

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME IV, NO. 27 [WHOLE NO. 86]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1931

PRICE 5 CENTS

ILD Mooney Meet Ousts Left

Opposition Delegates Unseated by Bureaucratic Machine

Once more the International Labor Defense has carried out its classical united front policy. This time the Tom Mooney case is made to suffer the incalculable stupidity of Stalinism. Tom Mooney, through his appeal to all working class organizations gave a tremendous impetus to the struggle for the liberation of all class war prisoners. The party at first hesitated to take up the proposal made by Mooney, and then it paved the way for the reformists to seize the hegemony and split the movement, by the incomprehensible Stalinist policy of the "united front from below". The I. L. D. having been thrown out of the "Mooney Molders Defense Conference by the labor skates, learned nothing but a few A. F. L. tactics, which they proceeded to apply in their own conference held October 1th at the Irving Plaza Hall.

In order to avoid a meeting which would show the results of a policy of appealing to the "rank and file members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the other unions, independent of the A. F. L. . . . and the local unions of the A. F. L." the party call invites all organizations to send one delegate for every five members. By this very subtle method the conference was packed with party delegates, I. L. D. delegates, and the inevitable fraternal organizations. The credentials report was an incredible hash of figures for which the reporter kept apologizing and promised just as many times to send a "complete" report to the organizations represented following (!) the conference. The party wasted no time. From the very beginning the hand of the teachers (Mr Green and Sam Gompers) was as clear as day. The chairman and the credentials committee were proposed by the Dist. Comm. of the I. L. D. No further proposals were accepted and the well known steam roller method applied. A delegate from a W. C. branch protested, but Carl Hacker not to be hindered by an "naive" rank and filer, muttering some vague words about facilitating the work of the conference, poo-pooed such anti-deluvian democratic notions. Then came a rain of banalities about why we unite with the rank and file and not the leadership of the reactionary organizations and other rot about the new "third period" tactics of the bolshevised I. L. D. This was known as the report of the I. L. D. district committee. Following the intermission for lunch, the delegates representing the Communist League of America (Opposition) Geo. Saul and Geo. Clarke were called before the Credentials Committee. Seigel "the leader" of the Comm. coaxed us to withdraw from the conference, explaining to us that since we were "old timers" he knew for what purpose we came to the conference. "Communists", he said, "go to the A. F. of L. conferences to disrupt them (!) and the Opposition (being enemies of Communism) therefore came to the I. L. D. conference with the same idea in mind." These were literally his words. Explain as we might that our real intentions were unity and not split, there was no swerving the infallibility of his bureaucratic decisions. The Credentials Committee was to propose the rejection of the Opposition as delegates to the conference. Comrades Saul and Clarke nevertheless informed the Committee that they would fight the report from the floor.

Using a quotation from the Militant which even the hysterically whipped-up Stalinists could find little to boost, Seigel moved the non-acceptance of the delegates of the C. L. A. and the Weisbord group. Discussion was automatically closed and the former Lovestonette, Nemer, in the chair proceeded to take the proposal of the credentials committee to a vote which passed not with out opposition however. At this point, the delegates of the Opposition, who were demanding a discussion on the report all along, were joined by several other delegates, and the Stalinists were compelled to allow discussion. Discussion which was not to influence the vote on the report but was to sanction it. Del. Hermann of the Carpenters' Union spoke against this exclusion, saying that his local had elected delegates to a united front conference and not a splitting party. Delegate Berlin of the Workmen's Circle arose to express similar sentiments, but he was howled down by the chairman and the faithful from below. Then the big guns were brought into play. Maurice Malkin, well known in Right wing circles, stepped upon the stage to recite his little piece. One lie followed another from the mouth of this unequalled convert to the Stalinist camp. Taking the cue from Hacker, Malkin said that in 1925 and for many years following, the I. L. D. was a lawyers' defense organization and that Shachtman had pleaded guilty when arrested in 1927 in a "Hands Off Nicaragua" demonstration in Washington, proving the depths of the Opposition's renegacy. That the party had instructed Shachtman to act in this manner and had never condemned him or the others who were responsible for it, meant nothing to Malkin.

But that was the mildest of his fabrications. About this time, the comrades representing the C. L. A. protested aloud. That was a signal for the pogrom gang to get to work. In a hysterical, half-crazed voice, a party member arose and demanded our exclusion from the hall,

to which the chorus did not fail to join in. Carl Hacker, who has learned a few lessons from John L. Lewis, proposed a motion asking the Opposition delegates to withdraw from the hall. The terrified party members voted for it. When the Opposition refused to leave without making a statement, a pack of hoodlums approached us with the threat to beat up on us. Unwilling to turn the meeting into a riot, we withdrew from the meeting under threat of violence.

We read the next day in the Daily Worker that "someone" overheard one of the Opposition delegates phoning Cannon to the effect that "we tried to disrupt the conference but were unsuccessful." Having split the conference, the bureaucrats, with an aching conscience, had to wrack their feeble brains for such a crude and ridiculous invention in order to convince the delegates that after all it was the Opposition that disrupted the meeting! —G. C.

Protest Expulsions in Greek Club

The following appeal has just been issued in the Greek language and is being circulated among the members of the Spartakos Club, among the Greek-speaking members of the Communist party and its sympathizers. The appeal was drawn up and signed by a group of Greek members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition, against whom an expulsion campaign from the Spartakos Club has been launched by the Stalinists. The gratifying progress which the ideas and prestige of the Left Opposition have made among the Greek workers, particularly in New York, in recent months, has proved to be a thorn in the flesh of the bureaucrats. Their arbitrary expulsions, actuated by their fear of discussion, will not prevent the growth of the Opposition. On the contrary, their savage attacks will only cause the militant Greek workers to arouse themselves to a consideration of the disputed questions agitating the Communist movement. We have every reason to believe that the recent acquisition of strength made by the Communist League of America (Opposition) in the field of Greek-speaking Communist workers, where we are gaining some of the most influential and experienced fighters, is only a beginning. The best Communist workers, the most courageous and intelligent, those who will refuse to let bureaucrats think for them and bully them, will find the road to the Left Opposition in the end.

The statement on the recent expulsion campaign reads as follows:
To the Party Members and Sympathizers:
At the last meeting of the Spartakos Club charges for expulsion were presented by the Stalinist bureaucrats against comrades Koumondoureas and (Continued on page 2)

War Threatens in Manchuria

Japan, China, U. S. and Soviet Union Are Involved by Nipponese Military Attack

How fragile and deceptive is the whole structure of "peace" and "reconstruction", with its League of Nations, its pacts and agreements, built up by world imperialism after the world war of 1914-1918, is being strikingly demonstrated by the sensational events now unfolding in Manchuria. More than seventeen years after the world was thrown into the most horrible shambles history has known, the word "War!" stands out again menacingly in the headlines of every newspaper.

It is not a danger of war that exists in Manchuria. It is a state of war in actuality. Whole sections of the country have been invaded and occupied by Japanese military forces. Squadrons of Japanese airplanes have flown over Chinese cities, raining down machine gun bullets and bombs, terrorizing the civil population and already placing to its account a growing list of casualties. The situation is almost identical, feature for feature, with the invasion of Belgium by German imperial troops in August 1914. The only important difference is that the Chiang Kai-Shek government has not yet officially declared war against the Japanese in answer to the latter's unofficial declaration of war upon China. But the war itself is in progress, on a smaller scale, it is true, but it is nevertheless a fact which all of the futile palaverings at the Geneva meetings of the League of Nations cannot cover up. The only question to be determined in the coming days is the scope this war will assume, the forces it will involve, and how they will align themselves.

Japan and China
The veritable war which Japan has launched against China marks no new departure in its relations with that country. It is part and parcel of that arbitrary, domineering, rapacious policy of plunder and subjugation which it has pursued in common with the other imperialist powers since the industrial revolution towards the end of the last century brought Japan to the forefront in world politics and economics, and more specifically as an Asiatic and Pacific power. From 1894 onwards, Japanese policy has been "China for the Japanese", and it has made no special attempt to conceal its relentless imperialist purpose. It successfully took over control of Korea, which it successfully defended against the Russian czar and annexed in 1910, gained control of the strategically invaluable Port Arthur, and developed its position to such an extent that from Formosa on the South to Sakhalin on the North, it virtually dominated the coastline of China from the South China Sea to the furthestmost part of Manchuria. Manchuria it occupied—and stayed—immediately upon the outbreak of the world war, despite Chinese protests, and it has more or less dominated that vast territory with little interruption for the past fourteen years.

Japan's imperialist interests in China are deep-going and tenacious. It wants

Chinese coal to supplement its own small supply. More even than coal, it wants iron, both of which are present in large deposits in the Shantung region, at the Northern part of China, directly south of Manchuria and Port Arthur. Japan seeks its rice and cotton from China proper and its wheat from Manchuria. In addition, Japan runs the highly valuable and important Southern Manchurian railway, and uses the policing of it as the pretext for constant intervention in the internal affairs of the country.

The Position of the U. S.
But it is not alone with China that Japan has its clashes. A sharp conflict of interest also exists between it and the

United States, a festering sore which may burst into a military collision before one is really aware of it. As determinedly as Japan has stood for a closed door in China, a door closed to its imperialist rivals, the United States, coming to the tremendous wealth of China late in the day, has stood for the "open door", that is, for holding it open long enough for the Yankees to establish themselves in the house. The notoriously arbitrary "twenty-one points" demand made by Japan upon China in 1915, which involved little less than the complete subjugation of the latter, met with formal opposition from only one important power, the United States. For decades, the American jingoes have stirred up the

Jurisdictional Disputes Disrupt A.F.L. Building Trades Dept.

If the corpulent gentlemen, who met in Vancouver, B. C., recently, have their way, there will be a more intense jurisdictional war within the building trades unions than ever before. At least that much was decided by the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department convention. Speaking virulently and with much gusto, that is, in between chewing on fat cigars, one after another of these "labor" representatives denounced the "triple alliance" of the carpenters, bricklayers and electricians unions. Times are hard, most union members are out of jobs and some sort of militancy had to be shown.

The "defensive" alliance of the three unions was described as having been formed "to take work away from other people." The carpenters particularly came in for the unambiguous wrath. They were called "pirates" and "ruthless", having the intention of fostering an organization to "create turmoil and industrial discontent". One expressed the opinion that until all locals affiliated with the "triple alliance" were ousted from existing building trades councils "we are simply wasting our time talking". And this became the unanimous sentiment expressed in a resolution, that "this building trades department of the A. F. of L. direct the national presidents of the affiliated unions to support to the fullest extent of their resources any affiliated union when an attack is being made upon them by unions not affiliated with the building trades department of the A. F. of L." The three unions mentioned are not affiliated because of jurisdictional disputes.

For the rank and file membership, however, this is an ominous sign rather disquieting for the future prospects. It has become a well established practise among this type of "leaders" to intensify the jurisdictional conflicts as a prelude to attacks coming from the bosses.

United States, a festering sore which may burst into a military collision before one is really aware of it. As determinedly as Japan has stood for a closed door in China, a door closed to its imperialist rivals, the United States, coming to the tremendous wealth of China late in the day, has stood for the "open door", that is, for holding it open long enough for the Yankees to establish themselves in the house. The notoriously arbitrary "twenty-one points" demand made by Japan upon China in 1915, which involved little less than the complete subjugation of the latter, met with formal opposition from only one important power, the United States. For decades, the American jingoes have stirred up the

The general wage cut campaign is already in full swing. That it has not yet to any great degree officially hit the building trades is perhaps only due to the fact that by the conditions of large scale unemployment and the extreme weakness of the craft union position the bosses find themselves able, in the main, to enlist the labor needed at a price way below the officially established wage scale. That itself, of course, carries with it only further weakness and seriously undermines the organizational basis. For the large contractors in the building industry this undermining serves well as a prelude to an open attack which is sure not to be long delayed.

The well-fed officials of the nineteen building trades unions, those within as well as those outside of the building trades department, surely know what is coming. They have not a scrap of a program for organized resistance and have no such intentions. The intensification of jurisdictional squabbles in their hands serves as a means of preparing the way for the bosses and makes their task an easier one. In this manner do they prove themselves as efficient servants of capitalism.

The slogan and demand for amalgamation of all building trades unions correctly advanced by the militant workers a few years ago should now again be put on the top of the agenda. An effective campaign for amalgamation and its ultimate accomplishment, plus the replacement of class struggle for class collaboration, would make short shrift of all these present designs of dissension and division promulgated by the officials. It would become the most practical and effective way of making an end to jurisdictional squabbles and really help to unify the ranks of the building trades workers for resistance to the coming attacks. —A. S.

basest prejudices against the Japanese, and the "yellow peril" on the West coast, just as the Japanese warmongers have sedulously cultivated among their people the natural antagonisms that arose to the discriminatory acts of the United States against Japanese immigrants to California. The friction existing between the two powers, in spite of temporary and surface agreements or modulations achieved from time to time, has not been eliminated to the present day, and with the present invasion of Manchuria, shows every likelihood of being rendered increasingly acute.

The most superficial reading of the news indicate that the country most affected by the Manchurian events, next to China and Japan, is the United States. Chiang Kai-Shek has operated for a few years now under a benevolent protectorate of American imperialism. It is to Wall Street and Washington that the Chinese butcher looks for loans, for support of all kinds, and it is far from looking in vain. In the North of China, where Japan once had the free hand granted it by its puppet Chang Hsueh-Liang, has from all appearances reconciled himself with the central government and has put one obstacle after another in the path of Japan's Chinese progress. That is what has determined Japan to take the brutal measures it did take, averring with a cynicism that transcends all the hypocritical peace talk of the whole collection of imperialist diplomats, that it will "withdraw" only when it has established a "friendly regime" in Manchuria.

The American Game

Will the United States intervene actively? Thus far, it has confined itself to the usual preliminaries: diplomatic notes, diplomatic conversations. It has even departed from its regular policy by asking the League of Nations to take measures for settling the conflict. This indicates only a skilful plan of making a pretense of patience, of willingness to use every "pacifist" measure available before taking bolder and more concrete steps. The United States will not let Chiang Kai-Shek down, unless it does it at the expense of a valuable concession from Japan in some other sphere of American imperialism's interests. Chiang by himself cannot undertake a war against Japan. For that, he would have to set into motion such a mass of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry as would constitute a force for his own destruction. Chiang's fulminations, his threats to answer the invasion by a declaration of war, his parading of the numerically superior army (compared to Japan) are so many Chinese paper dragons. The Chiang Kai-Shek army, however superior numerically, is no match at all for the highly trained, efficiently equipped, easily mobilized army of Japan. The Japanese have a "united nation" behind them in comparison to the harassed internal front of Chiang Kai-Shek, torn by the Canton rump "government" on the one hand, and by the unintermittent peasant war on the other. Chiang's threats are made on the basis of the hope—if not something more concrete and tangible than hope!—that more than moral support will come from the United States.

Under any conditions, the events in Manchuria demonstrate how tenuous is the balance imperialism has attained. The slightest jar, and the world is once more confronted with the nightmare of imperialist war. The slightest disturbance in the East, and the whole press is agog with speculation about a conflict with the Soviet Union. And on this score there is not so much ground for speculation. There exists no doubt that if the Manchurian conflict should develop, an "ocean" will be bound to involve the Soviet Union, with the hope that its Eastern frontier can be broken into as a preliminary to a concerted holy crusade of blood-stained imperialism upon the fortress of Bolshevism.

The tragedy of the war danger, of the struggle for existence between the imperialist wolves in which the working masses remain the victims, at the same time reveals another tragic situation: the feebleness of the Communist movement, corroded for almost a decade now by the slow poison of Stalinism. Confronted with an extremely acute war situation, which threatens to spread like a prairie fire, the official Communist parties, which spend three-quarters of their agitational time in the mechanical repetition of "War danger!", show no ability to mobilize the broad masses for resistance to the plans of the imperialist war-mongers. Aside from screeching headlines, little is being done. The betrayal of the social democracy which helped to lead the proletariat to slaughter in 1914, is being replaced by the incompetence and bankruptcy of Stalinism. War puts all questions sharply. It puts Stalinism to the test, as events have put it to the test in the past. The revolutionary Communist parties have as their duty the propagation of the ideas of the Left wing of the socialist international before the war, the ideas which lay at the foundation of the Communist International.

U. S. Confronts Banking Crisis

The announcement of the plans for a \$500,000,000 National Credit Corporation by Hoover, followed by an advance in the Federal Reserve rediscount rate, from 1-2 to 2-1-2%, after two years of declining rates, have brought out into the open the existence of a banking crisis in the United States. In addition, the American banking system has lost \$500,000,000 of gold since Sept. 20, when England went off the gold standard, the greatest loss of gold ever recorded in such a brief time, reducing its gold holdings from 5 billions to 4 1-2. The number of bank failures has increased rapidly, and the continued crash in the prices of stocks and bonds culminating Saturday, Oct. 3 and Monday, Oct. 5, endangered the solvency of many additional banks. Rumors that America was about to go off the gold standard, or at least deprecate the gold value of the dollar by inflation, were widespread throughout Europe, and added to the panicky feeling here. Clearly something has to be done immediately to "restore confidence".

The New Mechanism
True to the philosophy of "individual initiative", Hoover's method of approach was to call a conference of a handful of big bankers, and have their decisions ratified by a hand-picked caucus of Congressmen and Senators. The first concrete step was to start the formation of a corporation with half a billion dollars of working capital, which is to lend money to banks against assets not eligible for rediscount with the Federal Reserve banks. The funds for this purpose are to be raised by subscription from banks themselves, for which they are to get bonds on which interest is to be paid out of profits. Loans are to be made under a double check, by local bankers' associations and by the national credit board, and are to be secured by specific assets held by the borrowing bank, by a note of the bank, and by a note of the local bankers' association.

Further steps to be taken away include amendment to the Federal Reserve Act to permit reserve banks to lend money

against types of assets which are not eligible now; if necessary, a government finance company like the wartime War Finance Corporation, and lastly, possible purchase by the government of additional stock in the farm land banks. These last three steps will all need to be carried out by act of Congress, which will not meet until December, unless a special session is called before.

What is the purpose of the whole maneuver? Obviously not to "restore confidence"; that may be all right to public consumption, but the only thing that would really restore confidence to the bourgeoisie would be profits coming into their pockets. Nor is it to "strengthen the little banks"; of all the things that would keep a group of big bankers awake all night, that would be one of the last on the list, particularly when they are in the midst of a campaign to merge, absorb and control thousands of little banks throughout the country.

The basic purpose is to strengthen the hold of finance-capital on the national economy, and consolidate the positions won during the boom that collapsed in 1929. By insisting on the repayment in dollars worth a bushel of wheat apiece, of loans made in dollars worth a bushel each, the relative position of the banks will be strengthened as against all other elements of national economy, and by subjugating the small banks to the domination of the large banks, through loans

to be made by the new credit corporation, the plans of the latter for perfecting their monopoly of banking will be furthered. All other elements in national economy have borne some part of the burdens of the crisis-workers through unemployment, part-time, wage-cuts and speed-up; landlords through depreciation in value of real estate and scattered rent reductions; industrial capital through lower profits. Finance-capital stands to benefit enormously by the deflation and depression, which increase the value of gold as commodities and labor power decline in price.

Controlling the Deflation
Only this profitable deflation and depression must be controlled, and allowed to go only so far and so fast as it serves the interests of monopolistic finance-capital. It must not be allowed to get out of hand, so as to endanger the likelihood of repayment of loans based on the inflation period scale of values. The policy of finance-capital with respect to capitalist economy as a whole is a grotesque caricature of the policy of the capitalist class with respect to productive labor—to ride on its back and starve it, not to the point of death but to the point of maximum profit over a period of time. By maintaining in a deflationary period the dollar value of loans made in a period of inflation, finance-capital will greatly increase the proportion of its share of the surplus value

* N. Y. OPEN FORUM *

Oct. 16: Lessons of Recent

Strike Struggles

(Coal miners and Paterson Textile strikes)

Lecture by James P. Cannon

Questions and Discussion

Oct. 23rd. Communism and Syndicalism in Spain

Lecture by Max Shachtman

Oct. 30th. Tom Mooney's Appeal for a United Front

Lecture by James P. Cannon

LABOR TEMPLE, 14th St., and 2nd Ave.

Admission: 25 Cents

Unemployed admitted free with Unemployed Council card

of the future, and within the general class of finance-capital, the big banks will increase their hegemony over the small banks by bringing them under their financial domination through emergency loans.

The following paragraphs will attempt to discuss the possibilities of success of such a policy by describing, first the functioning of finance-capital under "normal" conditions, second, how this "normal" functioning has been modified by the boom up to 1929 and the crisis since then, and third, the perspectives of the banking crisis and some probable variants.

Lenin says, in "Imperialism", "The first and most fundamental function of banks is to serve as an intermediary in payment. In so doing they transform inactive capital into active capital, that is, into capital producing a profit; and, collecting all kinds of revenues, they put them at the disposal of the capitalists."

"In proportion as banking operations develop, as they become concentrated into a smaller number of establishments, the banks become transformed and instead of being modest go-betweeners they become powerful monopolies dealing with almost all capital, and with almost all capitalists (and small proprietors); and similarly dealing with the biggest part of the means of production and of the sources of raw materials of a country or of several countries. The transformation of numerous little intermediaries concerns into a handful of monopolists constitutes one of the essential elements of the change from capitalism to capitalist imperialism."

In the United States, these different functions are performed by several different types of institutions, which may be summarized as follows:

(See table next page)

In recent years, the trend has been toward "department store banking", so that one institution may be found performing a number of these different functions (Continued on page 2)

Minneapolis I.L.D. Pursue Ruinous Policy of Sectarianism and Expulsion

MINNEAPOLIS.—The I. L. D. in Minneapolis has never had a better opportunity to develop into a really influential mass organization than it has at the present time. The crisis has had telling effects upon the Minneapolis working class. They lend willing ears to what the Communists have to say and enrollment in an organization like the I. L. D. which is proclaimed by the party as a broad united front working class organization, is comparatively a simple matter. But the retaining and activating of the members enrolled is quite a different matter and one which is beyond the powers of the incapable bureaucratic clique in control.

Incapable themselves of giving proper leadership and guidance to such an essential organization as the I. L. D., they prevent with all their bureaucratic power the helpful participation of capable revolutionary workers. This holds good not only for members of the Communist League, but for anyone who takes literally their statements that the I. L. D. is a broad united front organization irrespective of political differences.

Once again the above-mentioned assertion has proved to be nothing but an empty phrase which the bureaucrats use as they see fit. The writer of this article was elected by the membership of the central branch of the Minneapolis I. L. D. as one of their delegates to the city central committee. The representatives of the party present, including the organizer, Carlson, did not utter a word against my election, though they knew well enough that I was a member of the Communist League. Trained apparatus men that they are, they sensed they could not oppose my election after the membership had so decided. Particularly since they had come to the meeting utterly unprepared and had allowed a Trotskyist to make most of the organizational proposals.

It did not take them long, however, to decide upon definite organizational steps, at the very first meeting of the central body (which includes the delegates from sympathetic organizations) the axe fell and another great deed for Communism was accomplished. Carlson opened the meeting by reading the usual meaningless catechism "that the I. L. D. is open to all workers irrespective of political differences but that does not include Trotskyists". He might as well have continued and echoed the words of a Fourth of July senator who thunders "that this country is based upon the glorious traditions of freedom but freedom does not mean license." Comrade Carlson, however, did not waste any ceremonies—he knew the composition of the city central committee only too well. He proposed my expulsion from the central body and my eviction from the hall. The chairman, Tom Foley, ably executed the proposals of Carlson and I was not even permitted to take the floor.

The vote for my expulsion and eviction, despite the efforts of the bureaucrats, was not unanimous. Several of the worker-delegates present abstained from voting and one representing an I. W. O. local spoke in favor of my being seated. It is not strange, then, that through such a narrow bigoted policy, the I. L. D. here remains but a skeleton organization with a drifting membership.

In such the same manner as they manage membership in the I. L. D., they are going about putting Mooney's united front plea into effect. Without any preparation, with no organized attempt to reach the trade unions or the masses of workers, the usual demonstration, attended by the usual several hundred faithful, was held. Following up this great success, they are calling what is now becoming the traditional party conference at which only party controlled or party influenced organizations are invited. That such a conference could ef-

fectively take up the Mooney defense is the height of absurdity.

The effectiveness of the Mooney campaign does not seem to enter into the calculations of those in control of the I. L. D. at all. They seem to live in a world created by their own fancy, void of any realistic conception of the tremendous mass movement that could be organized around the Mooney defense. They go their way sublimely carrying out the official policy to the letter—call a conference, have a street demonstration and await the call for the next conference.

In Minneapolis, upon the failure of the party and the I. L. D., the Opposition is compelled to take up the task of organizing a Mooney Defense Conference that will truly represent the masses of workers. A conference that will be based upon the trade unions and one that will be able to bring pressure to bear on Mooney's jailors. Fourteen years after the Russian revolution, we must take up the elementary task of demonstrating to the rank and file of the I. L. D., and party that united front conferences are not narrow family affairs but are meant to unite the entire labor movement on a vital issue. Only in such a manner can the Communists show up the fakery and demagogues that trail along.

The I. L. D. in this city will remain the impotent isolated group it is as long as it follows the stupid policy of expelling revolutionary workers for their political differences, while allowing careerists, adventurers and rank incompetents to control the organization. It is to be hoped that the coming united front conferences under our auspices will have some effect upon the present politically suicidal policy of the I. L. D. —M. G.

Protest Expulsions (Continued from page 1)

Lapmros Haidous. Comrade Koumondoureas was expelled from the club; comrade Haidous, not being present, is to be expelled at the next meeting.

Of the 60 members present out of a total of 196 members of the club, 34 voted for the expulsion, 14 against, with 10 abstaining. This shows clearly that the workers present were not at all convinced by the slanderous charges preferred against the comrades.

The charges were that these comrades were counter-revolutionaries, enemies of the working-class, enemies of the Soviet Union, etc. In reality, the charges are brought forward because these comrades support the Communist Left Opposition. In view of this, the expulsion action becomes an outrageous one and should be reversed.

The Left Opposition under the leadership of comrade Trotsky has many times put itself on record as the staunchest defenders of the S. U., as the defenders of the October revolution and as active workers of the international proletarian revolution. In this the Left Opposition fights against the bureaucratism of the present Stalin regime within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as within the other parties of the C. I., against the Stalinist revisionism which is not only endangering the heritage of October but endangers the successful development of the world revolution as well. The members of the Left Opposition have a long and unstained record in the Communist movement. Their actions and their views are open for every worker to examine. Today the Left Opposition considers its main objective the one of restoring the party to the policies of Lenin, to do away with bureaucratism and at this moment it becomes particularly expressed in its efforts for a correct application of the united front policy which is really involved in this case.

What does this method of expulsion of

revolutionists from this workers club mean? It can mean nothing less than an attempt to split the club. The comrades who were expelled were amongst the founders of the Spartakos club. Comrade Koumondoureas was the secretary during the first year of the club. Both comrades Koumondoureas and Haidous have served on its executive committee. They have participated loyally in all of its activities, and particularly in such activities which aimed to strengthen the Communist movement, in collections of miners' relief, in building the I. L. D., in fights against evictions, in enlisting support of the Empress as well as in the general working-class education of the club. Their record is clear for everybody to investigate.

The Spartakos club aims, and correctly so, to be a workers' educational club to develop class solidarity and class consciousness to facilitate political edu-

cation of the Greek workers and thereby render all possible support to the Communist movement and the Communist party. The comrades of the Left Opposition intend to support any effort to help further build and strengthen the Spartakos club on this basis.

The Spartakos club by its constitution aims to take into its membership all Greek workers who agree with its object. In this sense the two comrades under expulsion have worked faithfully. In this sense the comrades of the Left Opposition appeal to all workers not to support the splitting tactics of the bureaucrats, but to broaden the united front, to build and strengthen the Spartakos club and to strengthen its purposes. In this sense the comrades of the Left Opposition appeal to all members of the Spartakos club to demand the reinstatement of the expelled comrades.

Organization Notes

In the center and in our units, plans are now taking shape for putting the second national conference decisions into life. The New York branch heard the report of its delegation, accepted the decisions and endorsed the general political line worked out by the conference. It adopted further a resolution setting forth some of the practical tasks for the branch to engage in for the immediate future. The points particularly worthy of note were: Organization of the Left Opposition fraction within the party, Y. C. L. and sympathetic organizations, strengthening of our specifically sympathetic contacts and more efforts to have all branch members actively functioning in workers' mass organizations, a campaign for recruiting new members, encouragement to comrades available to assume responsibility as voluntary organizers wherever assigned, encouragement to young comrades to take up youth work in a more systematic manner, building of the Militant and literature circulation and the completion of the Expansion Program.

From the center, we are similarly proceeding gradually to take the measures for organizational strengthening based upon the conference decisions. Actual steps have been taken to lay the foundation for building up the Pioneer Publishers as a separate institution—this applying both to the utilization of avenues available for extended literature circulation as well as to planning of new publications. A beginning has been made toward assigning young comrades ready to take up voluntary work in helping branches now numerically weak. The first assignments include one comrade for St. Louis, Mo., and one for Kansas City, Mo. Two national tours are being planned, the first to begin about the latter part of November.

Selection of a national youth committee has been completed with comrade Abern in charge and plans for its activities are already under way. According to decisions of the national conference a special committee to give attention to a study of the Negro problem has also been created. Comrades who want to present their views on this question should forward such to the national office.

The return of delegates had to take place in the same manner as the arrival. Most of them had to beat their way in one fashion or another but we have received word of safe arrival at the home point. The Chicago branch utilized the opportunity of the Minneapolis delegates passing through to add them to the program of reporting on the conference at a public meeting held. The Chicago membership has recently been actively engaged in activities among the unemployed workers. Their efforts have been, and quite successfully so, directed toward strengthening the general movement not only by criticizing the serious weakness obtaining but also by adding positive proposals. The membership has been active in Left Opposition propaganda among the Communist youth and has incurred the wrath and fire of the bureaucrats from the official party and Y. C. L. However, so far the results have been expressed in several new members for our branch.

From Philadelphia, we have received word that hearing of arguments for a new

trial for Morgenstern and Goodman, who have been found guilty under the Sedition act, has been postponed until some time in November. The defense committee states it intends to issue a leaflet for general distribution in support of the defense. And it would not be amiss to remind our members and supporters again that now is the time to speed up with all arrangements for a proletarian defense, to gain support from workers everywhere. Activities so far in behalf of these two victims of the class struggle have been entirely too limited. While many workers and organizations have protested the sabotage of the I. L. D. to the hearings and possibly new trial. The New York supporters made a good start in appearing before local unions by collecting from one local \$17.00.

Militant Builders

Under this heading we plan to have a standing item among our organizational notes. Of course, its life depends upon what actual builders we have. But at the outset we feel sure that every active supporter will agree that we have now arrived at the time when the Militant extended. The material is all at hand. Circulation must be built up and far more. The Militant appears weekly. Many workers are interested in its contents and despite the great unemployment many new subscribers can be secured. With that well under way the next point must be the increase of bundle sales and securing of additional newsstands willing to handle our paper, especially such which handle radical literature. Who is ready now to enlist in the group of Militant Builders?

Some of our comrades who have been quite active in the past in this field we naturally expect to enroll in this group right away. We have in mind comrades like Philip Shulman in New York, Rebecca Sacharov in Chicago, J. R. Hedlund in Minneapolis and H. Goldberg in St. Louis. But there is room for many more.

Our Expansion Program

During the recent weeks we have been quite liberal with our entries of contributions under this heading. As a matter of fact we credited such donations which were not for certificates to the Pioneer Publishers. Henceforth we will enter only such funds which are actually on this account for certificates, either in full or in part payment. We have almost reached three-fourths toward our goal \$2,000.00. We have taken the first three major steps, established the Pioneer Publisher, returned the Militant to a weekly publication, held the second national conference. Now we should forge ahead for the final goal.

Subscribe!

With the Militant now appearing weekly there should be excellent possibilities for all of our supporters to enlist new subscribers. If you agree with us you will want to extend the Militant circulation. You will want to keep your own subscription paid up to date. If the number on the wrapper of this issue is less than 75, it means that you should renew your sub. Next you should endeavor to get other workers to become subscribers. For convenience use the blank below.

THE MILITANT,
84 East 10th Street, New York City.
Please enter me for a subscription one year, \$2.00; six months, \$1.00.

Name Address

City State

Plans Laid for Systematic Youth Work

Steps have recently been taken by the Communist League of America (Opposition) to develop and intensify activity among the young workers and youth generally. With the establishment, after the second national conference of the League, of a National Youth Committee, immediate concrete organizational and political tasks have been laid out. The National Youth Committee consists of the following members: Martin Abern, Joseph Carter, George Clarke, Albert Glotzer, George Ray, Hank Stone (resident committee), together with Reva Craine and M. Kent, candidates, and out-of-town members of Charles Curtis (Chicago), Martin Payer (St. Louis), Joe Silver (Toronto, Canada) and a comrade to be selected from Philadelphia. Comrade Abern is at present in charge of the youth work.

connected with the establishment of the youth paper. There is an excellent field for a Left Opposition youth paper among the members of the official Young Communist League, Communist youth sympathizers and among the young workers as a whole, and there is full confidence everywhere that this latest step forward of the Left Opposition will meet with enthusiasm and success. In another week, detailed announcements will be forthcoming relative to the Youth paper, as well as to other outlined activities among the youth.

Members and sympathizers are called upon to give financial support to enable the immediate and regular issuance of the youth paper. Information requests concerning the Youth fraction and money are to be sent to Martin Abern, National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition), 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

The youth comrades of the Communist League (Opposition) in the various localities are for the present, to organize themselves into a Youth fraction of the Left Opposition for the conduct of youth activity. As a preliminary step, each branch of the League is forming a youth committee to initiate the work.

At a recent meeting of the National Youth Committee, work was laid out. As an outstanding task, the perspective was laid down the publication of an official youth paper as soon as possible. The Youth Vanguard, issued heretofore as an occasional supplement of The Militant, is to be discontinued at once and all efforts concentrated upon the organizational, editorial and financial tasks

CLASSES

Marxism
Instructor: Arne Swaback

Fundamentals of Communism
Instructor: Martin Abern

Registration Fee: \$1.00 — one dollar per course — unemployed workers — Special rates

Opening Week: Oct. 19th
Register at 84 East 10th St., at once

Protest Expulsions

(Continued from page 1)

Lapmros Haidous. Comrade Koumondoureas was expelled from the club; comrade Haidous, not being present, is to be expelled at the next meeting.

Of the 60 members present out of a total of 196 members of the club, 34 voted for the expulsion, 14 against, with 10 abstaining. This shows clearly that the workers present were not at all convinced by the slanderous charges preferred against the comrades.

The charges were that these comrades were counter-revolutionaries, enemies of the working-class, enemies of the Soviet Union, etc. In reality, the charges are brought forward because these comrades support the Communist Left Opposition. In view of this, the expulsion action becomes an outrageous one and should be reversed.

The Left Opposition under the leadership of comrade Trotsky has many times put itself on record as the staunchest defenders of the S. U., as the defenders of the October revolution and as active workers of the international proletarian revolution. In this the Left Opposition fights against the bureaucratism of the present Stalin regime within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as within the other parties of the C. I., against the Stalinist revisionism which is not only endangering the heritage of October but endangers the successful development of the world revolution as well. The members of the Left Opposition have a long and unstained record in the Communist movement. Their actions and their views are open for every worker to examine. Today the Left Opposition considers its main objective the one of restoring the party to the policies of Lenin, to do away with bureaucratism and at this moment it becomes particularly expressed in its efforts for a correct application of the united front policy which is really involved in this case.

What does this method of expulsion of

THE BANKING CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

(Continued from page 1)

ions, but by far the most important from the standpoint of the immediate crisis are the commercial banks.

They constitute part of the mechanism by which 4 1/2 billion dollars' worth of gold finances the circulation of capital to the extent of over 90 billion dollars' worth of commodities a year, in the United States alone. It is essential to the functioning of this mechanism that all paper claims and credits created by it should be exchangeable for gold, at a fixed basis, that is, a dollar is defined as a piece of gold weighing so many grains, and all forms of paper expressed in dollars, such as bank deposits, loans, credits, etc., are supposed to be exchangeable for the amount of gold which they represent. This is what is meant by the gold standard.

Paper and Gold

It is clear that there is not enough gold in the United States, or on the entire world, to pay off all the holders of all the various kinds of paper claims if they should all ask for their gold at once. But this is only academic possibility. In actual capitalist economy, showdown is never called for, except in international finance, where the paper of one country, expressed in its national currency, is not acceptable to the financial system of another, based on a different gold unit. Normally, the paper passes freely from hand to hand, changing its form constantly—a capitalist receives a check for a hundred dollars in paper, deposits it at his bank where it becomes a book-keeping item on paper, draws against his deposit to obtain paper bank-notes with which to pay wages, the worker uses part of his paper wages with which to pay a paper debt to his landlord for rent, the landlord uses part of the rent to pay interest to holder of a paper mortgage, etc.

There is, of course, the possibility that in all these paper transactions more paper dollars will be called for than there have been commodities and services exchanged. Since the amount of gold is not affected directly by such paper transactions, this will show at once in an increasing ratio of paper to gold, or a decreasing ratio of gold to paper.

This is called inflation, and may come about in many different ways. Prices of commodities, or real estate, or securities, may rise sharply creating more paper values; banks may lend more freely, creating paper assets against which depositors may draw checks; securities may be created and offered on a wide scale, giving the corporations which is-

sue them control of more funds, while the people who buy these securities borrow the money with which to pay for them from the banks. In such cases, a financial boom arises, based on increased paper values. It may arise independently of, or in connection with, an industrial boom based on creation of additional commodities and services, such as would

Treasury is a member. Their capital stock is held by national banks, which must belong to the Federal Reserve system, and by some of the state banks.

The Federal Reserve banks do the following: (1) Act as bankers for the United States government, that is, keep deposits, lend money, issue bonds, etc., (2) Act as bankers for the banks, who

ing about it that assures the bank that funds will be found with which to pay off the loan, and is therefore not eligible for rediscount.

Government Bonds

The only exception is Government bonds, against which the Federal Reserve banks will lend money, to help the government to finance itself. Central banks in foreign countries do not draw this distinction, by the way.

The deposits which the ordinary commercial banks maintain with the Federal Reserve banks are fixed at a definite percentage of their own deposits, ranging from 7 to 13% of the most important class of deposits, 3% for other deposits. When business improves, and bank deposits increase, they have to increase their deposits with the Federal Reserve banks. These deposits must be at least 35% in gold; the rest may be paper eligible for rediscount.

The Federal Reserve banks therefore receive gold in the form of deposits from member banks (ordinary commercial banks affiliated with the system through stock ownership).

The Federal Reserve banks may issue bank-notes, but these must be covered to the extent of at least 40% by gold; the rest may be eligible paper, if enough such paper has been acquired by, rediscount or purchase.

In the normal course of events, a dollar in gold received by a member bank is deposited by it with the Federal Reserve bank, and such a deposit makes it possible for the member bank to add 8 to 14 dollars to its own deposits. The Federal Reserve bank receiving the gold can issue up to 2 1/2 dollars in bank-notes against it, and in this way control the amount of currency in the country.

The Federal Reserve bank, if it does not receive requests for loans from its member banks sufficient to lend out its deposits, can go out and buy government bonds and commercial paper in the open market, that is, put more money into circulation, or when it wants to help deflate the banking system, it can sell its bonds and paper, thus absorbing money from the other banks.

In these ways, the Federal Reserve system regulates the activity of finance-capital through its phases of inflation and deflation under relatively normal circumstances.

In the following paragraphs we shall see how this machinery functioned during the period from the last previous crisis in 1921 to the present one. (To be continued).

—B. J. FIELD.

result from the development of new industries or opening up new markets.

Effects of Deflation

The opposite tendency, to reduce paper values faster than physical volume of production of real values, is deflation, and in finance is reflected in an increased proportion of gold to paper. This results in lower prices for goods and securities, reduced markets, reduced profits, unemployment, and an incentive for the capitalist to cut wages.

The changes in relation and amount of gold and paper are the formal reflections in the financial sphere, the world of money and paper, of the basic rhythms of capitalist economy, boom or stabilization and crisis, whose real content, based on the necessary internal contradictions of capitalism, are familiar to Marxists.

Coming back to the "normal" functioning of the system, the gold is held by the Federal Reserve banks, in the U. S., and by the central banks in the other capitalist countries. There are twelve Federal Reserve banks, each in a definite region of the United States, whose operations are unified by a Federal Reserve board of which the Secretary of the

FOR YOUR LIBRARY

Books by Leon Trotsky

THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

86 pages, two-colored paper cover 25c
Introduction by Max Shachtman

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

A Criticism of Fundamentals
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
140 pages hard paper cover 35c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

30 pages, paper cover 10c

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

208 page book—cloth bound 1.00
paper bound .50

THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA

Introduction by Max Eastman
364 page book formerly \$2 now 1.00

MY LIFE—600 pages

5.00

COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM

The Trade Union Question
Introduction by James P. Cannon
64 pages, paper cover 15c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER

64 pages paper cover 15c

PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R.

48 pages, paper cover 15c
Special Rates in Bundles of 5 or more

SINCE LENIN DIED

By Max Eastman
1924
158 page book printed in London 50c

Pioneer Publishers
84 East 10th Street
New York City

Constitution Is Revised

National Conference Strengthens the Statutes of the League

ARTICLE I: NAME
Section 1. The name of this organization shall be THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION).

ARTICLE II: PURPOSE
The purpose of the organization is to organize the Communists in the United States and Canada, inside and formally outside the official Communist Parties, for the struggle to preserve the fundamental teachings of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky in the Communist movement, to apply them in the daily activities of the workers in the class struggle and to reunite the Communist International on that basis.

ARTICLE III: INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION
The Communist League of America (Opposition) is affiliated with the International Left Opposition in the Communist International as its American section and is bound by the decisions of its International Conferences and its executive organ.

ARTICLE IV: MEMBERSHIP
Section 1. All those who subscribe to the principles and tactics laid down in the first four congresses of the Communist International, who accept the platform of the Communist League and who agree to abide by its discipline and engage actively in its work shall be eligible to membership in the Communist League.

Section 2. Every member must belong to a duly constituted branch of the League in the locality where he resides. Groups of members shall be organized in places of employment under the supervision of the branch. In localities where no branch exists applicants shall be admitted as members at large. Pending the formation of a separate national organization of the Canadian Communists adhering to the International Left Opposition, branches in Canada shall be affiliated directly to the Communist League of America with all the rights and obligations of other branches.

ARTICLE V: ORGANIZATION
Section 1. The basic unit of the Communist League shall be the branch consisting of not less than five nor more than 75 members. When a branch attains a membership of 75 it shall be subdivided into two branches.

Section 2. Wherever two or more branches exist in the same locality, a Local Executive Committee shall be formed by delegates from the respective branches elected on the basis of proportional representation.

ARTICLE VI: ADMINISTRATION
Section 1. The highest governing body of the Communist League is the National Conference. Its decisions are binding on the entire organization.

Section 2. Between National Conferences this authority is vested in the National Committee elected by the National Conference.

Section 3. The National Committee consists of nine members. The National Conference also elects two alternates who become members of the National Committee in case of vacancies in the order of their vote.

Section 4. The National Committee directs all the work of the National organization, decides questions of policy and elects the National Secretary, editorial board, international representatives

and other necessary officers and sub-committees.
Section 5. The local governing body of the League is the local executive committee consisting of delegates from the branches elected on the basis of proportional representation. Where only one branch exists this authority is vested in the branch.

Section 6. The branch executive committee is elected by the membership of the branch and is subordinate to it. The branch executive committee directs the practical activities of the branch, prepares the agenda for the branch meetings and brings in concrete proposals regarding the actions to be taken by the branch. Between business meetings the branch executive acts with full powers. The branch executive committee does not have a binding discipline over its members in the branch meetings. Members of the executive committee who dissent from the decisions have the right to present a minority report to the branch, but as a general rule this right should not be exercised on practical questions involving no serious political issues which have been discussed and considered by the executive committee.

ARTICLE VIII: DUES AND INITIATION FEE
Section 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents which shall be received for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National Office. The entire initiation fee goes to the National Office.

Section 2. Each member shall pay fifty cents per month dues which shall be received for by dues stamps furnished by the National Office. Of this amount 35 cents is remitted to the National Office and 15 cents remains in the local or branch treasury. In addition to this, all members are expected to make regular and systematic voluntary contributions to the pledge fund according to their means.

Section 3. Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment or strikes shall, upon application to the branch secretary, be furnished with exempt stamps which secure their full membership rights.

Section 4. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members in good standing. Members six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls by formal action of the branch. The branch executive committee appoints a conductor to examine the membership cards of those present before each business meeting to insure that the meeting is restricted to members only.

Section 5. New members serve a probationary period of three months before final acceptance into the League.

Section 6. Members desiring to leave one city for another must apply to his or her branch for permission and receive a transfer card which is to be deposited with the branch of the city to which the member moves. If no branch exists the member is to remain a member at large.

ARTICLE VIII: DISCIPLINE
Section 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the League are binding upon the members and subordinate units of the organization.
Section 2. Any member or unit vio-

lating the decisions of the League or any of its subordinate bodies shall be subject to disciplinary action up to expulsion by the organization having jurisdiction.

Section 3. Charges against any member shall be made in writing and the accused member shall be furnished with a copy. Charges filed before branches shall be considered by the branch executive committee at a meeting to which the accused member is invited. The recommendation of the Branch Executive Committee is acted on by the membership of the branch. Charges considered by higher units of the organization are also acted on by them.

Section 4. Any member subjected to disciplinary action has the right of appeal to the next higher body, up to and including the National Conference. Pending action on the appeal the decision of the League organization having original jurisdiction remains in full force and effect.

ARTICLE IX: QUALIFICATIONS FOR ELECTION

Section 1. Members of local and branch executive committees must have been members of the organization for at least six months at the time of election.

Section 2. Delegates to National Conferences must have been members of the organization for at least one year at the time of election.

Section 3. Members of the National Committee must have been active members of the Communist political movement for at least four years, at least two years of which have been in the Communist League, at the time of election.

ARTICLE X: CONFERENCES

Section 1. The National Conference of the League is held once a year. Special conferences shall be called by the National Committee upon the demand of branches or local executive committees representing one-half of the membership.

Section 2. The Call for the Conference together with an agenda and the proposals of the National Committee shall be issued at least sixty days before the date of the Conference for discussion in the local organizations and in the official organ or internal bulletin.

Section 3. Representation to the Conference shall be based on the dues-paying membership in good standing for a period of three months prior to the issuance of the Call for the Conference.

Section 4. The manner of defraying the expenses of the Conference shall be outlined by the National Committee in the Call for the Conference.

ARTICLE XI: FRACTIONS

Section 1. Members of the League belonging to trade unions and all other organizations are obliged to organize themselves into fractions for common work within them for the advancement of the ideas and influence of the League under the direction and control of the League unit having jurisdiction. Fractions must report regularly on their work to the respective organization of the League and carry out all instructions. The members of the fractions must work as a unit under all circumstances. The fractions discuss the questions affecting their work and formulate proposals to the League unit having jurisdiction with which the right of final decision rests. Violations of discipline are not acted on by the fractions, but are reported to the respective organization of the League for action.

Chicago Unemployment Conference

The Chicago Communist League endorses the Unemployment Councils' position of uniting all organizations, "regardless of its affiliations to unions or political parties and its immediate demands and tasks for unemployment relief. We affiliate to the Unemployment Councils and turn over to the Councils comrades for general activity, literature distribution, and speakers to cover street and hall meetings.

At the same time we point out shortcomings of the Draft Program of the Unemployment Councils. The demand for "trade relations with the Soviet Union" is a step forward in spite of its inadequate formulation or explanation of the relation between the American and Russian workers.

The draft lists immediate relief and social insurance as the two outstanding tasks of the organizational struggle of the Councils and subordinate entirely the struggle for the reduction of hours to an ordinary demand of the eight listed. The struggle for the reduction of hours must be placed on a par with immediate relief and social insurance and as a long range perspective as the most important of the immediate demands to express itself in the slogan of "THE SIX HOUR DAY, THE FIVE DAY WEEK, AND NO REDUCTION IN PAY."

The draft program recommends the "setting up of unemployment committees in flop houses, soup kitchens, in the blocks, employment agencies, delegates from shops, trade unions and other mass organizations." This presents the organizational question entirely wrong. The organization of the employed and unemployed into BLOCK TO BLOCK COUNCILS with democratic centralization up to the City Committee is the basic organizational force of the work. This must be coordinated through the UNITED FRONT POLICY with the working class organizations, trade unions, etc., through delegates to the leading committees and conferences. The flop houses, soup kitchens and employment agencies are entirely subordinated to the organization of BLOCK TO BLOCK COUNCILS and collective affiliation of trade unions and other working class organizations, through the UNITED FRONT.

The first conference in August and the second conference on September 13 were not UNITED FRONT conferences. In the first conference no delegates were seated, it was a mass meeting and in the second, the representation of working class organizations was too narrow, and the Communist League of America delegates were not seated. To exclude Communist League delegates from a United Front Conference is a move helping the enemies of Communism and the working class.

Now the third conference is called—Oct. 18 at People's Auditorium. The Council organized the August Conference to call the September Conference and the September Conference to call the October Conference and each conference carries on thus and the election of committees to call on some capitalist government apparatus to demand relief and to expose them to the workers. In the first case Governor Emmerson's Commission and in the present case a Hunger March and to call on Congress when it convenes.

The relation of the Communist to the unemployed councils must be to unite all

forces ready to fight on this issue regardless of political positions and to fight the hardest "for the attainment of the immediate demands, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of the movement." At the Sept. 13 Conference the official Communist Party representative's speech could not be distinguished from the regular speech for unemployment activity. At such conferences the Communist representatives must always point to our

goal and to the solution of the problem—the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

UNITE THE WORKING CLASS TO STRUGGLE FOR THE REDUCTION OF HOURS, SOCIAL INSURANCE AND IMMEDIATE RELIEF THROUGH THE UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCILS! SEND DELEGATES TO THE OCTOBER 18TH CONFERENCE!

Communist League of America (Left Opposition) Chicago Branch.

The Party's Election Campaign

The outstanding difference between Socialists and Communists, between reformists and revolutionists, is the fact that one spreads the illusion to the working-class that through parliamentary action it can gain its freedom, and the other openly states that its aim is the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This, however, does not mean that the revolutionists must ignore the use of reforms but they must use them in a revolutionary sense. The working class cannot be rallied for the overthrow of capitalism on the basis of platonic love for the oppressed or of high ideals; it is united mainly on concrete issues—on demands of the day. To rally the workers, to present to them concrete issues, and fight for their immediate, needs to secure the opportunity of taking to them, this is the purpose of Communist participation in elections.

We must come to the workers with demands, but we must under all circumstances explain to them that only with the overthrow of capitalism will their problems be solved. To ask for demands without this necessary explanation is to fail to clarify the workers. To have a list of some 75 demands a la Social Democracy and only at the end somewhere throw in (as if to satisfy someone) a demand for a "workers' and farmers' government", without explanation, without reason, as the New York municipal election program of the Party does is to fall to the level of social reformism.

From some seven demands of last year have grown some 75 of to-day. From the "conquest of the streets" and "revolutionary upsurge" of two years ago, we have reformism, and poor reformism to boot, today. If yesterday the situation was overestimated, then today it is underestimated. If yesterday we had adventurism, then today we are confronted with opportunism. Because the base of yesterday's errors was not removed, it is today the cause of new errors. One is as bad as the other, just as light is blinding to the owl and darkness is blinding to man.

When reading the program of this year the worker is dazed. What is the chief demand? Is it social insurance or is it the demand for the right of firemen to go on strike? There is a demand for everything, there is an explanation for nothing. Why the reduction from last year's demand for \$18.00 weekly to unemployed to \$15.00 this year? Is it because prices have fallen? Or is it to

put before the working class as the main difference of the Socialist and Communist Parties the difference in the amount drawn up a list of demands, some identical and others similar to those of the Party. How will the workers understand the difference? All the shouting of the Party leadership to the effect that the other will not fight will not make it any clearer to the workers who constantly ask "why don't you fellows get together?"

Our task is to explain what the elections really mean. And secondly, we must put before the workers, not a catalogue of demands, but a specific program. The program proposed by the Left Opposition in this respect still holds good. Our program is a program for the working class and its main problem, unemployment. The main slogans do not contain an appeal to consumers versus producers, but an appeal to the working class. They are: The six hour day without reduction in pay, social insurance and long term credits to the Soviet Union. Only with such a program, presented in the proper way, will the Communists show the working class what the real differences are.

—RIEVA CRAIG.

The Real Situation in Russia

By LEON TROTSKY

364 pages. Sold formerly at \$2. Through special arrangements with the publishers can be had from us now at \$1

- PART I—The Fear of Our Platform
- PART II—The Real Situation in Russia and the Tasks of the Communist Party
- PART III—Stalin Falsifies History

Only a limited number of these books at this special price. Order now

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
84 East 10th St.,
New York City

The Struggle for Trade Union Unity in Spain

The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera put an end to the exasperated struggle in which the two trade union centers of the Spanish proletariat were engaged in 1925: the General Union of Workers and the National Confederation of Labor. The battle between the two organizations continued to grow from 1920 onwards, when the treacherous leaders of the reformist G. U. W. broke the pact which established the united front between the two organizations for the fight against the capitalist repression which was then raging. The united front was broken by the Spanish social democracy (although the anarchist leaders also bear responsibility by having pretended to hinder the social democrats from conducting an electoral campaign), in order the better and more freely to be able to conduct the electoral campaign which had opened at that moment. That is when an abrupt change took place in the tactic of the G. U. W., an organization which had supported great struggles like the general strikes of 1917, the miners' strikes of the Asturias, of Rio Tinto, Penarroya, Biscaya, Baruelo, etc. This change coincided with the split within the ranks of the Spanish social democracy during the discussion of the 21 conditions of the Communist International.

The G. U. W. at that time had less than 200,000 members. Most of its forces were concentrated almost exclusively in Biscaya (with about 35,000 members), in the Asturias (more than 30,000) in Madrid (with almost 90,000). The rest were divided, in the order of their numbers, between Andalusia (peasants), Galicia (peasants and construction workers), old Castille (peasants) and some industrial workers in the province of Guipuzcoa.

The N. C. L. had almost 1,000,000 adherents, and its most salient trait was the violent, revolutionary, half-collective, half-individual struggle. It soon fell into the unpardonable error of replying only by individual violence to the repression of the bourgeoisie, principally in Catalonia. This aspect of the struggle, the lack of revolutionary program on the part of the N. C. L., the political myopia

and the incompetence of its leaders, led to the most miserable defeat; the best revolutionary occasion the Spanish proletariat had had, was lost. Anarchist opportunism, its stupid blindness, were the principal obstacles to the triumph of the Spanish revolution in 1920.

The individualist adventurism was crushed by the capitalist repression in spite of magnificent acts of heroism. The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was, in a sense, the real affirmation of the triumph of capitalism over the Spanish proletariat.

During the 1922 coup d'Etat, the anarchist leaders of the N. C. L. found no other way out and were unable to act otherwise than by dissolving the N. C. L. Catalonia, Andalusia, the Asturias, Galicia and other centers where the N. C. L. counted organizations, were suddenly "pacified", according to the expression of the Spanish bourgeoisie. This event played a big role in the long duration of the dictatorial regime of Primo de Rivera. The bourgeoisie saw in it a great success of the dictator; the working class suffered an abrupt shock and a brutal deception by seeing the central leaders dissolve the trade union organizations. One may assert that if the N. C. L. had not been dissolved, if it had been endowed with a concrete revolutionary program, the existence of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera would have been of short duration.

Eight years have passed. The political regime has undergone modifications. The N. C. L. has been reconstituted, powerful from the organic point of view even though it is much more reformist than when it was dissolved.

The G. U. W. has retained and increased its membership a little, at the present time it has about 230,000 workers. The N. C. L. has reorganized and should have about 800,000 members. The division of the members by regions has changed profoundly. The G. U. W. has lost strength in the Asturias and in Biscaya (among the miners and metal workers), who went to increase the ranks of the N. C. L. in their great majority. On

the other hand, it has sought to create a ridiculous organization in Catalonia, which does not count more than a few dozen members. The N. C. L. has sunk its roots a little in Madrid (the center of social reformism), and has lost members in Andalusia, won by the "founders" of the Committee of Reconstruction of Stalin-Losovsky.

The Struggle for Trade Union Unity Up to 1926

Shortly after its foundation, the Spanish Communist Party was able to conduct a fruitful and intense campaign for trade union unity. The slogan of the holding of a national conference of unification of the trade union forces did not at first find a great echo, but to the extent that the social democracy leaned towards reformism, while the anarchists dissolved the N. C. L., the masses accepted the idea of trade union unity with conviction. We have spoken of this movement numerous times, and we cited the culminating event which was the convocation of the conference of San Sebastian (suspended by Primo de Rivera), in 1926. Let us speak of this event once more, even though it be known to the readers, in order to show what was the attitude of the anarchists and the socialists before the conference.

The G. U. W., whose secretary general, Largo Caballero, was a member of the State Council of Primo de Rivera (today he is a minister of the republic) could act freely and legally. All the big bureaucratic artillery of Sr. Largo Caballero was mobilized against the San Sebastian trade union unity conference. Primo, as thanks for the services rendered by Caballero, suspended the conference. But he could not prevent the workers' federations of Toledo and San Sebastian, as well as a great number of trade unions adhering to the N. C. L., from having given their adherence to the conference.

The N. C. L. was dissolved. But some trade unions which had belonged, and still belong, to the N. C. L., among others

conference. A few leaders of the N. C. L. were supporters of trade union unity (even though they are its greatest foes today), Jose Villaverde, the present manager of the *Solidaridad Obrera* (of the N. C. L. in Galicia), Jose Viadin, Antonio Amador, and many others made declarations in defense of the unity idea. The Spanish working masses adopted with enthusiasm the slogan of trade union unity. Even a few anarchist leaders showed themselves as unity supporters, even though there are the most rabid splitters today. In general, the leaders of the G. U. W. were resolute enemies of unity.

It is at this moment that there took place the moral rupture of the Anglo-Russian Committee, during the betrayal of the miners' strike by the General Council of the English trade unions. The Spanish social reformists made haste, protected by the freedom granted them by Primo de Rivera, to denounce the fact of the dissolution of the Anglo-Russian Committee in their favor. The Russians deal with the English as traitors, the English with whom they maintained connections during the strike. With this situation coincided the tactic of the Proletarian front, from unity, became splitting. The bureaucrats of the Spanish C. P. removed our comrade Juan Andrade from the post of manager of the central organ of the C. P. S., *la Antorcha*, which had conducted such brilliant campaigns for trade union unity.

With the change of tactics supervened the disillusionment of the working masses, the furious attack of the social reformists, and the change of position of the anarcho-syndicalists.

Deception and Uncertainty

The preceding period was followed by two or three years of demoralization in the ranks of the working masses. The socialists sought to support the party committees created by Primo de Rivera, organisms of treason and class collaboration which constituted a powerful weapon for trapping a certain number of ignorant workers. The G. U. W. increased its membership a little. Without other changes there came the period of the transmission of powers from Primo to Berenguer, then began the period of the reorganization of the N. C. L. which everybody knows.

The working class wanted to organize itself and on the way it encountered a N. C. L. with a revolutionary tradition, which, in spite of its enormous mistakes,

gave to the Spanish revolutionary proletariat days of triumph and glory. The anarcho-syndicalists utilized this circumstance to denounce the Communists as enemies of trade union unity and of the N. C. L. They pointed to the Committee of Reconstruction as supporting proof. The socialists are traitors who collaborated with Primo de Rivera. This is the language our anarchists employed. The working class, more or less unconsciously, believed them. This deception and uncertainty supervened among the workers, who witnessed numerous changes of tactics without having the slightest explanation given them. In their minds developed the idea of the socialist treason, and they no longer thought of unity of the G. U. W. and the N. C. L. They considered it impossible and laughed at those who would make such a proposal. The Communists, pioneers of trade union unity, had changed their tactic for that of trade union "splitting". That is what the anarchists said and what the Communists proved by their suicidal actions.

Misery, Class Struggle and Trade Union Unity

The present situation, the labor crisis, hunger and misery in the proletarian homes, are not correctly appraised by the reformist leaders of the G. U. W. and the N. C. L. The working masses want to fight for a better situation. The bourgeoisie republic has in no way solved the miserable position of the working masses. The Andalusian proletariat, famished, is demanding bread and work. The spark will light the fire throughout Spain. The workers are rebelling. The G. U. W. betrays. The N. C. L. does not know what to do, its leaders are afraid of the masses. The N. C. L. has forces to carry out a social revolution. But the essential thing is lacking: a program. Its leaders have none. There is absent a C. P. which should be the vanguard of the working class. And the anarchist leaders publish the following declaration: "The Spanish working class is not capable of replacing the bourgeoisie republic." This phrase throws deception into the hearts and minds of the working masses. What is to be done? Propose the fusion of the G. U. W. and the N. C. L.? The 230,000 members of the G. U. W., almost all of them, constitute a sort of aristocracy of the Spanish working class. The bosses prefer the workers of the G. U. W. to those of the N. C. L. and to the unorganized. The immense

majority of the members of the G. U. W. are opposed to the fusion; the leaders of the G. U. W. expel from its midst whoever defends trade union unity, as happened recently to the union of trading employees of Madrid, an organization led by the Communists.

The workers and the leaders of the N. C. L. also laugh at anybody who comes to propose the fusion of the two organizations. It is impossible. There are, however, also in the G. U. W., revolutionary workers, and others of good faith, however confused. Those who are grouped in the N. C. L., discontented with their leaders, hope that from somewhere will emerge a correct and a revolutionary orientation; they have confidence in their forces and they love the N. C. L., their N. C. L. and its revolutionary tradition. We must unite the revolutionary workers of the N. C. L. with those who are in the G. U. W. The Communists must fight in the G. U. W. and in the N. C. L. for trade union unity on the basis of the N. C. L.; the workers of the G. U. W. must be convinced of the necessity of fighting with their brothers of the N. C. L., by realizing first the united front for winning immediate demands, and then for revolutionary trade union unity. We know that the reformist leaders of the G. U. W. will expel from their ranks the militants and also the organizations which do not support their standpoints, and which do not declare themselves partisans of trade union unity. They must immediately demand their entry into the N. C. L. And if in this organization it is not always easy to act, because the anarcho-syndicalist leaders also know how to expel dictatorially, we can count upon the fact that the ranks of the organization are a little more oleran and understanding than the unconditional defenders of Largo Caballero and Co.

The problem of trade union unity in Spain is more difficult than in the other countries, even though there existed in the past a vast unity atmosphere. And that because of the sectarianism of the leaders, of the lack of understanding and the deception of the masses, of the false policy followed by the bureaucracy of the Spanish Communist Party. But in spite of all, it cannot be doubted that these difficulties will be overcome if we skillfully apply the correct tactics by the Spanish Left Opposition.

—HENRI LACROIX.

A LETTER TO COMRADES BY LEON TROTSKY

EDITORIAL NOTES

The Question of Workers' Control of Production

FURRIERS' UNITY

The central feature of interest in needle trades labor circles for the past weeks has been the negotiations and discussions over the question of unity of the furriers. There is something behind this sudden eruption of unity fever which every one who wants to understand the trade union question will do well to consider. It is a remarkable fact that the leaders of all the factions found it necessary to take part in the negotiations, each swearing with his hand on his heart that he stood for a united union. There was a reason for these protestations. The rank and file of the fur workers, who have seen their standards cut to pieces by the disruption of the union, are crying aloud for a single organization that will give them the strength and courage for a new struggle against the rapacious employers.

The fact that all the leaders without exception have been compelled to listen to this demand and profess agreement with it is a singular confirmation of the idea, which we have advanced more than once, that no one can do just as he pleases with the trade unions. The elemental interests of the workers play their own part and break through all the schemes. At the present writing, the negotiations have been broken off, but this is by no means the end of the affair. Therefore a brief review of what has taken place and some suggestions regarding the future course of the Left wing will not be out of place.

The initiative for the unity negotiations came from a section of the Right wing fakers, with the Lovestoneites acting in their now fully established role of butlers for them. But Stetsky and Co., who control the Joint Council of the A. F. of L. union, are the very people who disrupted the union. It cannot be forgotten for a moment that these outright betrayers of the workers expelled the Left wing and joined forces with the bosses, the police and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to smash the union and the strikes. What does it mean if they now approach the Industrial Union with proposals for unity? It means in the first place that they haven't got the workers. It means that even those furriers who have been driven back into the A. F. of L. union by police clubs and economic pressure have not forgotten the traitors and do not trust them. In spite of all the blows dealt by the combined reaction, in spite of all the blunders of the leadership, the soul of the furriers belongs to the Left wing. That is why Stetsky has resorted to the unity maneuver. And by that he, and all those who joined in the unity chorus from Kaufman down, paid tribute to the power of the Left wing.

On the other hand there is no room for doubt that the fakers have gained a certain advantage in the situation and that the Industrial Union has been out-manuevered. This followed inevitably from the fact that the party, and the leadership of the Industrial Union guided by it, gave over the initiative on the unity question to the Right wing betrayers at every stage of the discussion and negotiations. The unfavorable results were made doubly sure by the failure of the Left wing leaders to formulate a correct position on the issue of unity. Can these leaders ever learn anything? They don't know yet that the workers really want a united organization and that the question cannot be played with any longer. They don't know yet—eleven years after the trade union thera of the Second Congress of the Comintern—that trade union unity is the slogan of the Communists. So they hand it over to Stetsky. If he is not grateful for such a contribution, he ought to be. People like Stetsky, whose function in the trade unions is to disrupt and split them, have their work greatly facilitated if they are also allowed to parade as the champions of unity.

The Industrial Union leaders presented a sad spectacle throughout the affair. Here was a singular case of the pre-conceived theories of Stalinism colliding with the logic of the class struggle and a sweeping demand of the workers. The result was contradiction and confusion all along the line. The theories simply did not fit the facts, and the whole time was spent in a hopeless attempt to reconcile them. First they were taken unawares by the bold maneuver of the faker and their henchmen from the Lovestone group. Then they said they would not negotiate with the officials of the A. F. of L. union because it is a "company union". Besides, according to the current theory, it is wrong to negotiate with reactionary leaders. They began to talk about the well-known "united front from below" when they were interrupted by a movement "from below" in their own ranks. Under this pressure—following the masses and not leading them—they had to go to the negotiations and sit at the table with the fakers, choking on their own formulas of "company union" and "united front from below" as though their mouths were stuffed with feathers.

The basic fault in the strategy of the Industrial Union, which has given a real if only a temporary advantage to the Right wing disrupters, proceeds from the abandonment during the "Third Period" of the Lenin teaching on trade union unity. More than two years ago when this error made its first appearance, and on many occasions since, we have pointed this out to the party and the Left wing workers. In the Militant for August 15th, 1929 we wrote the following: "One of the greatest weaknesses in the current trade union policy of the party is the withdrawal of the slogan of unity. This was a central slogan of the party and one of its mightiest weapons in the fight against the reactionaries. The slogan of unity was one of the most effective means of mobilizing the masses in the needle trades under

the Left wing banner. And conversely, although there are other factors, the decline of Left wing power and influence and the revival of the Rights in this field are closely related to the dropping of this slogan."

The idea expressed there has gained force in all the experience of the Left wing on the trade union field in the intervening period. It has been given a fresh and startling confirmation in the recent developments among the furriers. The unfortunate results of the unity negotiations should be a warning to the Communist workers of the false and dangerous path the party is travelling on the trade union field. If they see it that way if they exert the necessary pressure to turn the helm, the lost ground can soon be regained. Stetsky's maneuver will remain a small episode in the struggle for a powerful union of the needle trades workers under the leadership of the Left wing. The masses of the workers there have not been won over by the traitors. They will support the Left wing again if the leadership makes it possible. For this a Communist trade union policy is needed, not as Stalin teaches but as Lenin taught.

We have no intention of suggesting here any "clever" answers for the Industrial Union to make to the fraudulent unity maneuvers of the Right wing disrupters and their Lovestoneite come-ons. What is needed is a reorientation of the whole policy of the Industrial Union. It must put the slogan of unity in the foreground, and really mean it. It must re-educate and rally the workers again around the idea that it is the Communists who fight for the unity of the trade union movement and the reactionaries who disrupt it. A few months of intensive agitation on this point will change the whole situation. One of the very first results of such a course will be the revival of the spirit and confidence of the militant workers. The second result will be a complete retreat of Stetsky and Co. from their hypocritical pretenses regarding unity and the passing of the initiative into the hands of the Industrial Union. This will clarify the situation and put the issues as they really stand. The demand of the workers for unity, which will grow deeper and stronger every day they feel the harsh results of the division and disruption, will become a great motive force behind the Left wing, forcing it forward, strengthening its positions and thereby preparing the ground for a genuine revival of militant unionism in the needle trades.

—J. P. C.

Who Is Christian Rakovsky?

The present whereabouts of comrade Christian Rakovsky, exiled leader of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists, are unknown, as we pointed out in our last issue. Who is the man that Stalin is deliberately seeking to hound to death as a "counter-revolutionist"? The shocking falsification of history undertaken by the Stalinist apparatus men has prevented many from learning the true records of those in the forefront of the struggle. So that the American militants may learn who is the man upon whom the Stalinist fist has descended, we reprint here a biographical sketch of comrade Rakovsky which appeared in the May 21, 1921 issue of Soviet Russia, the official organ of the Soviet Government in the United States at that time. From it, readers will be able to see how comrade Rakovsky was described by the revolutionary press before truth was buried beneath the avalanche of lies and inventions which Stalinism has contributed to the Communist movement. The sketch is published here in full:

The present leader of the Communist reconstruction in Ukraine, the head of the People's Commissars, Christian Georgievich Rakovsky, was born on September 1, 1873 in a little Bulgarian town, Kote. He belongs to the very old Rakovsky family known in the history of the Balkan revolutionary struggles, a family which from the beginning of the nineteenth century played an important role in the revolutionary movement of the Balkans in general, and in Bulgaria particularly. He early showed the heritage of his revolutionary family traditions. As a youngster, while in the sixth class of gymnasium he was expelled for distributing Socialist propaganda, and organizing revolutionary circles.

In 1890, Rakovsky unable to finish his studies, went to Geneva, Switzerland. Here he immediately entered into the Russian Social Democratic organization at the head of which at that time were Plechanov, Sazulich and Axelrod. Through Plechanov, he familiarized himself with the international labor movement.

For seven years Rakovsky, thanks to governmental persecution, spent his time wandering between the universities of Switzerland, Germany, and France. In 1892 he was arrested by the authorities of Geneva for an attempt against one of the Russian agents provocateurs. He was expelled by the Berlin police for his participation in the German labor movement. Finally the French Government permitted him to study there, but only under very strict police surveillance.

While working in Russian, German, French, Swiss, and other organizations, Rakovsky did not forget his native country. He published in Geneva a Bulgarian paper, Social Democrat, and directed the Socialist papers in Bulgaria itself.

After having completed his studies in the Medical Faculty in 1897, Rakovsky wrote a brilliant doctor's dissertation which gives a Marxian explanation of criminality and degeneration, a work which has been translated into Russian. Upon his return to Bulgaria, there began a struggle against Russian Tsarism. Rakovsky organized throughout the whole

In answering your inquiry I will endeavor here, as an introduction to the exchange of opinions, to outline a few general considerations which concern the slogan of workers' control of production.

The first question that arises in this connection is: can we picture workers' control of production as a fixed regime, not everlasting of course, but as one of long duration? In order to reply to this question, the class nature of such a regime must be more concretely determined. The workers have in their hands—control. That is: ownership and right of disposition remain in the hands of the capitalists. Thus the regime has a contradictory character, presenting a sort of interregnum.

The workers need control not for platonic purposes, but in order to influence practically the production and the trading operations of the employers. This cannot, however, be attained unless the control, in one form or another, within these or those limits, is transformed into direct functions of disposition. In a developed form, workers' control thus signifies a sort of economic dual power in the factory, the bank, trading enterprise, and so forth.

If the participation of the workers in the administration is to be lasting, stable, "normal", it must rest upon class collaboration, and not upon class struggle. Such a class collaboration can be realized only through the upper strata of the trade unions and the capitalist associations. There have been no few such attempts: in Germany ("economic democracy"), in England ("Mondism"), etc. Yet, in all these instances, it was not a case of workers' control over capital, but of the subservency of the labor bureaucracy to capital. Such subservency, as experience shows, can last for a long time: as long as the patience of the proletariat.

The closer it is to production, to the factory, to the shop departments, the more impossible is this regime, for it is a question here of the direct vital interests of the workers, and the whole process develops before the eyes of the workers themselves. Workers' control through factory councils is conceivable only on the basis of sharp class struggle, but not on the basis of collaboration. Yet even this means dual power in the undertaking, in the trust, in the branch of industry, in the whole of industry.

What state regime corresponds to workers' control of production? It is obvious that the power is not yet in the hands of the proletariat, otherwise we

would have no workers' control of production but the control of production by the workers' state as an introduction to the regime of state production on the foundations of nationalization. What we are talking about is workers' control in the domain of the capitalist regime, under the power of the bourgeoisie. However, a bourgeoisie, which feels itself firm in the saddle, will never tolerate the dual power in its factories. Workers' control, consequently, can be carried out only under the condition of an abrupt change in the relationship of forces unfavorable to the bourgeoisie and its state. Control can be forced upon the bourgeoisie by the proletariat only violently, along the road to the moment when it takes away from it the power, and then also the ownership of the means of production. Thus the regime of workers' control, by its very essence provisional, a transitional regime, can correspond only to the period of the convulsing of the bourgeoisie state, of the proletarian offensive, and of the falling back of the bourgeoisie, that is, to the period of the proletarian revolution, in the furthest sense of the word.

If the bourgeoisie is already no longer the master, that is, not entirely the master in his factory, then he is, consequently, also no longer completely the master in his state. This means: the regime of the dual power in the factories corresponds to the regime of the dual power in the state.

This relationship, however, should not be understood mechanically, that is, not in the manner that the dual power in the factory and the dual power in the state see the light of day on one and the same day. The advanced regime of the dual power, as one of the probable stages of the proletarian revolution in every country, can develop in different countries in different ways and out of different elements. Thus, under certain conditions, with a deep and persisting economic crisis (strong state of organization of the workers in the factories, a relative weakness of the revolutionary party, a relative strength of the state which has a strong Fascism in reserve, etc.) workers' control of production can precede the developed political dual power in one country.

Under the conditions traced above in broad outline, especially characteristic of Germany, the dual power in the country can develop precisely out of workers' control as its main reservoir. One must dwell upon this fact if only to reject that fetishism of the Soviet form which the epigones in the Comintern

have put into circulation.

According to the official view prevailing at the present time, the proletarian revolution can be accomplished only by means of the Soviets, where the Soviets have to arise directly for the purpose of the armed uprising. This stereotype is absolutely worthless. The Soviets are only an organizational form, the question is decided by the class content of the policy, and in no case by its form. In Germany, there were Ebert-Scheidemann Soviets. In Russia, the conciliatorist Soviets turned against the workers and soldiers in July 1917. That is why Lenin, for a long time, took into account that we would have to carry out the armed uprising not with the aid of the Soviets but of the factory committees. This calculation was refuted by the course of events, for we succeeded, in the month and a half to two months before the uprising, in winning over the most important Soviets. Yet this example alone shows how little we were inclined to consider the Soviets as the all-saving means. In the Fall of 1923, defending against Stalin and others the necessity of passing over to the revolutionary offensive, I fought at the same time against the creation of Soviets in Germany on command, side by side with the factory councils, which were already actually beginning to fulfill the role of Soviets.

There is much to say for the idea that in the present revolutionary ascent, too, the factory councils in Germany, at a certain stage of developments, will fulfill the role of Soviets and replace them. Upon what do I base this assumption? Upon the analysis of the conditions under which the Soviets arose in Russia in February-March 1917, in Germany and Austria in November 1918. In all three places, the main organizers of the Soviets were Mensheviks and Social Democrats, who were forced to do it by the conditions of the "democratic" revolution during the war. In Russia, the Bolsheviks were successful in tearing the Soviets from the conciliators. In Germany, they did not succeed and that is why the Soviets disappeared.

Today, in 1931, the word "Soviets" sounds quite differently from what it did in 1917-1918. Today it is the synonym of the dictatorship of the Bolsheviks, and by that the bugbear on the lips of the social democracy. The social democrats in Germany will not only not seize the initiative in the creation of Soviets for the second time, and will not only not join voluntarily in this initiative, but will fight against it to the last possibility. In the

eyes of the bourgeois states, especially of its Fascist guard, the Communists setting to work creating Soviets will be equivalent to a direct declaration of civil war by the proletariat, and consequently, can provoke a decisive clash before the Communist party itself deems it expedient.

All these considerations prompt us strongly to doubt if one could succeed, before the uprising and the seizure of power in Germany, in creating Soviets which would real embrace the majority of the workers. In my opinion, it is more probable that in Germany the Soviets will first arise on the morning after the victory, already as direct organs of power.

The matter stands quite differently with the factory councils. They already exist today. They are composed of Communists as well as of social democrats. In a certain sense, the factory councils realize the united front of the working class. It will broaden and deepen this one of its functions with the rise of the revolutionary tide. Its role will grow, as will its encroachments into the life of the factory, of the city, of the branches of industry, of the district, of the whole state. Regional, district as well as federal congresses of the factory councils can serve as the basis for the organs which actually fulfill the role of Soviets, that is, the organs of the dual power.

To draw the social democratic workers into this regime through the medium of the factory councils will be much easier than to call upon the workers directly to begin with the forming of Soviets on a definite day and at a definite hour. The factory councils' central of a city can thoroughly fulfill the role of city Soviets. This could be observed in Germany in 1923. By extending their function, applying themselves to ever bolder tasks, and creating federal organs, the factory councils, intimately connecting the social democratic workers with the Communists, can grow into Soviets and become an organizational support for the uprising. After the victory of the proletariat, these factory councils-Soviets will naturally have to separate themselves into factory councils in the proper sense of the word, and into Soviets as organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

By all this, we in no case want to say that the rise of Soviets before the proletarian overturn in Germany is completely excluded in advance. There is no possibility of foreseeing all conceivable variants. Were the collapse of the bourgeois state to come long before the proletarian revolution, were Fascism to run its head into the wall, or fall to pieces, before the uprising of the proletariat, then the conditions could arise for the creation of Soviets as the fighting organs for power. Naturally, in such a case, the Communists would have to perceive the situation in time and raise the slogan of Soviets. This would be the most favorable situation conceivable for the proletarian uprising. Were it to follow, it would have to be utilized to the end. Yet, to count upon it in advance is quite impossible. Insofar as the Communists must reckon with the still sufficiently firm bourgeois state, and the reserve army of Fascism at its back, to that extent the road through the factory councils appears to be the more probable one. (To be continued).

but he was arrested in Vilna and forced back to Russia. In January 1919, according to the decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Rakovsky was called back and at the Third Congress of the Ukrainian Soviets confirmed as head of the Soviet power returned after the crushing of Denikin, comrade Rakovsky became again the head of the Soviet of People's Commissars, being at the same time the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and member of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

country a great number of meetings, started a campaign in the press, and published a big historical work under the title "On Russian Policy in the East".

In view of the fact that the country where his family was living was occupied by the Rumanians he was mobilized for military service, where he continued Socialist propaganda.

In 1890 Rakovsky went to Russia. He was immediately arrested and expelled through Revel to Germany where he completed his well known work "Present Day France", published under the pseudonym Insarov. In order to get in touch with the French labor movement, Rakovsky entered the juridical faculty of the University of Paris; but within a year he returned to Russia and again was compelled to leave the country. The years 1900-1903 Rakovsky spent writing for the Russian Marxian review, "Novoye Slovo", and other papers. In 1904 began the so-called "Rumanian period" when he reorganized the Socialist Party in Rumania, which had been liquidated by Social Democratic intellectuals.

There now began a violent persecution by the Rumanian authorities and bourgeoisie, and in 1907 Rakovsky was arrested following the peasant uprisings. He was deprived of his political rights, and entrance to Rumania was forbidden him. The whole organized Rumanian proletariat rose in his support and he returned to Rumania to arouse public opinion by bringing his case before the courts; but the Rumanian government did not give him this opportunity and tried to send him over the border again. The border countries refused to receive the revolutionist who at that time was already known to the entire western European proletariat, and the Rumanian government, to solve this problem, was on the point of shooting him. This brought about an uprising of the workers in Bucharest which ended with a bloody conflict in which more than fifty workers and policemen were victims. An attempt to remove Rakovsky from Bucharest was foiled by the workers who tore up the rails. The Government, powerless itself, asked Rakovsky to exert his influence on the workers and agreed to return all his rights. This was done in 1912; it was a brilliant victory for the labor party over the Rumanian oligarchy.

During his "Rumanian period", Rakovsky renewed his close relations with the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1905 he went on the mutinous warship "Prince Potemkin" and influenced the insurgent sailors not to surrender and to go instead to the aid of the striking workers at Batum. Later Rakovsky went to the relief of the insurgents who remained in Rumania thus bringing upon himself new persecutions. Compelled to leave the country in 1907 he renewed his relations with the Western revolutionary movement. He also returned again to Bulgaria where he founded the paper Forward.

During the great war the Rumanian Government shamefully persecuted Rakovsky as well as the Socialist press. There were arrests and armed police attacks in one of which Rakovsky was wounded.

The Russian Government was watching the July manifestations in Galatz. In a telegram of June 17, 1916, the Russian envoy Poklevsky informed his government as follows:

"For the happenings in Galatz the Rumanian Government has removed from his post the Prefect Gussy. It transferred the prosecuting attorney and indicted Rakovsky and the chief syndicalist sponsors of the manifestations. The latter have convoked numerous meetings protesting against bloodshed in Galatz and in general against the war."

These manifestations were so powerful and threatening that the Rumanian Government was compelled to release Rakovsky as well as other prisoners. When with Rumania's declaration of war the workers were mobilized, the Government again arrested Comrade Rakovsky.

These activities and especially the Zimmerwald conference, initiation of which Rakovsky shared with Lenin and Trotsky, stirred against him violent attacks of the European imperialist press of all countries, particularly of France, Italy and Russia. Thanks to the Russian Revolution on May 1, 1917, when the Russian garrison of the city of Jassy freed the political prisoners under the eyes of the Rumanian king and his spies, Rakovsky again was released from prison.

The Russian envoy Masslov in a secret telegram reported thus: "Yesterday on May 1 there took place in Jassy a meeting of the Russian garrison; those participating in the manifestation proceeded in an orderly fashion through the streets, the participants bearing red flags on which were inscriptions in Russian and Rumanian. During the manifestation the troops gathered upon the square to which they brought, in an automobile, the Rumanian Socialist Rakovsky who had just been released and who in a short speech greeted the soldiers. Rakovsky was answered in French by the Russian non-commissioned officer Giller, who concluded his speech with the wish that the same fate might overtake the Rumanian king that had befallen the Russian Tsar and that in the Balkans there should be formed, as soon as possible, a federation of democratic republics. Rakovsky was then brought to safety. In his conversation with me the Rumanian minister expressed his regret and accused his policemen for not executing the order concerning the removal of Rakovsky before the manifestation of May 1." It must be added that this shameful action did not succeed owing to the fact that Rakovsky fell "gravely ill" in time.

From this moment there began the Russian-Ukrainian period of the activity of Rakovsky. After coming to Odessa he organized a great number of meetings, gatherings, and lectures, in which he advocated his slogan "Down with the War," thus bringing upon himself persecutions and attacks from the Provisional Government as well as from the social-patriotic press and very quickly after his arrival in Petrograd he was entered on the list of the "twelve" whose arrest was asked by Burtsev as well as by the Rumanian Government. As revealed in a secret note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tereschenko, and in a telegram

of Kerensky of August 30 to the General Staff, every effort was made to put an end to the activities of Rakovsky. General Lukomsky, at the time of the revolt of Kornilov gave an order to arrest him but this did not succeed owing to the liquidation of the Kornilov attempt. After learning of this order Rakovsky went to Kronstadt.

At the time of the November Revolution Rakovsky was in Stockholm from which place he sent his greetings and support of the revolution. Upon his return to Russia, he was ordered to Odessa and Sebastopol with a body of sailors for the liquidation of the counter-revolution in Rumania and in Ukraine. Following his return to Moscow comrade Rakovsky appeared again in Ukraine together with comrade Manulsky in the role of the head of the peace delegation. This activity of Rakovsky is known to everybody.

After the conclusion of the negotiations comrade Rakovsky was delegated as a member of the Russian Soviet Embassy to Germany. He returned to Germany later in behalf of the Central Executive Committee together with comrades Joffe, Radek, Bucharin, Ignatov, Marchlewski,

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

OF THE MILITANT published weekly at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1931. State of New York ss County of New York ss

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

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher: The Communist League of America (Opposition) New York, N. Y. Editor: Max Shachtman Managing Editor: None Business Manager: Arne Swaback

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

The Communist League of America (Opposition): 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Martin Abern, 84 East 10th St.,

New York, N. Y.; James P. Cannon, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Max Shachtman, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Maurice Spector, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Arne Swaback, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

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

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

ARNE SWABACK, Business Manager Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of October 1931.

G. W. LORCH, Notary Public (My commission expires March 30, 1933)

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT