

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

THE ESTHONIAN PRESS HEWS TO PARTY LINE—THE RESULTS

Dear Comrades:

One foreign language Communist paper that does not need constant coaxing and reminding by the Party to keep straight on the "Line", is the Estonian weekly, *Uus Ilm*. This paper, in fact, tries its utmost to keep away ahead of the fixed line, by multiplying all the exaggerations of its editor—the *Daily Worker*, in the hope of putting its front beyond any question of possible "disloyalty".

When the *Daily Worker* reported after the 6th of March demonstrations that a "hundred thousand workers demonstrated in Union Square", and "two were killed" (in Germany), the *Uus Ilm* came out and printed in large type over its front page: "200,000 workers fight police; four killed in Union Square". Believe it or not—there it stood, black on white, for the tomfoolery and misguidance of the Estonian workers who still read the sheet. And, remember that the last statement was made seven days after the demonstration—14th of March, when all accounts, including the number of dead (?) were supposed to be checked up and gone over!

Such insane exaggerations and misstatements, that have systematically appeared on the pages of *Uus Ilm* for the last two years, and particularly for the last six months, ever since the Party strong-arm squad forcibly took the paper and plant over from the alleged Lovestoneites, have brought the Communist movement among the Estonian workers in this country near to its ruin. The paper which one time, in the early days of the Party, appeared twice-weekly, and boasted of nearly a thousand readers, has shrunk—thanks to the strict Party-line—to a mere weekly bulletin (and a poor one at that), with according to the last secretary-treasurer, only 130 paid subscribers; and it sinks lower with every issue.

Workers' Clubs Disbanding

The "Workers Clubs" (headed by the Party) are breaking up all over the country. From Chicago it is reported that the last two "reds", who have been the readers of *Uus Ilm* for the last 22 years, since its establishment, have joined the recently organized nationalistic "liberal society". In Detroit, where about 150 known Estonians live, and where two years ago a relatively strong Communist group existed, only one Party member is left, who writes in *Uus Ilm* that all the rest have drifted away into the great unknown, and asks—what is he going to do about it? From Hamilton, Canada, another worker writes that where formerly powerful Communist groups existed, namely in Winnipeg, Lethbridge and Calgary, none could be found now. The small Boston group, consisting of petty-bourgeois elements, has gone with the Lovestoneites, while Philadelphia is completely out of the picture, so far as Communist activity among Estonian workers is concerned.

The *Uus Ilm* with its strict "Party-line" does not seem to be interested in mass work in deeds—although words know no bounds—but appears to be primarily concerned with its immediate business ends at home, such as running the restaurant, having regular dance parties, etc.

When the writer of these lines called the attention of the Editorial Board to the fact, that nationalistic and patriotic organizations are springing up everywhere, where formerly the Communists had their strongholds, and that immediate steps should be taken to counter that, the loyalites, with their self-acquired reputation of being the "old guards," answered in the columns of *Uus Ilm* with seeming satisfaction, "...let them do it...we live in the third period...now we know who they are!..."

Stalinism Wrecks Estonian Movement Also

The Estonian Communist movement in this country is gradually but surely sinking into oblivion. It degenerates because of its isolated bureaucratic policies and its attempt to keep with and ahead of the Party "Line." Workers who have stood with the movement for years, are now talking with their feet: they drift into inactivity and to certain fascist societies. More patient comrades are repeatedly asking: Why is Trotsky in exile? Why was Rakowsky replaced by Bessedowsky? Why did Stalin shoot Blumkin? etc. Failing to get any

answer at all, they become suspicious, disillusioned, and disappear from the ranks of the Communists.

Those few new members that were recruited in the recent membership drive are sure to stay out also, as they wrote their names on the dotted line as a personal favor toward their friends, without paying down even the initiation fee. The majority of them are ignorant, indifferent or so to say—"set" in their ideas, and would not listen to the argument that Communism does not mean dividing up all the money in the banks, and that Karl Marx is not the man who sells clothes on the installment plan.

The weekly has not done anything in the line of class-education in the past two or three years, and does not intend to. All the more important articles start and end with the familiar but much abused slogans—for satisfying the Party—that have no meaning to the average worker. The rest of the text is taken up by lies and slander against "renegades" (whoever they are) translations from the *Daily Worker*, some silly novel and plenty of steamship ads. No wonder if such a "Line" finally leads into the great abyss!

However, the disillusioned Estonian workers, and for that matter workers in every other language group as well, should not lose their hope and initiative, but join with the Communist League of America (Opposition), which is at present the only true standard bearer of Leninism in America, that will light the path of Communism in the dark alleys of confusion.

—P. S.

Φ

LOVESTONE SPEAKS HIS PIECE

Dear Comrades:

Lovestone is in a penitent mood these days, as I noted at a recent meeting of the Lovestoneites that I attended. The machinations for which he has won such deserving notoriety when in the Party, have left their mark on his political reputation. The honest workers who follow him cannot but feel some element of distrust toward the Lovestoneite leadership. Consequently the speeches of Lovestone overflow with repentant sentiments for the sins of the past.

"I, too, was an expert in writing such resolutions," remarked Lovestone in the course of a recent speech on economic events in the Soviet Union. He was speaking of the complete ignorance which existed among the leaders of the Party on the five-year plan in the early days of its application. But this ignorance was no barrier for producing resolutions in wholesale quantities praising the five-year plan. There were some words of regret for the resolution demanding the removal of Bucharin passed at the last convention. It is a good feeling to know one's hands are clean, said Lovestone.

Unprincipledness is an inseparable attribute of Right opportunism. All the condemnations of former unprincipledness will not change the situation in any way. To remove this unprincipledness it would be necessary to extirpate its roots. The opportunist idea behind all of Lovestone's maneuvers was that the national tasks of the Party could be torn from their international background. In view of this it was necessary to pretend loyalty to the Comintern in order to be left unmolested to execute the national task as one pleased. The theory of national socialism is the basis for the opportunism of the Right.

"It is not at all a question of individuals," said Lovestone, "but it was Rykov who introduced the five-year plan. However, the trouble started when the slogan 'Five-year plan in four or bust' was raised, or in other words, the 'Trotskyfication' of the five year plan. Just as there is the saying that Germany lost the war but won the peace, so Trotsky lost the Party but won the Party line." But here there develops something unexpected. Lovestone quoted from L. D. Trotsky's article, "The New Course in the Economy of the Soviet Union" printed in the *Militant*, March 15, 1930, in which Stalin's adventurist line is criticized. Lovestone designated the article as a monumental document. Mind you, he stated, Trotsky the Left of the Left, the god of the Left, Trotsky, attacks ultra-Leftism. Lovestone expressed the greatest amazement. Then he wound up by explaining, "This is unprincipledness!"

On the whole it was most amusing. It is not to be expected that the Right could be capable of understanding in the least degree the nature of a genuine Left line.

As if in mockery of himself Lovestone concluded his speech by emphasizing among other things the necessity for principledness.

Among the questions asked there were three which hit the mark. They were: why did Stalin borrow Trotsky's platform; what is the class basis of Stalin; what compels Stalin to continually zig-zag? To which Lovestone gave no satisfactory reasons.

—C.R.

Φ

AMERICAN CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

New York

Dear Comrades:

The *New York Sun* of April 11, contained an article on the growth of American exports, which lends considerable light on the new role of the United States as the leader of world economy. The item traces the development of exports for three periods of 100 years each. It traces the development of the United States from its colonial period to its present position of the highest developed capitalist country in the world.

In 1730, the approximate value of American exports was \$7,000,000. By 1830, it had increased ten times, to the amount of \$71,671,000. Today, one hundred years later, the exports amount to 5,157,000,000, over seventy times the exports of 1930.

An interesting change has also taken place in the character of the exports. In 1730, during the colonial period, the exports consisted mainly of foodstuffs, horses, tobacco, fish, etc. Today there is a complete reversal in the character of the exports which indicate the huge development of the United States as the leading industrial country in the world. Cotton is the leading export, just as it has been for the last hundred years. But its lead is seriously threatened by exportation of machinery. There follows in regular order the export of petroleum, automobiles, foods, iron and steel, copper, etc. Such is a picture of the huge development of American capitalism.

But such tremendous development took and continues to take place only through the intense exploitation of the working masses. The immense wealth indicated in the export growth lends additional light to the concentration of this wealth in the hands of the capitalist class, while the masses become daily more impoverished. This huge development of American capitalism takes place at the expense of the working masses.

—C.L.

Φ

The Ultra-Left Policy on Right Dregs

(Continued from Page 4)

ganized in the trade unions was replaced by the hope for the swiftest possible utilization of the ready apparatus of the trade unions for the purposes of the revolution. Out of this false position sprang also the later policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, which, after the defeat in China, dealt us the second heaviest blow, a blow against the Soviet Union as well as against the English working class.

The Party and the Proletarian Revolution

Already in the *Lessons of October* written in the summer of 1923, the idea of an accelerated road—an accelerated road through friendship with Purcell and Cook, as a further development of this idea—is rejected as follows:

"Without the Party, independently of the Party, in an evasion of the Party, through a substitute for the Party, the proletarian revolution can never triumph. This is the principal lesson of the last decade. It is true that the English trade unions can become a powerful lever for the proletarian revolution. They can, for example, under certain conditions and at a definite period, even replace the workers' Soviets. But they can never play such a role without

the Communist Party and certainly not against it, but only under the condition that Communist influence in the trade unions becomes decisive. For this lesson and conclusion—in relation to the role and significance of the Party for the proletarian revolution—we have had to pay too dearly to be able to renounce it lightly or even to have it weakened." (Trotsky, Volume 3, page 9.)

The same problem is dealt with in even greater detail in the book, *Whither England?* This book, from its very first page, is devoted to the presentation of the idea that even the British revolution cannot avoid the gate of Communism, and that with a correct, courageous and intransigent policy which steers clear of any illusions with regard to circuitous routes, the English Communist Party can grow by leaps and bounds and mature so as to be equal in the course of a few years to the tasks before it.

The Left illusions of 1924 were forced up with the aid of Right yeast leaven. So as to be able to conceal the significance of the mistakes and defeats of 1923 from others as well as from oneself, the progress of a Right swing that was going forward in the proletariat had to be denied and the revolutionary processes within the other classes optimistically exaggerated. That was the beginning of the down-sliding from the proletariat to the Centrist, that is, to the petty bourgeois line which, in the course of the further developing stabilization, had to free itself from its ultra-Left shell and reveal itself as a coarse conciliatory line, in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in China, in England, in Germany, as well as everywhere else.

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SPRINKLER FITTERS TAKE 5-DAY WEEK

MILWAUKEE—(FP)—Local 183 of the plumbers, known as the Milwaukee Sprinkler Fitters Union, signed a five-year agreement with the bosses. The daily rate is \$11, an increase of \$1, but the weekly wage is \$55 just as before.

This is the first union in any Milwaukee mechanical trade to win the 5-day week.

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Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. McDonald's 65 Sixth St.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 777 Tent St. N. W.

PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.

CHICAGO, ILL., Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; Walden Bookstore, 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britsche's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newsstands

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. We. 1st St.

BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St. near Washington; Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.

ROXBURY, MASS., Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.

DETROIT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.

KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.

ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. Cor.; Warwick's News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. Cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. Cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. Cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. Cor.

NEWARK, N. J.: Aher's Stand; 53 Prince St.

SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.

TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St. St.

TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.

NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.

CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

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