WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

HEMILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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LEON TROTSKY

September Plenum of C. I.

Some Fleeting Marginal Observations on the 12th Plenum

the Finnish revolution of 1918 shows he | C. I. ! is just the right man to be the strategist of the international proletariat.

2.—The principle theses declare again, "The relative stabilization of capitalism has come to an end." In 1932? But didn't the Sixth World Congress already speak of the end of the stabilization? The Tenth Plenum of the E. C. of the C. I. proclamed the 'third period,' that is to say, the period which leads directly to the proletarian insurrection. Now we are told-without any comment-that the stabilization of capitalism has again come to an end. That makes how many times?

3.--As to China, it says, "The soviet revolution has triumphed over a large part of its territory." A revolution can be bourgeois or proletarian. Which of the two are we to understand in the present instance? Why does the C. I. cover the class content of the revolution with its soviet form?

4.—"The new world imperialist war has become an immediate danger." The Sixth World Congress already had declared the danger of war to be immediate. British Working Masses Make New Turn Towards the Left For over four years the E. C. of the C. I. has been repeating the same formula In any case, it is closer to a reality now than in 1928. But exactly what does the word "immediate" mean in the language of the

5.—The Communist Parties are under the obligation | "of opposing real struggles against the war preparations to the abstract and hypocritically pacifist declarations of the social-democracy." That is right. But in that case how about the no less abstract and no less hypocritical declarations of the Congress of Amsterdam? It is remarkable: not a word on the Amsterdam masquerade in the resolution. Are they already ashamed of their own child?

6.—The theses give learned definitions of the different forms of fascism. They say. The social-fascists prefer the moderate and "legal" application of bourgeois violence...; they defend its democrapossible of its parliamentary forms." triangle whose four sides intersect at their demands for redress from the growright angles.

7.—As to France, they say that while the C. P. and the revolutionary trade unions have been weakened, to make up for it a strong revolutionary movement movement against war, when the proletarian vanguard has been weakened, necessarily becomes a petty-bourgeois mobenefit of reformist pacifism.

9.—The duty is placed before the Polish C. P. of destroying the influence of the Socialist Party on the masses," and of "overcoming its weaknesses in the big works, among the railroad men, in the army." No advice could be simpler: destroy the enemy and become all-powerful Kuusinen forgets only to show how to do it.

toward "the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry under the form of the London demonstrations will serve as Soviets." How this regime is different additional experiences gained which will from the dictatorship of the proletariat is not explained, as usual.

11.-For England, as incidentally for all the other countries, the advice is to realize the united front from below. In other words, the Plenum of the E. C. of the C. I. has again approved the renunciation of the policy of the united front.

12.—For Manchuria. it is proposed to is it not applicable to all China?

13.-The Indian C. P. is assigned the task of "liberating the masses from the influence of the National Congress." But at the same time, the E. C. of the C. I. fraternizes with Patel through the Amsterdam Congress and artificially increases the authority of the National Congress.

14.—In the organizational field, the Plenum advises "the resolute liquidation of the excessive centralism, the system of pure and simple command," etc. This advice does not sound bad from the mouth of the E. C. of the C. I., which for the fifth year now has failed to call an International Congress and commands by usurping the name of the International

15.—The E. C. of the C. I. insists (!)! that the "Communist Youth be transformed into a genuine mass, organization." Magnificent advice. But why do the youth organizations vegetate and decay in spite of all the advice of Kuusinen? the British Communist Party has not yet Just because they have not been freed attained to a leading role in the general

1.—The report on revolutionary strat- | the doctrine on the basis of "Stalin's egy was read by Kuusinen. His role in letter." Poor purity! Poor doctrine! Poor

> 17.-Soviets are mentioned in the theses in passing, in connection with China and Spain. As to the other countries, in spite of the revolutionary perspectives set up in the theses, soviets in general are not mentioned; in particular the slogan of soviets is not raised before the German proletariat. It is not difficult to find the explanation. In Germany, as in the majority of advanced countries, real soviets can only be created on the basis of a broad and audacious united front policy. Ultimatism and the slogan of soviets cannot be reconciled with each other. By renouncing the united front, the Stalinists renounce the soviets.

> > L. TROTSKY

Prinkipo, Oct. 13, 1932.

Emergency Number

We have found it impossible to issue the present number of the "Militant" as the special Double--Anniversary Issue, commemorating the 15th Anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution and the 4th Anniversary of the launching of our Militant. The extraordinary difficulties encountered by us in the process of moving and re-arranging our headquarters and printing equipment were to great to overcome in time; in addition, the extreme financial hardship of the National Office added to the burdens. However, in order not to break the continuity of the paper, we have made desperatae efforts to get out the present emergency number with only two pages.

This does not mean that the special issue we announced last week is not to appear. Even though slightly delayed, we intend to make the next number of the Militant sufficiently enlarged to carry all the material we announced previously, and more. Just as this goes to press we have received a number of highly timely articles from comrade Trotsky, including a lengthy study of the present position of Soviet economy in the period of the Second Five Year Plan, an article on the significance of the expulsion of Zinoviev, Kameney and others, as well as a shorter article on the 15th anniversary of the seizure of power in Russia by the workers and peasants. We shall make every efforts to include in the next issue the maximum possible amount of this material, together with various articles on the significance of four years of struggle of the Left Opposition and the Militant in this country. It goes without saying that the usual material on the development of the class struggle in this and other lands will also be included.

But to make sure of the issue, we require the speediest assistance from all our comrades and friends. This means financial aid, sent quickly, by air mail from every part of the country. We need it urgently! Do not delay!

Class Against Class in the Presidential Elections

Communist Vote Will Test the Policy of the Stalinists

On November 8, millions of American the Communist ticket. An outstanding workers will go to the polls to vote for example of this is the Illinois coal field the next president of the United States. Millions of these workers will cast their votes for the parties of reaction. Millions of other workers, the most exploited and subjected will not go to the polls. These millions who stay away from the polls are the disfranchized American Workers In normal periods, the bulk of the Negro masses of the south are denied this bourgeois "liberty" by legal and "illegal' means of brutal supression. Millions of foreign-born workers, who have not yet obtained their papers, because of the special discrimination are prevented from voting, yet these millions are numbered among those who do the most useful and basic work under the capitalist

Workers' Vote Cut Down

The laws dealing with election right are so complicated and exclusive, with poll tax in some states and other qualifications that the unskilled and semi-skilled millions of workers are automatically eliminated.

In addition to this. the crisis and mass unemployment have broken up the homes of additional millions, who will not be qualified to vote. The Communist Party will also be unable to get on the ballot in many important states, including some important industrial states. All this this summed up, plus the stealing and counting out of Communist votes will not enable us to have an accurate picture of the motion and direction of the working class unless these factors are taken into consideration.

On the other hand, a more accurate trend of the other classes can be registered by the November 8 election. The bankers are putting their eggs in more than one basket. Hoover and Roosevelt have the backing of the imperialist who want to play safe, knowing a shift to the | slogan. left will be registered in the coming election.

The big capitalists of America have their sectional interests within their class but this interest is in no way menaced by the election of Roosevelt instead of the middle class protest vote is sufficient to dislodge the latter.

Position of Middle Class

est confusion in the pre-election days. aign itself is void of this relationship. Most of the middle class have shifted their support! from Hoover to the "left." Many of the middle class are of the oninion that Roosevelt is to the Left of Hoover and will vote according. This also applies to a big layer of the working class. The Jingo, Hearst, with his middle class outfit, are in the Roosevelt band-

Other layers of the middle class are rallying behind the Socialist candidate, Norman Thomas, and a layer, led by the intellectuals has endorsed Foster and arrive. Instead we will be somewhere Ford, the Communist Candidates. The majority of the middle class will divide their vote between Roosevelt and Norman

The agrarian division of the middle class-the reformers par excellence of the is able to report that one was hit by a what use they are actually being put. past—is up in arms with pitchforks against Hoover and the monopolists, with their "holiday" movement and farmers' strike. The farmer has shifted to the back." Left in the present crisis and the Roosevelt forces are counting heavily on carrying out the filthy work of the coal- polling a goodly share of this discontent. Roosevelt has been busy with the stunt of straddling as many classes as possible, The state police and the state militia promising everything in words that will have a free hand against the striking be so many after-dinner jokes of the bankers the day after the election if they replace Hoover with Roosevelt as

their new office boy. As for the workers, everyone knows that layers of the class will vote for the parties of reform and reaction, and mainly the parties of reaction. The important question to consider is just to what degree these layers have shifted to the Left? What has caused them to stop on the way side? What has repelled them from a further Leftward shift and how can we dislodge this "resting place" between reaction and revolution-Reform.

The important question for us to solve is what the new relationship of classes as reflected by the vote? Just how far has the shift to the Left developed? How successful have the parties of reform and the mines, mills and factories, in the reaction been? How successfully have unions, the other workers organizations our policies accelerated this process? Or, and on the basis of the Leninist United how negatively have the wrong Stalinist policies and program repelled this Leftward shift? All these questions are fundamental ones. Not:a Stalinist "victory" of counting the "gains" mechanically compared to the last election without taking into consideration the shift in class forces and new relationship and ideological changes.

Socialist Advances

The inability of the Stalinists to understand the tactic of the united front not only in their present activity but in all fields of activity has cut from under us a broad base of workers who will vote

The New March on Washington

where the party was a power in the past.

Now the socialist party is running wild

through here. This is the reaction to

We at least know one thing, that the

election will not solve the accumulating

contradictions piling up upon the ruling

class and their henchmen. The workers

must be told to vote Communist. The

workers must be told that our class so-

lution is through the proletarian revolu-

the Stalinist policies.

The National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the United States has adopted a plan for a National Hunger March on Washington to reach the capital on December 4, when Congress convenes. The plan call for 3.000 elected delegates composed of workers from every state in the union. All working class organizations are invited to elect delegates.

On the march, demonstrations are planned for every city along the route. In Washington the Council will hold a Workers Congress, draw up demands which they will present to Congress. After this another Congress will be held to determinine the next step.

The plan is to "win winter relief from local and federal government."

The first march on Washington was organized around the campaign for the "Unemployed Insurance Bill." The second march on Washington does not feature Unemployment Insurance. Immediate Relief is to replace Unemployment Insurance as the main central

This is a change in emphasis which in itself can be explained by the pressing importance of the need of immediate relief. What cannot be justified is a shift in emphasis that means the exclusion of the other immediate demands. However, this is what has happened.

No Automatic Connection

The resolutions sent out by the Council to be endorsed, coordinate the demand for immediate relief with the demand for The middle class has shown the great- unemployment insurance, but the camp-

> The fight for immediate demands in the form of immediate relief does not lead automatically to the fight for social and unemployment insurance as some of the party functionaries think.

> If the class is put in motion on the basis of the struggle for immediate relief and when this fight is well under way we move to the next "stage" of directing the energy of the class toward social and unemployment insurance, and so on, until we move for power, we will never along the wayside in the swamp." This is the concept of the social reformer.

> If the Marxist, the Communist revolutionist does not connect these different immediate demands properly and at the same time connect them with the ultimate goal the other parties of reaction and reform will beat us to our "next step" and we will find ourselves "two steps

The party has its eye on Washington, even more than it has its activity rooted in the factories. First we had the march on Washington with the Unemployment Insurance Bill, then we had the party side-tracking everything for the Bonus Army in Washington, and now we return to Washington for "Winter Relief." If such activity is a subordinated auxiliary Communist work in the industrial field. the trade unions, etc., it could be understood, but when this parliamentary activity overshadows the more basic work, the outcome will be known in advance-no matter how excellent the demonstractions turn out to be.

their first steps in our direction. The party must connect the Hunger March on Washington for immediate relief with the campaign for social and unemployment insurance, for long term credits to the Soviet Union, for the Sixhour day and the five-day week with no reduction in pay. The activity as a whole must rest upon solid class foundations in

The Communist Duty

We must make the hunger march on Washington a success, not a demonstration without a base, which will mean a shell without content. We must fight for the Marxian program in the unemployment activity as presented in the unemployment resolution of the Communist League of America. We must see that the march becomes the culmina. tion, not of demonstrations from city to city (a necessary part) but of UNITED FRONT UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS activity of employed and unemployed workers, based upon a Marxian program the socialist ticket this year instead of for unemployment. -HUGO OEHLER

Hunger March in London OPEN FORUM

strike of 1926 workers of Great Britain | It appears that it is making some prohave again begun to stir. There is an gress toward Leninist tactics. This we upward surge of masses struggling in welcome. But such a gain, and it will earnest, their demands seriously meant, become an important gain for the party, and with all indications at hand that the in order to be fully and securely consocompelling force of economic necessity, lidated. first of all requires a correct which has increased in momentum estimation of the last great struggles of through the shifting rule of the Conserv- the strike of 1926, the policy of the Angloative government to "Labor" and back Russian committee and its contribution again to the Conservative, is now pro- to the defeat then and the subsequent pelling these masses definitely in a Leftward direction. Unquestionably the such an estimation, some important obwhole capitalist structure of the British kingdom will soon stand before its most | Party much more effectively asserting its serious tests, and just as surely it can be affirmed that the objective factors are beginning to mature rapidly for a serious Communist movement within the isles.

Dramatic have been the accounts of these recent struggles. Following snortly upon the determined fights of thousands of unemployed workers in tic facade and try to keep as much as Belfast, other thousands from Scotland, Wales and other points began converg-Now we understand. A square is a ing upon London to lend emphasis to ing unemployment misery and more particularly for the abolishment of the vicious capitalist measure of the "means test". The actual rulers of "the City" and their lackeys at Downing Street knew against war has been developed. But a only one method how to meet this "invasion", and that they employd. Scotland Yard was kept busy enrolling special police forces. Thousands were put "on vement and becomes transformed to the duty" and at every attempt of the unemployed masses to present their petition to parliament they were met with savage 8.—The German C. P. is advised to attacks and clubbings. Scores upon strengthen its struggle "against natio- scores were wounded and other scores nalism and chauvinism for proletarian rushed off to jail with the old and staid internationalism." That is right. But | machinery of justice geared up to a highhow about the program of "national li- er speed meeting out heavy prison sentences.

> But in these fierce battles, which se veral times turned historic Trafalgar Square into a bedlam, the unemployed workers gave a good account of them selves.

The baton wielders carried off some of the cars and received later a generous extra vacation for their "heroic" effort in rescuing the silkhatted theatre crowds. Thus while the workers are learning the 10.—For Spain, the advice is to strive art of effective resistance above all it can be said that the general lessons of count in future developments.

That these unemployment demonstrations are not mere isolated affairs becomes further clear from other developments. Last summer saw a powerful weavers' strike in Lancashire. Now 200,-000 spinners have struck in protest of an eight percent wage-cut. The British railroad workers have persistently refused to accept a wage cut. But there is create, on the basis of the guerrilla war, also another aspect of recent events "an elected popular government." A which deserves notice. In the municipal democratic slogan? Why is it given so elections just concluded the votes cast vaguely? Why only for Manchuria? Why | clearly show a new swing toward the Labor party. Bearing in mind the increasing reactionary turn of the ruling class since the conservatives replaced the labor party at the government helm, this voting, of course, gives further evidence to the present working class Leftward direction.

The objective results of such a swing of voting toward the labor party is however, an entirely different matter. The Communist party entered a number of candidates in these elections, none of whom received sufficient votes. In the sense of this comparison, which is fundamental for future development, it must be aknowledged that while the British workers are being pressed Leftward into opposition to the rule of the outright capitalist party, this direction still lacks so much in essential clarity that it can today be utilized to advantage by the traitors of 1926 and of the period of the Labor government. But this also compels us to aknowledge the fact that working class movement.

There is suffivient evidence to judge 16.—In conclusion, the theses advise from a distance that the Communist party one and all to struggle for the purity of was a very active and a leading force

For the first time since the general in these unemployment demonstrations. decline of the Communist Party. Given stacles in the road of the Communist leadership in the coming events of the class struggle in England, destined to be of gigantic propositions, will have been

Fight in Illinois Sharpens

Armed Forces of Operators Mobilzed Against the Miners Hoover, in case the working class and

field is as sharp as the crack of the rifles some of them former union officials, in the hands of the imported gunmen, the shady characters, sluggers. They know state militia or the state police which in the underworld, the gangsters that work the last few weeks sent their deadly for Al Capone, etc. The state police was miners and their women folks.

Who are the heroes hailed by the capitalist press?

Are they the men and women of the mining camps, led by the Progressive Miners Union, who face with their bare hands the forces of Peabody state government armed with every device of modern warfare, who gave their lives that Lewis is be smashed and that the labor movement be stronger?

No, the heroes of the capitalist press are the well-armed gunmen hired by the coal-operators, the state militia and the state police who club and murder at the orders of the capitalists of Illinois.

Brave men these. The capitalist press stone and one had a finger slashed.

Out of Society's Gutter But ask the striking miners on the picket lines and they will tell you that

these "heroes" have been recruited from the underworld, that part of the population composed of gangsters thieves, murd. erers, etc.. who are now very active in trying to crush the Progressive Miners Union and wipe out by open struggle all unionism among the miners of Illinois. and the state police and the state militia fits into this like a head into a body.

The yellow uniformed state police are The class struggle in the Illinois coal big, portly fellows with muggy faces, created during the post-war open-shop drive to fight the unions and now that the miners of Illinois are putting up a militant fight for their new union. the state police are ably fitted for the Lewis-Peabody dirty work. They are the ones that led the miners during the West Frankfort march into the nest of Lewis' gangsters. There the marching miners were pounced upon by the Lewis' gangsters, black-jacked right and left, kicket and stabbed, while the yellow uniformed state police stood by, ready to use their clubs and guns in case the striking miners should get the upper hand

THE RESULTS OF THE

ELECTION

Speaker:

HUGO OEHLER

126 East 16 Street.

near Irving Place

ADMISSION: 15c

Auspices:

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America

(Opposition)

Friday, November 11, 1932

And this gang is supported by the state militia, made up largely of young unemployed workers who do not realize to Many of them had not yet time to learn that they really belong on the side of the miners, and so, under the mask of protecting "law and order" and the "sacredness of private property" they are

pickets. They see that the pickets carry no weapons, while Lewis' strikebreakers

(Continued on page 2)

N. Y. Greek Workers Organize New Club

In the Militant of October 22 we wrote bureaucrats categorigally refuse to acabout the appeal of thirty Greek work- cept us into the ranks of the Spartacus high handed and shameful method of that they are determined to continue the splitting tactics that were followed in the past. Last Wednesday, October 26 the Temporary Unitary Committee of the appeal to a meeting where a comrade for the Committee the results of its efforts for unity. A motion was proposed that reads as follows: Since the Stalinist

International Workers School Entertainment

Saturday, Nov. 19 - 8 p. m. 126 East 16th Street

Watch for further announcements

ers in New York to the Spartacus Club Club we, as revolutionary workers, can't for reinstatement. Also that comrade any longer stand with our hands folded Brass was not allowed to protest the but wish ardently to participate in the actual work of the class struggle. To suppressing the correspondence of the achieve this we propose the foundation Club. The Executive Committee ignored of an Educational Organization which the appeal and by this action has shown should be called "Protomagia". The motion was unanimously carried. The meeting lasted for five hours and drafted its constitution. Every worker participated in the discussion and very prud-Club called the workers that signed the ently on account of their bitter experience with Stalinism they were anxious to see that every point to safeguard against bureaucratic abuses, should be passed. A motion was carried to issue another appeal to the Spartacus members and the Greek workers for the unification of our revolutionary forces. A chicken dinner will be served for

only 40 cents. The Committee is promising a variety of entertainment. The date is fixed for November 12. next Saturday evening, and the place will be the Headquarters of the International Workers School, 126 E. 16th Street. The proceeds will go to the support of the Club

and our Greek organ Communistes.

from Militants

The Militant Club in Chicago

CHICAGO.—

organization was founded under the the principles of the class struggle. name "Friends of the Militant Club".

to be an adequate support to such an important paper.

While the official press of the C. P. is always in dire need of financial assistance, and we have always gladly and generously contributed to its existence, still it is able to continue to function because of the help rendered to it by its numerous subsidiary organizations. The always in very precarious financial straits after principle which will be a feature but without any aid whatsoever except the valiant struggle and sacrifices of its collaborators and by the aid of its restricted number of readers. In fact the we are in continuous fear that the next the hour decided to rid the most the hour decided to rid the most the next the n issues will have to be suspended or the paper discontinued altogether.

a group of sympathizers and friends have been inspired with an idea to found an independent organization which would take into its fold men and women radically inclined and get them acquainted gradually with the principle issues involved, thus creating a new medium of support for the Militant. The purpose of this organization is therefore twofold

members and visitors by arranging bimonthly lectures on various topics such as of a political, economic, social, liter- next step necessary. ary, scientific and philosophic nature Also to stimulate collateral reading. The lectures and discussions to be conducted on a free democratic basis, allowing everybody to participate and express his or her idea whatever it may be;

(2) to render financial and moral support to the Militant in following manner: (a) by obtaining subscriptions for the

(b) by selling the paper at all meetings of the organization and at all other

(c) by promoting the sale of various radical and other kind of literature;

(d) by arranging public affairs such as lectures, concerts and other forms of socials and entertainments.

Any person regardless of sex, color, nationality or race is admissible as a member into the organization, provided he or she is in accord with the following prerequisites set forth in the pream-

recognize the class struggle of the work-i and address.

of the working class.

to the Militant.

Would not this attempt to come to aid the Militant be an inspiration to the many readers and sympathizers in other communities throughout the country to imitate us and start building up similar Clubs under the same name and naturally with the same purpose so that this beginning may develop into a widely spread national organization? Let us try.

The Murder of Andrew Ganis

SPRINGFIELD.—

Andrew Ganis is the latest victim of avoid fines-and "no matter how slight condemn the recommendation of the secthe Illinois coal mine class war. Shot the workers' injuries may be, send them tion committee. to death by a National Guardsman after to the clinic for treatment." being pointed out by a strikebreaker, as a militant member of the Progressive Miners of America.

A double tragedy in the same family was but slightly averted. Mrs. Ganis the doctors no paunches from early retire- thus make possible a successful proletarwas on the picket line at Taylorville and ment and easy living. Coupled with this, ian revolution. narrowly escaped death with a score of new doctors who in private practice found; the other picketers, as the truck in which their patience exhausted for lack of pa- without approaching the organization the National Guard were conveying them to the county line capsized, injuring a number of them.

Gerry Allard, editor of the Progressive ates with an ever ready eye for imme-Miner at Pawnee, in Sangamon County, as the authorities would not allow services to be held in Christian County where the murdered miner worked and bution of kits, supplies, cards and posters Snowdens (Wels, Scheidemann, etc.—L lived. Comrade Allard told the assembled 15,000 miners that Andrew Ganis win the race for bread and butter. Confell a victim of the class war; that the sequently doctors instructed their men, miners must stand united and retain the same militancy they have held since the fight began, and that shortly we will avenge our martyred dead.

5,000 automobiles with four people in the tearing up of cards and posters adevery car. The body was carried to vertising other doctors. Medical com-Taylorville and laid to rest with George petitors responded to the same degree. Franklin Bilyue, martyr of the Virden Later on instructions and ethics were eliriots of 1898.

exterminate the militants in the P. M. point, where doctors organize crews to of A. Gunmen ambushed and wounded enter factories and pull their competitors' Pat Ansbury as he was returning from kits off the walls. Several men of the the funeral of Andrew Ganis, punctur-crew engage the boss in conversation in ing the front tires and shattering the such a way that his back is to the kit, windshield with gun fire. Ansbury man- while the other half go about their busiaged to crawl from the car and escape ness of either demolishing or stealing through fields with bullet wounds in the it. All stolen kits and first aid supplies

The coal barons, heartened by the un- doctor's name and address. necessary retreat of the new miners' un-

gan the Militant, are attracting to it more children are to be found on the picket such "antiseptics". and more sympathizers and friends but line every morning at 5 o'clock, hunveyed by military guard to the County The internecine struggle among doctors

> ing marvelous courage and militancy. coal miners' union their women folk are organized in auxiliaries of the P. M. of established community kitchens and are learning how to run them on the cooper-

They face tear gas, bayonets and bullets with an unconquerable spirit, as too tions they also had to endure under the they have decided to rid themselves of.

It would be incorrect to say that the P. M. of A. sold out, as the official party Considering this sad state of affairs, has said. They have made an unnecessary retreat, due to pressure from conservative elements in the union and principally due to the lack of an organized Left wing. The P M of A is still a healthy organization with rank and file control of leadership—and in all pro bability will carry out the traditions which gave it birth.

A continuation of mass picketing, bet-(1) Cultural or educational for its ter organized than formerly, and demonstrations at the capital in Springfield against the use of the militia, is the

-CARMODY.

Compensation Racket in New York

Under the State Compensation Law, every factory worker is entitled to free medical treatment if injured during the course of work. For this purpose "Workmen's Compensation Clinics" are located In every industrial district of New York. It ostensibly seems that this law is of the greatest benefit to the workers. But a careful scrutiny of the other end gives us an altogether different view of the affair.

Since clinics ar supervised by private doctors, and there are many, it is necessary to establish a clientele. Men are employed to canvass every factory within a considerable radius, and to install first aid kits, authorization slips and posters, (1) he or she must believe in and conspicuously bearing the doctor's name

A number of years back, the doctors (2) he or she must be in sympathy deemed it unnecessary to dispense with with the U. S. S. R., the first fatherland first aid paraphernalia, on the assumption that injured workers would apply In its brief existence we were able so far to enroll about 25 members, but the increasing number of visitors at each meeting gives great hopes that more and more supportable as a constant of the crisis, however, convinced the doctors that it was either a case of address and the convergence of the more sympathizers will join us and thus apting themselves to new conditions or succeed to build up a substantial aid destruction was inevitable. It no longer I am of the opinion that it is neces- not because we believe in them, but bewas a question of workers treating them- sary to speak out against the tacit saselves, but to secure their trade—at any botage of the Leninist policy of the uni-

> cost. Now all factories are forced to main- holds the greatest danger for the intertain first-aid kits stocked to comply with national revolutionary movement, partithe requirements of the Labor Depart-cularly in Germany. For maintaining shown by the employers in purchasing tee of Section 3 has at its latest meetkits and required supplies. No blow af- ing recommended my expulsion from the flects them so much as a blow at their Communist party. pocket-book. It then was a matter of Is this to be the answer to Bolshevist buying a kit or paying a fine. Money | critcism? Will this be our party's conbeing involved in either case, the bosses tribution to our brother German party? found themselves between the devil and I take this occasion to explain my posithe deep sea. At this point the doctors tion on —(1)THE GERMAN SITUATION a completely supplied kit were not to TROTSKYITES." I appeal to all workuse the contents but merely keep them to er-Communists and to the D. E. C. to

Unfortunately for the doctors, the ers who still support Social-Democracy? crisis equally affected them as in other Leninist united front. We must unite fields. Closed factories and few workers with all Socialist workers and organizain the ones that remained open, promised tions in the fight against Fascism and tients, turned to this seemingly quick which the workers still support means no and easy method of reaping a harvest. united front but merely a routine recruit-Another factor, tending to aggravate ing campaign for the party. We must ger. The life of the Communist Inter-The funeral oration was delivered by this competitive malady, is medical gradu- definitely speak out to the social-dem-

diate and lucrative incomes. Unduly large expenditures, in the form of paying men to visit factories, distriaccorded them no promise in prospect to R.). He said if the Hendersons do not upon visiting factories, that an appreciable decrease in expenses could be obtain- social deformists. If they do accept ed by "eliminating" the other doctors. This "elimination" measure began quite In the funeral procession there were innocently. It at first reduced itself to minated in the process of "elimination". Peabody and Lewis are attempting to At present competition has reached the

> are always relabelled with the victorious Inasmuch as the doctors find it impos

sible to rely wholly upon such methods, It is a matter of common knowledge for a start, contracts are made with first that treatment of cuts and bruises is aid supply firms of doubtful reputation. prolonged to an almost unbelievable time. The latter concoct first aid supplies of | Since the doctors are paid a certain sum ion at its first national convention, in gredients. An excellent illustration has to prolong the treatment. If, for examaccepting the identical scale of Walker- been furnished in the recent past. One ple, a worker cuts his finger, the doctors,

is waged with the factory as the arena. The women in this strike are display- A constant source of trouble and worry to the bosses, and loss to the doctors, For the first time in the history of the impels the latter to resort to more strategic tactics.

Arrangements are made between docrendered the workers. For such subcompany, requesting them to "consider" well do they know the misery and priva- the doctors mentioned. Angling for business from all sides, especially restaurants, these restaurants place in obscurity the tion. Angean stables.

the most inferior and often poisonous in- for every treatment, it is to their profit Lewis, are using every method to get the Sunshine, who sold mercurochrome and very often ordinary laymen with white

Aside from the foregoing, the doctors also maintain their private practice. To A. In many strike centers they have tors and insurance companies, "Supervis- supplement their already large earnings, sum of money due the doctor for services work "on the side." Gangsters who have the poor taste to get in the way of police stantial considerations, the supervisor bullets patronize these doctors who possends letters to employers insured by his sess a faculty to keep silent. Of course

Such are the reforms granted the worker by a benevolent bourgeoisie. Racof restaurants are given food-handlers' keteers of the lowest type are only possicards denied by the Board of Health, for ble under capitalism: to seize every resending "business" to certain doctors. At form fought for by the workers and prey times the sanitary conditions in some of upon them in a varied form of exploita-

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Max Shachtman

Militant

ted front. The rejection of this taction

How can we win the millions of work-

To speak of united front from below

said that we have nothing to fear in a

accept the united front on these condi-

tions we have at once gained the sym-

pathy of the masses and discredited the

under these conditions (the right, to crit-

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Stalinists Expel Philly NOT subservient amalgamation, etc.—L. icize, separate entity of organization, R.) then we are the gainers.

want to fight Hitler, let us unite in a common struggle." To say, as does the party, that we do not unite with Socialist leaders, because they are "Social-Fascists", does not convince the Socialist workers. We must say in the words of Lenin-To unite with the Kerenskys,

Kerenskys (Russian Welses, Noskes, etc.) 2. On Fraternization

To top all this the party prohibits comrades from discussing and studying ment. In this case no alacrity was this point of view the executive committhis situation. I was recommended for expulsion for fraternizing with members of the Trotsky group (Left Opposition) and for discussing problems vital to the Communist movement.

For us Communists, international questions are as important as national We must realize that Germany, the key to the international situation at the graciously stepped in. The conditions for and (2) MY "FRATERNIZATION WITH present moment, is the most important order on the international agenda. Since very little on this question is found in the party press I read the views of Leon Trotsky. After analyzing them and discussing them I came to the conclusion that Trotsky is correct on the question of the united front as expressed in his books, "Germany-the Key to the International Situation" and "What Next-Vital Questions for the German Proletariat."

I place myself in complete solidarity in this respect with com'rade Pappas' statement on the German question.

The life of the Soviet Union is in dannational is threatened with destruction. ocracy and its leadership for a united Why does the Communist International DEMAND AN OPEN DISCUSSION ON united front with the Hendersons and THE GERMAN SITUATION.

DEMAND THE CALLING OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF

THE C. I. Long live our international party!

Comradely, (Signed) Lou Roberts (Bob).

We must say to these leaders, "If you

guns, knives and black-jacks. thoroughly and even dispensing with Lewis wins. But that is a long, long way formalities. In the Taylorville section to go. cause millions of workers still follow the during the last few weeks several scores of pickets and their wives have been rested under all kinds of excuses and

ing to take care of the workers in other cities this winter if they should decide to fight instead of starve, is made clear by the announcement of the commander in charge of the state militia in the Tayl. orville strike area when he said that 'The change every week in companies is being made in order that the various units of the militia may gain experience in active duty."

Not only are the armed forces of the state government openly supporting Lewis, but the courts as well. Three militant miners, Joseph Colbert, Dominic Lauranti and Andrew Ganis have been cold-bloodedly murdered by a rain of bullets from the guns of the Lewis' gangsters and none of the gangsters that did the killings has been brought before the 'bar of justice."

Just the other day, Circuit Judge Roy Dove of Shelbyville, sitting in the circuit court, upheld the right of the state front action against Fascism. Lenin remain silent on the German question? militia to make arrests without warrants and hold the men and women so arrested

This "representative of justice" has shown by his own deed that there is no neutrality, no justice between capital and labor and places the judiciary of his state four square on the side of the coaloperators and Lewis.

Lewis, of course, is able to use the

Archives of the Opposition

etter to

Taylorville mines operating under the iodine to these clinics was arrested for aprons, make it their business to stuff tacking Lenin and seized at the time by avow it frankly—I do not at all consider Lewis machine. They fear and know selling poisoned antiseptics. Government as much cotton in the wound as possi- the police department, were discovered in that in my disagreements with the Bol-In one of the recent issues of the Mili- that the P. M. of A. is going to be a chemists reported that guinea pigs died ble, so that the fibres constantly irritate 1921. The old emigrants were well ac- sheviks I was wrong on every point. I In one of the recent issues of the minimum rank and file union—a union based on instantly upon injection. The purpose of the cut and healing takes three to five quainted with the history of the faction—was wrong—and fundamentally—in my tant a short notice appeared that a new rank and file union—a union based on instantly upon injection. The purpose of the cut and healing takes three to five quainted with the history of the faction—was wrong—and fundamentally—in my these "antiseptics" is twofold. They are times longer. On top of this, plenty of al fights and the little episodes that grew appraisal of the Menshevik faction, The P. M. of A. has met this new cheaper than the standard product, and adhesive plaster is used to prevent the out of them. To them it was all a mat- overestimating its revolutionary possiattempt of the bosses to open the mines chances are greatly in favor of having air from drying or clotting the blood, ter of the far distant past. Lenin must bilities and hoping that we would succeed The unique position of the left of the lar distant past. Lemin must brittee and noting that we would succeed thus preventing the early formation of a have merely smiled when Stalin (in all in isolating and nullifying its Right position in the revolutionary movement in Christian County with mass picketing workers who treat themselves come for thus preventing the early formation of a have merely smiled when Stalin (in all in isolating and nullifying its Right position in the revolutionary movement on an unheard-of scale, in Illinois. Thou-treatment, whether they like it or not, scab and a quick cure. The longer the probability) slipped him the letter. But wing. This fundamental error, however, and its righteous cause so eloquently es_ on an unheard-of scale, in Illinois. Thou-treatment, whether they like it or not, scab and a quick cure. The longer the probability) slipped him the letter. But wing. and its righteous cause so eloquently esprobability) supped him the letter. But wing. This fundamental error, nowever,
sands of miners with their wives and since infection usually follows the use of treatment, the more money in the doctor's this does not cast the slightest shadow, nor flowed from the fact that I approached to the columns of its weekly orprobability) supped him the letter. But wing. This fundamental error, nowever,
this does not cast the slightest shadow, nor flowed from the fact that I approached pockets and the more inconvenience for could it, upon the relations between Lenin both factions—the Bolshevik and the Another aspect of this racket is high- the workers. Sometimes the doctor is ad- and Trotsky. Between the episodic letter Menshevik—from the point of view of the and more sympathizers and friends but dreds are arrested every day and con- ly illuminating and equally interesting. monished for "jacking" up the bills. In written at a moment of acute factional ideas of the permanent revolution and this case the worker who is often entitled struggle and the year 1921, when the the dictatorship of the proletariat whereto compensation money is denied it letter, forgotten by the author, rose to as the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in through the efforts of the doctor to save the surface, stood the year 1917, with the that period supported the standpoint of the insurance company "unnecessary ex- October revolution, the following three the bourgeois revolution and the demors of Compensation Claims", to lop off a these "healers" of mankind do a little addressed to Trotsky a request for the in letters and speeches) that the very there are temporary slump periods. In instigator. In view of the fact that later in 1905. (The preface of comrade Lenin such periods abortions are very profitable. on Stalin made very extensive use of to Kautsky's articles on the motive forces date. as if it had been written in 1923, line of the paper, Natchalo). there is sufficient ground to assume that | "I think that my evaluation of the mobehind Olminsky's request stood Stalin: tive forces of the revolution was indubithe always occupied himself with these ably correct, but the conclusions which I sky's reply to Olminsky:

under the impression of the moment and tions, and will only be confused. From create altogether unnecessary political struggle, momentary excitement, etc. the subject because of the accidental dis- any interest in it. covery of the letters in the archives. To this should be added that a retrospective! December 6, 1921

Two letters of Trotsky, one to Cheidze review of the factional fight might give written in April 1913, very sharply at- rise to polemics even today, because—I years of civil war against a world of ocratic republic. I considered that the enemies, and the first year of common differences between both factions were economic construction. Olminsky, who not very deep in principle and I hoped worked in the Institute of Party History, (this hope I expressed more than once publication of his letter to Cheidze. Be- course of the revolution and the conquest hind this request must have been con- of power by the working class would cealed an attempt at intrigue in which bring together the contending factions, Olminsky was more the tool than the which did occur up to a certain point Trotsky's letter, circulating it without a of the Russian revolution and the whole

matters with a particular relish. We con- drew from it with regard to the two acsider it worth while to reprint here Trot- tions were undoubtedly wrong. Bolshevism alone assembled in its ranks, thanks to its irreconcilable line, the really rev-"Pardon my delay in replying. This olutionary elements of the old intelliweek was a very busy one for me. You gentsia as well as the advanced stratum ask about the publication of my letter of the working class. Only thanks to to Cheidze. I do not think that it would the fact that Bolshevism succeeded in be in place. The time for history has not creating this compact revolutionary oryet arrived. The letters were written ganization, was it possible to make such a speedy turn from the revolutionary deits needs, and the tone of the letters cor- mocratic to the revolutionary socialist responded to them. The present-day read- position. Even now I could without difer will not understand this tone, will not ficulty divide my polemical articles establish the necessary historical correc- against the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks into two categories: one, those devoted abroad we are to receive the archives of to an analysis of the internal forces of the party and the foreign Marxian pub- the revolution, its perspectives (the Polish lications. In them is a large number of theoretical organ of Rosa Luxemburg, the letters of all those who participated in Neue Zeit), and the other, those devoted the 'scrap'. Are you planning to publish to an appraisal of the factions of the them at the present time? This would Russian Social Democrats, their struggles, etc. The articles of the first catecomplications for there are hardly two gory I could present even now without old emigrants in the party who did not corrections, because they fully and ensharply abuse each other in correspond- tirely coincide with the position of our ence under the influence of the ideological party beginning with 1917. The articles of the second category are patently err-Write explanations for my letters? But oneous and it would not be worth while this would mean to relate wherein I dif- republishing them. The two letters sent fered at that time with the Bolsheviks. me belong to the articles of the second In the introduction to my brochure, 'Re- category; their publication is not opporsults and Perspectives', I speak briefly tune. Let it be done by somebody about about it. I see no need of returning to ten years from now, if there should be

"With Communist greetings,

ight in Illinois Sharpens

(Continued from page 1)

wounded and one murdered, hundreds artear-bomb gassed. Such is "democracy". such is "law and order" under the capitalist system.

Bosses Preparing for Winter

That the bosses of Illinois are prepar-

any length of time they may see fit.

courts, the state militia, the state police and imported gunmen are free to carry and the underworld not to maintain unionism but to destroy it, just as he did The law permits picketing, permits in Penn., Ky., West Va., Ohio, and other organizing, but law or no law the coal- places. It is the Peabodys and the other operators find a way to do it brutally and | coal-operators who will be masters if

State police, gangsters, courts and the state militia will not be able to impose again the Lewis leadership on the Illinois miners, and before this fight is finished restrictions imposed, others clubbed and there will not only be a complete defeat for Lewis, but the miners will be much nearer to a powerful Communist movement that will make it possible to uproot all these practises with which the labor fakers, in cooperation with gunmen, attempt to crush labor's organizations.

JOSEPH ANGELO

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USE THE CLUB PLAN. GET SUBS FOR THE MINERS.

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