# LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

### Among the Unemployed

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The 826,000 persons, consisting almost entirely of workers and their families, who are completely dependent upon the various city relief organizations for their food and shelter, are about to learn once more the blessings of living in a capitalist society. This vast number does not include the thousands, who have been refused aid on one shabby pretext or another, nor does it include the tens of thousands of others, who have been patiently starving while their cases are be-

ing "investigated." In the N. Y. Times of April 5th, Frank pecially children.

weeks ago, of the "Block-Aiders". The plan of this organization is to collect money on each block in the city to support the unemployed living on that property owners, are clamoring for a that the city reduce its expenses by cutown profits.

any considerable number begun to fight against them is evident. This is due capable of leading them, the Communist one. Party of America by its false policies and inadequate slogans, has succeeded under Stalinist leadership only in cutting itself off almost entirely from the masses. That the working class of America as a whole is backward is well known, but the pressure of conditions, that is, unemployment, wage cuts and starvation cannot help but move them to action within the coming period.

CLEVELAND WORKERS ATTENTION! OPEN FORUM

Every Friday Night Carpenters Hall, 13503 Kinsman Road Left Opposition speakers

## From a Ford Worker

THE MASSACRE MODEL

The agencies and shops of the Ford Motor Co., on account of the low prices and low running expenses of the Ford cars, kept comparatively busy through the deepening depression. But it reached them, too. The shops became empty Men were laid off. Dealers went bankrupt. The Ford Motor Co. kept silent. Dealers suffered nervous tensions. While the public was told at regular intervals that thousands of men were going back to work and prosperity, the dealers heard nothing. The Ford Motor Co. had a new car ready for the public. But in J. Taylor, Commissioner of Public Wel- the low market it would have been mere- Minneapolis-\$180; Chicago-\$100; Torfare, stated that the Home Relief Bur- ly another car. It was scraped. The eau, taking care of 125,000 families, Ford Co. pursued a policy of watchful \$40; Cleveland-\$40; Newark-\$35; Kanwould due to lack of funds immediately waiting. Now it is ready to spring, the sas City-\$30; St. Louis-\$25; Youngsclose fifty of its seventy-five precinct real thing. The curtain is lifting and town-\$10; Los Angeles-\$10; New relief stations and that food allowances, with the V8, the Massacre Model, we averaging about four dollars a week per behold a new phase of development of family, would be cut ten per cent. He the capitalist system. The great adveradmitted that this cut would compel those tising machine works better than ever receiving this small amount to live on before. While the big press is humming a very monotonous diet and that mal- with the heroic attempt of Henry Ford nutrition, that is, starvation, and illness to crank up the stalled machinery of would be the result of it, affecting es- production once more, the Ford dealers and their employers are rounded up and In the same article it is stated that submitted to truly high pressure sales the daily outlay of \$78,000 is to be cut oratory. The high official of the Ford to \$30,000, which means that over half Motor Co. speaking at the roundup in of those workers and their families now Ohio treated his audience as so many receiving aid will be refused further children. He never once even touched assistance. But this is by no means the the fundamental function of the capitalcomplete story. The Times carried an ist system of production; the increasing article on Monday, April 11th, stating number of all kinds of commodities prothat the \$32,500,000 which the city has duced by labor displacing machines, been doling out since last fall, is prac- which less and less people are able to tically exhausted and that unless furth- buy. No, the blame was put on the er funds are raised all relief will come dealers and their employers. It is the to a standstill on June 1st. \$32,500,000 failure to meet the customer with the may seem to many an enormous sum of right service smile sticking out of a money, but it is less than the wages the brand new theater usher uniform. It is millions of unemployed workers in this the failure to paint a white border city would ordinarily earn in two weeks! around the floor 6 inch high and 6 inch Touched by the misery of these "poor wide, that caused the prospective cusunfortunates" the Commissioner calls tomer not to rush in. There is nothing for an additional \$20,000,000 to continue wrong with the country physically, it is the "good work". But that the city has all mental. "Worry kills, work thrillsdefinitely decided to pass the buck is now go to work and Spring is not far proven by the inauguration, some three off." "To be sure there are hardships and suffering. There are employers who toss sleeplessly on their pillows trying to make things meet on payday. But there are heroes among you who decline to lay off men, who look optimistically burden directly upon those workers who into the future. Be glad that you are still have jobs. While these workers still hanging on. We ought to have whose wages have been cut in half are enough decency not to bite the hands saddled with this huge task, the civic that feed us (the speaker was hitting association, composed of bosses and at the grumblings of the dealers). What would you do without the Ford Motor Co. providing jobs for you?" Here the writer broke the spell and made the mental note that the workers of Amerfiring large numbers of its employees. ica and the whole world will give the They are well aware that these measures only reply to that question in the not too distant future. A reply that will but they are concerned only with their startle the Fords and the Schwabs, the workers will give them a tremendous That the workers, all of whom are kick in the pants and take away from faced with these prospects, have not in them the means of production and organize it on a different basis-production for use and not for private profitsprimarily to the fact that the only party will provide a job for every one wanting

> All this while no hands are working on the V 8. The Massacre Model in small numbers is rushed from one showroom to another. The "thousands" of men are still waiting at this writing for the final word to start in (middle of March). It is a life and death question for the American workers to learn to understand the functions of this vicious capitalist system of ours and prepare for its destruction in order to make room for the new system of production. And don't let them kid you, if they yell "Com-

munists", "Bolsheviks", "Reds". -- FORD WORKER.

### Economic Crisis Continues to Deepen

since 1919. All the other indices of the eyes. country's production are likewise moving downward.

The expected spring upturn has proved to be another disappointment to the Babsons and the people who still swallow their stuff. The economic messianism of Ford took the form of a machine gun fusilade.

The purveyors of bourgeois optimism now restrict their dope to more qualified formulations than they used formerly. Thus the New York Times of April 18: "During the last week some officials expressed, with what has been described as 'cautious optimism', the view that the worst features of liquidation may be over and that a turn in the tide has come or soon will come, with a slow recovery from economic depression in this country " Expressions heard now are

#### DEBATE

On Friday, May 6th at 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, the Spartacus Youth Club will debate the Young Peoples' Socialist League on: Socialism vs. Communism-Can the Program of the Socialist Party Emancipate the American Workers? Comrades Glotzer and Ray will defend the Communist position. Frank Palmer of the Federated Press will be the chairman. Both sides are busy offenaring.

erved for that evening. Admission is by ticket and is only 20c. Tickets are on sale at 84 East 10th Street.

The crisis is still deepening. It is largely restricted to the belief that inenough to look at the latest Annalist dicators point to a check in liquidation (April 15) to find abundant evidence to and that unless further adverse factors that effect. The graphs show that pig appear, a more hopeful outlook is justiiron and steel ingot production have fied." So speak the capitalist hessians plan we have already worked out. fallen to new lows for the entire period of the pen. It is to throw dust in the

> The authentic spokesmen of capitalism speaks in a more pessimistic vein. J. P. Jordan writing in the April 15 Annalist rarely witnessed a similar achievement. says, in Face the Facts: "For two full years we all have hoped that the depression in business had spent its force. 1930 was bad; 1931 was worse, and now 1932 seems generally worse than 1931. But the most alarming feature right now is that there seem to be few signs that 1933 will be much better. If this is so, and there are many signs to point that way, it becomes most obvious-that further and deeper adjustments must be made. . . . " This is a truer picture of the perspective capitalism holds be

And the remedy it proposes to apply -wage cuts! That is the meaning of Jordan's "further and deeper adjustments". He urges capitalists everywhere to "right at the start let us dispose of the element of sentiment". No doubt the capitalist class intends to launch a new wave of wage cuts. The forthcoming ten percent cut in the wages of the steel workers, announced recently, will be the first point of attack.

The workers must resist. That is the only way to prevent not only this attack on their living standards but the "further and deeper" onslaughts which will follow inevitaby if this one is peace-The big hall in the Labor Temple has ably accepted by them. To the Communist party falls the duty of organizing

# Opposition Press Drive: May 1 - June 1

scription drive has been incorporated in POSITION PRESS. a campaign to secure the Left Opposition press. This campaign will open on the June. Its objective is to build a solid ported nine subs to The Militant and slogan is BUILD THE OPPOSITION eapolis to the head of the list in the be distributed as follows: 50% to The going to report it this way. But just Militant; 30% to Unser Kamf; 10% to Communistes: 10% to Young Spartacus. This division is exclusive of remittances made during this month for subs and bundle orders. These proceeds will be turned over to the proper organs without division but will be included in their of the branches is as follows: totals.

Quotas have been assigned to the branches. They are: New York-\$400; onto-\$70; Boston-\$40; Philadelphia-Haven-\$10: Montreal-\$10.

If any branch is of the opinion that its financial ability has been underestimated in these quotas we will gladly raise its figure with appropriate self criticism. On the other hand nothing be lowered. Each week we will publish the quota and results attained by each branch for all to see.

These quotas can be realized by working along the lines already worked out and described below. CAMPAIGN SCHEDULE

The first week of the campaign, May 1 to May 6 inclusive, is to be devoted to an organized distribution of recent back issues of our papers, and simultaneous and subsequent follow-up sales of current issues together with sales of our literature. The back numbers will be sent out simultaneously with this nouncement. The branches should immediately inventory their stocks of literature, and if short, should order at

The second week of the campaign, May 8 to 14 inclusive, is to be devoted to collections. This should be a concentrated, organized drive. Everyone who has an iota of sympathy for the ideas donations and pledges should be solicited for payment during the month. We are counting upon all our members and supporters to take collection boxes and work actively in this collection.

The third week, May 15 to May 22 inclusive, is to be devoted to a canvass for organization in the second week of the especially on the German question, news stand posters, return privileges on bundle orders should be utilized to the ut-

The fourth week, May 23 to May 30 inclusive, is to be devoted to the organization of affairs for the benefit of our press. These affairs can be either indoor entertainments in rented halls or private houses, or outdoor picnics, bikes; whatever conditions make easiest and most productive. If possible the affairs should be held during the week-end on May 28, 29, or 30 so that the entire League can wind up the campaign at the same time on a national scale

Each branch should elect a committee to organize its share of the campaign work. The committee must report all results by air mail. The reports must be in the mail not later than noon on Monday following the close of the preceding week. This is necessary to make The Militant on time. All reports will be published in all our organs. All material necessary for the campaign will be supplied by the national office.

APPEAL TO SYMPATHIZERS In cities where we have no branches we appeal to our readers and sympathizers to give us a concrete manifestation of their support by actively joining in the campaign. If they will write usl immediately we will outline for them a

All comrades should understand that with our extremely slender resources we are issuing four organs in three languages. The revolutionary movement has We are determined to continue, to go ahead as soon as possible. What we need at the present time is a sounder financial basis, an increase in our technical equipment, a wider circle of read-

All three are, of course, inseparable They can be achieved only simultaneous ly: That is why our campaign is organized along the lines described above. We are confident that whoever sees the problem this way will contribute his

### MILITANT AFFAIR

On Saturday, April 30 at 8 P. M. the New York branch of the League will hold an affair at its headquarters, 84 East tant. This affair is being organized by drive teams, comrades Craine and Bord. be purchased at the door by those com-\_T. S. friend. Out-of-town branches please note. ism which boded them no great good. Trotsky, in face o. the fact that 99% of Germany.—Ed.

The final month of the Militant sub- time and energy to-BUILD THE OP-

Early this week comrade Coover re three to Unser Kamf. This shot Minnstanding of the branches. And we were as we were going to press New .York crossed the tape with one sub, its lone contribution for the week, and they were tied. At this rate Minneapolis will realize its intention of giving the New York branch drubbing. The standing

Minneapolis 33 New York Chicago Boston St. Louis Newark Philadelphia Montreal Miscellaneous

This makes a total of 100 subs against 87 last week, an increase of 13. No new bundle orders are reported.

The situation in Minneapolis can be No. 1 Team,

"Total points for the Minneapolis branch for April 13 stood at 55 1-4. The next two weeks are going to bring forth some keen competition between the rival teams as the team having the highest total on Wednesday, April 27 are to be the guests at an affair to be put on by the other team. League members and sympathizers should get their subs into in 80 cars and truck filled with miners the hands of one or the other of the and their families. Upon reaching the team captains before April 27th."

What is there to say about this except -other branches please copy.

affair for The Militant on April 30. It the town, the occupants dismounted and has a unique idea which can be copied the police came after them and arrested and struggle of the Left Opposition profitably by the other branches. The their leader, a miner. Their comrades should be ferreted out and asked to admission price of 25 cents entitles the in other trucks came down and proceedhelp with donations and pledges. All ticket holder or a friend to an 8 issue ed to see what was the matter; the polsub to The Militant. The affair is de- ice, without warning, immediately opened scribed elsewhere in this issue. . . . .

The staff of Militant Bullders is growincrease of four over last week. Minn- jured. Peace, order and good govern- ectors of the U. S. Steel Corporation that eapolis is more than ever its mainstay. new subs, renewals, and bundle orders The staff and its record follow: C. Cowl Curran-1.

> its present size. The question now iswill Minneapolis have a pushover, or up and give it a fight?

## IN THE CANADIAN MOVEMENT

#### Canadian miners

In the lignite coal mining industry of Saskatchewan another wedge has been dug into black layers of coal.

The developments are at present taking place in the southern portion of that Province, at Beinfait and Estevan, the centre of the soft coal mining camps, controlled by British, American and class sentiments openly in court. For Canadian capital. The town of Beinfait instance, one J. McLean, a checkweighis a typical company town of about 2,800 people, containing all the primidve conditions of civilization, wooden shacks, earthen streets, company stores, etc., and none of its amenities, as far as the miners are concerned. The bosses of this district are virulently against the workers organizing into unions of any kind and when, under the pressure of their conditions, the miners came out on strike under the banner of the Left wing Mine Workers' Union of Canada against their low wages and intensified rationalization, for an equitable distribution of work and the right to appoint their own checkweighman, the operators had their seen from comrade Coover's words: "The tools on the municipal council of the can persuade us that any quota should No. 1 Team (Myles Dunne, Capt.) total- nearby town of Estevan, where the mined 3 1-2 points for the second week in ers usually meet. Resolutions were April making that No. 1 Team's standing railroaded through prohibiting the min-28 1-4 points; while the No. 2 Team ers meeting in halls or parading through (Wm. Curran, Capt.) again increased the streets, using this as a means to hintheir weekly total by getting 9 1-2 points, der the miners in their organization. It making their total 27 points. Not quite is also believed the U. M. W. A. gave enough, however, to catch up with the the bosses their best advice on how to

From the sparse reports received here the union was successful in calling out a large proportion of the miners, who decided to hold a parade and demonstration in Estevan. It took place on September 29th, 1931. With the sympathy and support of the poor farmers of the district, the parade started off town they were met by a cordon of Royal Canadian Mounted Police armed with all the instruments of warfare; three of The New York branch is holding an the trucks turned off the highway into fire on the defenseless men, women and children, who tried to defend themselves by throwing stones at the mounties. ing. It now includes 25 comrades, an Three miners killed and a number inment prevailed!

Six hours later, after the local authfor news stands and bookstores. The \_5; A. Konikov-4; V. R. Dunne-4; orities had been in telephone conversa- unfailing reality, only the question of F. Barach—4; L. Basky—3; C. Skog-1 tion with the provincial Attorney-Gener campaign should be swung into line for lund-3; M. Dunne-3; C. R. Hedlund- al, warrants were issued for the arrest this work. In this work the literature 3: O. Coover-2; J. Carter-1; R. Ruskin of all Left wing leaders in the district. premiums, combined sub rates, the time-1 -1; C. Forsen-1; H. Capelis-1; L. no doubt at the instigation of the Secliness of comrade Trotsky's writings, Roseland-1; R. Sacharow-1; S. Zal- tion 98 Premier, Bennett. 25 miners manoff-1; W. Herman-1; A. Swakeck were arrested, including three of their workers' purchasing power. Wage reduc--1; A. Glotzer-1; L. Logan-1; Kaldis leaders and charged with unlawful as tions mean the opposite. It should -1; G. Ray-1; M. Sterling-1; W. sembly, rioting, et. al. The "trials", which have been termed by defense and file ask these gentlemen just how We expect that the press campaign counsel as "the great frame-up in the serious they mean their declaration. But will see this staff grow to many times Province of Saskatchewan and the Dominion of Canada" have just concluded. this constant reduction of their standare the other branches going to wake Naturally, all were found guilty by the ard of living except an effective fighting judge and jury; most of them were placed resistance.

on bond or given short terms of imprisonment. A. Buller, in charge of women's work, who was not even in the demonstration and to whom the jury recommended leniency, was sentenced to one year at hard labor plus a \$500 fine; Sam Scarlett received one year plus \$100 and I. Minister, two years at hard labor. The judge was especially vicious with those comrades who expressed their workingman, who incurred the hatred of the bosses, and whose crime consisted in refusing to cheat the miners, was about to be placed on suspended sentence, and the judge was expressing hypocritical soliticiousness from his sick wife. Mc-Lean informed the judge that his wife needed bread and not judicial sentiment -and McLean was given eight months at hard labor. These cases are being appealed.

The suffering of the miners in the West has made them militant, and sporadic strikes are still taking place. A call has been issued for a general strike, and under proper Left wing leadership this strike activity may be developed into homogeneous action. The miners in Canada and the U.S. A. are beginning to move, and may become the harbinger of the upward swing in the workers' struggles.

Information as to the exact economic influences in the coal industry in the West, the status of the miners, striking and non-striking, employed and unemployed, what role the reformists are playing there, and in general, the correlation of forces, is sadly lacking in the Party press here. Reports issued are merely of an informative and news character. The Estevan case has aroused intense feeling in the West. It should be made a national issue among the workers of the whole Dominion, and linked up with the general terrorism prevailing in Canada which was given the lead in Toronto with the outlawing of the Party and sentencing of eight of its leaders.

-S. GREEN.

## Wage Cut Drive

(Continued from page 1)

organized sections it is no surprise at all to learn of the announcement made by the President of the Board of Dirnew wage reductions are under consideration. To be under consideration by this board usually means to become an time being involved.

From the A. F. of L. Executive Council there have been many grandeloquent declarations for maintenance of the therefore be about time that the rank it is yet more important for the rank and file to realize that nothing will stop

# Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition -- 1923

(Continued from last is-ue) briakov, Rafael, Rosengoltz and others, workers' democracy in the ranks. which presented virtually the same criticisms and plan of action as were conothers, even if more cautiously.

The Bureaucrats "Yield"

Under such a bombardment, the majority of the Political Bureau was compelled to act for fear that the wave of discontentment would become so mighty as to sweep them away with it. A fainthearted resolution on workers' democracy was drawn up which met with an instant rejection from Trotsky. Knowing that he represented to the full the hopes and aspirations of the great bulk of the party membership, and especially the masses of the youth who were chafing under the yoke of an arrogant apparatus, the Political Bureau majority was compelled to scrap its own resolution and ated by Trotsky.

Unfortunately, the victory was a shortlived one. It had been agreed in the Political Bureau, on Trotsky's proposal, that he would popularize the program certed heavy drive to discredit Trotsky they have manifested." of workers' democracy in the ranks, and the Opposition. White Guard lies while the rest of the Political Bureau members would "restrain it from excesses from above". So overjoyed at the peasant question", were not only revived, not for the fact that the issues raised by resolution were the party members, that but officially incorporated in the indict-10th Street, for the benefit of The Mili- the discussion in the ranks broke loose ment against Trotsky. Trotsky was with a turbulence that indicated many falsely accused of "arousing the youth the captains of The Militant subscription months, and perhaps years, of pent-up sentiments. Even non-party workers fol-The entire proceeds of the affair will be lowed the discussions with a keen interturned over to The Militant. Admission est. Pravda alone had to publish from is by ticket and is only 25c Tickets can 20 to 30 columns of discussions and motions each day. All questions were put sharply in the speech we quoted above, never been so vitally urgent as it is torades whom we fail 'o reach through the and discussed freely and frankly. The under the lash of Zinoviev, Kamenev, day. mail or otherwise. The unique feature popularity of Trotsky and those who had Stalin and Bucharin, the members were The next article will deal with the

It is this fact that created alarm in the the Comintern membership had never

The pretext for the campaign was a series of articles written by Trotsky, tained in Trotsky's letter. A short time later collected under the title of "The later, Radek also added his voice to the New Course", in which he elucidated the whole situation with such a wealth of ideas, a Marxian clarity of thought, tragic burlesque of the first "anti-Trotmastery of the historical dialectic and profundity of analysis as will make it for decades a model of classic revolution- Stalin. They revealed how the whole ary writing and a textbook for the Russian revolution.

Between the time of the sudden decision of the conspirators and the con- leaders, the main "teachers" in the strugvocation of the 13th party congress a gle against "Trotskyism". The declarafew weeks later (January 1924), the tion signed by them in 1926 is therefore Russian party was treated to one of the of fundamental and decisive importance most disgraceful and criminal spectacles for every revolutionist in estimating the known in the working class political 1923 struggle at its real value: movement. Without warning, without rhyme or reason, a thunderous barrage any doubt that the kernel of the 1923 was laid down against "Trotskyism" and Opposition was right in warning against appoint a commission resulted in the re- Trotsky. Out of the archives of the his- the danger of abandoning the proletarian solution being written essentially by his torical past was dragged the theory of line and of the growth of the apparatus pen. Its final publication as a unanim- the permanent revolution, its, whole regime. Dozens and hundred of leaders ous document on December 7 constituted meaning deliberately distorted, trans- of the 1923 Opposition are, to this day, a tremendous victory for the fight initi- formed into an "underestimation of the kept away from work in the party and peasantry" and a "skipping over stages" there are among them old worker-Boland the resulting caricature attributed sheviks, tempered in the struggle, strangto Trotsky. The press, completely in the ers to careerism and arrivism, in spite hands of the bureaucracy, began a con- of the discipline and endurance which spread during the civil war about Trot- the epitaph for the struggle conducted sky's "differences' with Lenin on the against "Trotskyism" in 1923, were it against the Old Guard". He was accused, again falsely, of standing for permanent factionalism in the party. And in every nucleus, using that very same system which Bucharin denounced so Russian Bolshevik-Leninists in 1923 has

In addition to Trotsky's initial letter ranks of the bureaucracy. In their sec- seen the documents in question, had of October 8, the Central Committee re- ret factional meetings (as Zinovlev later never read Trotsky's articles. This poiceived, on October 15, a letter signed by revealed), it was decided to launch a sonous system of political discussion con-46 of the most prominent Russian Bol- campaign against Trotsky in order to tinued in later years until it ate into the sheviks, including Piatakov. Preobraz- discredit him and the Opposition, and very heart of the International. Voting hensky, Sosnovsky, Bieloborodov, Sap- thereby to strengthen the domination of by command, voting by faith, voting in ronov, Muralov, Antonov, Kossior, Sere- the bureaucracy in the struggle against ignorance and under bureaucratic compulsion-this was the despicable and self-destructive method used to get the "unanimous" denunciations of the Opposition,

#### Zinoviev's Revealing Admission

Two and a half years later, the whole skyist" campaign was exposed by Zinoviev and Kamenev when they broke with thing had been manufactured in secret, how "Trotskyism" had been invented for factional purposes. These two were the

"At present, there can no longer be

This statement might well serve as the Opposition at that time, particularly the question of the party regime and workers' democracy, have since become problems of such life-and-death importance as to put the fate of the Russian revolution in the balance. The fight started against bureaucratism by the —M. SHACHTMAN.

of the affair is that everyone who pays leaps and bounds. Stalin, Zinoviev and sky. The various parties of the Cominmunist party falls the duty of organizing for a ticket is entitled to an eight issue this resistance and giving it leadership. for a ticket is entitled to an eight issue Co., who had stood in the way as long tern were ordered to endorse the "maj-party and the Comintern after the defeat ority of the Old Guard" and to denounce of the 1923 revolutionary movement in