

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

News from Canada

TORONTO ONTARIO.— An anti-war conference initiated by the Friends of the Soviet Union has been organized in Toronto. The first meeting saw the usual gathering of our old "stand-byes", but the leaders of the conference, in light of the new united front policy, made no attempt to delude themselves on the delegates. The second meeting brought several new faces and plans to go directly to the reformist trade unions. Our comrades were elected on the credential, organization and executive committees. Our motion that the speech of Litvinov in view of its pacifism and incompleteness be referred first to affiliated organization for discussion and recommendation before printing, was rejected. Likewise, our amendment that Tchicherin's and Lenin's speeches at the Genoa conference be considered in its stead. One of the leaders of the F. S. U., who spoke against, said if we accepted Lenin's and Tchicherin's speeches we would be injecting politics. Another delegate said Litvinov was more up-to-date. In the discussion on the anti-war resolution we pointed out the tremendous significance victorious Fascism in Germany would have both for the war against the U. S. S. R. and the new imperialist blood pact. The conference is very timely and can do some very good work.

Labor Fakery Have Hot Time The Toronto police are not going to be accused of making concessions. After allowing a previous anti-war gathering, the second meeting called by the anti-war youth conference was smashed up. The crowd together with those from the rationalist meeting which had also been broken up went up to the Labor Party gathering. To listen to the Labor Party brand of fakery requires more than a conscience and good stomach and before long the Left wing workers began heckling the speakers. "Back to Russia", answered fakery. "Call the police", mocked the workers. As matters became hotter, the labor fakery began to appeal to the crowd on the basis of the fight they had carried on for free speech. What this fight was they didn't explain. Police and detectives by this time had arrived and encircled the radical section of the crowd but nevertheless when Comrades declared the meeting over the crowd shouted for "questions". To the surprise of everybody, police included, the fakery, consented to allow questions. The questions were brief and likewise their exposure of the half-dozen question asked. The fakery couldn't answer one and his floundering around must have embarrassed the "Dicks". More of these meetings and the Toronto Labor Party will feel no more use in "educating" the masses. —M. Q.

Party Member Joins Opposition PHILADELPHIA, PA. Dear Comrades: I did not intend to write this letter, for I believe it is overstatement of oneself to do so. But one of the members of the Left Opposition thought it would be of interest to others. "Intellectuals" who attempt to reveal the bankruptcy of Communism, instead reveal their own lack of knowledge. Perhaps I was one of these so-called "Intellectuals." For in endeavoring to reveal the shallowness of the Left Opposition, of "Trotskyism", the barrenness of Stalinism which masquerades as the Comintern as Leninism, became evident. When I knew nothing except the slanders (I did not know they were slanders) thrown at Trotsky, I felt sure that I could make every "Trotskyite" look like two cents. But when I actually met these "counter-revolutionists", or when I read the literature of the Left Opposition, I could not see any "Menshevik tendencies." I was engulfed not by the shallowness of "Trotskyism" but I was saturated with its depth, with its logic. If it is treason to rebel against Stalin, who has dissonated Leninism, I am proud of being a traitor. If Trotsky is a counter-revolutionist for defending the Leninist path, then I must enter the ranks of counter-revolution. But I know that the Left Opposition is not a counter-revolutionary faction. Instead it is an organization which will divert the Communist Party from a Stalinist line back to that laid down by Lenin. Therefore I enter the ranks of the Left Opposition, not by discarding the true voice of Communism, but by striving to have the stiflers of Communism stifled. Within the party I shall fight for freedom of speech, against bureaucracy, and for the unification of all Communists. (Not a unification of Centrists and Lovestonettes).

—PARTY MEMBER. THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th St., N. Y. EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swaback Entered as second class mail matter November 26, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 1932 Vol. V, No. 25 (Whole No. 121) Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy.

Workers Fight Bureaucracy

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. At the meeting of the International Workers Order, Branch 21, following the Minneapolis nominating conference so ably described by a delegate to that conference in The Militant of May 21, Delegate Singer of Branch 21 I. W. O. made his report. It was substantially the same as reported in The Militant. Delegate Singer was almost immediately denounced as an enemy of the workers and a renegade, etc. and finally withdrawn as a delegate of Branch 21. They then proceeded to the election of another delegate to the conference and after several had been nominated and had as quickly declined, the chairman, in desperation, called for volunteers and Meyer Shulberg accepted. We wonder if delegate Shulberg will have the courage to also raise his voice in protest against the bureaucratic actions of the local party leaders and then report the truth back to the workers of Branch 21, of the I. W. O. We sincerely hope so. The above sample of the way the party bureaucrats treat workers who honestly strive to make the party a real Communist party accounts for the stationary membership roll of the party, despite the favorable conditions for recruiting workers into the party. The above is the story as related to me by a member of Branch 21 of the I. W. O. —COOVER.

WHAT NEXT? With the publication of Problems of the Chinese Revolution out of the way, we are going ahead with WHAT NEXT? The book should be ready in four weeks at the utmost. Very probably by next week, we will be able to announce the exact date of its appearance. Comrades who want copies should order them now as every order we get in advance will enable us to get the book out that much sooner. The price is fifty cents in paper cover and one dollar in cloth. THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IS OUT OF PRINT, BUT IS AVAILABLE IN THE BOUND VOLUMES OF COMRADE TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS. GET A FREE COPY OF PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION WITH A YEAR'S SUB TO THE MILITANT.

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The Drug Clerks and the Class Struggle

The Drug Clerks' Union local 581 of the A. F. of L., is conducting a "strike" at Halper's Pharmacy, 180th Street and St. Nicholas Ave. Halpers refused to sign a collective agreement with the union. The store employs two licensed pharmacists, one junior pharmacist, two soda-fountain clerks and a porter. This new experience has already become a decisive factor in the further development of the Drug Clerks' Union and a source from which important conclusions of organizational strategy should be drawn. Picketing is undoubtedly a highly effective weapon in the hands of the workers, if efficiently wielded, to extract concessions from the bosses. But it is no less effective as a means to arouse the dormant class instinct of the worker and put him on the road toward class consciousness. There, on the picket line, he clearly sees the living alignment of the police and judiciary forces and the entire governmental machine with his boss against him and his fellow workers, drawing the class lines of the contending forces in the most contrasting colors. However, these class lines of the struggle are usually blurred under the reactionary leadership of the reformist and reactionary union. The case of the drug clerks, as the writer of these lines has had the opportunity to observe, the enlightening effect of picketing is quite glaringly manifest. It is highly interesting and instructive to observe a drug clerk put on the strike-pickard for the first time. He dons it timidly, reluctantly, casting shy glances at the passers-by. For even those drug clerks who have joined the union are still imbued with the asphyxiating idea of "professionalism", which blurs their real position on the social scale of our class society. But after a few hours of picketing a noticeable change in his gait and facial expression takes place. The meek, gloomy look disappears and a ray of proud resoluteness lights up his countenance. He notices with fervent admiration that the working class element responds favorably to the pickets and that it manifests a gratifying solidarity. "And why shouldn't they? We are also workers", he remarks proudly. A few hours of picketing, an infinitesimally short period in a person's life-time, but what a thoroughgoing change may occur in one's own outlook in so short an interval. I believe that the writer of these lines has not exaggerated when he remarked: "If it were only possible to have every member of the union to do a few hours of picketing, we would have a strong militant union." Unfortunately, only a few of the members are doing picket duty. The greatest majority of the membership, however, have not only failed to participate in the activities of this so-called "union" but have generally shown an attitude of indifference and distrust toward the union and its leadership. The reasons for such a state of apathy among the members are to be traced directly to the ideological make-up of the executive board and the manner in which it has been conducting the affairs of the union, which I shall discuss in the latter part of this article. This so-called strike has made quite a commotion in the "higher spheres" of pharmacy. "A labor union has no place in as honorable" a profession as pharmacy. The strike method is particularly "degrading pharmacy to the low level of wage labor," shriek the self-appointed peers of the various drug store owners' associations and some backward clerks, who find consolation for their bitter lot in their false pride of being a "professional" man. Yes, gentlemen of the "honorable profession" of pharmacy, "the bourgeoisie has, (long ago) stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wage-laborers." (Communist Manifesto). Yes, bootleggers of the "honorable profession" of pharmacy, you have not only "lowered" it to the level of wage labor, but you have degraded it to an occupation of the underworld. You "ethical" pharmacists, who are so greatly concerned about the high standards of your "profession", will not hesitate, for the sake of saving a measly penny to deprive the patient of the benefits of a medicine by substituting inferior, therapeutically void drugs, by dispensing moldy, deteriorated fluid extracts, tinctures, syrups and other medicinal preparations. For a measly weekly wage of twenty or twenty-five dollars you exploit your licensed or junior clerk seventy to eighty hours a week. And to qualify for such a lucrative position one has to be, besides, a licensed pharmacist, an expert soda dispenser and sandwich maker; he also is required to wash floors, run errands and other such "trifles". No—it is not the standard of pharmacy that concerns you so greatly—but it is the resultant of the unionization of the drug clerks that you fear so much. The New York Pharmaceutical Conference is acting as the spearhead in the present crusade against the union movement. It pours out torrents of demagoguery and lies against it. Moreover, it has been attempting to behold it by organizing an auxiliary association of drug clerks under the guardianship of the Conference, i. e., a company union in its crystalline form. A serious challenge to the union movement among the drug clerks, however, cannot come from such an anemic organization as the New York Pharmaceutical Conference. Its whole existence has been an expression of impotence of the disorganized and prostrate drug industry. The real danger, however, is lurking from within the boundaries of the present "leadership" of the Drug Clerks' Union. The executive board of the Drug Clerks' Union is composed of politically backward and organizationally inexperienced elements, incapable of giving independent leadership. The membership, naturally, is composed of the same backward elements; their ideology due to the professional veil and business basis of their occupation, is thoroughly petty-bourgeois. Their attitude toward the union is extremely vague and indecisive. It is true that the earnestness of certain leading members of the executive board in the activities of the union is rather questionable. However, these elements, precisely because of the vacillating attitude of the membership toward unionism in general, the backwardness and ignorance of the executive in particular, have not so far been able to exercise any influence upon the membership. Consequently, the conditions for the growth of a militant opposition within the present loose frame-work of the union are highly favorable. (To Be Continued) —I. DREYER. This is the first installment of comrade Dreyer's series of two articles on the situation in the Drug Clerks' union in N. Y. The next installment will appear in the forthcoming issue of the Militant.—Ed.

MILITANT BUILDERS

Two comrades, thus far have won the bound volumes of the pamphlets offered to each comrade who, during the summer months brings in \$4.00 in subs. The two comrades hail, as might have been expected, from Minneapolis. They are comrades Hedlund and Coover. Other comrades who expect to get one of these bound volumes will have to get a move on as they are running out fast. Our comrades and readers, it seems, are determined to carry on the good work they did during the drive. A comrade writes from Youngstown: "Now that I have a little more time to devote to sub-getting I am going to try my best to get enough subs this month to earn that free copy of comrade Trotsky's collected pamphlets. And I'm going to do my bit to get more than enough." The Minneapolis branch passed a motion to continue the sub drive. Everyone familiar with Minneapolis' performance in the sub drive knows what that foretells. Our staff is growing and embracing a larger number of comrades and readers. That is what we started out to accomplish. That is what we need to increase the circulation of the Militant. But it is not yet large enough. Every comrade should set before himself the necessity of going after and getting a certain definite number of subs each month. And of course he should make every effort to realize this self-set quota. By this steady plugging we can build up the circulation of the Militant clostr to what it ought to be. At the moment this is our revolutionary duty. The staff and its record to date follows: M. Beardslee 5 C. R. Hedlund 4 O. Coover 4 M. Koehler 3 A. Basky 2.1-2 M. Basin 2 P. Movvas 2 J. Elchma 2 C. Curtis 2 A. Ehrlich 2 M. Reind 2 J. Keller 2 W. Kitt 2 M. Geldman 1 Republican Confab (Continued from page 1) laws are of capitalism itself. And the Republicans are the most ardent defenders of the capitalist system. They come in for a thrashing whichever way you look at it. Their three years tenure of office (since the crisis) is enough to convince the most benighted and uninformed worker that not only does capitalism plunge them into misery, but it stubbornly refuses to do anything to alleviate their suffering. Consider the speech of the Keynote, Senator L. T. Dickinson. For more than an hour he prated and boasted of the achievements of the president. He refused unemployment insurance to the jobless workers because it would degrade American manhood and drove them right on the breadlines. No dose—that will unbalance the budget. Then the congress turns right around and grants a subsidy of several hundred millions to the R. R.s to pay off overdue dividends. He maintained the high standard of wages. How? By the famous agreement of three years ago, in which the capitalists gave their promise not to cut wages and the A. F. of L. sold out by its promise not to strike. Result? In the words of Dickinson "wages have been maintained at the high level wherever possible", which is an euphemistic way of calling this vicious wage cut drive that has included all categories of the American working class. "There have been fewer strikes than in any preceding depression", which means the treachery of the labor fakery has been complete. And now this same Bill Green comes crawling back on his belly to the same exploiters who so unceremoniously spit in his face a short time ago, to plead for the five day week, to allay the rising discontent of the working masses! And what is the big issue at this convention, where everything is decided behind closed doors in luxurious hotel suites? Prohibition. But we don't want to get rid of this camouflage issue too hurriedly, so we'll write a program that is neither wet nor dry, call it "resubmission" and let it hang for three more years. —CLARKE.

Henry Ford Counsels Workers to Return to Feudal Serfdom

Henry Ford has let the cat out of the bag. Why should an employer of labor on an extensive scale worry about workers who haven't got five cents for a head or lettuce? Yet that is what he is thinking about, according to a recent interview written up in the New York Times. When the interviewer questioned the efficiency of Ford's plan for each of his workers raising his own lettuce instead of buying it, Ford replied, "There you go with the same old idea, the money standard of everything; why I know plenty of workers who haven't got five cents for a head of lettuce!" So it happens that Ford of all people is perfectly ready to scrap modern principles of efficiency such as mass production, the division of labor, and specialization of work and skill and evolve instead a system of compulsory gardening for each worker. Of course this system has no connection with his plan of "raising auto" by producing on the farm, goldenrod and muskmelons to be converted into rubber and gasoline. What then is the idea? Simply to make the workers work for next to nothing—And why? Because Ford too is helpless in a "system" of competitive chaos—in a period of relative prosperity he could afford to pay relatively "high" wages, especially since the market for autos had not reached the saturation point—But now the market is ruined, not because everybody has a car but largely because nobody has any money. Since Ford is helpless in this situation, the best thing to do is to force the workers to raise some garden stuff—This of course will not support a family so the worker will still have to work in the factory—for a very low wage. Naturally he doesn't need a decent wage if he raises part of his food himself! This is a long step backward toward feudalism; that is, a subsistence level for the general population, a sort of feed-your-own-face agriculture with no surplus save rent paid to the landlord in the form of labor and produce—No surplus for exchange, no market, no buying public. It is quite conceivable that Ford, a tyrant in management but a typical capitalist anarchist in relation to social, organized life, may lead the way to a sort of modern feudalism—He makes a virtue of being flexible and alert to circumstances—the usual vice of an anarchistic tyrant—and at the moment he seems to be working on the theory that he must see that his workers get, not good wages, but food! This is just another way of saying that capitalism has broken down. But how far can industrialism go in the direction of feudalism? The world market is disorganized—The buying public is "liquidated". Farmers are being forced to cut their specialized market products and go in for self-subsistence. Workers are being forced to buy shovels and hoes and raise food, and millions have no work at all. One fourth of the state of Mississippi has been sold at public auction in default of taxes. Tenants

are obliged to feed themselves rather than concentrate on staple crops—Corporate farms are increasing. Only the luxury trades have buyers. Yet it remains true that modern industrialism and feudalism are two in-corrutable systems—Ford, to finish the feudal parallel, would have to eat his autos! That is consume the surplus produced by the workers. If the workers of the world are to be "liquidated" in respect to wages, who will buy the products of their labor? If practically everybody today, outside of bureaucrat, is a low-paid employee or unemployed, where will the market be? The backward countries? Possibly, yet their "prosperity" is ruined along with the rest and besides, the best markets have always been found in highly developed countries. The whole business, then, illustrates the suicidal mania of competitive capitalism. Ford would doubtless prefer "high wages" all around but he too is helpless before the competitive chaos of which he is such a characteristic example. When the depression blows over—that is, when capitalism has depressed the workers "sufficiently" and is ready to go to work again—there will emerge new groupings of land, factory and credit capital which will renew the struggle on a new, gigantic level. In the meantime Ford facing a very uncertain market at home and abroad, is trying to save his own neck by a marriage of factory and farm which, on the technical level may be an advance but on the human level simply means a feudal enslavement of the workers. Such is Ford to the popular mind the world over, the personification of modern American production and even of distributive technique! Typical, rather of the limitations of modern capitalists. Of course neither prosperity nor depression is an act of God and neither has a base or bottom unless we put it there, but big business can afford to let things slide toward the bottomless pit until folks in general are willing to work for next to nothing and eke out a purely nominal wage with a home-grown head of lettuce. With a cud for every camel And a hoe for every weed And a pew for every person And a chuck for every creed— In the momentary lull of "world peace" (stagnation, breakdown, reaction, fake pacifism), capitalist rivalry takes the form of depressing home populations to the bitterest limit so as to gain a new low level of production cost and achieve an initial advantage in the next spasm of world-wide competition for markets.— In this game too the capitalists have cut their own throats by making Germany the sweat-shop of the world and incidentally destroying the middle class which is the best guarantee of capitalism's survival. The result will be either a break with capitalism (a Communist victory) or less a Fascist sweat-shop that will be the envy of other capitalist countries.— Either event will be ruinous to capitalists elsewhere. Feudalism was a rigid system of production and consumption on a small pre-industrialistic pre-industrial scale. Capitalism cannot move in that direction without destroying itself. The very attempt to go backward while world economy is straining to break its national and class bounds for a new form of life on a world scale is eloquent of the death pangs of a corrupt, chaotic, suicidal, competitive capitalism. Take your choice: "Every man his own head of lettuce" (back to feudalism) or "On to the proletarian revolution!" —GUY SOUTHWORTH

Back Numbers of Militant Wanted

Some time ago we issued an appeal for missing back numbers of The Militant. As a result of this appeal comrades in different parts of the country sent in what they had and we made up a number of files which are now on sale. We are sure that comrades still have in their possession extra copies of the numbers we need. If they will send them in at once, we will be able to make up an additional number of files. We need not emphasize the financial importance of the sale of these files to us. It is obvious. The numbers we need are: Vol. 1, No. 1, November 15, 1928; Vol. 2 No. 4, February 18, 1929; Vol. 3, No. 31, October 1, 1930; Vol. 4, No. 2, January 15, 1931; Vol. 4, No. 10, May 15, 1931. We need all of these numbers, but at the moment we need the last one a little more than the others. A little more than a year ago we made up a number of files of The Militant from Vol. 1, No. 1 to the last issue of 1930. Comrades who bought these files have been waiting for bound files of the subsequent issues. The issuance of the weekly Militant last July in a larger format created a new binding problem. We decided to bind in separate files the few issues of the old format of the year 1931 for those comrades who have the old files, to save them the necessity of buying the new files and duplicating much of what they already have. We need about thirty of the missing issues for 1931. Comrades, don't wait. Send in all of these issues that you have at once. N. Y. OPEN AIR MEETING An open air meeting of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will take place on Saturday, June 18, at 8 P. M. Place: 125th Street and Fifth Avenue. Speakers: Clarke, Capellis, George Saul. All New York comrades and sympathizers are asked to be on hand. Note: On account of technical difficulties, the second article in the series on Unemployment and the Crisis by comrade Arne Swaback was skipped this week. It will appear in the forthcoming issue.—Ed.

where will the market be? The backward countries? Possibly, yet their "prosperity" is ruined along with the rest and besides, the best markets have always been found in highly developed countries. The whole business, then, illustrates the suicidal mania of competitive capitalism. Ford would doubtless prefer "high wages" all around but he too is helpless before the competitive chaos of which he is such a characteristic example. When the depression blows over—that is, when capitalism has depressed the workers "sufficiently" and is ready to go to work again—there will emerge new groupings of land, factory and credit capital which will renew the struggle on a new, gigantic level. In the meantime Ford facing a very uncertain market at home and abroad, is trying to save his own neck by a marriage of factory and farm which, on the technical level may be an advance but on the human level simply means a feudal enslavement of the workers. Such is Ford to the popular mind the world over, the personification of modern American production and even of distributive technique! Typical, rather of the limitations of modern capitalists. Of course neither prosperity nor depression is an act of God and neither has a base or bottom unless we put it there, but big business can afford to let things slide toward the bottomless pit until folks in general are willing to work for next to nothing and eke out a purely nominal wage with a home-grown head of lettuce. With a cud for every camel And a hoe for every weed And a pew for every person And a chuck for every creed— In the momentary lull of "world peace" (stagnation, breakdown, reaction, fake pacifism), capitalist rivalry takes the form of depressing home populations to the bitterest limit so as to gain a new low level of production cost and achieve an initial advantage in the next spasm of world-wide competition for markets.— In this game too the capitalists have cut their own throats by making Germany the sweat-shop of the world and incidentally destroying the middle class which is the best guarantee of capitalism's survival. The result will be either a break with capitalism (a Communist victory) or less a Fascist sweat-shop that will be the envy of other capitalist countries.— Either event will be ruinous to capitalists elsewhere. Feudalism was a rigid system of production and consumption on a small pre-industrialistic pre-industrial scale. Capitalism cannot move in that direction without destroying itself. The very attempt to go backward while world economy is straining to break its national and class bounds for a new form of life on a world scale is eloquent of the death pangs of a corrupt, chaotic, suicidal, competitive capitalism. Take your choice: "Every man his own head of lettuce" (back to feudalism) or "On to the proletarian revolution!" —GUY SOUTHWORTH

Forced Labor in Mpls.

(Continued from page 1) planned system of production and distribution based on your needs and desires. You are the only useful class in society. Thru organization, both political and industrial, the present system can be done away with, and a Workers' government established. The elections are at hand. Use the ballot to register your nonconfidence in the capitalist system by voting for the candidates of the Communist Party. Stay away from the capitalist primary elections. Sign petitions to put Communist candidates on the ballot in November. Refuse to work without wages! Demand cash wages instead of grocery orders! Unemployed insurance out of bosses' profits! Solidarity of employed with unemployed workers! Long term credits to Russia! Join and help build the unemployed Councils! Stay away from the primaries! Sign petitions for the Communist party candidates! For Communism and a workers' government! —Communist League of America (Opposition)

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