get a surer conviction of the men. Finally, a second degree murder case permits the acceptance of a juror despite admitted prejudice on his part.

To rely upon the capitalist courts, North or South, for a "fair trial" is to build hopes on treacherous quicksands. The more widespread and militant is the protest movement of labor the greater is the assurance that sufficient pressure will be exerted upon the mill barons' courts to free these fighters. Their cause is the cause of all labor. The "chivalrous" Southern textile mills are largely controlled by Wall Street interests, which hold the reins of American industry and finance in their hands. Should the seven men be convicted, it will not only mean a blow at the unionization of the Southern workers but also a setback for workers everywhere.

Now more than ever must every worker rally to the protest movement. As the case proceeds, it becomes steadily clearer that it is a frame-up of the bosses and their legal tools. The witnesses for the prosecution perjure themselves with tongues made glib by a golden oiling. They bear a startling resemblance—the policeman Roach, for instance—to the characterless underworld degenerates who testified Mooney and Billings to life imprisonment.

The latest developments have demonstrated to the hilt the correctness of the slogan raised by the Communist League of America (Opposition): "Fight the Gastonia frame-up!" The fight against the frame-up is the main issue in this case, to which all others are secondary and subordinated. Even more clearly than in the first trial the essentially legalistic "courtroom" slogan of the right of self-defense, put in the foreground by the Party, now falls to the ground. More firmly than ever we believe that the prosecution is trying to frame-up the outstanding leaders of the strike, particularly the Communist fighters in it; we cannot accept a conclusion that the nine whose cases were dismissed have thereby won the capitalist court's acknowledgment of their right to self-defense. It is a good sign that the *Daily Worker* has ceased to put forward this latter slogan and is turning correctly to emphasis upon the perjured testimony and the attempts to railroad the defendants, that is, upon the essential features of a frame-up case. It is necessary to take the full step and to mobilize a broader movement, on a genuine united front basis, among the broadest possible sections of the workers. The first victory gained so far can and must be made final and conclusive.

The 'Impossible' WEEKLY

The publication of the *Militant* has been the achievement of the impossible! When we issued the first number of the *Militant* as a semi-monthly paper, the Stalinist leaders scoffed at it and said that it was not only the first number but also the last. This "prediction" has been made now for almost a year and the *Militant* is today more securely established as a spokesman for the regeneration of the revolutionary movement than when it was first issued. The Party bureaucrats, who cannot conceive of any progress unless it is organized by a subsidized apparatus, thought that to publish the *Militant* would be impossible. Many even of our closest friends were doubtful in the beginning of the likelihood of our continuation. But these very friends and supporters helped to achieve the "impossible". The place established in advance for our work by the opportunism and adventurism of the Stalinists has been filled by the *Militant* now for almost a year, by the stubborn spirit of sacrifice of our small fighting army.

But now the requirements of the situation demand that we advance a step further. The disintegrating effects of the present official Party policy upon the Communist movement, the crisis in the International, the dangers confronting the dearly-bought achievements of the Russian Revolution—all these are making big demands upon the revolutionary vanguard that has rallied to our banner. The *Militant* as a semi-monthly is insufficient to meet these demands. It is not frequent enough in its appearance to enable it to react in time for the burning issues of the day.

THE MILITANT WILL BE A WEEKLY MILITANT ON THE TWELTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION! The American capitalist class is becoming more arrogant in its offensive upon the working class. The misleaders of labor are becoming more cynical in their trafficking with the interests of the working class. The socialist party, nourished and revived in part by the blinding of the official Communist Party, is experiencing a re-birth and new strength in this country. The Communist Party is being led by its present leadership from one catastrophe to another. On the twelfth anniversary of the victory of the Russian working class, the appearance of the *Weekly Militant* will raise the flag of Bolshevism higher, a challenge to its enemies and its revisionists.

THE CREATION OF THE WEEKLY MILITANT IS A PART OF THE WORLD MOVEMENT FOR RE-INVIGORATING THE COMMUNIST RANKS! In France, our comrades of the Opposition have finally succeeded in establishing a central WEEKLY organ, *La Verite*, a rallying point for Leninism in France. In Germany, our comrades of the Opposition have begun a campaign to make their four-times-a-week *Volks-wille* a regular DAILY paper. Our Russian comrades have begun the publication of their first organ, the *Bulletin of the Bolshevik-Leninist (Opposition)*. In underground China, the Opposition has begun the issuance of the *Proletarian*. In the International, preparations are being made for the issuance of a CENTRAL organ of the Opposition in the French and German languages. The *Weekly Militant* will be part of this growing army.

THE WEEKLY MILITANT IS POSSIBLE ONLY WITH THE SUPPORT OF ALL OUR COMRADES AND FRIENDS! The *Militant* is your paper. Its publication as a Weekly by November 7th can be accomplished only if we are assured of widespread support. We repeat what we have said before: If an average of TWO HUNDRED comrades will pledge an average of ONE DOLLAR A WEEK for the next period, the *Weekly Militant* is assured of regular publication. We are depending upon every reader to respond. Only they can make the "impossible" Weekly a genuine reality.

SEND IN YOUR PLEDGE OR YOUR DONATION! WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT!

5 Workers Murdered

After the murder of Ella May Wiggins and the attempted lynchings of half a dozen organizers of the National Textile Workers Union growing out of the recent Gastonia strike, comes the cold-blooded massacre of five Marion, N. C., textile workers and the wounding of more than a score of others by the gunfire of Sheriff Adkins and his law-sworn, mill owners' thugs.

On October 2, a group of strikers picketing the Marion Manufacturing Company were confronted by the Sheriff and his legalized plug-uglies and ordered to disperse so that the scabs might enter the mill. The workers, unarmed though they were, stood their ground and refused to scatter. Without a word of warning, the Sheriff fired a tear gas pistol into their midst and he and his gang followed it up with a fusillade which left three workers dead and more than 20 wounded. In the course of the next few days, two others who had been fatally wounded died in bed; many of those shot will probably be crippled for life. The dead are George Jonas, a man past 60, Sam Vickers, Randolph Hall, Luther Bryson and James Roberts.

The brutality of the butchery is almost indescribable. Medical investigation shows that many of the workers were shot in the back while fleeing from gunfire. One of the murdered workers, George Jonas, bleeding to death and clubbed into unconsciousness, was carried to a hospital in handcuffs, and was operated upon while still fettered in steel!

The frightful assault followed almost directly upon the heels of the declaration by Governor Gardner for the "improvement of the textile workers' conditions" and against the Communists. The smooth hypocrisy of the mill owners' governor was immediately supplemented by the bloody reality of Marion. The massacre also followed upon the sell-out of the first Marion strike by the reactionary officials of the United Textile Workers union. The workers found it impossible to continue their work under the "agreement" made between the bosses and the union officials. The attempt to weed out the militants from the mill by transferring them to the night shift and then abolishing that shift, caused a practically spontaneous walkout. The fruits of class-collaboration, the gospel of the A. F. of L. leaders which the progressives of the Muste group timidly refrained from condemning openly, were brought to rapid bloom, drenched with martyred blood.

The murder of the Marion workers is a crushing answer to the state officials, the mill owners, the A. F. of L. fat boys, the sugary liberals and the pink socialists who laid all the "troubles" in North Carolina to the "interference" of the Communist and Left wing militants. The black day in Marion, where the Communists were not even in evidence for various reasons, points to where the "trouble" lies: in the fierce exploitation of the textile slaves, in their resultant misery, in the class collaborationist policies and downright betrayals of the old line labor leaders. The "trouble" with the Communists has been that they have dared to break into the Solid Non-Union South and lead the mill slaves in struggle for better conditions without using them as pawns around the conference tables of the boss or the governor.

Because of these very facts, it is essential that the Left wing conduct its work in such a manner that will make it possible to unite the forces of all the workers. The bosses prefer the A. F. of L. union to the National Textile Workers Union. But they prefer no union at all to even an A. F. of L. union. This stubborn hostility of the bosses, coupled with the rising sentiment of the textile workers, makes imperative and possible the fight for a united front of all workers, regardless of their opinions, for the unionization of the South. A wrong policy now will destroy possibilities that may take years to recover. A correct course will bring advances all along the line. The only reason why the mill barons can execute such horrible massacres is the lack of organization and unity of the workers. The winning of this organization and unity is the best reply and vengeance for the martyred dead. This victory will be found through the broad path of united struggle.

Mass Meeting

at the
LABOR TEMPLE
242 E. 14 St. —(near 2nd Avenue)
on TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1929.
7:30 p. m. sharp

ADMISSION: 25 CENTS
Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League (Opposition).

Speakers:
James P. Cannon
Martin Abern
Max Shachtman

"The Crisis in the American Communist Movement"

Vote Communist!

The municipal elections to be held next month in New York City confront every worker with the necessity of expressing his opinions at the polls and voting in the interests of his class. Under capitalism, all the election machinery is in the hands of the workers' enemies and cannot be utilized to free labor from the rule of the capitalist class. Before the revolutionary working class could obtain a "legal majority" by means of the ballot, the ruling class would resort to every conceivable instrument of force to prevent its slaves from coming to power. Working class candidates are systematically counted out at the polls. Their campaigns are frequently interfered with and they are handicapped from the start by the overwhelming superiority of the agitational machinery of the masters. In the very least critical moment, their legislative representative are unseated, and in many cases their Parties are simply made illegal and a reactionary armed dictatorship takes the place of the "democratic" system which is permitted to function in ordinary times in order to deceive the workers about the class nature of government. That the workers will achieve their liberation only by organized power and not by the ballot alone is shown by scores of examples throughout the world: the Fascist governments in Italy, Spain, Jugo-Slavia, etc.; the unseating of socialist legislators in Albany, in Washington, and Toledo, Ohio, during the war.

In spite of this, the workers conscious of their interests must utilize every opening existing under the present system to mobilize their opposition to capitalism, to test their strength, to weaken the political Parties of capitalism, to get their representatives before the legislative tribunes where they can reach the ears of hundreds of thousands of other workers. The elections, even on a municipal scale, offer such an opening.

To vote, in the coming New York elections, for the twin Parties of capitalism, the Democratic and the Republican, is to vote for the rival representatives of capitalist exploitation, of imperialist war, of piratical colonial oppression, of strike-breaking and political corruption. Walker, LaGuardia and their Parties carry the banner of the bosses who employ them. Neither can the worker vote for the Socialist Party and its candidate Thomas for whom the question of the gambler Rothstein's murder has been raised to the height of a working class issue! The Socialist Party is today the Party of capitalist reform and not of working class revolution. Its aim is to make capitalism "more tolerable" for the working class, to cover up some of the more hideous scores of system, to restrain the development of militancy in the workers. The American Socialist Party is a member of the Second International. It is blood-brother to the strike-breaking government of MacDonald which serves its imperialist masters in India, China, Egypt and Palestine as well as Baldwin and Chamberlain; of the French Socialist Party of Boncour and Co. which is grooming the French working class for imperialist war; of the German Social Democracy of Mueller and Zoergiebel, which mowed down the Berlin proletariat on the First of May; of the Russian Mensheviks who are the allies of capitalism against the First Workers' Republic.

There is only one Party in the New York elections for whom the worker can cast his vote: the Communist Party. Despite our differences with the leadership of the Party and the course it has adopted, it remains today the only revolutionary Party in the elections. We have criticized sharply the vacillating policies of the Party leadership, and we will continue to fight stubbornly against them and the Stalinist regime throughout the world. But we remain as before fighters for Communism and the Communist Party, for there lies the cause of every revolutionary worker and not of their accidental and temporary leaders. This Party is today the target of reaction, in Gastonia, in New York and elsewhere. Let every worker deliver a blow at reaction and cast his vote for the ticket of the Communist Party. Demonstrate your opposition to the Parties of capitalist oppression and corruption, and their socialist train bearers. VOTE COMMUNIST!

National Committee

Communist League of America (Opposition)

THE MILITANT

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Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman,
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Holland Bars Trotsky

The press carries the news that the Dutch government has added its name to the list of those who refuse the request for political asylum and medical treatment to comrade L. D. Trotsky, at present a virtual prisoner under the reactionary regime of Kemal Pasha in Constantinople. Holland finds asylum and a castle for the German ex-Kaiser at Doorn, but it does not grant entry for the proletarian revolutionist Trotsky. M. Briand, we suggest, now has a fine common basis for the formation of a United States of Europe. The government that have rejected comrade Trotsky's application now form a very broad united front. Against the "counter-revolutionary" Trotsky, there have lined up the "socialist" government of Germany, a bloc of reactionaries and Communists in Norway, the democratic Labor government of England and leading them all, the bureaucratic Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union. Russia is now safe, and the *Daily Worker* should announce that Stalin, Kemal Pasha, Baldwin, MacDonald, Thomas, Stresemann, Mueller, Hilferding, Briand, King Haakon VII, and Queen Wilhelmina are now in an unbreakable revolutionary united front "from above" to protect Soviet Russia from the "danger of counter-revolution," from Trotsky.

C-A-B-A-R-E-T & DANCE

For the Benefit of the Weekly Militant on SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1929, at 8 p. m. at the

HUNGARIAN HALL, 323 East 79th Street
Excellent Musical Program—Dancing—Entertainment
Admission: 50 cents in advance, or 60 cents at door.
AUSPICES: Communist League of America (Opposition) New York Branch and the Proletarian (Hungarian Opposition)

Party Plenum Opens

As we go to press, the Plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has opened. The sessions are being held in unprecedentedly "strict secrecy", that is, practically every one but the Party membership knows about it. The first flurry of the Plenum was the arbitrary refusal to admit to the meeting Ben Lifschitz, a member of the C. E. C. Although not removed from that body, the rejection was based upon the fact that he is accused of being a conciliator towards Lovestone. Previous to the Plenum, all dissenters were neatly removed from the C. E. C. In brief, every possible precaution was taken to have the Plenum meeting in idyllic unanimity. Nevertheless, it assembles under the menacing pall of a Stalinist commission (as usual nowadays, composed of barely known tenth-raters who learned their "Bolshevism" yesterday and vent it today with the greatest profundity. No one at the Plenum dares to speak without first finding out what is the opinion of these receivers. In order to intrench himself, a C. E. C. member must try to outdo his neighbor in proposals as far to the "Left" as possible. By some accident, Weisbord sneaked into the Plenum and astounded the elders by a terrible heresy on a Labor Party slogan for the South. We will endeavor to have a fuller report in the next issue. In the meantime, the reader of the *Daily Worker* will soon find a new set of Party theses printed there in which the condition of the Party is set forth as having never been so splendid as today, with the added solemn assurance that from now on there will not only be no more factionalism but that the Party (for the twentieth time in four years) is at last on the verge of the road to becoming a genuinely Bolshevized Mass Party. All this by grace of Stalin, his special infallible emissaries, the new Party leadership, plus liberal applications of the Third Period and New Line.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF THE MILITANT, published twice a month, at New York, N. Y. for Oct. 1, 1929

State of New York ss

County of New York ss

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Martin Abern, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher: Communist League of America (Opposition) 332 East 18th St. New York, N. Y.
Editor: James P. Cannon, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor: Max Shachtman, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y.

Business Manager: Martin Abern, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: Communist League of America (Opposition), 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. Martin Abern, 332 East 18th St. New York, N. Y. James P. Cannon, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. Max Shachtman, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

MARTIN ABERN, Business Manager.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of Sept. 1929.
HENRY J. Freedman, Notary Public
(My commission expires March 30, 1930)

Hoot! MacDonald

Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, prime-minister of His Royal Majesty's Christian government of Great Britain, has arrived in the United States to confer with President Hoover on how to establish peace and good will among the English speaking peoples of the world. Since his socialist comrades in the United States have announced his arrival here with messianic enthusiasm and hailed him as the peerless leader of the British working class, it will not be without value to sketch MacDonald's record briefly, to outline his magnificent services to the cause of the oppressed, so that the American workers may know how to welcome him properly.

MacDonald was born with an opportunist spoon in his mouth. For years during his pre-war membership in the Independent Labor Party of England, his opportunist strivings had to be constantly curbed by Kier Hardie. He dragged the I. L. P. further and further along the road of revisionism, and was the chief representative in England of Eduard Bernstein.

In the word war, his position was that of a purely bourgeois pacifist, and he achieved thereby a cheap martyrdom at the hands of British chauvinism akin to that "suffered" by Victor Berger and William F. Kruse in the United States. But that did not prevent him from giving support to the war, by his notorious letter of endorsement to a recruiting sergeant, much in the same way as Morris Hillquit did here.

After the war, this "pacifist" and "socialist" came out for indemnities to be paid by Germany, and his criticism of the Versailles Treaty instead of being a denunciation of this murderous peace, was indistinguishable from that of an advanced liberal. He was already grooming himself for a cabinet position, if not for the premiership itself.

To make his way towards a Labor ministry, he fore-swore every elementary principle of socialism acknowledged by its founders for scores of years. He pledged himself to "continuity of policy", that is, of the policy of the Tories and the Liberals. He swore fealty to the monarchy and prevented an anti-monarchical resolution from being adopted by his Party. His record in office during the first Labor government was so "strong" that it turned the stomachs of many of his own Party members. It was only by a narrow margin that he averted a condemnation of his record at an annual conference of the I. L. P.

The first Labor government under MacDonald was black enough to delight the heart of the most ruthless Tory die-hard. His attitude towards the Soviet Government could hardly have been worse under Lord Curzon. Under his regime, British battle-ships were sent to China to mow down the Chinese workers and peasants who were beginning their battle for national liberation. The workers and peasants of India and Egypt were given to understand that a new government had come into power in England only by the fact the bullets and whiplashes used against them were this time stamped with the legend: Made by the Labor Government. The workers of England found that "their" government intervened in every struggle, not on their behalf, but as a "mediator" between the workers and bosses. The workers of Germany had the bitter consolation of knowing that the chains of the Dawes Plan were welded and sealed by Owen D. Young, J. Pierpont Morgan and J. Ramsay MacDonald.

MacDonald was one of those who helped drag the British miners' strike to an ignominious defeat and to strangle the British general strike in 1926. Quite in keeping with his entire political role, he sold the revolutionary aspirations and interests of the working class he presumes to represent for a mess of parliamentary pottage.

His record in the second Labor Government is more pitiful than in the first. The infamous Trade Union Act of the Baldwin government has not been and will not be repealed. Under MacDonald, Snowden took a position at the Hague conference that earned him the enthusiastic cheers of every British reactionary, a demand for an increased share of the reparations at the expense of the German working class (and, it may be added, of the British as well). MacDonald's attitude towards the Soviet Union has not differed an essential particle from that of any other imperialist government. Under his regime, the bloody heel of the British lion remains ground in the faces of the Egyptian, Arabian, Irish and Indian masses. At this very moment, a trial is taking place in Meerut, India, in which Indian rebels are being prosecuted by the representatives of the Crown and loyal government of MacDonald. Under the cloak of Labor, in his own way, he is a bulwark of imperialism and a foe of working class progress.

MacDonald comes to these shores on no working class mission. He comes to bargain with the great, respect-commanding Dollar for a let-up in armaments competition—not so as to "end war", but to permit British capitalism to divert some of the golden life stream from battleships and cruisers into its own sick economic body. The militant workers will not greet him. When he sees Hoover, there will be a meeting of the representatives of two different social orders, or two different social classes, but of two competing imperialist powers. Hoover does not yet need to take the protective coloring provided by the magic cloak of a "Labor Party", he serves his class openly and frankly. But MacDonald uses that cloak to work in the interests of the British empire and against the proletariat. And they also serve who only deceive and betray.

Briand's Plan for a United States of Europe

By Arne Swabeck

Following closely upon the heels of the agreement reached by the imperialist powers on the reparations question the wily old diplomat Briand formally launched his slogan for the United States of Europe. Although presented only in a very general form at the last League of Nations sessions, as an indication of certain imperialist trends it is significant.

In the first place it is one expression of strivings toward an anti-American front of the European debtor nations. It is an endeavor to resist the efforts of the United States to put the European powers on an ever more limited ration, which forms one of the greatest sources for coming imperialist conflicts and proletarian revolutions. In another aspect the slogan represents the efforts for greater consolidation of the European bourgeoisie against its working class and against the Soviet Union. Hence the idea is hailed by the "socialist" *Vorwärts* of Berlin as a "final and lasting peace guarantee".

BRIAND'S PROPOSAL

Preceding Briand's utterances, European capitalists at the congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, held at Amsterdam this Summer, alarmed at the menacing growth of American imperialism as an exploiter of all countries, advanced the idea of a United States of Europe; advanced as an immediate retaliation against the new American high protective tariff policy. But even before the emergence of American imperialism as a world dominant power, politicians of the German empire, during the early period of the war, came forward with such a program, or at least a union of the central European powers to be accomplished by the victory of the German arms. What they had in mind then, and what is proposed now is a capitalist United States of Europe—to better resist the competition from American imperialist penetration. Now as then each main national capitalist grouping is ready for any unscrupulous manoeuvre to gain hegemony for itself.

The advancing of this slogan is but one additional proof of the further accentuation the growing conflict between American and European capitalism and particularly British capitalism. MacDonald's so-called peace visit to Hoover fits in well. His part at present is to delude the masses to the real nature of this growing conflict. He, the fabian socialist democrat, representative of the British imperialists, personifies their most effective selection to accomplish this aim, as well as to maneuver under the mask of "peace and good will", for the most favorable position for his masters in this conflict.

European imperialist diplomats, including those bearing the name social democrats, will perhaps increasingly indulge in discussions of the problem United States of Europe—whether an economic or a political union. Tendencies toward formation of European industrial syndicates already appeared some time ago, notably in the steel and chemical industries, always meeting the difficulties of national capitalist group interests from which none of these groups can dissociate themselves.

TROTSKY AND THE SLOGAN

Comrade Trotsky has long ago, in discussing this problem, clearly emphasized the impossibility of a European union being accomplished on a capitalist basis; this even aside from what efforts the United States may make in seeking allies within the European nations. But he has also particularly stressed the immense significance of the role of the growing American imperialist penetration of Europe since the capitulation of the German Communist Party and the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923. He says, "... the period of 'stabilization', 'normalization', and 'pacification' of Europe including 'regeneration' of social democracy, has developed in close material and ideological connection with the first steps of American intervention in European affairs."

The rationalization of industry process initiated in America, with its colossal mergers and technical improvements of machinery, but based primarily on increased intensity of speed up of the workers, has been transplanted to Europe. One of the big tasks of the MacDonald "labor" government is to complete this process in England, including the labor policy of American imperialism with its so-called high standard of living. In reality, as the American workers have bitterly experienced, it is the policy of class collaboration, exterminating labor unions where that is possible, transforming those that persist in remaining into company unions existing under schemes of compulsory arbitration; to outlaw strikes and class organizations and thus secure an increased share of profit out of the intensified speed-up piece work system.

The enormously growing American investments in European industries, with which goes increased political dominance, are rapidly acquiring control for American imperialism of these industries and becoming the means whereby the kings of American finance can take their payments for European debts, all in all, war debts and industrial debts, estimated at the staggering figure of \$20,000,000,000. The American new high protective tariff policy is part of this scheme.

Incidentally this refutes the reactionary silly nonsense peddled by such types as Matthew Woll in boosting the high tariff policy to prevent dumping of "cheap European goods" on the American market as repayment of European debts. The main repayments will be exacted by American imperialism acquiring increased control of European industries with the profits of increased exploitation of European workers flowing into the coffers of Wall Street.

Very concrete manifestations of this slogan role

played by American financial interests and American imperialism in general in European affairs are the Dawes plan of the past and the present Young plan worked out under the tutelage of Wall Street's most powerful magnates. Again in the Kellogg Pact, the hypocritical talks of diplomats about outlawing war found the representatives of American imperialism rushing to the fore maneuvering for first place for themselves. What is more, thereby making clear that in the line-up for the coming war the United States is going to have a decisive word to say. This pact the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Stalin, signed, thereby helping to maintain the illusion of it being a peace pact.

The international bank for reparations settlement, proposed by the Young plan and being organized under the immediate direction of Wall Street, American imperialism has undoubtedly conceived of mainly as an additional instrument to further the process of acquiring control of European industries and with it control of the intensified exploitation of the European workers. Not only will it then show its colossal power in the further enslavement of the workers there but it will become the most gigantic reactionary force against the revolutionary struggles of the European workers.

THE SOVIET U. S. OF EUROPE

These conditions must recall pointedly to the world proletarian movement and, to the Comintern in particular, the growing vitality, importance and correctness of the revolutionary slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe. Comrade Trotsky has clearly proved that he and Lenin were of one opinion as to the vitality

and principle correctness of this slogan. In 1923 it was officially adopted by the Comintern. Later, under the Stalin leadership, the deductions from the basic conditions from which it derived its contents were artificially made into a series of false, slanderous accusations against the Bolshevik Opposition. It was naturally conceived of as one to find its practical application on the eve of the revolution and by no means to infer that the workers of one country must wait for the others before beginning the revolution. Since the victory of the Russian workers there could, of course, be less reason for overlooking this elementary A B C. Now this slogan has been deleted and seemingly forgotten as so many other correct teachings and formulations of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Tenth Plenum of the Comintern, meeting under the conditions of rapidly growing American imperialist penetration of Europe and growing control of exploitation of the European workers could find time only for prognostications of second rate importance. But it failed entirely to give any consideration whatever to this important slogan which today retains its validity as much as ever.

In the words of Comrade Trotsky: "... it is precisely the international strength of the United States and its unbridled expansion resulting from it, that compels it to include powder magazines throughout the world among the foundations of its structure..."

The slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe is a correct slogan, not only as counter to that of Briand and the other European imperialist diplomats but as concrete direction for unified revolutionary action of the proletariat towards the only possible working class solution.

Lovestone Issues a Dishonest Document

One of the latest faction circulars issued by the Lovestone group, dated August 31, 1929, and entitled "How the E. C. C. I. 'Fights' Trotskyism Today" sets itself to prove that: 1. the Trotskyist "danger still exists in menacing form"; 2. that the Stalin regime in the Russian Party and in the International is going or has gone over to "Trotskyism", i. e., to the viewpoint of the Russian Bolshevik Opposition; and 3. there is a "complete suppression of the struggle against Trotskyism".

In order to "prove" this absurd contention, Lovestone, who was never notorious for his political honesty proceeds deliberately and unscrupulously to distort, maul and squeeze his "facts" to fit them to his untenable thesis. Consider them one by one:

1. We are glad to have an acknowledgment that the Opposition "still exists in menacing form"—in spite of the fact that Lovestone and his ilk in the International have announced its disintegration, burial and disappearance a thousand times in six years.

2 and 3. To prove these points, Lovestone quotes at some length a letter written by Preobrazhensky in April 1929, a few months before his capitulation to Stalin. In his letter to Oppositionists, Preobrazhensky already forecasts his surrender, and attempts to justify it on the main ground that "both of these ideas (hastening the tempo of industrialization and struggle against agrarian capitalism) have been adopted by the official majority of the Party". That is, Preobrazhensky still pretended to support and justify to a certain extent the platform of the Opposition presented to the Party in 1927. Lovestone could have brought even more and "better" proof of his argument by quoting from the long letters of Radek and Smilga, also written while in exile, in which they declare that their differences with comrade Trotsky lie in the fact that the latter has departed from the Platform of the Opposition while Radek and Smilga intend to defend it as originally conceived and written!

On Preobrazhensky's letter, Lovestone then makes the entirely false comment: "It is important to bear in mind that it was on the basis of this letter that P. really was recently admitted into the Russian Party." Lovestone knows this to be untrue. Preobrazhensky, Smilga and Radek wrote their letters while still in the Opposition ranks, and "defended" the Platform of the Opposition solely for the purpose of winning support in its ranks for their impending capitulation—something they could not do had they rejected the Platform from the outset. But when they finally capitulated to the Centrist swamp, they declared in their official statements to the Party (which were published in the *Inprecorr* and the *Daily Worker* and of which Lovestone cannot therefore be ignorant) that their whole line of policy, all their activities had been wrong for years, that they renounced their entire past, and that they withdrew their signatures from all Opposition documents including the Platform! In other words, the miserable collapse of this trinity before the power of Stalin makes the latter no more of an Oppositionist, than the similar collapse of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Safarov and Pitakov almost two years ago made one of Bucharin, Rykov or Stalin.

The rest of Lovestone's "proof" is of the same caliber. "Maslov, Fischer and a whole series of Leninbund functionaries in Germany" are being readmitted. Maslov and Fischer are even less of Oppositionists than Radek and Co. They left the ranks of the Opposition—which they should never have entered—almost two years ago but have not yet been taken into the Party although they have sought to negotiate this step for many months. Who compose the "whole series of Leninbund functionaries" is an inscrutable mystery. Lovestone has probably used them with the actually exist-

ing series of functionaries of his newly-discovered ally, Brandler, who are joining—the German Social Democratic Party.

Lovestone seizes upon an insignificant item in the Berlin *Volkswille*, organ of the Leninbund, which mentions the fact that the Party had adopted correct slogans in the Ruhr struggle, distorts and misrepresents the quotation and presents it triumphantly of more proof that the Party and the Opposition are approaching each other. One has only to read *Volkswille* and its sharp strictures upon the Party line in general and the trade union line in particular to realize what value to attribute to this discovery, borrowed from the Brandlerist organ, *Gegen den Strom*.

The same holds for his quotation from *L'Unité Leniniste*, which says that the C. P. of France is coming near its line. *L'Unité Leniniste* has not been published for more than a year! It was not a "Trotskyist organ" but the organ of the Zinovievist adventuress, Suzanne Girault, who capitulated two years ago to Stalinism and was never readmitted into the Party. The organ of comrade Treint was *Le Redressement Communiste*, which is no longer published now.

Lovestone is unduly flattering Stalin, who is as incapable of understanding the revolutionary content of the Opposition's Platform as he is of applying it, who recognizes bureaucratic machinations behind the scenes as the epitome of political wisdom. The regime of Stalin has not changed its attitude towards any of the fundamental aspects of the Opposition's Platform. He is still the champion of national reformism, i. e., of "socialism in one country" and of "two-class Parties". He is still the hero of the Menshevik policy pursued in the Chinese revolution and the British strikes of 1926. He continues his brutal assaults upon the Opposition: 23 Y. C. L. members, Oppositionists, have been expelled in Odessa alone a few weeks ago; comrade Rakevsky and other Oppositionists have been sent further into the Siberian wilderness and Trotsky still sits in Constantinople.

That Stalin has nevertheless executed a "Left" zig-zag in the last year is quite true. Cut off from the Right wing, from whom all his political steps were borrowed, he moved under the pressure of the Opposition. Stalin has no program of his own, and borrows alternatively from the Right and from the Left. His loans from the Right are heavy and are paid for heavily. His loans from the Left, made under its whip-lash and the demands of the proletariat, are light and lightly repudiated. Stalin's "Leftism" consists of picking up the splinters and dust around the unshakable pillars of the Opposition Platform, and of using even this debris so that it appears only in caricature. In their fight against Bucharin, the Centrist bankrupts are obliged to use the phrases of the Opposition without being able to understand or knowing how to apply their content. Even the Five Year Plan, another result of persistent Opposition pressure, is taken by Stalin from the chapter-headings of Opposition textbooks, misapplied and deprived of correct socialist, class content.

Stalin's "Trotskyism" has a certain amount of "revolutionary" polish, lots of noise, and little content, like the brightly-painted empty barrels which acrobats manipulate with their feet.

BEG PARDON!

In the article by comrade Trotsky on Brandler and Thalheimer published in our last issue, an unfortunate typographical error crept in. Speaking of the national reformist tendencies of the German Right wing, the author is made to say: "They don't give a flag for the Russian revolution, or the Chinese revolution, or the rest of humanity." It should, of course, read "don't give a fig for..." etc., etc.

Who Is Leading the Comintern To-day?

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE

In his unpublished work "Lenin and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry" (at the present moment, serious and conscientious works generally in the form of manuscripts; on ticklish questions only the shabby products of the apparatus are printed), comrade B. Lifschitz gives an instructive political characterization of Martinov in a short note:

"It seems to me," he says, "that the political biography of this man" invites special attention. He came to the Narodniki when their epigonic degeneration began (towards the middle of the '80s). He came to Marxism and the social democracy in order to preside over the down-sliding of a part of the social democrats from the platform of the 'Emancipation of Labor' group and Lenin's 'Petersburg Union of Struggle, to the platform of opportunist Economism. Then this old opponent of the supporters of *Iskra* came to *Iskra* (rather to the new elements of *Iskra*) at the moment when the directors who had remained were slipping from their old political positions. Remaining there in some way to play secondary roles (outside the editorial board of *Iskra*), he practically gave, in his 'Two Dictatorships', a platform of the opportunist-conciliatory tactic of the Mensheviks in the 1905 revolution. This Menshevik of yesterday, the most venomous anti-Bolshevik, then came to the Bolsheviks again, (1923) just at the moment when their epigonic leaders were already slipping away from the Bolshevik positions. Remaining here also in secondary roles (outside of the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the International), he practically inspired the struggle against the Bolshevik faction of the Party and, in his articles and speeches, gave a platform of the opportunist-conciliatory tactic of the Stalinists in the Chinese revolution... A sort of fatality really seems to accompany this figure."

The "fatality" of the figure of Martinov lives together excellently with its involuntarily comic side. Slow of pace and heavy of wit, created by nature for the baggage-wagon of the revolution, Martinov is aglow with a noble passion: to combine the extremities in theory. Since he enters only into declining ideological currents or into declining branches of healthy currents, he manages, in his efforts to combine the extremities, to bring every error to the height of absurdity. In 1926-27, the author of "Two Dictatorships" gave the theoretical definition of the "bloc of the four classes", understanding by this that the Chinese bourgeoisie, with the help of the International, was installed astraddle three classes: the workers, the peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie of the city. In March 1927, Martinov issued the slogan of the "transfusion of workers' blood into Kuo Min Tang"—just at the moment when Chiang Kai-Shek began with the shedding of workers' blood. When the "Anglo-Russian" and the "Chinese" discussions opened up in the Party, Martinov revived his youth by serving up the old Menshevism, without modifications or additions, in its most intact and most stupid form. While the others made haste to hunt up and invent a theory to justify the logical back-sliding, Martinov brought one out of his pocket, thought out long ago, all finished, only lightly forgotten. That conferred a manifest superiority upon him.

Now, this "fatal" man is one of the principal inspirers of the Communist International. He teaches how to orientate oneself, to foresee the further course of revolutionary development, to select the cadres for it, to discern a revolutionary situation at the proper time and to mobilize the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. A more malicious caricature cannot be imagined.

LENZNER

In the propaganda department of the International, there works, and so to speak, directs a certain Lenzner. However insignificant this figure may be it is well to say a few words about it, as a by no means accidental fraction of the whole. For a certain time, Lenzner worked at the publication of my *Works*. I made his acquaintance there for the first time, as a representative of the "Red Professoriate". He had no revolutionary past. After all, one could not complain about that: he was young. He entered politics as soon as the revolution was made. The worst of it was that the chaotic havoc wrought in every field made it possible for him to make his way as a "Red Professor" with a minimum of theoretical resources. In other words, the revolution for him signified above all a career. His ignorance particularly astonished me. In the annotations that he wrote, not only the thought but also the etymology and the syntax of Sir "Professor" had to be revised. Above all, attention had to be paid to his excessive zeal: Lenzner resembled less an adept than a courtesan. In this period of 1923 many impatient careerist and aspirants not provided for in the apparatus still tried their luck here and there. Indulgence had to be shown, however, for the superficial knowledge of Lenzner; the more capable workers overwhelmed with work; at that time the Oppositionists had not yet been removed from their posts.

Lenzner prepared for me the material for *The Lessons of October*, verified texts, collected quotations under my directions, etc. When the anti-Trotskyist campaign, a long time in preparation, was launched and was formally connected with *The Lessons of October*, Lenzner did not know where to stand and within 24 hours he switched rifle position. To secure himself more safely, he used the material he had prepared in a diametrically contrary sense, that is to say, against Trotskyism. He wrote a pamphlet, it goes without saying, on the permanent revolution; this pamphlet was

By L. D. Trotsky

already on the press but at the very last moment the type was destroyed by the order of the Political Bureau: it was decided that it would really be too embarrassing to make arrangements with this personage. Nevertheless Zinoviev for him and wheedled him into the International. By the side of the Kuusinen and the Martinovs, Lenzner became one of the leaders of the daily work of the International. This Red Professor writes leading articles in the official review of the International. The few lines that I have read sufficed to convince me that Lenzner does not know to this day how to write two consecutive words correctly. But apparently there is no one among the editors of *Die Kommunistische Internationale* to look after not only the Marxism, but even the grammar of the writers. These Lenzners give the apparatus of the International its physiognomy.

LOZOVSKY

Lozovsky occupies a leading place in the Red International of Labor Unions and an influential one in the Communist International. If in the beginning, under the old leadership of the Party, his role was purely technical, and, even in this capacity, was held in serious doubt and regarded as temporary, it is no less true that in this last period Lozovsky has reached the very front ranks.

Lozovsky cannot be denied certain aptitudes, a facility of orientation, a certain flair. But all these facilities have an extremely fleeting and superficial character with him. He commenced, I believe, with Bolshevism but withdrew from it for many years, became a conciliator. In internationalist during the war, he worked with me in Paris on *Nashe Slovo (Our Word)* where he always represented the extreme Right wing tendency. In the internal questions of the French labor movement, as in the questions of the International and of the Russian revolution, he inclined invariably to the Right—towards pacifist Centrism. In 1917, he was the only one of the *Nashe Slovo* group that did not join the Bolsheviks. He was a fierce enemy of the October revolution. He remained an enemy until 1920, I believe, mobilizing a part of the railwaymen and the trad unionists in general against the Party. He rallied to the October revolution before Martinov; in any case after it had not only been accomplished but also defended against the most menacing dangers. His knowledge of languages and of life in the Western countries led him, in those years when the distribution of workers was still very chaotic, to the Red International of Labor Unions. In the Political Bureau, when we found ourselves faced with this fact, we all—Lenin first of all—shook our heads; we consoled ourselves by saying that he would have to be replaced at the first opportunity. But the situation changed. Lenin fell ill and died. The displacements began, carefully prepared behind the scenes of the apparatus. Lozovsky floated on the surface. He went with the current. Had he not polemized against me during the war in defense of Longuetism and petty bourgeois democracy in Russia? Had he not polemized against the October revolution, the Red terror, the civil war? After a brief pause, he resumed the struggle against "Trotskyism". That assured his position in the Red International of Labor Unions and immediately created one for him in the Communist International. At the height of the Martinovist course, Lozovsky even stood at the Left wing to a certain extent. But that is dangerous neither for Lozovsky nor for the International, for, despite all his apparent rashness, Lozovsky is perfectly aware of the limits beyond which Leftism ceases to be encouraged. As frequently happens, an impulsive spirit mingles in Lozovsky with a conservatism in ideas. In a stirring article he can call upon the workers of South Africa or the natives of the Philippine Islands to overthrow their bourgeoisie, and forget his counsel an hour later. But in every serious instance where decisions involving his responsibility must be made, Lozovsky invariably makes for the Right. He is not a man of revolutionary action; he is an organic pacifist. The future will demonstrate this more than once.

RASKOLNIKOV

The direction of the young Parties of the East, which have imposing tasks before them, forms the darkest page of the International after the death of Lenin.

It is enough to say that there a leading rôle is given to Raskolnikov. Contrary to those whom I have named before, he is incontestably a fighting revolutionary, a Bolshevik with a certain revolutionary past. But only the frightful devastation of the leading ranks could bring things to the point where Raskolnikov is placed at the leadership... of proletarian literature and the Asiatic revolutions. He is just as inapt for the one as for the other. His deeds were always better than his speeches, and is certainly not bad to have him close to one in the period of civil war. But it is very bad to have him there in the period of ideological war. When he returned from Afghanistan in 1923, Raskolnikov threw himself into the battle on the side of the Opposition. I had to hold him back very insistently, for fear that he would do more harm than good. For this reason or for another, he became an active fighter a few days later—in the other camp. I do not know if he studied the East very much during his sojourn in Afghanistan. But, then he did write many memoirs of the first years of the revolution, in which he thought it necessary to devote not a little space to

the author of these lines. In 1924, he did his memoirs—already published—over again and where he had a plus sign he put a minus sign and conversely. This revision has such a primitive and puerile character that it cannot even be taken seriously as a falsification. At bottom, there is an essentially primitive manner of thought. The activity of Raskolnikov in the domain of proletarian literature will constitute one of the most amusing anecdotes in the history of the revolution. But right here this subject does not interest us. The work of Raskolnikov as the director of the Eastern department of the International has a much more tragic character. It is enough to read Raskolnikov's foreword to the report of Tang Pin-san to be convinced once more of the facility with which certain persons relapse into political ignorance when conditions are favorable. To the Menshevik report of Tang Pin-san, Raskolnikov wrote a eulogistic Menshevik foreword. It must of course be added that the report of Tang Pin-san was approved by the VII Plenum of the Executive Committee of the International. Just think of what pains and resources are wasted to lead people off the right road. Raskolnikov is not so much the responsible inspirer as he is the victim of this whole mechanism. But his unfortunate direction is in turn a source of the greatest mishaps and victims.

ROY

The Indian movement is doubtful in the International by Roy. It is doubtful if greater harm could be done to the Indian proletariat than was done by Zinoviev, Stalin and Bucharin through the medium of Roy. In India, as in China, the work has been and is conducted almost always on the basis of bourgeois nationalism. In the whole period after Lenin, Roy has conducted a propaganda in favor of a "people's Party" which, as he himself has said, should be "neither in name, nor in essence" the Party of the proletarian vanguard. It is an adaption of Kuo Min Tangism, of Stalinism and of LaFolletteism to the conditions of the national movement in India. Politically this means: through the medium of Roy, the leadership of the International is holding the stirrup for the future Indian Chiang Kai-Sheks. As for Roy's conceptions, they are a hodge-podge of Social Revolutionary ideas and liberal imperialism. While the "Communists" organize "workers' and peasants' Parties", the Indian nationalists are seizing hold of the trade unions. In India the catastrophe is being prepared just as methodically as it was in China. Roy has taken the Chinese examples as a model, and he appears at the Chinese congresses as a teacher. It is needless to say that this national democrat, poisoned by an adulterated "Marxism", is an implacable foe of "Trotskyism", just like his spiritual brother Tang Pin-san.

KATAYAMA

Things are no better in Japan. The Japanese Communist Party is unalterably represented in the International by Katayama. As fast as the leadership of the International was drained, Katayama became one of its bolshevik pillars. To tell the truth, Katayama is by nature a complete mistake. Contrary to Klara Zetkin, he cannot even be called a decorative figure, for he is totally devoid of any adornment. His conceptions form a progressivism very lightly colored by Marxism. By his whole make-up, Katayama is incomparably closer to the world of ideas of Sun Yat Sen than of Lenin. This does not prevent Katayama from expelling the Bolshevik-Leninists from the International, and in general, from deciding the destinies of the proletarian revolution by his vote. In recompense for his services in the struggle against the Opposition, the International supports the fictitious authority of Katayama in Japan. The young Japanese Communists look upon him with deference and follow his teachings. Which? It is not for nothing that there is a Japanese proverb: "Even the head of a sardine can be worshipped, the main thing is to have faith."

In the meantime, endless attempts are being made in Japan to unite the various "workers' and peasants' Parties", of the Right, the Center and the Left, which constitute, all of them to the same degree, an organized assault upon the political independence of the proletarian vanguard. The diplomatic notes and counter-notes, the unity conferences and counter-conferences increase and multiply, absorbing and corrupting the very few Communists, diverting them from the real work of rallying and educating the worker-revolutionaries. The press of the International gives hardly any news of the real revolutionary work of the Japanese Communists, of the illegal work, of the organization, of the proclamations, etc. But for that, we learn almost every week of new steps by a new committee for the reorganization of the Left workers' and peasants' Party in the sense of a union with the Left wing of the Centrists workers' and peasants' Party, which, in turn, approaches the Left wing of the Right Party, and so on without end. What has Bolshevism to do with this? What can Marx and Lenin have in common with this obscene trafficking?

But we will have to return more basically to the burning questions of the East from another point of view.

TO BE CONTINUED

One of the most constant sub-getters for the *Militant* is comrade C. R. Hedlund of Minneapolis. His last letter contains ten new subs chiefly from railroad workers, from whom comrade Hedlund also obtained donations to the *Militant*.

THE MINE BATTLE

Corruption in Illinois Union

By Joseph Angelo

Several things have happened lately in Illinois' mine fields. Among the more important is the struggle of the Fishwick-Farrington-Walker machine against the Lewis machine.

The renewal of this old struggle between the Illinois fakers and the Lewis gang began toward the end of the last miners' strike. The differences arose afresh on the question of how the Illinois miners were to be betrayed. At that time the Fishwick machine seemed to have come out victorious, Lewis' West Virginia-Kentucky ruinous policy lost, and the treacherous wage-cut policy of Fishwick accepted.

Immediately Lewis began a campaign to organize the Illinois miners, chambermaids and waitresses, by sending into Illinois hotels a crew of international organizers. Then the Fishwick machine backed John A. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, as a candidate for Lewis' shoes. Lewis swung a right-hand interpretation of the miners' constitution and Walker went down for a count of ten.

The next place that we hear about this struggle is in the Peoria sub-district, where the Fishwick machine had expelled a dozen miners for slandering the honorable Mr. Fishwick. This time again, the lovable Mr. Lewis shoots a left hand interpretation of the constitution and back goes the Lewis dozen into the union. Then this same daily dozen that Lewis took under his fold runs on Lewis' program against the Fishwick sub-district flunkies and captures the whole sub-district.

Does Fishwick call for enough? Oh, no. Walker is Fishwick's side-partner with Farrington in reserve. Fishwick calls the Illinois miners into a convention at Peoria and takes a couple of verbal slams at Lewis and has the packed convention elect John A. Walker as an official of the Illinois union so that Walker may be eligible to run for Lewis' shoes at the next miners' convention.

Then Lewis comes back at Fishwick by sending into Illinois Colonel Samuel Pascoe, president of the defunct Kentucky district. This President Colonel Pascoe (he has a whole string of titles, more than can be remembered) moves around the Illinois hotels (and they are much safer than the hotels of Kentucky) and, of all things, this bird finds that corruption is going on in Illinois—in the West Frankfort sub-district.

An investigation proved that the Fishwick sub-district official flunkies took quite a bit of miners' money and property that should have gone into the pocket of Lewis. And this made Lewis pretty mad. First, there were fifty thousand dollars that were to be distributed among the miners in the West Frankfort sub-district of which only twenty thousand dollars can be accounted for by the sub-district officials. Second, there is the West Frankfort Labor Temple, the property of an abandoned local union deeded over to individuals—the officials of the sub-district. Third, there is the sum of thirty-two thousand dollars of another abandoned local union drawn out by the same sub-district officials.

Lewis demands of the West Frankfort sub-district officials to come to Indianapolis for an accounting. At once, Fishwick calls a conference of his board members, sub-district officials, also Walker and Farrington, in Decatur, as in Springfield there were too many organizers trying to organize the waitresses. At this conference, after much debating, Farrington's policy prevailed. Farrington proposed that the West Frankfort sub-district officials tell Lewis to go to hell, that in case Lewis takes the charter away from the sub-district, they must go into court and get an injunction against Lewis and fight it out in the capitalist court. Alright, but this would cost money and who is going to foot the bill in case they lose? This from the sub-district officials involved.

So the conference decided to create a "Red Fund" to the tune of ten thousand dollars. This money is to be used in the fight against Lewis but the miners were to be told that this money was used for the purpose of fighting against the Reds in the West Frankfort district.

Alright, the sub-district faker would not divide up the money and property with Lewis, so Lewis took away the charter from the sub-district and established a provisional sub-district with a set of his own henchmen. The old sub-district officers go into court and come out with an injunction restraining Lewis from interfering in their racket. Lewis then goes before another judge and has the injunction set aside and his henchmen are again put back in charge.

The convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor which will be held in Rock Island beginning September 9th, will see a renewal of this warfare, as Fishwick has been quite busy to see that a good representation of delegates from the miners locals are there—a most unusual thing, as in the past the Illinois miners showed no interest in the Federation convention. Fishwick, also, is billed as the main speaker for the convention.

The present struggle between Lewis and Fishwick is important not only to the miners of Illinois, but to the Communist movement as well. The Communist movement, instead of growing in this struggle, is continually losing ground, while the Lewis machine is growing by leaps and bounds. The Lewis machine is taking this fight into the local unions of Illinois—working through the local unions, and it has already captured not only two whole sub-districts but the sentiment throughout Illinois is much more favorable toward Lewis' machine than I have seen it for some time.

Fishwick is as yet propagandizing only through the *Illinois Miner* and circulars, with the result that he is losing ground. The Communist Party is using almost the same method as Fishwick, that is, they have forgotten all about the work inside the old locals of the U. M. W. A. Why, even Lewis is winning influence at the expense of the Communists.

In the West Frankfort trial to set aside the injunction, the Fishwick machine, in one of its contentions, charged that Lewis has made his peace with the leaders of the National Miners Union in Illinois and has the support of the Reds in the present struggle against Fishwick. This story has become very common on the street corners and the mines—that Lewis has the support of the Reds in the campaign against Fishwick. When such charges are made against the National Miners Union in a capitalist court, and they are not even denied in the *Coal Digger* nor even a leaflet on the situation, that is giving objective support to the most corrupt labor faker in the United States.

NEW OPPOSITION

Among the Russian Youth

The former leader of the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, and a founder of the Youth International comrade Schatzkin, and comrade Sten, "Red Professor", have now been placed in the center of a sharp attack by the official organs of the Russian Y. C. L. The differences between Schatzkin-Sten and the League have undoubtedly assumed serious proportions and the two comrades have apparently found a strong circle of supporters, since even the *Rote Fahne*, official organ of the German Stalinists, is obliged to inform its readers about the new event. The American Party press lags behind as usual and furnishes no information whatsoever on the matter. Its readers will probably hear about it for the first time after the Stalin faction has taken some disciplinary measures against the new opposition.

Comrades Schatzkin and Sten voiced their critical conceptions in a number of articles in *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, organ of the Russian Y. C. L. The paper has been reprimanded for that and the sword has now been drawn in an article against Schatzkin and Sten. They have attempted to "unfold their notorious anti-Party conceptions" and "under the mask of 'seemingly' Left conceptions they have seriously approached the Trotskyist standpoint on the Party and Party discipline". Comrade Sten is upbraided for having sought, in an article "Up with the Communist Banner of Marxist Leninism", to liberate the Youth League from the influence of the Party. "He declares for freedom of opinion, free choice of political line for every Y. C. L. member. He wants every one to determine his attitude towards Party policy in his own way... that the political line shall be determined only on the ground of one's own experience, independent of the Party and its collective experience."

That is how the article in *Rote Fahne* presents the matter.

Schatzkin has become even more definite. And that is why anathema is hurled even more heavily at him.

"He is trying to disparage the value of the unanimity of the Party in the struggle against Trotskyism and against the Right opportunists. He doubts the political maturity of a great part of the Party. He maintains that the Party has sunk into philistinism. He declares that even tested Bolsheviks, who have behind them a hard school of revolutionary struggle, submit to Party decisions and fight for them not because of their revolutionary consciousness, not because of a firm conviction in their correctness, but as pure philistines who say Yes to everything decided by the majority. Comrade Schatzkin has decided to redeem the Party from this evil. In the form of a struggle against Philistinism he casts suspicion on the sincerity of the struggle against the Right deviation. Schatzkin believes that the victory over the Right was not achieved thanks to the politically correct line of the Party and its energetic defense against the Right opportunists, but thanks to the inertia and emptiness of the Party philistine."

The criticism of comrades Schatzkin and Sten apparently embodies a mood within the Y. C. L. that is not to be underestimated, and it is only too comprehensible that this mood against the bureaucratic spirit and its effects, against the complete deadening of any political life, should find expression precisely among the youth. The absolute compulsion to swing into line with official opinion, the unconditional recognition of the political conceptions of the leading bureaucracy, must arouse resistance in the youth. This phenomenon only confirms what the Oppositions has said for years about the consequences of the Stalinist regime and its inner-Party course. It is therefore no wonder that it seeks to kill Schatzkin and Sten with a mere formula: They are accused of "Trotskyism". Schatzkin and Sten were permitted to make their criticism only so long as it suited Stalin's "struggle against the Right". But now he has made a frank and sharp swing to the Right, as is shown by the recent decree on factory management, he can no longer tolerate such criticism. It is therefore declared: "The Party considers the struggle against the Right danger as its principal task. The articles of comrades Schatzkin, Sten and others remind us of the necessity of fighting on two fronts, that it, in the struggle against the Right, not to forget the struggle against the Trotskyist remnants, the traces of which come to light plainly in the irresponsible and injurious outburst of the above comrades."

Whether or not the new Opposition will draw the

THE R. R. UNIONS

A Split-up Labor Movement

By C. R. Hedlund

There are about 1,700,000 workers employed in the railroad transportation industry in this country. About one million of those workers are not organized at all, the remaining 700,000 are divided into 21 autonomous and helpless craft unions. Each one of these unions maintains its own set of officials, journals, headquarters, organizers and lodge halls; the most antiquated form of labor organization known. In no other industrial country in the world do we find the railroad workers divided into 21 separate unions and less than fifty per cent organized, and this in spite of the fact, that in no other country are the employers so well organized as they are here.

However, the economic conditions which gave rise to our present trade union structure on the railroads are gradually disappearing and this change naturally has its effect upon the unions. The ordinary railroad worker, and even the conductor and the engineer, are commencing to realize that the small and weak craft union, of which he is a member, is no longer a match for the gigantic combinations of organized capital. He sees the craft union falling down everywhere in the fight for better wages. These developments breed a growing demand for needed change among the workers, a change of program and organizational structure. Behind these proposed changes we find the growing minority of workers who study and think. Against this program we find arrayed the most useless, reactionary, and overpaid labor bureaucracy in the world.

The writer of this article is employed as locomotive engineer on a run between Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Elroy, Wisconsin. Elroy is a typical railroad terminal. There are thousands of such terminals in the United States and Canada. Outside of a small group of ordinary business men the entire town consists of railroad workers and their families. Yet, on account of the fact that the railroadmen are divided into 21 separate and distinct crafts, there is no labor activity of any kind in the town. There are no local lodges here because there are not enough members of each craft to maintain one. The men who belong to the union send their dues to the point where the local union is located, at Chicago, Duluth, or the Twin Cities, as the case may be. Thousands of railroad workers in the small terminals like Elroy never see the inside of a union hall. The railroad workers at Elroy, thanks to the craft system, have no labor hall, no labor meetings or activity of any kind. The town administration consist of a lawyer and a few business men, this in spite of the fact that the town is overwhelmingly working-class.

Yes, Elroy is a typical railroad terminal, where the railroad workers, as elsewhere, are victims of an obsolete system of labor organization. Elroy has no labor unions, no labor activity, either industrial or political, but it has a local organization of the American Legion, consisting of railroad workers and farmers, five or six churches, several "soft drink" parlors, pool halls and a moving picture show where the customary froth of sex and adventure is dished out to the working class.

Against these conditions in the railroad terminals and in the railroad unions the high salaried Brotherhood misleaders have no remedy save a program of expulsion of the militant minority, the growing left wing in the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Against this program of inactivity and reaction of the official drones, the left wing, which understands what is needed, has a definite program of organization, amalgamation and a formation of a Labor political party, instead of the useless legislative boards maintained for the special benefit of swarms of grafters who infested the Brotherhoods.

In Minneapolis the left wing in the Brotherhoods is making considerable progress. It has learned at least to a degree how to organize itself in local and union meetings behind a practical program of demands to the despair of the reactionary officials. These demands may be summarized as follows:

Amalgamation of the Engineers and Firemen; a joint organization drive conducted by the 21 craft unions coupled with a wage movement, backed by all the crafts, which will have for its purpose the raising of the minimum wage level in the railroad industry; a Labor Party instead of a Labor Lobby (the Legislative Boards); reduction of officials' salaries to the level of union wages, and to compel the B. of L. E. official to give an itemized account to the membership of the debts which the members are being called upon to pay by the levying of special five dollar assessments per month, etc.

More detailed treatment of our left wing work in the railroad Brotherhoods will be given in my next article to the Militant.

necessary and inevitable conclusions from its present criticism against the bureaucratic regime, remains to be seen. But whether it goes forward logically to the support of the Leninist Opposition, or capitulates weakly before the Centrist apparatus, the fact remains that its criticisms are an expression of the discontent and uneasiness over the present regime and its line that are growing among the Youth in particular. The next future will create even more divisions and deepen them. Stalin's sailless vessels cannot hold together in any political storm. Cut loose from the Left and from the Right, the Centrist apparatus is doomed to new splits and factional struggles.

The Removal of Bucharin

By Maurice Spector

Pravda has published a long statement on "the deviations and mistakes of Comrade Bucharin". By order of the Stalin bureaucracy, Zinoviev's successor may now be openly and fearlessly reviled by all the faithful who but recently applauded his every utterance as the distilled essence of Leninism. Perhaps we may yet read the sad story of the "golden child of the revolution" who was transformed into MISTER Bucharin and trod the snowy wastes of Siberia—with notes and addenda by the saintly fish-wife Emelian Yaroslavsky.

The official comunique on Bucharin's fate finds our eyes dry. In 1917 he paid tribute to Trotsky as "that brilliant and heroic tribune of the insurrection, that flaming apostle of the revolution". That did not prevent him, on the death of Lenin, from joining in the bureaucratic conspiracy to distort the history of the revolution and defame the great revolutionary he had admired. Thereafter there was no gathering of the Communist International in Moscow where Bucharin was not set up to deliver scholastic diatribes against the "permanent revolution" and to lecture Trotsky on his "mistakes". The innocent by-stander would never have guessed of this theoretician, of whom Lenin wrote in his last Testament that "he never has learned, and I think never fully understood the (Marxian) dialectic".

THE "INFALLIBLE OLD GUARD"

We did not have to wait for the latest ukase of *Pravda* to learn that "it is impossible for the Party to consider Comrade Bucharin as the infallible guardian of Lenin's legacy". One by one the venerated have been scraped off these "infallible guardians". We have got to know the individuals of this self-congratulatory "Old Guard", who have resorted to every expedient of demagoguery to usurp the power in the Party. The story of the strikebreaking role of Zinoviev and Kamenev in October has been retold officially. Rykov and Losovsky were no better. But when will *Pravda* oblige us with some data on the role of Stalin, this artificially manufactured "great man" who never had an idea before the revolution, hatched one for a coalition with Tseretelli during the revolution, and became joint author with Bucharin of the reactionary idea of national socialism since. When will *Pravda* oblige with the political biographies of the crowd of lesser guardians of Leninism, the motley crowds of ex-Mensheviks, nationalists, Social Revolutionaries, Bundists, and adventurers, who wormed themselves into the apparatus of the Comintern, Bela Kun, Remmele, Semard, Smeral, Manuilsky, Martinov, Petrovsky—Goldfarb, Pepper and Lovestone, Jilek, Hais, Brandler and Thalheimer—these too once did great feats of arms in the crusade against Trotsky.

Somewhat tardily the political biography of Bucharin is gone over in the stereotyped verbiage of the officialdom. It would have been more important to have gone into that a couple of years ago, to have warned the Party then that Bucharin was not "infallible", to have told of his differences with Lenin on the Brest Treaty and the Trade Unions and state capitalism and Comintern strategy, to have pointed out at the time the reactionary nonsense implicit in his theory of building socialism "even at a snail's pace". But the Centrist Stalin faction was as deeply involved in steering a course towards the "development of capitalist relations in the village" and towards slowing up the tempo of industrialization, as Rykov, Bucharin and Tomsky. When over two years ago the Platform of the Opposition warned against the Right danger and named the groupings and persons in the Central Committee, it was denounced as slander. The present *Pravda* statement relates that there have been "profound, fundamental differences for more than a year" but the Centrist boss Stalin has lied to the Party again and again, denying that there were any internal differences in the Politbureau. This is the typically bureaucratic method of leading the Party blind-folded.

THE CENTRISTS AND THE RIGHT

Under the crack of the Opposition whip, the Centrists have executed a series of manoeuvres to give the appearance of a change of course. They have made it lawful to talk of the "Right danger is the main danger". But the bloc of the Centrists with the Right wing in the Russian Party has not yet been dissolved. Rykov, Kalinin, Voroshilov and many more like them still sit either in the Politbureau or the Central Committee biding their time, waiting for more favorable winds to resume the offensive. Impolite words may be used against the Rights, but the Stalin machine redoubles its measure of savage persecution of the Lenin (Trotsky) Opposition of the Left. The Centrists are incapable of waging a serious or prolonged battle against the Rights. The removals of Bucharin and Tomsky are apparatus manipulations. A serious fight would involve the mobilization of the masses and the Stalinite bureaucracy is afraid of the masses no less than the Right wing. The Rights would prefer an orderly and bureaucratic orientation in favor of their policies and hesitate at the moment to appeal to their real constituency with the battle cry used so effectively against the Opposition: "Peasants Unite! Trotsky is going to rob you of your little properties and savings". Without the Party apparatus in their hands the Rights would have to appeal practically for civil war, and for this they are not prepared.

Only the Communist Opposition of Trotsky which retains its independence of both the Right and Center

can afford to appeal to the masses to be on their guard against the Thermidorians.

"Where is the Party?" is a question that is frequently asked. The answer is that the bureaucracy has kept the Party strangled. With the machinery of repression in its control, the Stalin officialdom talks in the name of the Party. For the Opposition therefore the serious fight against the Right wing which must emanate from the mobilization of the masses, involves the fight to free the Party masses from the stranglehold of the Centrist bureaucracy. It is a struggle not only against Bucharin but no less against boss Stalin, with his national socialism.

Bucharin started out as an ultra left. John Reed in his *Ten Days* reported that Bucharin was deemed by many to be "more Left than Lenin". Today Professor Ustrialov, the spokesman for the new Soviet possessing classes (Nepman, bureaucrat and Kulak) hails him as the hope of the Soviet bourgeoisie. "Bucharin—that means peace," writes this former Cadet.

The Conflict in the Muste Group

Young as it is, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, or the Muste Group as it is commonly referred to, is already experiencing storms. Since this movement is a reflection of a significant trend in the American labor movement today, it is important to consider what is transpiring within it, so that the Left wing and the Communists may have all possible material before them in outlining their own course of action. The prevailing official Party method of analyzing everything in a "simple" (in reality, a simple-minded) way, by "simply" dumping all who disagree with its momentary line into one huge pot—fascism, social-democracy, Hoover, Woll, Green, Hillman, Muste, Lovestone, Trotsky and whatever and whoever else happens to be handy—obviously leads only to confusion and secretarianism. Now, as to the C. P. L. A.

Muste's initial attempt to organize such diversified elements as the Right wing needle trades bureaucrats (Hillman, Schlesinger, Dubinsky, etc.), Norman Thomas, Justus Ebert, Ludwig Lore, Muste, Oneal, Tom Tippet and others, and pass off this multi-colored conglomeration as a progressive faction in the A. F. of L. has already hit the reefs of struggle and cracked. The Socialist Party bureaucrats saw in the movement growing up around Muste and his colleagues a chance to infiltrate and annex a socialist trade union wing in the official labor movement. So long as it was quiet little sect, which vented only the meekest criticism of the dominant A. F. of L. bureaucracy, it was not difficult for the S. P. priests to flirt with it and even become a little enthusiastic over it. The result was the foundation conference of the C. P. L. A. a number of weeks ago.

THE SENTIMENT IN THE RANKS

While the conference was a victory essentially for the more reactionary elements of the S. P., particularly in the condemnation of the Communists and Communist methods, the problem was neither solved nor ended. The C. P. L. A., unfortunately for many of its administrators, is an expression of the growing hostility in the ranks of the A. F. of L. to the class collaboration methods of Green, Woll and Co., and a simultaneous demand for more militant policies and action. This pressure from the ranks exists for Schlesinger and his type, for instance, only as something that must be suppressed or guided into harmless channels. Such people can—and will—no more carry on a struggle against Woll and Green than Hoover will against Morgan.

Muste and Tippet, who appear to give a clearer reflection of the sentiment in trade union ranks, are failing entirely to do this. They cannot understand that such hopelessly discredited elements as Schlesinger and the whole Jewish Daily *Forward* gang are completely incompatible with even the mildest of progressive movements. It was the Right wing needle trades leaders who allied themselves with Woll and Green to crush the Left wing movement. It was these same leaders who came down to the *New Leader* and raised the Old Nick over the mild criticisms of Woll it had been printing serially, with the result that the *New Leader* very courageously toned down its criticism until it was almost invisible to the naked eye. Muste's pitiful pleading with these fakers to give him support, his apologies to the cynical officials of the United Hebrew Trades, will never gain the movement an ounce of genuine militant adherence, or arouse confidence in him. Nor, for that matter, will his tenderness move the stone hearts of the Right wing gang. Vladeck has already quit the C. P. L. A. and Thomas' support to it becomes perceptibly leaner every day. And more of the same can be expected in the future as the movement takes on flesh and the genuine sentiments of the workers break through the timidity and vacillation of the leaders.

Muste and Tippet can no more organize a militant movement against Woll and Green that will not "antagonize" the latter than they can eat their cake and have it. The C. P. L. A. supporter, Alfred Hoffmann, may have walked out in disgust from the conference between the bosses and the union officials which arranged the shameful sell-out of the Elizabethton strikers, but he never dared call upon the workers to repudiate it or to place the blame squarely on the should-

ers of the U. T. W. and A. F. of L. traitors. Because, you see, Messrs. Woll, Green and Co. must not be offended too much, else they will denounce the progressives! The same holds for the messianic hopes that many of the leaders place in John Fitzpatrick to "come out into the open" to lead the progressive movement. Fitzpatrick, however, already gave us his measure as a "progressive" back in 1924, when he crawled cravenly before Gompers.

THE FEAR OF GREEN

This nightmare of fear for the thunderbolts of the Executive Council of Mr. Green possesses the trembling progressive leaders to the point of paralysis. A progressive movement that does not meet with the condemnation of such as Woll; that is, on the contrary, tolerated by the bureaucracy; that does not throw overboard the Hillmans and Schlesingers and proceed to clean their houses of reaction—is not a progressive movement at all. A progressive movement that does not include in its ranks the Communist workers who know how and why to fight for the class struggle in the trade unions; that has, on the contrary, an officially antagonistic standpoint towards them—is not a progressive movement at all. A progressive movement that plays fondly with the idea that some "respectable" and authoritative leader, some Fitzpatrick, will be able to lead it to victory over Wollism, instead of relying basically upon the fighting spirit of the workers in the ranks, instead of mobilizing them for direct struggle against class collaboration and its spokesman—is not a progressive movement at all.

If the C. P. L. A. does not remain a little sect of leader, but grows as a representative of the stirrings of revolt in the ranks of the unions, it will undoubtedly develop only by ridding itself of leaders who cannot or will not lead and of apologetic and timid policies that only make the A. F. of L. officials laugh in derision. The present attitude of sterile, aristocratic aloofness from the progressive movement which is held by the Communist Party only retards this development, so essential before any real forward step can be made. A change of course by the Party, and entry into this movement regardless of who says No, will spell progress for Communism and the labor movement as a whole in the United States.—M. S.

Thaelmann on the Toboggan

"Unprincipled factional struggles" to which the Sixth Congress and the 10th Plenum of the Comintern so solemnly put an official end, continue to break out in the various Parties of the International, and reach their most debased form in the German Party. Without any principles being involved—except that of clique control of the apparatus—a movement has been set on foot there to remove from control Ernest Thaelmann, the notorious Stalinist puppet who was foisted upon the German Party by his Russian faction masters as "the historical leader of Bolshevism in Germany." The German Opposition press now publishes authentic reports of the Tammany Hall game that is being played by Thaelmann, the hero of the Wittorf corruption affair. Heinz Neumann, who had virtually disappeared from the political scene at the 12th Congress of the C. P. of Germany has suddenly bobbed up again. At that Congress, Thaelmann had been unanimously elected chairman of the Party and its official leader. It was announced from the platform that Neumann was seriously ill and could not appear. Comrades noted however that Neumann was taking the cure for his "serious illness" in the coffee shops of Western Berlin. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, Neumann was walloped right and left by the "big guns". Suddenly, he has reappeared on the scene, simultaneously with Thaelmann's vanishment. At the 10th Plenum, Kuusinen lavished praise upon his head, and he was hailed as the theorist, or one of them, of the struggle against Bucharin. Back in Germany, he has joined hands with Remmele, and the two of them have now become the actual political directors of the Party, while an underground, behind-the-scenes campaign is being carried on against Thaelmann. The Berlin district organization is being purged of Thaelmannites, and at the recent convention of the Berlin Communist Youth, a whole series of arbitrary organizational changes were made under the instructions of Remmele, to provide for strengthening his hand against any strength Thaelmann might mobilize.

The real reasons for this repulsive clique struggle for apparatus power has not yet become manifest. We may be sure, though, that it will soon become clear that the factional needs of the Stalin machine in the Russian Party are the strings that make the German puppets dance. So far no principles are involved; they will be invented later, for the benefit of the Party masses who will be called upon, as usual, to endorse an accomplished fact or be kicked out of the Party. It is by these shameful methods that Stalin besmirches and destroys the name of Communism.

A LECTURE IN BOSTON

"Pogrom or Revolution in Palestine?" is the subject of a lecture to be given by Max Shachtman, on Friday, November 1, 1929, 7:30 P. M. at 62 Chambers Street, Boston, under the auspices of the local branch of the Communist League (Opposition). Admission is 25 cents and tickets can be obtained from members of the League, and at Shapiro's Bookstore, 7 Beach Street, Boston. All workers are invited to attend.

Unemployment in the Auto Industry

By Barney Mass

Growing unemployment is indubitable and is not even officially denied by the executives of the auto industry. Paper reports estimate that the Ford Motor Co. lopped off 20 per cent of its entire payroll. Smaller plants of the Briggs Body Co. are practically at a standstill. Chrysler, Hudson and the Chevrolet Motor Cos. in Detroit have laid off considerable numbers of men. The Buick and Chevrolet plants in Flint are doing likewise.

The Michigan State Free Employment office and the official automobile agency on Howard and Cass are daily besieged by thousands of worker who return home disappointed. Private employment offices are rushed daily by several thousand workers looking for jobs. Every factory has unusually large lines which begin forming at three and four in the morning. The number hired is practically nil, only a few are needed to fill the customary turnover which has also reached a very low ebb.

The contributing factors in the present economic depression can be enumerated as follows: the disparity between the shrinking domestic market and the productive capacity of the auto industry; the growing competition in the foreign fields which is characterized by the purchase of huge foreign factories by American auto interests, and the transfer of production of the tractor to Ireland by the Ford Motor Co.; the constantly increasing seasonal slump.

Ford no longer enjoys the dominant position in the manufacture of cheaply priced cars. He is now sharing with the General Motors the leading position in this category. On their heels are the Essex, Whippet, etc. The respective organizations have reached unparalleled production records. The resale value of used cars has dropped to a level that is jeopardizing the new car market. Inducements to artificially expand the market through liberal allowances for old cars, fancy color schemes, light six-cylinder motors which Ford is now in the process of manufacturing, are only yielding temporary relief.

The present large output of autos and the increased production that must accompany the growing constant capital must be accomplished with less men, cheaper wages, improved methods in technique, and greater intensification of exploitation of labor power, in order to meet the keen competition for the narrowing domestic market. The Chrysler-Dodge merger preceded by the Graham Paige-Dodge alliance was the beginning of a series of trustifications that will be accelerated as the competition sharpens. The closer the saturation point of the market is approached the greater will the pressure be on the auto workers.

The relation of the domestic market to the foreign market, considering the productive capacity of the industry in the two spheres, dictates greater investments in European industry and complete rationalization of the home industry. Mr. Sloan, president of the General Motors, who returned from Europe two years ago after an extended trip, marked the advent of his organization's bid for the European market. Sorenson, of the Ford Motor Co., has just returned from Europe, having mobilized the forces of that company for the ensuing war. The shifting of operations closer to the European market will add to the contradictions of the home industry.

As a result of these tendencies, wage cuts, unemployment, longer hours, and a general worsening of conditions can be anticipated as a permanent situation which will become more incisive.

The Auto Workers' Union came into being and reached its fullest strength during the time when bodies were chiefly made from wood. This organization tended toward the workers engaged in this phase of the industry. The men employed on the chassis, gears, axles, etc., were ignored. The latter formed a majority of the workers in the industry. The machinists' local of the A. F. of L. took an interest only in tool and die makers and others of a skilled or semi-skilled nature. The unskilled machine hands were left to the mercy of the auto magnates—a position in which they still find themselves.

Only recently has this stratum of workers received some attention. Metal has supplanted wood, making necessary that the auto workers' union recruit these workers. The union lagged behind mechanical developments. The members of the machinists' union were instructed to withdraw from this union and join the A.W.U. Instead of concentrating in the two unions and working for a coordination of effort between them the result has been a small independent Auto Workers' Union with a few hundred members, mostly body workers, openly and mechanically controlled by the Party and a machinists' A. F. of L. local which at one time had a strong Left wing group but is now fully controlled by the reactionary clique and makes no pretense at trying to organize the auto workers. A few hundred skilled and semi-skilled workers comprise this local.

To rectify the past mistakes a shop committee movement must be launched which will unify all sincere elements and bring pressure on the weaker ones. Before spontaneous walkouts are permitted to develop into impotent strikes due to lack of organization and isolation, a foundation for a shop committee movement should be laid. Of course, in some concrete situations a decisive struggle cannot and should not be avoided. Departmental walkouts in some of the body plants have been seized upon by the Auto Workers Union and developed as sensational strikes in the press. Without realizing the next step, organization of the workers in

such circumstances was not preserved but they were exposed to being fired as a body. The strikes in the Buick plant at Flint, in the Fisher Body plants and even the recent one at the Murray Body only left behind a mess of bungling. In the latter experience there was manifest greater militancy than has heretofore been the case. The Murray Body Co. was working on the rush Four Door Sedan Model "A" Ford job and was in a precarious position. The workers were afforded a splendid opportunity but it slipped by through lack of proper organization. A verbal agreement which was made between representatives of the Union and the Company was ignored later by the latter.

The *Auto Worker*, the official organ of the Union, devotes most of its space to the body workers. It does not appeal to all the workers in the industry. The present condition of the industry offers an exceptional opportunity for factory meetings, extensive distribution of leaflets urging the workers to resist wage cuts, and general activity of this kind which will lay the base for a shop committee movement. No concerted effort has been made to distribute the *Auto Worker* at the Ford plants. After a lapse of several months of valuable time, the Auto Workers Union may hysterically awaken to the demands of the workers in this industry. All this reveals lack of policy and leadership.

There is a small group really interested in following a correct line. Dominated by Party politics, they are unable to resist the opportunism of the Party. There is no other expression in the Union since that organization reflects mechanically the internal strife in the Party. The mood of the masses of workers is maturing for organization and unless there is a change of policy, the union will find itself at the tail end of the campaign to organize the unorganized auto workers.

A Bad Habit

Although the reports on the situation in North Carolina published in the *Daily Worker* appear to be generally correct and give a good picture of what is taking place, it seems as though the tempting itch to fabricate news and give certain Party functionaries a bit of badly-needed and undeserved publicity cannot be resisted by the news office reporters. For example, a while ago the *Daily Worker* carried a long report on the funeral of Ella May Wiggins and extracts from a speech "made" by J. Louis Engdahl at the grave-side. We admit that Engdahl is far more in place at a funeral than at the head of the I.L.D., but it merely happens that Engdahl was never at or near the interment. The next time he speaks at a grave he should at least take the precaution of being present. Another story printed in the *Daily Worker* told of a big defense meeting held in Charlotte, and gave the number of workers in attendance, the names of the speakers and parts of their remarks. Again, it happens that although such a meeting was scheduled, it could not be held for lack of a hall and was not held as we learn from the *Gastonia Labor Defender*. In themselves these incidents may not be so catastrophic, except to indicate the bad habit the *Daily Worker* has of manufacturing news instead of printing it. The reader in Seattle or New York or Moscow will be impressed by these stories. But what impression will the Charlotte or Gastonia worker get of the *Daily Worker* as a whole, when he reads these reports and of his own experience knows them to be so much fantasy?

We Made A Little Mistake

In a previous issue we wrote: "At the Minnesota State Federation of Labor Convention at Mankato, only R. Votaw, member of the Communist League, was a delegate with no other Left winger present." Our Minneapolis comrades write to correct us a little. There was another "Left winger" present, a member of the Communist Party named Watts representing a Minneapolis local union. The bureaucrats made a motion to refuse a seat at the convention to comrade Votaw, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist, on the grounds that he is a Communist. A militant co-delegate of Votaw's (representing the same local union of machinists) got up and spoke against the motion. Watts, with the New Line in one pocket and the Third Period in another, was so weighed down by discretion that he could not rise from his seat and failed to speak against the motion of the bureaucrats. We do not even know if Watts voted against the motion; if he did, it was done with splendid quietness. Nevertheless, we made a little mistake in the last issue. It seems that there was another "Left winger" present at Mankato...

A New Opposition Paper

We are glad to announce that the long hoped-for and long projected weekly organ of the French Opposition has finally made its appearance under the editorial direction of comrade Alfred Rosmer, one of the oldest militants in the French movement and a founder of the Communist International. The paper is called *La Verite* (Truth) and the first two issues we have thus far received are a splendid promise for the future. *La Verite* is not yet the organ of all the Opposition forces in France, which have been in a state of division and conflict for a number of years. But it is undoubtedly the first step of major importance towards the rallying of all the best elements in the French Communist movement for its regeneration, and we greet it as a mark of progress for the International Opposition. The forces of the Opposition in France, at present divided and unclarified, will receive a sharp impetus towards unification on a principle basis by this step. The issuance of a Weekly by our French comrades encourages us in our efforts to issue the *Militant* as a Weekly here. Those comrades interested in reading *La Verite* can get it at the subscription rate of 25 francs, sent "Cheque Postal: P. Frank - 136,855, Paris. The address of the paper is 45, Boulevard de la Villette, Paris, 10e.

The Clothing Strike in Minneapolis

By Carl Cowl

The needle trades strike in Minneapolis, embracing about 300 workers in the men's clothing industry is the largest manifestation of revolt against the miserable open shop conditions existing in this city for a number of years. The strike, called by Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, found fertile ground. Since the first shop struck 10 weeks ago, 4 other shops have followed suit. Four large shops must yet be called out. Workers in every industry of this city, long famed as a lush field for exploitation, are watching the outcome of the strike. The spreading and winning of the strike will give tremendous impetus and inspiration to the organization of the unorganized workers of Minneapolis.

A review of the handling of the strike to date will give us some conception of the forces in operation, and the direction in which the strike is going. If we are at all to understand the situation and give guidance to the workers, we must look at the facts as they are. The calling of the strike 10 weeks ago, in spite of the lack of preparation, resulted in the walkout of four of the smaller overcoat and leather shops. The workers, ready and willing to put up a militant fight for better conditions were held together by the promise of a general strike of the entire industry in Minneapolis. It seems that the words and deeds of the leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are at variance and sharply so. In the weeks that have elapsed since the calling of the strike, a marked reluctance to spread the strike on the part of the A. C. W. heads, Kaminsky, Genis, and Rosenbloom is apparent. They avoid the organization of the ladies' garment workers, furriers, etc., employed in the struck shops with the excuse that "We invite no jurisdictional disputes with the I. L. G. W. U., Furriers, Cloak-makers: we cannot go into their fields", and then they make no effort to get these other unions to act.

The agreement with the Excell shop signed three weeks ago above the heads of the workers, has created, along with the reactionary policy of the leadership, a very serious situation among the strikers. The agreement, undated, grants tentatively the more harmless demands of the union; the 44 hour week, pay for seven legal holidays, time and a half for overtime, recognition of the union. The vital question, that of piece-work rates, is left unsettled—the agreement specifies that the workers continue at the old rate till the other shops settle with the union. With the shortening of the work week, this results in a cut in wages.

What does this mean in actuality? What effect has this great "victory" on the morale of the strikers? The workers feel that the Excell Manufacturing Co. boss and not the workers is deriving the benefit of this agreement. They are putting out his work. He is obtaining new and large orders lost by the struck shops. Now he is using the agreement as a club over their heads when they demand a raise in the piece-rates. The strikers in the other shops feel that if the strike nets them a cut in wages, why fight for the union? On the other hand, in the eyes of Kaminsky, Genis, and Rosenbloom, the Excell Manufacturing Co., is a shining example to the bosses of Minneapolis that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union is no danger to business, but rather, a benefit. Furthermore the Amalgamated Bank, in taking over Excell's notes foreclosed through the influence of the Citizens' Alliance, at the same time compels the union to supply "passive" workers without "labor trouble", or else risk losing the notes.

The puny-minded Stalinites, "stalwart leaders of the workers in fierce class battles" have found in the new "revolutionary" trade union line of the party a new excuse for deserting the workers in this strike. Under the false and non-Leninist slogan that all existing unions cannot serve the interests of the working class, they are capitalizing this situation to demonstrate that the old unions are fake unions, that the strike is a fake strike, that the only recourse for the workers is to abandon the old union, and join the new "mass" needle trades union (locally consisting of five members). The strikers are a thousand times more loyal to the strike than the Stalinites believe, and are bitter against the Party's leaflets denouncing the strike. They do not seek to abandon, but to win the strike. And finally, it is significant to note, the *Daily Worker* "fearless organ of the revolutionary masses", has not been able to find space to mention this strike—even in ridicule. With its present policy the Party is a nonentity in this strike situation.

The crying need at present is the organization and development of a militant Left wing group to fight the fight of the workers, broadening and deepening the strike into every field in the industry. The initiative of the Communist League such a group has been formed. Pressure must be exerted in the strike for the demands of the workers for organization and better conditions. That pressure, to become effective, must be a result of the concerted and organized demand of the strikers themselves. The tasks which the Left wing must set itself and take responsibility for are heavy. Each militant step towards winning the strike will come from this group, determined to push forward the interests of the garment workers, in spite of a reactionary leadership and a cynically "disillusioned" Party, to victory. Our slogan is:

"FOR A HUNDRED PERCENT ORGANIZED NEEDLE TRADES INDUSTRY! MAKE THE STRIKE GENERAL! INITIATE A GENERAL ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN IN MINNEAPOLIS!"



LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS



THE T. U. U. L. CONFERENCE

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:—

I attended fully two days of the Cleveland conference of the T.U.U.L. Being a visitor I was obliged to sit in the balcony so I could not actually count the number of delegates on the first floor. However, I doubt if they had 700 delegates, as they claimed, during the convention as there were many Party officials, etc., sitting downstairs. However, granting they had 700 delegates present, I don't see why they stopped at 700 as they could just as easily have assembled 1,000 delegates—there must be 300 more members of the Party they could have mobilized in order to make it a nice-sounding, round number of 1000 delegates. That would have impressed the R.I.L.U. delegate so much more favorably.

For instance, in talking to R. G. she told me that she was one of a delegation of 25 who represented the N. Y. local of the T.U.E.L.: a simple duplication of delegates in order to bring the total attendance up to a big number. I suppose the different trade or industrial groups making up the N. Y. T.U.E.L. sent delegates representing their respective groups; then whom did the 25 delegates represent?

There were also delegates representing the workers at N. Y. camps such as Wocolona and Nitgedaiget. You can draw your own conclusions as to these delegates. As for the new unions, you know their strength as well as I and can judge their representation yourself. I was told the miners' union had a delegation of 235 and the Auto Workers' Union a delegation of 70. If I remember correctly, Stachel's article in the *Daily Worker* gave the miners 181 and the auto workers 57. Why this change in figures?

Oh, yes, there was a delegate from Los Angeles, representing cooks, a Party member. He told me that among the delegation from the Coast was one from Hollywood, representing those men and women who make up the mob scenes in the movies. What do you think of that?

Of course, there were non-Party delegates present. But I think the majority were Party members. In fact, it looked like a Party convention. As far as I could see all the District Organizers were present. All the dignitaries on the stage were Party members. I met and talked to Party members from all over the country. In short, the Party was well represented—too well to make one believe that there is really a basis at present for a new trade union center.

The main theme of all speeches was rationalization of industry and the resulting low wages, speed-up, etc., for the workers. This was especially true of the 15 minute reports made by representatives of the various industrial conferences held one evening. No serious (or otherwise) consideration of the A. F. of L. and work within it was made. The only time the A. F. of L. was mentioned was to call them labor fakers and denounce them generally. One delegate from the new miners' union took the floor and stated: "At our convention April 1st, there was present an A. F. of L. faker who tried to make trouble and disrupt the convention. But at this convention today there is no A. F. of L. faker present. That shows the A. F. of L. is no more. It does not exist." No one offered to enlighten him on this subject.

When Biedenka reported for the shoe workers, he said: "There is a union of the boot and shoe workers, but it is an A. F. of L. union. I will say no more about it than that it is an A. F. of L. union."

While I attended the conference, I heard no opposition from the floor except when a delegate protested against the way the various convention committees were organized by appointment instead of by general election. He said they had followed an A. F. of L. procedure. I guess he was not a Party delegate.

I took some notes on Dunne's speech. He spoke on the accomplishments of the T.U.E.L. in the various industries and said as follows: "In the needle trades there has been a slight series of errors. The principal error, I think, has been the failure to see that the needle trades industry is not an exception from the general scheme of concentration of capital and control by finance capital in this imperialist period. In other words, although the productive process in the needle trades industry is extremely decentralized, the decisive control of the industry is in the hands of the big banks. And so, in place of carrying out maneuvers designed to play one group of small capitalists against another, which might have been good in pre-war conditions we have to substitute the building of a powerful industrial union based on the shop delegate system. This has not been done." Of all the mistakes made in the needle trades by the Party and Left wing leaders this was the only one mentioned.

On the automobile industry, Dunne said: "In the auto industry so far, our basis is chiefly in the workers in

the lighter section of the industry—the body industry. This is not a correct basis for an automobile industrial union. Means must be found to establish a broad basis in the metal section of the industry, which is the decisive section.

"In the textile industry, although no one, I think, regrets that the N.T.W.U. was organized when it was, the instructions of the R.I.L.U. were not carried out. The instructions for a preliminary organization was to give the union a broad mass basis. The union was formed in too careless a manner. As a result of this it went into struggles greatly handicapped."

Fraternally,

REBECCA SACHAROW.

ACTIVITIES IN MINNEAPOLIS

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Comrades:

Bill Simons was here last night, gave a most miserable speech to about 60 people and the meeting was closed at 10:30 without discussion. Through questions we forced him to say that any organization of workers fighting imperialism would be allowed to join the A.A.A. I.L. We will affiliate to the League, although we know what will be tried in spite of Bill's statement.

We have a new strike in the linseed oil industry—a big industry here—which is taking up a lot of our time. Only a few workers involved at present, but we are trying to weld into shape, out of those striking, a group which can be used for organization work in other plants. Slow work, lots of patience required, raw workers, but real fellows who will, under proper guidance, help to move mountains.

The Party here, with Clem Forsen as political leader, could hardly be more pitiful. This fellow who has never understood where he was going, or in fact why he was in the Party. Forsen—who two years ago came to us and said that he was disillusioned and discouraged and offered as the solution that "he leave the Party". We spoke with him then as a young comrade, and finally prevailed upon him to stay in the Y.W.L. It is now plain to us that he never stopped upon the downward path. It should be recorded that he was the "Party representative" in the I.L.D. Gastonia conference, who led the attack upon us, made a 50 minute speech against us and then opposed the motion to grant me 5 minutes to state our position. He was chairman at last night's anti-imperialist meeting—positively shameful. Bill S. avoided us when the meeting was over; he only pulled down his hat over his eyes and rushed out past us into the night!

The *Militant* continues to be a joy and inspiration. Tremendous obstacle to the betrayers of Lenin's Party—their work is tough under the glare of our exposure.

VINCENT R. DUNNE.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

The drive for the WEEKLY MILITANT constitutes a major activity for the Communist League of America (Opposition). All the branches understand the importance of a Weekly publication and are active in raising money to start the paper, securing subscriptions and increasing the sales of THE MILITANT on the newsstands and bookstores. However, activities in other fields are occupying the efforts of the Communist League members. These are indicated below.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. Work among the striking linseed oil workers is being carried on by the Minneapolis comrades, as the latest development of their numerous activities in the class struggle. It is the banner city also now in securing subscriptions for *The Militant*. Its quota for the Weekly Militant has been filled.

BOSTON, MASS. The Boston comrades, enthused at the prospects of a Weekly Opposition paper, have pledged a regular amount each month to maintain *The Militant*. A mass meeting is scheduled for Friday November 1st. The Boston branch is working for the wide distribution of the Russian paper, *Bulletin of the Opposition*.

TORONTO, CANADA. Development of educational work, new members, drive to complete the Weekly Militant quota, arrangements to secure broad distribution of the *Bulletin of the Opposition* (Russian) throughout Canada, and discussion of trade union activities were among the points taken up at the recent meeting of the Toronto branch.

PITTSBURGH, PA. A branch of the Communist League is being formed in Pittsburgh, reports comrade James Sifakis.

CHICAGO, ILL. An entertainment for the benefit of *The Militant* will be held by the Chicago branch on October 26th. Chicago reports that its quota for the Weekly Militant will be completed within a few days.

New members have recently been recruited into the Chicago branch, and comrade Arne Swabeck writes that a broad program of activities is outlined for immediate work by the Branch.

NEW YORK, N. Y. Preparations for the mass meeting on October 22nd and the entertainment and dance on October 26th, activity to fill the Weekly Militant quota, street meetings each Saturday night, keep the New York branch busy. *Militant* sales on the newsstands increase appreciably with each new issue of the paper.

ST. LOUIS, MO. The St. Louis comrades recently held a successful meeting on behalf of the Gastonia frame-up victims.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. The Philly comrades, though few in number, are distributing *The Militant* well and

THE STRIKE IN K. C.

Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Comrades:

Before leaving St. Louis, the comrades there were arranging an affair for the *Militant*. They are sure on the job there and few as they are, they are many more times as active as the Party under Delbert Early's guidance. They are making valuable connections in the labor movement and with the correct policy they will soon be an important factor in St. Louis. I just received a letter stating that their Gastonia meeting was successful.

In K. C. we have an interesting situation. The local Loose Wiles Biscuit Co. tried to introduce a speed-up and there was a spontaneous walkout. The workers are mostly young girls and their spirit is splendid. After walking out they turned their minds to organizing and the local A. F. of L. boys organized them. The first day of the strike, Stephens, the Party D. O. issued a leaflet in the name of the T.U.U.L. It had the whole bible in it, nothing omitted—rationalization, speed-up, war danger, betrayers of labor, an attack on the A. F. of L. and telling them: "Our organization is representative of the masses of workers in the United States who are organizing into fighting unions and shop committees in every industry!" He appeared at the first organization meeting of the union where he changed his mind about whom he represented, and it became instead the I.L.D. I spoke after him and tried to point out the next step—organization—and I sounded a militant note by urging the spreading of the strike to the other plants of the National, etc., and other cities and completely shutting down the plant. The remarks were well received by the workers.

We are arranging an affair in K. C. for the *Militant* in two weeks.

Comradely,

CHARLES CURTIS.

THE PARTY IN PITTSBURGH

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Comrade Abern:

I received your letter with stamps, which I am going to keep to organize a branch. The Lovestone group here is not more than five, circulating their secret statements without results. The movement here in Pittsburgh was wrecked by Jakira. The Party membership is very small. Since the new organizer came here some street meetings were organized with a very poor attendance, which the *Daily Worker* reported as a success.

You will find enclosed a money order to pay for my bill and for a donation to the *Weekly Militant*.

Yours for the revolution,

JAMES SIFAKIS.

completing their Weekly Militant quota.

KANSAS CITY, Mo. An affair for the benefit of *The Militant* is being arranged here. Comrade "Shorty" Buehler, a live-wire comrade for many years is ill. We hope soon to note his recovery and to see him active again.

RICHMOND, CALIF. Aid for *The Militant* comes regularly from this point.

The month of September witnessed an increased activity among the branches of the Communist League. Subscription to *The Militant* also came in in substantial numbers from various parts of the country.

WORKING FOR GASTONIA

We print the following self-explanatory letter sent by our Chicago comrades to the local office of the International Labor Defense. The "lists" referred to are the I. L. D. signature lists being circulated among workers to protest against the Gastonia frame-up.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 8, 1929.

Secretary I. L. D.

Local Chicago

Dear Comrade:

Please find enclosed herewith 3 Gastonia Protest lists with check for \$5.85 for the signatures collected.

It is today deplorable to recollect that the conference organized by you for the defense of the Gastonia frame up victims, through mechanical measures applied by the Party, refused to seat the delegates from the Communist League (Opposition). Similar incidents have happened elsewhere and done injury to the movement. The answer of our comrades has been to continue their activities for the Gastonia case and for the I. L. D. in general, the only correct answer for Communists to give. You know that several of our members are doing good, active work in the I. L. D.

The only effective way to fight the Gastonia frame-up and establish the right to organize and strike is by the broadest possible united front actions. Not only a united front of all forces of the Communist and left wing movement, but also drawing in such workers for participation who may not be in sympathy with Communism but would be willing to help fight against the Gastonia frame-ups. Such should by all means be the policy of the I. L. D.

With best wishes for success in this fight, I remain,

Fraternally yours

Communist League of America (Opposition)

Chicago Branch,

Per, Arne Swabeck.

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