

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## Sunday's Elections in Germany The Allignment of Class Forces in the Campaign Struggle

On Sunday, March 13 elections of enormous historical consequences are taking place in Germany. Behind these elections stands the mobilization of forces to decide the issue of who shall prevail, Communism or Fascism. Its historical consequence lies not so much in the direct outcome as to which candidate will win; but in the expression these elections give to the line-up and the strength of the class forces involved.

In its purely parliamentary aspect the present line-up represents itself as follows: To the Right the extreme reaction of Fascists (Nazis) nationalists and steel helmets, in the Center the bloc around the candidacy of Hindenburg of the various capitalist center parties and social democracy, to the Left the Communists.

Thus while the blurring of the class lines is still expressed in the fact of workers under social democratic influence being swung into the camp supporting Hindenburg together with outright capitalist reactionaries and the forces on either side of this grouping remain distinct. The strength of these two forces will be decisive for the immediate future. Fateful indeed will this event be for the German working class.

### THE WORKING CLASS DIVIDED IN TWO MAIN GROUPS

As already indicated in this fateful situation the working class is still in its main aspect divided, by organization and by ideology. Today they appear in two main groups under the, for the actual situation, rather sumptuous names the "iron front" and the "red united front". In the former is included the trade unions, the Social Democratic party, the republican Reichsbanner and the labor sports organizations. Their leaders are the social chauvinists of S. P. G. It has of course nothing in common with a workers' iron front, but represents an attempt of the treacherous social democratic bureaucrats to swing these workers into a servile support of the reactionary capitalist government of Hindenburg and Brüning—for the maintenance of the capitalist system. Yet these organizations who make up the "iron front" embrace the bulk of the German working class. The "red united front" is under the leadership of the official Communist party, but unfortunately it is not a united front. How could it be with all the other workers organizations mentioned not included. The "iron front" embraces the workers who are still under the influence of social democratic ideology. The "red united front" embraces the workers won for the Communist ideology. A serious division in face of a dangerously vicious common enemy bent upon the destruction of all vestiges of working class organization.

The Social Democratic party bureaucracy is about to complete its course which passed through deception and treason to complete depravity. No longer even useful to rule on behalf of German capitalism they face the final test of ability to sell the workers whom they influence for Judas' silver. Their leadership over so many years has brought the ultimate result of enormous retreats for the workers of Germany. Today wages are cut to the very bone. It is estimated that 7 to 8 million workers are in the ranks of the permanently unemployed army, while starvation and misery stalks the land. The social democratic bureaucrats have given up their last shred of pretense of fighting for a reform program. Their whole course of object servility is now reaching its culmination in the fact that they have prepared all the prerequisites for a victory of Fascism. But that is also their most severe test. The workers are rapidly extricating themselves from their ideology and domination. The Social Democratic youth has long shown dissatisfaction with their toleration policy.

### GROWTH OF FASCIST REACTION A THREAT TO WHOLE WORKING CLASS

In elections held during the last couple of years throughout Germany the Fascist gains have mounted at a dizzying

speed. That gives expression to their menacing strength. Moreover, in a rapidly sharpening revolutionary situation, its role as the final means of maintaining capitalist rule becomes so much more pronounced. And so it is now. The Nazis can count on growing numbers of direct supporters amongst the great monopoly institutions.

Its true character as the darkest force of reaction, combining its aims of brutal working class suppression with a philosophy of adopting pre-capitalist forms of economy, was expressed, perhaps unwittingly, by a reporter of the *New York Times* of March 1. In describing the economic program of the parties to the Right he said: "All three groups (Nazis, Nationalists and Steel Helmets) fervently believe Germany should adopt a policy that they call 'autarkie', or economic independence. They admit this would be difficult, but think Germany in the long run could succeed in cutting herself off from Western Europe and feeding herself from her own land with the help of the Eastern European agricultural states. It would involve writing off parts of the vast capital Germany has put into her industrial plant, with a view to following a course exactly opposite to flooding the world with manufactured goods. It would involve an economic revolution and a terrific strain on the nation."

Here we have, though not yet clearly formulated, a theory of capitalist national self-sufficiency with an implied aspiration to become the spearhead of armed intervention for subjugation of the Soviet Republics. A return to pre-capitalist forms of production and exchange of commodities, squeezed in within national boundaries. A return to barbarism with the "terrific strain" to rest upon the shoulders of the working class.

### IS THE WAY OUT THROUGH A FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

Today there is no way for Germany from her present economic dilemma on a capitalist basis. It exists within an economically declining capitalist Europe, ever more receiving the imprint of being put on rations in world economy by the more powerful American imperialism. German capitalism, after its re-stabilization following the events of 1923, has accomplished two successive waves of rationalization of its industry. Existing within a declining capitalist Europe and out of from its former colonies, its economic problems become today that much more acute. Even a temporary relief for German capitalism through a Fascist dictatorship could, of course, only serve to further intensify these contradictions. However, the menacing threat in such a temporary way out for German capitalism is the sinister prospect of the crushing of the German working class movement, and with that the working class movement—above all to the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

### COMMUNIST PARTY FAILS IN GREAT POSSIBILITIES

What is the position of the German Communist party in this situation of menacing threats? St. P. bureaucrats are being made by the S. P. bureaucracy to swing the bulk of the working class, under the sumptuous name of the "iron front", into support of the Hindenburg candidacy, into support of capitalism and, in its ultimate sense, into support of preparation for the Fascist regime. Obviously, this latter aspect is not yet clear to these workers. They are being held under the illusion that at the moment their support to Hindenburg will offset the Fascist advance. To what extent and by what methods have the official Communist party endeavored to shatter this illusion?

Undoubtedly there was an excellent opportunity to split the working class forces away from the Center bloc of reaction now supporting Hindenburg. But that would presuppose the Communist party genuinely offering a united front embodying the serious immediate objectives of working class struggle. There should even have been no objection to serious efforts to find the common grounds for unity around one working class candidate as a means of utilizing these elections to further stem the tide of Fascist reaction.

At the 1925 German presidential elections there were three candidates, the Communist, the social democrat and the

(Continued on page 4)

## Trotsky Discusses World Situation

We are reprinting below an interview granted by comrade Trotsky through the intermediary of Simon and Schuster, the American publishers of his latest work, "The History of the Russian Revolution" to the *N. Y. Times*.

The presentation of his views—which are those of the International Left Opposition—is here given in a concise and trenchant form, so that every reader can at once grasp the general outlines of our position as well as the elementary causes of the struggle we are carrying on.

### Appraisal of Five-Year Plan

**Question:** Will you give your appraisal of the Five-Year Plan and the economic perspectives confronting Russia? **Answer:** The question of industrialization, and particularly of the Five-Year Plan, was one of the chief points of conflict between the Stalin faction and the Left Opposition, to which I belong. Up to February, 1928, the Stalin faction considered it necessary to rest its power upon the strong peasant and refused to compel him to make sacrifices in the interest of industrialization. The very principle of planning was laughed at by the bureaucracy. "We depend upon rain, not plans," they said. In 1925 I published a book, "Toward Capitalism or Socialism?" in which I proved that with proper leadership industry could show a 20 per cent yearly increase or more. Stalin and Molotov considered these figures fantastic and accused the Left Opposition of "superindustrialism." These cursory comments on the history of the thing are sufficient to demonstrate my attitude to the Five-Year Plan: I consider it a gigantic step forward in the development not only of the Soviet Union but of humanity.

**Question:** Do you believe that the development of the Five-Year Plan has strengthened or weakened the possibility of building socialism in Soviet Russia alone without cooperation along similar lines in the rest of Europe? **Answer:** This raises the question about socialism in a single country. The inevitability of socialism flows historically from the fact that the present productive forces of humanity have become incompatible not only with the private property in the means of production but also with present national boundaries, especially in Europe. Just as medieval particularism hindered the development of capitalism in its youth, so now at the peak of its development capitalism is strangling in the limits set by the national States.

Socialism cannot confine productive forces in the Procrustean bed of national States. The Socialist economy will develop on the basis of an international division of labor, the mighty foundations of which have been laid down by capitalism. The Soviet industrial construction is, in my view, a part of a future European, Asiatic and world-wide Socialist structure, and not an independent national whole.

### Soviet Russia and the Capitalist World

**Question:** Will Soviet Russia be compelled to come to some sort of a compromise with Western capitalism, assuming that she may not be able to pursue a Socialist policy single-handed? What form would such a compromise assume? **Answer:** The "compromise" between the Soviet and the capitalist systems is not a question of the future but of the present. It is already a fact today, although not a very stable one. How will the interrelations between the isolated Soviet Union and world capitalism develop? Here a concrete prophecy is not easy to make, but in general I should cast the following horoscope: European capitalism is far nearer to a Socialist revolution than the Soviet Union is to a national Socialist society.

**Question:** What are the prospects of Soviet Russia's relations with other countries in the political field if such a compromise proves feasible? **Answer:** The Soviet Government is interested in maintaining peaceful relations. It has demonstrated its will to peace, and is still demonstrating it by every means at the disposal of a government. It is true that in Paris they consider the Soviet proposal of universal disarmament a proof of the belligerent intentions of Moscow, and on the other hand the refusal of France to take steps toward disarmament they regard as an expression of her peaceful intentions. Following the same logic the French official press considers the Japanese invasion of China an act of civilization, the Chinese resistance to a barbarous act. Burglars, according to this logic, are not those who break into other people's houses, but those who defend their own. It is difficult to concur in this.

### Attitude Toward the Stalin Regime

**Question:** What is your attitude toward the Stalin regime today and why? **Answer:** To answer this question I distinguish sharply two different conceptions: the Soviet regime as the regime of proletarian dictatorship and the Stalin regime, which is a bureaucratic perversion of the Soviet regime. It is with the aim of strengthening and developing the Soviet system that I wage a

(Continued on page 4)

## Ford Thugs Massacre Starving Workers

### Police Give Workers Lead instead of Bread

On Monday, March 7, Ford's cossacks fired on a crowd of jobless workers demonstrating before his plant at Dearborn, Michigan. Four workers were shot and killed because they had come to demand from the apostle of "class peace"—work, a chance to earn their living. Among those killed was Joe York, the district organizer of the Young Communist League. Communist workers were in the first ranks of the struggle, were the first to be wounded.

The demonstrators, upon the call of the Unemployment Council of Detroit, were marching in orderly fashion and had intended sending up a committee to the management of the Ford plant, to present their demands. Ford, the idol of the post war social democracy and all the other preachers of class collaboration, the symbol of "Americanization", immediately ordered his gunmen to pour lead into the masses calling for work and bread.

The whole horrid shape of "humane" American capitalism stands exposed before the workers of the world. The "pacemaker" of modern industry and of "industrial democracy", whose hands are dripping with the blood of militant workers, will become identical with the darkest and most reactionary forms of Czarist despotism.

The heroic manifestation of the Detroit workers, coming in the midst of a general depression, will be a light-house of courage to the millions of unemployed workers all over the country in their fight against starvation. Their fearless march, in the face of tear-gas bombs, in the face of icy-cold fire hoses and machine-gun fire will be an inspiration and a standard of battle for all those who share their miserable fate under the abominations of the capitalist system. The most powerfully developed industry in the world and in history can give the masses of the population only what the blackest regimes of the past, have given them: hunger and lead. The workers are waking up to the fact that as long as the profit system, as long as private ownership controls the means of production, all technical progress can merely serve to enslave them. That is what the Communists are out to teach the workers, that is the condition against

which the Communists are the vanguard fighters.

### Action Teaches Lessons

The workers can only learn from practical experience, from action. And it is in action that Communism shows the workers most clearly what they are up against and how they can overcome it. To carry out this historic task, the forefront fighters of Communism have once more proved their fearlessness, their daring, their absolute devotion to the cause of the working class, their utter defiance of the class enemy. Joe York, a valiant young Communist warrior, has fallen at the hands of the boss class. The answer of the working class of America to the murder of York and his three comrades must be a more determined, a more tenacious struggle against the master class than ever. The best class vengeance for the murder of our fighters is—organization. The fight for which York and his comrades died, must be carried into every factory, into every trade union. The whole proletariat must be rallied for a militant protest, the banner of the Detroit martyrs must be held high.

Every worker in the United States knows what hunger means, every worker knows what wage-outs mean. The heroic example of the Communists does not pass them by unnoticed. But they are still apprehensive, they are not as yet convinced of the correctness of Communist policy. The Communists must take into account the degree of consciousness of the masses. In order to lead them into decisive struggles against the class foe, they must be prepared to go with the masses as far as the masses will go at the moment. In common struggle with the masses they have the best opportunity for winning them over to a Communist line of action.

### Relief Struggle Growing

The masses are at present conscious of the necessity of resisting further unemployment, further wage cuts, and of wrenching from the capitalist class a measure of relief for their misery. The workers are still bound to their reformist leaders by innumerable prejudices, traditions and organizational ties. If they are to be brought into action, their leaders must be pressed against the wall. The united front of working class struggle against boss misery must be organized. That is the way to carry the banner of the fallen Detroit fighters up higher. That is the way for a successful advance of the forces of Communism. That is the way of winning a majority of the workers for the proletarian revolution.

The Communist party has once more, as often before, been the only party to show the oppressed and exploited workers the way out, the road to a fighting solution. It is only more shown that it is the only true party of the working class. It has proved that the workers are not going to remain passive before the onslaught of the bosses.

### Government Persecution Coming

Already, the boss government is initiating a ferocious campaign of persecution against the Communist organizers. The whole frame-up system of capitalist class justice, with its "criminal syndicalism" laws and other vicious devices is being set into motion. The entire working class of the country must come to the defense of those attacked like a solid stone wall. Every worker's fate, every worker's elementary right to existence, is at stake.

The Communist party is calling protest and memorial meetings all over the country. It is the duty of every class conscious worker to stand behind the party of his class, and to demonstrate his solidarity with it. Against the bosses' offensive, against government persecution, for the workers' relief and unemployment insurance. Against wage cuts and for the six hour day, five day week. Against the imperialist war preparations and for Long Term Credits to Workers' Russia.

All New York workers will show their solidarity with the Communist party on Friday evening, March 11, at the Central Opera House, 67th Street and Third Avenue.

Workers! Make your protests against the Dearborn massacre a powerful demonstration of solidarity that will strike fear into the hearts of the bosses!

## Press Circulation Drive

As we swing into the second week of the drive it is possible to report an encouraging response on the part of comrades and sympathizers. Some expired subs have been renewed. Some new ones have been sent in. At present the record of renewed and new subs is as follows: New York—7; Minneapolis—2; Chicago—1; Miscellaneous—4. There is also one new bundle order for a new stand to report. This is from Chicago. But this progress is not yet enough. More must be done.

What is already accomplished indicates that if all our comrades and supporters will put their shoulders to the wheel we can make a success of the drive. Certainly the objective situation is favorable. Workers are interested as never before in Communism. It can be assumed that a large working class reading public exists. It is necessary to reach it.

This can be done principally in two ways. First it is necessary to get new

### N.Y. Paris Commune Affair

The members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York are going to celebrate the sixty-first anniversary of the Paris Commune on Saturday evening, March 19th, at the Irving Plaza, 15th St., and Irving Place. The celebration will take form of an entertainment and mass meeting.

Comrade Arne Swaback, National Secretary of the Communist League of America, will speak on "The Significance of the Paris Commune."

An elaborate social program has been arranged for. A chorus of forty Hungarian comrades will present a number of revolutionary songs. A group of young female comrades, members of the N. Y. branch and the Spartacus Youth Club, have been preparing several original dances. We will also have a piano recital and group singing. Refreshments will be on hand.

subs. The free pamphlets offered to subscribers during the period of the drive constitute a considerable reduction in the cost of a sub and are undoubtedly a strong inducement. They should be used as such. With each \$2.00 sub for fifty-two issues (1 year) *The Militant* will give a paper bound copy of comrade Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution*; with each \$1.00 sub for twenty-five issues (6 mos.) a copy of part 2 of the *World Program—the Strategy of the Draft Revolution* by Comrade Trotsky! with each trial sub of \$0.50 (13 issues) any one of our 10c pamphlets. In sending in subs comrades should specify the literature which goes with them.

In addition to this, during the period of the drive, comrades may offer a \$2.00 rate for a combined 1 year subscription to *The Militant* and *Young Spartacus*. This will include fifty-two weekly issues of *The Militant* and twelve monthly issues of *Young Spartacus*. In the case of combined subs there is no literature premium. Whenever a combined sub is sent in it should be clearly indicated as such.

The second way of increasing the sale of *The Militant* is by increasing the bundle orders of branches, newstands, and bookstores. And by increasing the number of newstands which carry *The Militant*. This can be done more easily now by means of the newstands posters we spoke of in the last issue. These have been delivered by the printer and come up to our expectations. The posters will be shipped free immediately upon request. It should be remembered that we haven't too many. They should be placed only on stands and in stores which carry or will carry *The Militant*.

A third method of boosting the sub list is by renewing expired subs. Every week a number run out. From this it can be seen that the renewal of expired subs is a regular task. The national center notifies the branches in advance of the expiration. Where we have no

branches the national center notifies the subscribers. These subs must not be allowed to expire for want of attention. Their importance lies in the fact that as a loss they will offset the number of new subs. As a political loss, of course, they are even more important. Renewals count as new subs. Literature premiums apply equally to them. They are included in the standing given above.

The thing to do now is to drive along the three plans outlined above. Systematic plans should be worked out by the branches. Every supporter of *The Militant* should take it upon himself to bring in at least one new sub, or get one renewal, or get one newstand to carry *The Militant*, or better still all three. Against the difficult months which lie ahead *The Militant* must be put on a sounder financial basis now. Every effort must be made to insure the success of the drive.

## OPEN FORUM

Lecture by  
**ARNE SWABACK**  
"LESSONS OF THE  
DRESMAKERS STRIKE"

at the  
**Labor Temple**  
14th Street and Second Avenue

**Friday, March 11, 1932**

at 8 P. M.

**QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION**

ADMISSION: 25 Cents  
**Unemployed Workers Admitted Free**  
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

## Paris Commune Celebration Saturday Evening, March 19, at Irving Plaza



# The Economic Month

## Further Decline in Production and in Workers Living Standards

In attempting to give a brief economic analysis of the past few months, and a prognosis for the immediate future one should observe the following trends. First, the actual figures on production and general business activity (steel, cotton cloth production, shoes, car loadings, electric power production, building, etc.) of course, adjusted for seasonal variation. Secondly a study should be made of commodity prices. No break in the declining curve of general business activity can be expected unless a brake can be applied to the precipitous fall of commodity prices. Capitalists will begin to replace worn machinery, and invest the easily obtained credit in new industry only when they feel that they will not be confronted with their competitors purchasing in March at a reduced rate the raw materials that they purchased in January.

In connection with the actual commodity prices, one should attempt to estimate the actual stocks on hand, of raw materials and of manufactured goods, (quantity, not value is the factor to be looked for—most estimates are of present depreciated value, not of quantity). In connection with this item one should also examine the figures for construction contracts awarded and building permits granted. Also important, are new capital issues. These of course indicate purchases to take place in the immediate future. Thirdly, the condition of the working class, in the form of wage cuts, numbers employed, total wage, etc., etc., should be considered. Fourthly, there should be taken into consideration any special items that may have arisen, such as the recent government measures, or any special large scale measures planned or advocated by any specific industry. Under this last heading should be included any measures that have some bearing on the subject, but do not properly fall under any of the above headings. The above procedure, although not advocated as a rigid plan, should succeed in giving one a brief yet general sketch of the economic condition and immediate prospects of the country.

To sum up the economic developments of the past two months, one can but say, that as yet there have appeared no signs of any immediate revival. The months of January and February continued the kaleidoscopic decline in production begun over two years ago. The steel industry which ordinarily shows an improvement during the first quarter, continued to perform at about 26 to 27 per cent of capacity. The hoped-for rise in steel production to be brought on by an increase in automobile production failed to materialize, because of the lack of improvement in the production of new cars. The index of automobile production declined from a high of 52 for the first week of January, to one of 36.5 for the last week of February. Despite the streaming headlines to the contrary, Ford has not yet begun any substantial production. Freight car loadings and electric power output showed similar declines, the latter dropping during the two months' period from an index of 222 to one of 216, registering a rate of decline much greater than that of the past two years as a whole. The latest reports of building activity, one of the most important industries of the country, showed no bettering of its present paralyzed condition, the figures even showing an aggravation of the condition of the industry. The New York Times combined weekly index registered a new low for the depression in the last week of February. The index is now at 60.8 as against 69 for the beginning of the year.

The only figures reporting increased activity of a substantial nature have been those of shoe and cotton cloth production. In the production of cotton cloth, the rise from an index of 91 for the first week of January to one of 96 for the last week of February, had merely an aggravating effect upon the market, the sales in no way being able to consume the increased production. The stocks on hand increased, and despite the temporary rise in price brought on by the Shanghai events, the price trend continued downward for the period. (An interesting feature to be investigated in this so-called consumers' industry, is the recent statement made by the New York Cotton Exchange Service that 40 per cent in yardage and 60 per cent in weight of all the cotton goods produced go into industrial uses).

Commodity prices temporarily steadied in the third week of February, the only break in the two months' period, failed to keep their gains, and again registered a decline for the final week of the month. The *Annalist* index dropped from 95 to the low of 91.4. In the factors connected with commodity prices no signs leading to the belief that a bottom has been reached can be seen. Although comprehensive figures are difficult to obtain, one is led to believe that stocks on hand of manufactured goods still remain very high. The accumulation of raw materials is growing so rapidly as to become threatening for some industries. Crop estimates for the coming year indicate even greater yields than the present year. On the field of building activity the hoped for increase remained in the wishing stage. The figures of this year are running about 30 per cent below those of last year. For both contracts awarded and building permits granted, one is forced to use the words of the National City Bank Bulletin, "lowest by far" for any

similar period. New industrial capital issues (a portion of which sums will be used for the purchase of goods in the next few months) have been conspicuous during the month of February by their almost complete absence.

The first two months of the year marked a continuation and extension of the general wage slashing campaign, this time attacking the organized industries, namely railroads and building trades. A horizontal 10 per cent wage cut to some 1,500,000 workers employed by the railroads, will reduce the total wage for this group, for the coming year, approximately by \$200,000,000. The proposed 25 per cent cut in the building trades has this peculiar feature attached to it, namely, that the great majority of the workers in the industry are already receiving much below the scale. The proposed official wage cuts can but mean, not the adjustment of wages to 25 per cent below the present scale, (which in many cases would mean an actual wage increase) but rather a further reduction of the already reduced prevailing rate of pay.

According to the latest available reports of the Department of Labor, the number of people employed continues to decline; the total wage paid decreasing even more rapidly. Thus the drop from December to January for factory employment was from 7.9 to 66.3 whereas payrolls declined from 55.8 to 52.4. This ever widening spread between the two curves merely indicates the results of the wage cutting campaign. The worker fortunate to be kept on the payroll is finding less and less in the pay envelope each week.

As special emergency measures, the past two months saw the birth of the two much heralded banking measures, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Glass-Steagall Bill. (In connection with our article on the Glass-Steagall bill, a misleading sentence, crept in, due to last minute revision. The sentence reading, "But how can anyone hail as epoch making, a bill that does nothing but make legal that which is actually taking place", should have been concluded, "namely, the continued withdrawal of gold by foreign countries.") The entire attempt to increase commodity prices by increasing the available money in circulation is based upon the false assumption that it is possible to inject into the process of circulation, additional money despite the fact that business does not desire the additional sums. The bankers have yet to explain how the possible increase in currency will result in an actual increase. Were the government actually able to inject new money into circulation, then this would be a factor in tending to bring about a temporary rise in prices. But the present measures are valueless in this respect. Actual business conditions are the determining factor, and not the effect of money in circulation. Summed up in the words of Marx, "prices are not high or low, because there is more or less money in circulation, but on the contrary, there is more or less money in circulation, because prices are high or low." The complete futility of the present currency measures is summed up in the above sentence.

The danger of America going off the gold standard (inflation in the strict sense of the term) becomes greater daily. Gold continues to be drained from the country. In the first month of the year the total decrease of gold stocks was 37 million, while for February this sum had mounted to 67 million. In addition to the above there exists the ever mounting deficit of the national government, which will probably reach well into the three billions for the present fiscal year, unless new tax measures are rushed through. "The need to balance governmental budgets of all kinds beginning with the Federal Government." Thus reads the National City Bank report, expressing in their words the fear of the stability of the U. S. government bonds. The financial crisis rather than being alleviated, is facing much greater stumbling blocks. Private German bonds are now being talked of, in addition to the public debt, in the discussions of defaulting. There is even talk here of a complete shut down of the stock market. The framework of the banking system is rapidly becoming weaker.

All in all, the conclusions to be drawn are, that the prospects for immediate revival are not great. Unemployment and the misery of the working class will most probably become more accentuated. The questions of immediate relief and of unemployment insurance must remain at the forefront of our unemployment campaign. Concentrating on these slogans, and in addition bringing forward that of the six hour day, as well as that of credits to the Soviet Union, the Communist movement should attempt to rally around it the great masses of workers who more and more should become disillusioned with the prospects held out for them by the capitalist system.

—H. STONE.

**ATTENTION. BOSTON!**  
**"What Is Europe Heading For?"**  
 Lecture by  
**Albert Glotzer**  
 on  
**Sunday, March 20th, 1932, 8 P. M.**  
 at the  
**ELM HILL BLDG.**  
 532 Warren Street

# Organization Notes

**CLEVELAND, OHIO.** Our steadily growing mailing list in this city has finally resulted in a branch of the Left Opposition now engaged in active work. Reports coming into the office are to the effect that our new Jewish organ **Unser Kampf** found a ready response and is being quite well distributed among the Jewish working class readers. The first active work is being expressed in a substantial order for literature and for additional copies of **The Militant**.

For a long time there have been many sympathizers of the Left Opposition in Cleveland. The several efforts made in the past by party bureaucrats to break up our meetings arranged at the time for Cannon and for Shachtman did not in the least deter the sympathizers but on the contrary added to their ranks. Last summer, comrades Clarke and Stamm put in an active period of street speaking, literature sales and collection of **Militant** subscriptions. All in all, this helped lay the foundation for a new active branch. This new branch is making arrangements for a meeting for comrade Glotzer on his national tour visit.

**MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.** — Our comrades, always active in this city utilizing their good working class contacts, are now raising a very fundamental issue growing out of recent events. They took part in the Feb. 4 unemployment demonstration held on Bridge Square. As is known to our readers, it was broken up by the police under orders of the Farmer-Labor mayor, Anderson. Several workers were arrested and have since been sentenced to pay fines ranging from \$10 to \$25. The Farmer-Labor mayor is utilizing this conviction as a legal reinforcement of his threat that there shall be no more workers' meetings on Bridge Square.

The official party, yet suffering from the Third Period adventurism, is raising the issue of the "right of the workers to defend themselves and their meetings". This is not the correct slogan in such a situation where the fundamental issue of the right of free speech is involved. Our branch is raising this as the proper slogan recognizing also its much broader appeal. In line with this our branch is insisting that the Communist forces take the initiative in calling a free speech conference to bring organized mass pressure behind the demand. When presented in this manner the opportunity is enhanced to hammer one more lesson home to the Minneapolis workers, namely the one of the true role of the Farmer-Labor Party city of

officials in utilizing the capitalist machinery of city government to suppress the working class rights.

The Minneapolis branch in addition to its regular public activities, meetings and forums is also conducting a study class in Elements of Marxism. Similarly the first steps have been taken for the organization of a youth club.

**ST. LOUIS, MO.**—Our small membership in this city has gained new recruits to their ranks. In addition, it has established convincing proof that although small in numbers, active work will bring results. Recently the branch held a successful debate, well attended, in which our comrade Roberts defended the Proletarian Dictatorship against the celebrated American democracy. That was a part of our regularly conducted weekly open forum. Attendance at the Glotzer meeting held in St. Louis as well as at subsequent forums testify to the fact that the worker audience found itself impressed with our presentation. Our St. Louis branch has now also taken the first steps toward the organization of a youth club.

Our three months' subscription drive is on the way and already brings good response. In subsequent issues we will carry exact accounts of the responses received. From our early announcements our supporters will have noticed that we propose this drive as one means whereby we can render practical aid to our press, the kind of practical aid which also spells increased financial assistance. Such assistance is very sorely needed.

This, however, is only one side of the question. The other, which is yet more important, is the one of seriously taking up the task of extending the Left Opposition press. Each step in our program of expansion so far taken have brought results in extended influence for the Left Opposition views. The establishment of the weekly **Militant**, of the **Young Spartacus**, of the Greek organ, **Unser Kampf** were the important steps. The extended influence achieved has been expressed concretely in many instances.

Building of the Left Opposition press is the best means of further extending its influence. It is a vitally important means of building and strengthening of the Communist movement as a whole.

**HELP BUILD THE LEFT OPPOSITION PRESS!**

# United Front of Southern Miners Imperative

While miners in the Eastern Kentucky fields continue to fight sporadic battles for their existence the machinery of "law and order" is getting ready to grind out more "justice". During March and April the remaining forty defendants of the Harlan County murder conspiracy frame-up are to stand trial. Their case dates back to May 5, last year, when during the Everts strike in a battle, provoked by the company gun thug, Sheriff Henry Blair, three gunmen and one miner were killed. Wm. Hightower and W. B. Jones, president and secretary of the Everts local union, who were the first defendants tried, are already serving the life sentence imposed upon them.

Next to Harlan county, in Pineville, nine strikers and relief workers are about to go on trial indicted for criminal syndicalism. They have been held in jail since Jan. 4th. This frame-up grew out of the strike conducted by the National Miners Union which began on Jan. 1st. The trial which followed closely upon the heels of the dastardly murder, by company gun thugs, of Henry Simms the young Communist organizer.

Savagely wreaking their vengeance upon these coal miners, who dared to attempt to obtain better conditions, the companies of northern "civilization", who own the mines, have outdone the southern bourgeois in vicious persecution. They found bigoted reactionary tools who could serve to their liking, so much so that even the liberal writers from the Theodore Dreiser committee and the Waldo Frank committee could be chased out of the field branded

## Support «Unser Kampf»

The first three issues of **Unser Kampf** our organ in the Yiddish Language met with a very favorable reception among all our comrades, sympathizers and friends. Especially appreciative were those of our readers whose knowledge of the English language is limited. The worker who is anxious to know about the platform of the International Left Opposition, wants to read about it in the language e knows best.

The financial aid to make the appearance of **Unser Kampf** possible, came from branches, from groups and individuals. But nevertheless the aid is still urgently needed. Very many of our adherents are victims of the deep-going crisis and cannot help to the extent they would like to. We know that at the first opportunity those of our readers will bring forth their contribution. At this time we are forced to appeal to every one for financial aid. The fourth issue is in preparation—but to see the light of day it needs the aid of all our sympathizers.

—UNSER KAMF.

# Railroads & Strike Policy

## The Strike Weapon and its Rejection by the Misleaders

In the purely industrial disputes between the bosses and the workers concerning hours of work, wages and working conditions, the only weapon the workers have to promote and protect their interest with, is the **strike**. In a political struggle wherein the workers are aiming for control of the government, the strike can only serve as a supplementary weapon, as an aid or help in the general struggle for political power and control. But when workers organized in trade or industrial unions fight only for better conditions, or to keep the wages and working conditions they have, from being taken away from them by the boss, then the strike is the only weapon for either offensive or defensive purposes.

Therefore, we think that without illustrating this point further, the average worker will agree with us when we maintain that the strike is the only weapon of the labor unions, and a good one at that. But good weapons can only be used effectively when placed in the hands of individuals who possess the necessary skill and determination to use them at the proper time. And this is equally true about the strike weapon. Let us note briefly how the strike weapon and strike strategy have been used by the leaders of the Railroad brotherhoods in the last fifteen years.

The last time the Brotherhood leadership made any pretense at using the strike weapon effectively, was during the movement for the eight hour day on the railroads in 1916. Two strikes were organized and came within a few hours of taking effect to bring about the eight hour day for railroad workers. The first strike was called off with the enactment of the Adamson Eight Hour Law. The railroad owners took the Adamson Law to the U. S. Supreme Court with a view of having it declared unconstitutional. Another strike vote was taken and the second railroad strike came within a few hours of going into effect when the Supreme Court came out with a 5 to 4 decision against its unconstitutionality. It was necessary for the railroad workers to use the strike weapon to squeeze the Eight Hour Law out of congress and it had to be used again to squeeze agreement with it out of the Supreme Court by the narrow margin of 5 to 4. In neither case was the strike weapon used but it was ready for use if necessary, and the strike weapon was the thing which furnished the necessary influence

to bring the eight hour day into reality on the railroads.

Since the Eight Hour Day movement in 1916, strike policy and strike strategy has steadily drifted towards the very bottom of bankruptcy and today the strike is practically discarded as a weapon, in so far as the Brotherhood leaders are concerned. Instead of training and organizing the railroad workers to use the only weapon they have against their bosses, they have trained them to cast it aside or to hang it up in the closet and to keep it there. Instead of keeping the strike weapon ready and in good shape, for use when necessary, the Brotherhood leaders sign one peace pact after another with the railroad bosses, always and inevitably at the expense of the workers. The recent Chicago peace pact was just another example of this bankrupt policy.

## Strike Policy vs. Cooperation Policy

The Brotherhood leaders, like all labor leaders, are confronted with two main alternatives; they must either fight or surrender to the bosses. For workers there is no escape from one of these two processes. We are compelled by the circumstances to choose one of two roads upon which to travel, either to victory or to defeat. Since 1916, the Brotherhood leaders have steadily kept the railroad workers on the path which leads to defeat. The sign posts which directed our leadership along this path were such inventions as: The B. and O. Cooperation Plan; the Watson-Parker Law to prevent strikes in labor disputes; Class Collaboration instead of Class Struggle; Peace Pacts, Mutual admiration and cooperation between Railroad and Brotherhood Officials. These were the slogans which were used as weather-cocks to steer the railroad labor movement towards the swamp of surrender and defeat. The Brotherhood leaders chose this road because it was a road which offered less resistance to their personal interest and ambitions than the road which led towards organization, amalgamation and well-led struggles against the bosses.

In order to make it a little more clear to the ordinary worker as to why the Brotherhood leaders adopted the policy to cooperate with the railroad management instead of fighting it so as to promote and protect the railroad workers' interest, we will point out several things. The Brotherhood leadership have organized the railroad workers into 21 separate craft unions. The same type of organization which the Locomotive Engineers launched at Detroit, Michigan in 1888. And we still cling to this out-of-date craft system of organization. It would be to the railroad workers' interest to amalgamate these 21 useless and expensive crafts unions into an industrial union, but it would not be to the best interest of craft union officials to do so. Their big salaries separate them from the rank and file and so the interest of the Brotherhood officials runs in the opposite direction from that of the members. Therefore, we are not one union but twenty-one. It would be to the best interest of the Brotherhood members to have freedom of expression in their unions so they could advocate amalgamation, reduction of official salaries, elimination of gag-laws and secret work, but this would be against the interest of 15,000 craft officials like Robertson. They want gag-laws, censored magazines, obligations and secret work to barricade themselves against the organized criticism of the rank and file. It would be for the interest of railroad workers to have one strong union for all workers in the railroad industry so they could better protect and promote their interest against the bosses. It is against the interest of the labor leaders to build this kind of organization and consequently they cannot fight the bosses and are therefore forced to cooperate with them. So, the way things stand in the railroad brotherhoods today, it is the desire of the officials to avoid at all costs strikes and struggles because they have not got the kind of organization needed to put up a successful strike and it is against their interest to build one, and hence we have the cooperation policy instead of the strike policy.

This cooperation policy has had a most destructive effect on the railroad unions since the railroads were returned to private control after the war. During the war, under government control, when the railroad owners were reaping enormous profits, the lower paid masses of railroad workers were allowed to organize without serious opposition and thousands of shop and maintenance workers streamed into the rail unions. But after the war profits were over, and the roads returned to private control, then the onslaught started on the unions by the railroad owners and the craft system of organization simply crumpled. The only thing that was saved from the wreckage was the Four Transportation Brotherhoods, whose leaders offered cooperation with the bosses in return for the privilege to collect dues from the members of the so-called "Big Four". Since that time all the labor skates have adopted the policy to cooperate with the boss in order to keep their meal tickets from being completely destroyed. Most of the shop workers have been permitted to remain in company unions for the last ten years. Working conditions have been gradually lost. Workers are being suspended or discharged for getting injured while at work to save the company from paying them anything. Speed-up, "ef-

(Continued on page 4)

forced back into submission to the U. M. W. gentry. They are now again firmly in control in the Illinois fields by virtue of support from the operators and the state forces whereas elsewhere in the soft coal fields they have themselves destroyed the union.

## United Front Necessary

There are, of course, as long as the miserable conditions remain and intensify, bound to be new strikes, perhaps many still on an isolated local scale. There are bound to be new rebellious upsurges where the U. M. W. gentry controls. The rebel forces are bound to grow. They face a common enemy, the coal operators and their agents. Their objectives are common. Surely the main lesson from all of the recent and past events should be one of common struggle. And no doubt there will yet be opportunities to fight for a united front of all rebel miners against the common enemy.

It is so again in the very urgent matter of relief for and defense of the present victims of the class struggle in Kentucky. There is yet no reason why renewed efforts should not be made to establish a measure of unity in these endeavors. We would not even propose that the General Defense Committee and the I. L. D. should be able to affect a direct unification. But for the common objectives united front activities should be established. While that, however, is not so far being seriously attempted the appeal should be passed on to the workers everywhere to support the victims in both Harlan and Pineville Kentucky.

## «Young Spartacus» No. 4

The March issue of the **Young Spartacus**, Vol. 1, No. 4, is ready for distribution and sale. Comrades should send in orders.

## Table of Contents

- Fascist Danger in Germany—Trotsky Young Communist (Harry Simms)
- Murdered in Kentucky
- Imperialist War and the Class Struggle—Algo
- Y. C. L.—Yipsels Hold Debate
- The Drive of the Young Communist League
- The Logic of Theory of the National Socialism—H. S.
- Karl Marx: Revolutionist
- Andres Nin Greets **Young Spartacus** Question and Answer Column

## ENTERTAINMENT

On Saturday, March 12th, the **Unser Kampf Arbeiter Club** will hold a **vetehinka** in the headquarters of the Opposition, 84 East 10th Street. The club will provide a bar and entertainment. Admission is 25c. All workers are invited to attend.



IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR
Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Party and C.I. in England

LONDON.— Our party is admittedly weak, backward in revolutionary action, and shot through with social democratic tendencies. We are accustomed to blame "ourselves" for this. We have used self-criticism to the point of self-abasement...

quires some freedom of action for its development, and that is what our leaders lacked—in addition to theoretical understanding. We think that the present leadership of the Comintern—the Stalin leadership, has allowed things to slide in most sections of the organization. It has been content to let our fossilized bureaucrats carry on here, provided sufficient reports were returned, Russian triumphs given publicity, and defence of the Soviet Union advocated. We say that the Five Year Plan has absorbed practically all the attention of our Russian comrades and that we have been forced into the position of mere distant admirers of Russian working class successes.

Have You Read These Works? by LEON TROTSKY ON THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

- \*Draft Program of the Communist International—A Criticism of Fundamentals parts 1 and 3 140 pages, hard paper cover, 35c Cloth cover, \$1.00
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CHICAGO, ATTENTION! OPEN FORUM Subject: Einstein, the God Builder Speaker: HUGO OEBLER Sunday, March 20th, 1932, 3 P. M. 135 No. Western Avenue

to the immediate needs of the U. S. S. R., regardless of revolutionary problems confronting the proletariat of the capitalist countries.

Our new line, to which we, the party rank and file, must adopt ourselves, is a line of internationalism, of revolution, of rapid expansion into the mass of the workers. We need to warmly greet workers outside the party, instead of lecturing them as inferior beings. Away with sectarianism! Into the masses! Concentrate on our own revolutionary problems! The best defence of the Soviet Union is a fierce and sustained attack on our bourgeoisie here. A new world revolutionary situation lies before us. Our own October is not far distant. The capitalist class is going to give us the war. Let us give it war in return—a civil war for the international revolution, for the dictatorship of the working class, for the World Soviet Republic.

—BRITISH WORKER.

Rakovsky on the Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue) In the following metallurgical factories and types of enterprises, the amount of defective goods was: Djerdjinsky factory (wrought iron plates) 32 per cent Djerdjinsky and Petrovsky factory (steel parts) 40 per cent Verkhnye-Turinsk factory (steel parts) 100 per cent Lapayevsky factory (sheet metal) 40 per cent Nadjejdinsky factory (high quality steel) 30 per cent Marti factory (steel) 32 per cent

percentage of slate in the production of coal increased sharply, reaching in some instances as much as 18 per cent. Only 20 per cent of the bricks produced could stand up under the established methods of loading. Matters are still worse in light industries, in which textiles broke all records. According to the figures often quoted, the average percentage of defective goods in the different trusts was 50 per cent. The press also quotes the figures of the losses in millions of rubles, connected with this drop in quality. It is characteristic that the new factories do not remain behind in the percentages of defective goods. The textile factory of the Melange Syndicate, which has been recently constructed, produced in April, 93.98 per cent (!) and in May 92.37 per cent defective

goods. According to the figures of the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, the percentage of defective goods in the needle industry amounted to 30 per cent this year as against 10 per cent last year. Defective goods in the production of rubber reaches 14 per cent, of shoes 13 per cent. There is literally not a single branch of industry where the problem of quality is not a very painful one, and there is almost not a single branch where the current year did not bring a deterioration of quality. It is clear, in connection with this, that where the produce has to go through several stages in the process of production or through several branches of industry, the poor quality in one branch is multiplied by the poor quality in all the other branches. To what conclusions does an examination of the question of quality bring us? There are two conclusions: (1) The deterioration of the quality of production makes the quantitative indices more or less fictitious. Even Kuibishev was compelled to admit this at a session of the presidium of the Supreme Economic Council, where he declared: "The figures of the tremendous growth of industry become relative if we take into consideration the qualitative changes." ("Ekonom. Zhizn", May 22, 1930) "Za Industrializatsiu" of July 13, expresses itself still more emphatically, when it declares that under such conditions "all our quantitative achievements would not amount to a farthing"

A Few Lessons of the Anarchist Uprisings in Spain

The recent revolt in upper Llobregat, in Callet Suvia, Berga, Figols and Cardener had completely paralyzed the power of the exploiters for several days. The red flag of the workers waved over the city hall in several of the towns. All of the currents of the Spanish revolutionary movement again tested their theories in practice. The party press in America, which had ignored the Spanish revolution for months and months, all of a sudden broadcast the news that they had established Soviets in several towns in Spain. And among many other things, they said that, the Left Opposition was playing a counter-revolutionary role in the struggle. But a few days passed, and even the blind could see that, said to us, the Communist party was not leading the revolts. Nothing more is said or heard in the Party press or its meetings about Spain, yet the struggle has not stopped, in spite of the fact the Centrist press is silent now, as they were in the previous months.

they left the door wide open for the exploiters to return, to reorganize and to annihilate them. Their concept is to—decree the state out of existence; to simply proclaim the social revolution,—but reality is not so simple. You can proclaim the social revolution and raise the red flag today and tomorrow find white terror at its heights unless adequate steps are taken to follow up the first victory and to smash the enemy, to smash their state and all means of exploitation that goes with it and establish a workers' dictatorship.

They paid dearly for their "generous and idealist spirit", by "idealists who were fighting to make a better world". The same article in "La Tierra" tell us: "Of the rebellion there only remains, apparently, the memory of a handful of men who, in jails and prison boats, dream that the desired triumph will come in the near future". Yes, it will only be a dream if the same strategy is repeated, a dream for some but more bloodshed and misery for the workers. In "avoiding" bloodshed they only bring on more bloodshed and prolonged misery and leave the door open for counter-revolution to give the workers a blood bath.

The leadership of the National Confederation of Labor again showed its hand in stemming the tide rather than flaming the revolt. The vanguard action of the American Stalinists in proclaiming leadership of the struggles was followed by the tail-endism of the Spanish Stalinists in the struggle. The socialist and anarchist role adds new weight to their role of betrayals, all of which is summed up in a recent document of the Spanish Left Opposition published in The Militant, Feb. 27.

These "generous and idealist spirits", who established "libertarian communism" say, "In every place the Civil Guards, sheltered in their barracks, where they take refuge; the bourgeoisie locked up in their homes, are left alone. The revolution had triumphed and the revolutionists cannot imitate their former oppressors, by forcing them and the others to share their ideas." This is nothing less than a betrayal of the workers. The anarchists do not know the elementary difference between a successful social revolution and a successful battle in a revolution, which, if not immediately followed up—will result in defeat. They do not know the elementary difference between the bourgeoisie as the ruling power. The former exploiters, "are left alone" by the anarchist leaders and the enemy reorganizes its forces after the first wave of revolt and comes back in the form of bourgeois terror, that should by all means cause us to congratulate and honor the "generous and idealist spirits", the anarchists of Spain! The anarchists in Lyons in 1870 decreed the state out of existence and established a "libertarian communism" but before 24 hours had passed, the state, in the form of the National guards, returned and dispersed the rebels. And once again history repeats itself, only this time as a farce.

In a whole series of instances, the deterioration of quality not only annuls the quantitative achievements, but even converts them into the opposite. For example, in the survey regarding the work in the textile industry for the first half year ("Za Industrializatsiu", April 20) we read: "In many enterprises the plan of production is fulfilled at the expense of a growth in industrial losses and in defective goods among finished and half-finished manufactures. The ultimate result shows that this makes the quantitative achievements negligible and that it has incurred losses to the textile industry and to national economy as a whole. Finally, in several groups of commodities, the cost of production is not covered, not a speak of accumulation". This is the reverse side of the high tempo of increasing production.

But since this document, we have new material on the Anarchists that further confirms the position of the Left Opposition on the role of the Anarchists in the Spanish revolution. The Industrial Worker of March 8, carried an article by de Guzman, from the "La Tierra", translated by M. Olay. This article proves the anarchists have learned nothing since their master, Bakunin "captured power" in Lyons, France in 1870.

The confusion existing in the ranks of the Communist movement on the Agrarian question cannot be settled until we trace it to the source and at the same time present the determining factors of American agriculture. The agrarian question in America cannot be separated from the establishment of the Third International, after the successful Russian revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Power. Up to that time, the Second International had a bundle of confused ideas on the agrarian and colonial questions on the problem of the relationship between town and country. In fact, the Second International revised Marxism on this question, leaving the peasantry and colonies as open stamping grounds for imperialist robbery.

left the door wide open for blunders. They have left unanswered the whole question of: What kind of a revolution? What will it look like? (Lenin and Trotsky answered this for Russia). We cannot be satisfied with merely saying: Soviets and dictatorship of the proletariat. What will the Soviets be like, when we take power, in comparison to the Soviets established by the first workers' class rule and in a backward country with the majority of peasants? In place of these answers we have revisionism for the advanced countries expressing itself as: The "peoples' revolution", Workers and Farmers parties and the Workers and Farmers Government; Self determination for the American Negro and the Anti-Imperialist League, etc.

And no doubt the leading officials of our party do agree with the Second Congress resolution—"in principle". But in action they follow meekly the line laid down by the exponent of "socialism in one country". Do we need a new line then? Certainly we do—a true Leninist line. We need also to get away from the apologetic attitude we have been adopting—for constantly blaming "ourselves" for all the faults and shortcomings of the British party. Of course we have faults, chiefly those of theoretical backwardness and of inexperience, but the roots of our extreme disability lie outside Britain; they are to be found in the policy of the Stalin leadership of the Comintern—most strikingly condemned by recent events concerning China, but always at fault in the past—a policy of going over the heads of the working class (e. g. flirting with Hicks, Purcell and Co.) of overestimating the strength and stability of capitalism (unpreparedness to meet the present world crisis) and of making everything subservient

Marx and Engels present a clear analysis of this question in their writings and Lenin and Trotsky ("Our Revolution" 1905) brought this question down to practical working class politics in the 1905 period, so successfully carried out in the 1917 revolution by the Marxists. Through the Third International this material and these lessons have become the property of the whole class throughout the world, expressed by their vanguard. However, since the establishment of the Stalin regime and the gradual crowding to the background of the Marxian ideas, we have witnessed a revival of revisionism on this question. This time, from a different angle than that of the Second International.

One question we must settle and that will throw considerable light upon the problem for the advanced capitalist countries is the question of American agricultural conditions today. Once we lay down a Marxian analysis on this question we can more readily come to a proper understanding of the question. The problem for colonial countries will not be taken up here. We will confine ourself to advanced America. Agrarian Development under Capitalism A proper elevation of the problem calls for an understanding of its historical development and relation. Under pre-capitalist conditions agriculture and manufacturing were established as a unity with manufacturing subordinated to agriculture (manufacturing used in the obsolete sense—hand-tool production). "Domestic handicraft and manufacturing labor, as side issues to agriculture, which forms the basis, is the prerequisite of that mode of production upon which natural economy rests, in European antiquity and in Middle Ages as well as in the Indian commune of the present day, in which the traditional organization has not yet been destroyed. The capitalist mode of production completely dissolves this connection". (Marx: Capital, Vol. 3, page 913). The capitalist mode of production destroys this unity of agriculture and manufacturing and by the concentration of the means of production and their transformation into capital they are able to expropriate the direct producers and change them into wage workers. These wage workers are

Only a comparison with the qualitative indices makes it possible to judge the quantitative indices. Without taking into account the quality of the products, the quantity figures represent a mere statistical fiction, which does not at all give a picture of the actual state of affairs. It is entirely clear that only by dividing the quantitative indices by the qualitative ones, can a true picture of reality be obtained. Such a picture would be considerably different from the one drawn in flippant articles by the official press. Unfortunately, there are not as yet such indices, with the help of which it would be possible to determine the level of the quality of production and through that, also the actual level of its quantitative growth. This is our first conclusion.

(2) The qualitative indices so far achieved, not only disclose the great relativity of the quantitative indices at the present, but also their possible trend in the future. At the same time, the qualitative indices also demonstrate indirectly the degree reached by the intensity of labor, with which they are closely bound up. Intensity of labor is driven to such limits that the worker who produces the amount demanded of him, is no longer able to direct his attention to the quality. All the data indicate that (further on, we shall once more come back to this) on the given technical basis, we have arrived very close to the boundary, beyond which a further increase in quantity through an increase in the intensity of labor can only be bought at the expense of a deterioration in quality. The quality of production is a signal warning that a further increase in quantity at the expense of an increase in the intensity of labor is no longer possible.

(To be continued) Barnoul, July-August 1930 —CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY.

\* These figures were taken from several issues of "Za Industrializatsiu" ("or Industrialization") and "Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn" ("Economic Life") at the end of the first half of the fiscal year 1930. But if there has been any change since, then only for the worse.—Ch. R.

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(Continued on page 4)



# Trotsky Answers Some Fundamental Questions

## Gives Views on Problems of Communist Movement in Soviet Russia, Europe and the United States

(Continued from page 1)  
 struggle against the Stalin regime.  
**Question:** Do you still regard the present phase of the Bolshevik revolution as "Thermidorian," and has your view as expressed in your autobiography been borne out by events since your departure from Soviet Russia? **Answer:** I have never said that the present stage of the revolution was "Thermidorian." The historic conception of Thermidor has a very definite content: it means a completion of the first stage of a victorious counter-revolution. A Thermidor in the U. S. S. R. could mean nothing else than the coming into power, although at first in a semi-disguised form, of the bourgeoisie, and consequently a breakdown of the October revolution. I have never, at any time or anywhere, said that the October revolution has broken down. This opinion is persistently attributed to me by the Stalin press for purposes which have nothing whatever to do with the interests of truth. What I have asserted and do assert is that there has grown up on the basis of the October revolution a powerful bureaucratic stratum in which both active and passive Thermidorian tendencies are very strong. However, their victory is still far off. The opposition to these tendencies consists of a struggle for the independence of the Communist party, the trade unions and the soviets and for their vigilant control over the bureaucracy. This opinion was not formed by me after my exile from the Soviet Union; on the contrary, it was the cause of my exile. A bureaucracy does not tolerate any attacks upon its commanding role. The danger inherent in the Thermidorian tendencies of a bureaucracy was perfectly clear to Lenin. He gave warning against this danger in his last speech at the Eleventh Congress of the party in 1922. My last conversation with Lenin was devoted to this question. Lenin proposed that I form a bloc with him against that bureaucracy, the focal point of which he considered, and I also, to be the secretariat apparatus of the party led by Stalin. Lenin's second illness

prevented the carrying out of this plan. **Socialist Success, Prepare Ground For Weakening of Bureaucracy**  
**Question:** Is there need of modifying the Communist dictatorship in Russia and how should this be modified? **Answer:** This question is closely bound up with the first two. The economic successes, it is needless to say, have greatly strengthened the Soviet Union. At the same time they have greatly weakened the position of Stalin's official apparatus. In this there is no contradiction. In the first place, it is perfectly clear to all conscious elements of the population of the Soviet Union that the successes in the sphere of industrialization and collectivization became possible only because the Stalin bureaucracy came up against the resistance of its proteges, the kulak, who refused to surrender his grain to the State, and thus the bureaucracy was compelled to take over and carry out the program of the Left Opposition. Stalin has dealt with our program in much the same way that the free-trader MacDonald has dealt with the protectionist program of Joseph Chamberlain, who also in his time was cruelly beaten at the polls. Today Chamberlain (I mean the father, not the son) is in any case more popular in England than MacDonald. To be sure, Chamberlain died long ago. But the principal leaders of the Russian opposition are alive. Rakovsky in Barnaul is attentively following all the processes of industry and politics in the Soviet Union. A second and still more important cause of the weakening of the Soviet bureaucracy lies in the fact that the economic successes have greatly elevated not only the number of the Russian workers, but also their cultural level, their confidence in their own powers and their feeling of independence. All these traits are hard to reconcile with a bureaucratic guardianship. Nevertheless, the Stalin apparatus in its struggle for dominance has carried the bureaucratic regime to its utmost extremes. I want especially to emphasize this fact: the economic successes, as frequently happens in history, have not strengthened but, on the contrary, undermined the position of the ruling stratum. I consider important changes in the methods of the Soviet regime absolutely inevitable, and that, too, in the rather near future. These changes will involve a blow at the dictatorship of the Stalin bureaucracy, and will indubitably clear the road for a flourishing of Soviet democracy on the foundations laid down by the October revolution.

**Predicts His Party's Return**  
**Question:** Do you look forward to your return to Soviet Russia? Under what conditions would that be possible and what would be your program? **Answer:** I think that the above-mentioned changes will make possible and inevitable a return of the Left Opposition to active work in the Soviet Union. **For Support of Bruening?—A Stalinist Slander!**  
**Question:** You have been reported as urging the Communists in Germany to support the Bruening Government as a means of staving off the victory of Hitlerism—is that true? Why do you consider the present policy of German communism erroneous? **Answer:** Dispatches to the effect that I have urged the German Communists to support the Government of Bruening are, of course, false. The Stalin press has attributed this plan to me, and the idea has been taken up by journalists who do not understand the situation. I proposed to the German Communists to carry out the policy of the so-called United Front. The Communists ought to propose to the Social-Democrats and to the trade unions led by them a program of cooperation, practical struggle against the attack of the Fascists. The Social-Democratic masses quite sincerely desire to wage such a struggle. If the leaders refuse, they will compromise themselves in the eyes of their own masses. If the leaders agree the masses, in practical action, will go beyond their leaders and support the Communists. One must

learn to make use of disagreements in the camp of opponents and enemies. Only with a policy as flexible as this is it possible to rise step by step to the top. Strategy involves maneuvers as well as assault. I have not the slightest doubt that the German Communist party, in spite of the resistance of the Stalin bureaucracy, will learn this strategy, through which alone bolshevism was able to win the power in Russia.  
**The Present Crisis: Its effects on Europe and America**  
**Question:** What is your view of the present world economic crisis and its implications for the prevailing social order? Do you still look for world revolution as a likely consequence of the crisis or do you believe that capitalism may surmount the crisis and enter upon a period of stabilization? What would be the situation of Soviet Russia in event of stabilization? Has not the world economic crisis placed Soviet Russia before the need of revising her own economic policies? **Answer:** The present economic crisis is an indubitable expression of the fact that world capitalism has outlived itself as a system. The question of the historic date when it will be replaced by another system will be decided, of course, in different ways for different parts of the world. Present-day Europe has no way out. Even though the automatic working of the laws of the market lead to a softening of the crisis in Europe after a year or two, the crisis will return again in a comparatively short time with redoubled force. The productive forces are being strangled in the national cells of Europe. The dilettante plan of M. Briand for a union of Europe has not emerged and never will emerge from the laboratory of the chancelleries and editorial offices. The ruling classes will cure the crisis with a further economic declination of Europe and a strengthening of protectionism and militarism. Under these circumstances I see no prospect of a general stabilization of European capitalism.  
**Question:** How do you view the position of the United States in the present world situation? **Answer:** I think as a result of the present crisis the pre-dominance of American over European capitalism will grow still more pronounced. In the same way, as a result of every crisis, you see a growth in the predominance of the big enterprise over the small, the trust over the isolated undertaking. However, this inevitable growth of the world hegemony of the United States will entail further deep contradictions both in the economy and in the politics of the great American Republic. In asserting the dictatorship of the dollar over the whole world the ruling class of the United States will introduce the contradictions of the whole world in the very basis of its own dominance. The economy and the politics of the United States will depend more and more directly upon crises, wars and revolutions in all parts of the world. The position of "observer" cannot long be maintained formally. I think that America will create the most colossal system of land, sea and air militarism that can be imagined. The conclusive emergence of America from its old "provincialism," the struggle for markets, the growth of armaments, and active world policy, the experience of the present crisis—all these things will inevitably introduce deep changes into the inner life of the United States. The emergence of a labor party is inevitable. It may begin to grow with an "American tempo," leading to the liquidation of one of the two old parties just as the Liberals have disappeared in England.  
 To sum it up, you must say the Soviet Union will be Americanized technically, Europe will either be Sovietized or descend to barbarism, the United States will be Europeanized politically.

### Sunday's Elections in Germany

(Continued from page 1)  
 capitalist. Hindenburg as the latter candidate, supported by the extreme reactionary parties, signified the monarchy hovering over Germany. The E. C. C. I. then wrote correctly pointing out to the German Communist Party 10th congress, held July 10th, 1925: "The 10th congress of the Communist Party of Germany must frankly admit that the party committed an error by not following the advice given by the Executive Committee of the Communist International after the first presidential ballot and before the election of Hindenburg, namely, to signify to the German social democrats that the Communists were prepared to withdraw their candidate in favor of the social democratic candidate on certain conditions. Such errors and delays are unforgivable in politics and always costly to the party of the revolutionary proletariat."  
 Germany 1925 is, of course, not Germany 1932. Today there is an objectively revolutionary situation in the country. Today there is the yet more serious and more direct menace of Fascism hovering over Germany. Today so much more is the question of working class unity, of a united front from organization to organization, from movement to movement, of workers under social democratic ideology and those of Communist ideology against Fascism, the vital issue of the moment. It is not yet too late. The German proletariat is still in a powerful fighting position. It has created a powerful Communist Party; but the supreme need is for the party to understand how to apply this essential united front tactic on a genuine and honest basis.

### GERMAN LEFT OPPOSITION APPEALS TO PARTY FOR UNITED FRONT POLICY

This our German comrades of the Left Opposition have already proposed in a very concrete form embodied in its appeal to the official Communist Party in addition to putting forward a worker's united front presidential candidate also to create (1) Committees of Action consisting of representatives of factories, trade unions, political groups and other workers' organizations.  
 (2) A Joint Council of Action to be constituted at a congress of delegates from these Committees of Action . . . to represent the proletarian concentration against the concentration of the reactionaries.  
 (3) The congress must be organized in advance as the proletarian counter-parliament in the event of a Fascist Reichstag, or against an extra parliamentary or parliamentary Fascist government.  
 (4) The congress must solve three tasks concretely:  
 (a) the preparation of the general strike to prevent the seizure of power by Hugenberg and Hitler;  
 (b) the formation of one common, non-party workers' defense corps;  
 (c) the elaboration of a common minimum program with regard to the next steps to be taken by the Committees of Action.

—ARNE SWABECK.

### Railroads & Strike Policy

(Continued from page 2)  
 efficiency" and cooperation with the company policy have been put into effect with the consent of the labor officials. Stool-pigeonism is encouraged by the so-called merit mark system. Wage cuts have been voluntarily accepted by the labor leaders for the health of "our industry, or for some other equally foolish excuse. Strikes have been called on a number of small roads and been neglected and permitted to drag on aimlessly for years and finally forgotten. No attempt was made to spread these strikes, so they could be won. There was no picketing, and cars were delivered to and received from these striking roads by union workers on other lines. As a matter of fact, the class collaboration policy has practically wrecked the railroad unions and their only function at present is to collect dues from the members for the benefit of the salaried officials.  
 However, there is a marked reaction manifesting itself among the members against this cooperation and surrender policy and signs are pointing to the formation of a growing organized minority in the railroad unions who will sooner or later be able to relegate the 15,000 dollar-a-year bureaucrats, with their cooperation policy, to the political dung heap.

—A. E.

### Youth Club Activities

**YOUTH CLASS**  
 A class in the A B C of Communism will hold its first session Sunday, March 13, 330 P. M., at 84 E. 10th St. This class has been arranged by the Spartacus Youth Club. Comrade George Ray will be the instructor. All young workers and students who are interested are invited to attend. The Spartacus Youth Club itself will meet at the same address on Sunday, March 13, at 5 P. M. A lecture by comrade Joseph Carter on "The Role of the Socialist Party" will be given. Extensive discussion will follow. The program of discussions for the next few meetings are as follows: March 20, "The Events in the Far East"; March 27, "The History of the Russian Revolution"—a discussion on Trotsky's book

### The Communists and the Agrarian Crisis

(Continued from page 3)  
 first concentrated in the developing cities and later, with the development of capitalism, reach out and invade the countryside as agricultural workers almost to the degree that capitalist production subordinate agriculture and molds it to its own liking. "The advent of capital as an independent and leading power in agriculture does not take place generally all at once, but gradually and separately in various lines of production. It seizes first not agriculture proper, but such lines of production as cattle raising, especially sheep raising, whose principle product, wool, offers a steady surplus of the market price over the price of production during rising industry, and this is not balanced until later. This was the case in England during the 16th Century." Marx: Capital, Vol. 3, page 931)  
 In the first stage of production, its forces work destructively against the pre-capitalist condition of the unity of agriculture and manufacturing. But once it has smashed this relationship, it starts the process of unifying capitalist industry and capitalist agriculture on a new plane. Developed capitalism lays the base for the transformation of agriculture into a modern industry. In the negative sense this is already accomplished in advanced America, but in the positive sense it is not, and will not be until after the seizure of power by the proletariat and the establishment of the socialist mode of production.  
**The Agrarian Crisis**  
 What is the relationship between agriculture and industry in America and what is the meaning of the agrarian crisis? The agrarian crisis seems to be a permanent feature of American capitalism, and logically so, because it is by the phenomena of the concentration of capital (and land capital is no exception) that American capitalism is further transforming American agriculture to its own liking. The centralization carries with it a greater diversification of the division of social labor, with different sections specializing in different food-stuffs, even through diversified uses of the soil, in order to rotate crops for the greatest exploitation of the capital invested.  
 "It is the nature of the capitalist mode of production to reduce the agricultural population continually as compared to the non-agricultural, because in industry, (strictly speaking) the increase of the constant capital compared to the variable capital goes hand in hand with an absolute increase, though relative decrease, of the variable capital: whereas

in agriculture the variable capital required for the exploitation of a certain piece of land is decreased absolutely and cannot increase unless new land is taken into cultivation, which implies a still greater previous growth of the non-agricultural population." (Vol. 3, page 747). The expropriation of the peasantry and handicraft labor as primitive accumulation of capital takes on new forms in advanced capitalism with the constant shift of the rural to the urban population and the debt-and-mortgage-ridden farmers ever on the increase, in the last analysis resulting in driving them off the land. And if they return, to return as wage laborers or tenants in varied forms.  
**Effects of the Land Crisis**  
 In other words, "healthy" capitalism, carrying out the capitalist process of centralization, concentration and accumulation, creating laws the capitalists cannot control are doing nothing more nor less than is necessary for a capitalist system. Where the "logical" see the weakening of its agricultural base and point there to the "agrarian revolution" in an advanced country or to a "Workers and Farmers Government," the fact remains that the opposite is true and the weak spot in this process manifests itself in another sphere of capitalist production. In fact, the further tearing down of out-lived agricultural relations and the molding of them to capitalist liking is necessary to strengthen this "industry" that has always lagged behind the general development of industrial capitalism. The agrarian crisis in advanced countries creates friction and steam to be let off. But its weakening effect upon capitalism is expressed primarily in the industrial base of advanced countries. It transforms a decisive section of the farmer class into agricultural workers. It shifts the dead weight of the country to the top heavy weight of the city under capitalism, swelling the proletariat from two angles. It further socializes the mode of production and with it, the contradiction of accumulation and capitalist appropriation. It disorganizes the whole world division of labor, shaking up not only the internal relations between agriculture and industry but also the external relations between colonial and imperialist countries, in fact all of the contradictions of town and country as such.  
 The American farmer, since the war, has overproduced foodstuffs and raw material in every line but cannot see his own overproduction, and only points to the tremendous overproduction of the colonial regions, a necessary development and encouragement of industry under imperialism—resulting in the creation of a whirlwind pressure from all sides. "It is precisely the rapidly growing cultivation of such prairie or steppe districts which of late turns the renowned statement of Malthus, that the population "presses upon the means of subsistence", into ridicule, and has created the reverse of it in the complaint of the agrarians, who wall that agriculture, and with it Germany, will be ruined unless the means of subsistence which are pressing upon the population are kept out by force. The cultivation of these steppes, prairies, pampas, llanos, etc., is only in its beginnings; its revolutionary effect on European agriculture will, therefore, make itself felt later on even more than hitherto." (Engels, Vol. 3, page 785). (To be continued)

### Young Spartacus Affair

**YOUTH AFFAIR**  
 On Saturday, March 26, at 8 P. M., a youth affair will be held at The Militant headquarters, 84 East 10th St., for the benefit of Young Spartacus, youth organ of the Left Opposition. All comrades are assured of a good time. There will be dancing, entertainment, and refreshments. The affair is being held under the auspices of the Spartacus Youth Club.  
**FOR INFORMATION ON THE YOUTH MOVEMENT READ YOUNG SPARTACUS**

### BOOK REVIEW

## «The Strategy of the World Revolution»

**The Strategy of the World Revolution** (Part I of the "Criticism of the Draft Program of the C. I." by Leon Trotsky Published by the C. L. of A. Opposition) New York City, 1931

This important document which was originally the second section of the Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International was published in the United States by the Left Opposition nearly a year and a half ago. The reason for its publication subsequent to the appearance of the two other sections of the criticism (published as The Draft Program of the Communist International, A Criticism of Fundamentals) was, as is related in the introduction, its complete suppression by the Stalin-Bucharin bloc so that the American Left Opposition was totally unaware of its existence. In the four years since it was written, far from having diminished in its usefulness in relation to the developments of the world revolution, it has, on the contrary, become more valuable, particularly when revolution is again being placed on the order of the day in Europe.  
**Trotsky on the Character of Our Epoch**  
 Without understanding the nature of the epoch in which we live, the manner and tempo in which events unfold themselves, the enormous weight of the subjective factor in accelerating, precipitating, or retarding changes in the international situation, and without drawing the strategic lessons from the revolutionary convulsions of the post-war period and the Russian revolution, a repetition of the defeats of the world revolution are unavoidable. It is precisely upon these crucial questions that the program of the Communist International fails to give an adequate answer. "Without an extensive, general, dialectical comprehension of the present epoch as an epoch of abrupt turns," writes Trotsky, "a real education of the young parties, a correct strategic leadership of class struggles, a correct application of tactics and a sharp and bold right about face at a turn of the situation, is impossible. And it is just at such a turn that in two or three days often decides the destiny of the world revolution for years to come."  
 Events in Germany are now converging toward such a decisive point. For this reason the lessons of the defeat of 1923 which Trotsky succinctly reviews in this pamphlet assumes extraordinary timeliness. The German party was unable to reorientate itself toward mobilizing for the seizure of power in 1923 after it had been directed by the Third Congress toward the conquest of the masses through daily work in the trade unions, in parliament, in factories, in the press and so on. The party was confronted with what Trotsky calls the crisis of the revolutionary leadership on the eve of the transition to armed uprising. Elements of the leadership and middle layers of the party succumb to the furious assaults of bourgeois public opinion, to its material and ideological terror, and vacillate at the moment the party must proceed unhesitatingly into the armed struggle.  
 After the opportune moment had been missed in Germany, the Comintern leadership instead of recognizing that, as a result of the defeat, they were confronted with a new stage in which it was necessary to retreat, to consolidate one's positions, to wage defensive struggles, entered upon a policy of ultra-Left adventurism. It was at this time in 1924 that Stalin declared: "The social democracy is an objectively more moderate wing of Fascism." But it was not until 1929, when the "third period" swept in that this original idea of Stalin ripened into the flourishing theory of "social-Fascism".  
**The Illusions of the Anglo-Russian Committee**  
 However, the "Leftism" of 1924 soon converted itself into its opposite, the period of the opportunism of the Right-Center Bloc. Here Trotsky examines the mistakes committed by the Stalin-Bucharin leadership in the maneuvers with the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Left Opposition condemned the policy on the Anglo-Russian Committee not because it is opposed to the united front tactic, as the Right wing stupidly asserts, but because of the illusions with which it was invested. "The Anglo-Russian Committee was perceived not as a purely episodic bloc of leaders that would inevitably have to be and would be demonstratively broken at the first serious test in order to compromise the General Council. No, not only Stalin, Bucharin, Tomsky and others, but also Zinoviev saw in it a long-lasting 'friendship', an instrument for the systematic revolutionization of the English working masses, and if not the gate, at least the threshold of the gate over which the revolution of the English proletariat

would stride." Stalin conceived the bloc as a means of preventing military intervention of the imperialist powers in the Soviet Union.  
 The chapter on "The Maneuverist Character of Revolutionary Strategy" illuminates a tactic that has been systematically abused by the Right wing and deeply confused by the Centrists. Trotsky with scathing irony ridicules those corps of maneuver specialists who imagine that by maneuvers they can solve all the big questions of the class struggle. "Once and for all it must be impressed that a maneuver never decides anything in great matters. . . . A correct maneuver can only facilitate the decision by giving the possibility of gaining time or of attaining greater results with smaller forces. Difficulties in principle, on the contrary, cannot be overcome with the aid of a maneuver." What should be the attitude toward the so-called ally? "In a maneuver, one must always proceed from the very worst assumptions with regard to one's adversary to whom concessions are made, or with regard to the dubious ally with whom arrangements are concluded, and not from the best. It must be constantly borne in mind that the ally can perhaps become an enemy by tomorrow." And above all, in every maneuver the independence of the party must be maintained.  
 Trotsky devotes a chapter to the question of the party regime. In a thoroughly dialectical manner he analyzes the question of groups and factions within the party, shows under what conditions they arise, and under what conditions they are absent; analyzes the question of Bolshevization and leadership, the relation between the C. P. S. U. and the parties of the West. After all the monstrous perversions on these basic questions by the bureaucratic apparatus it is indeed refreshing to read these lines, so lucid and so Marxian.  
 —G. R.

### Lectures on the History of the Communist International

On Wednesday evening, March 16th at 8 P. M., comrade Shachtman will give the second of his series of eight lectures on the History of the Communist International. This lecture will deal with the first congress of the International held in 1919. Comrades and sympathizers who intend to attend this lecture would do well to read "The Manifesto of the Moscow International" which was signed in Moscow in March 1919 by comrade Lenin, Trotsky, Platten, Zinoviev and Rakovsky.  
**A Series of Eight Popular Lectures** by Max Shachtman  
 March 16th—The Founding of the New International  
 The First Congress—1919  
 March 23rd—The Twenty-One Conditions of the International  
 The Second Congress—1920  
 March 30th—The Struggle for the Conquest of the Masses  
 The Third Congress—1921  
 April 6th—The Last Leninist Congress  
 The Fourth Congress—1922  
 April 13th—The First Victory of the Right-Centrist Reaction  
 The Fifth Congress—1924  
 April 20th—The Triumph of the Epigones  
 The Sixth Congress—1928  
 April 27th—The Future of the Third International—What Next  
 at the LABOR TEMPLE—14th St., and 2nd Ave. at 8 P. M.  
 QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION.  
 \$1 for the course  
 Admission 15c per lecture

### Glotzer's National Tour

In the west comrade Glotzer's national tour has met with success as well as with some difficulties. In St. Louis the meeting was held in the main public library hall with better than 100 workers in attendance. This attendance gives testimony to the growing interest in Communism displayed by the workers there. This became further evident in the discussion following the lecture with many questions addressed to the speaker touching upon the fundamental proletarian problems.  
 In the mine field of Illinois comrade Glotzer met some difficulties. Our most active comrade had to be away from the preparatory work to take part in negotiations of the union scale committee. In addition, and most important much intimidation already exists amongst the miners, further intensified by the latest Communist persecutions. Under such conditions, as could be expected, the meeting became small but nevertheless gave an opportunity to discuss some of the workers' problems with the live wires present.  
 There were additional difficulties in Kansas City which were also of the character hitting the Communist movement as a whole. Our comrades were actually unable, even after much effort, to secure a hall. The meeting therefore had to be held in a private but spacious house. It was the same house where one of the existing unemployment councils meet. While it is located a good deal out of the way there was nevertheless an attendance of about 40 workers who took serious part in the questions discussed.