

# THE MILITANT

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## Dressmakers Again Betrayed Imperialist Powers Quarrel at London

### « Impartial Commission » Formed to Sell Out Workers

The New York dressmakers' strike of the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Right wing union, is nearing an end. The end of the strike, called with the agreement of the manufacturers, brings as its major result and "accomplishment" the establishment of a so-called impartial machinery for the adjustment of disputes between the bosses in the cloak industry. Its actual function is to hamstring the workers, to destroy their militancy and reliance upon fighting means to gain better conditions in the industry. The "Impartial Commission" makes it simple for the union fakers and the bosses to betray the worker in any impending struggle by delaying or preventing any strike action, and makes easier the intervention of the governmental agencies on the side of the employers.

#### No Militancy Displayed

Little if any militancy has been displayed during the walkout except so far as Left wing and class-conscious workers have injected it and made efforts to energize the strike. The "mass picketing" and demonstrations of the Right wingers, looked upon quietly by the employers and nonchalantly by Whalen's police, were not even well staged. Where Left wingers mingled among the workers and tried to develop a fighting spirit among the apathetic workers, then the police did not hesitate to club and arrest the workers. In the course of one of these sham demonstrations, Right wing guerrillas and gangsters, expecting to attack Left wingers, were responsible for the death of a dress manufacturer mingling in the crowd.

#### Working Conditions Unchanged

The workers are about to return to their shops. The class collaboration agreement of the I. L. G. W. U. and the Manufacturers, in addition to the "impartial machinery" for the adjustment of disputes, calls for the formation of a commission to "study" the dress industry with a view toward "stabilizing" the trade; in other words, a commission to study long and plenty and to delay indefinitely any actual improvement of the dressmakers' conditions.

The reported agreement calls for a two year contract with no changes in the wage scale except overtime rates. With an increasing unemployment in the dressmakers and the needle trades generally, and at the same time with an increase in the cost of living, no actual wage increase means in reality a wage reduction. With workers unemployed and starving or eking out a miserable existence, the proposed agreement defers discussion for unemployment insurance for one year.

Schlesinger, Dubinsky, Hochman and Co., the manufacturer and the state government, represented by Lieutenant-Governor Lehman worked like a holy trinity in binding the dressmakers to miserable conditions.

#### Left Wing Failed to Propose United Front

The Left wing, represented by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, had an opportunity to do effective work among the rank and file workers who responded to the call of the Right wing union, but sectarian and isolation tactics rendered the efforts of the militants less effective. To keep Left wing union members at work in "controlled shops" behind locked doors was even worse. No efforts or proposals were made in the name of the Left wing to the I. L. G. W. U. and the rank and file strikers to effect a fighting front against the manufacturers, to abolish the sweat shop to gain the 40 hour week, to develop a militant spirit among the striking workers other than Left wingers. The N. T. W. I. U. lost a chance to show up effectively the Right wing officialdom through united front

proposals for a struggle for these and other specific demands. Denunciation of the officials is insufficient. Nor, likewise, is a demand upon the workers who went out under the Right wing call to go instead to the halls of the Left wing and strike under their banner. This call was simply not heeded by the workers. It is necessary, imperative to find and utilize every means to gain contact with all workers and to influence their thoughts and actions. The isolation policy of the Left wing has not gained forces for the N. T. W. I. U. It is time to end an ostrich policy and existence.

The struggle to build a mass union of the dressmakers, of needle trades workers, to smash company union, class-collaboration agreements, "impartial commissions", Schlesinger and the other I. L. G. W. U. reactionaries; to instill a new fighting spirit among the exploited needle trades workers; to rally them to industrial union; to the organization of the forces for a genuine struggle for the 40 hour week, increase in wages, shop committee control—this remains as before. It can be done, if proper tactics are adopted and pursued. In addition to the work of building the Left wing

N. T. W. I. U., it is necessary to begin seriously and with well-laid out plans to build a Left wing in the I. L. G. W. U. to undermine the Schlesinger machine, the bosses' agents.

By a policy of isolation and the abandonment of the united front tactic, the N. T. W. I. U. is in danger to lose its last base in the needle trades, this despite the fact that the Right wing union is again betraying and selling out the workers. But the sectarian policy and the mechanical Communist party control of the N. T. W. I. U. has been of such a character that many of the workers have lost confidence in it. This needs to be remedied at once if a successful fight against the Right wing union is to be waged. Not a reflex of the Party struggles, but toward a broad Left wing organization of the mass of workers, is what the N. T. W. I. U. must consciously direct its steps. Only with such methods and aims will the N. T. W. I. U. be able to fight and defeat the betrayers of the workers and the agents of the bosses—Schlesinger, Hochman Dubinsky and Company, and to build a union functioning in the interests of the mass of needle trades workers.

## YES OR NO! HAS BLUMKIN BEEN ASSASSINATED?

More Facts on the Disappearance of the Fighter for the Russian Bolshevik Revolution

The Stalinist press is ominously silent! Has Blumkin been shot "in conformity with the orders of the G. P. U.", or not? The question has been put to it publicly, before the whole revolutionary working class. It refuses to reply to it. Why?

Why is Stalin himself silent? Why does the Russian Party press, directly controlled by him, fail to breath a word about Blumkin's fate? The assassination of Blumkin would be a new stage in the "ideological struggle" against the Russian Bolshevik Opposition. Will Stalin, Yaroslavsky and Co. find it difficult to explain to the Russian and international working class why the "exterminated Trotskyists" now have to be fought by being stood against the wall in secret and shot down? Is this difficulty the reason for the silence?

Blumkin was an irreproachable revolutionist. Early in the revolution, he transferred his allegiance from the Left Social Revolutionaries and joined the Communist Party. He was one of the heroes of the Red Army in the civil war and the struggle against imperialist intervention. Despite the fact that he avowed his support to the Russian Opposition from the very beginning, never concealing his views at any time, he was entrusted with the most important and confidential work of the revolution to the very end. Menzhinsky, the head of the G. P. U., and Trilisser, former head of the foreign section of the G. P. U., were both aware of Blumkin's views, but he continued to fulfill his important revolutionary function because Menzhinsky and Trilisser considered him irreplaceable, and that was correct.

Now he has been shot—the Militant is in a position to state this from unquestionably authentic sources. Why? On whose responsibility, on whose orders?

On hearing the news, thousands and tens of thousands of Russian workers and

Communists will whisper in horror at the deed. They know that such an act could never have been committed in Lenin's day. At that time, the Tcheka (now G. P. U.) carried out a rigorous task. But its activities remained subordinated to the control of the Bolshevik Party. At the head of the Tcheka stood Dzerzhinsky, a man of superior moral power. He remained subordinated to the Political Bureau of the Party, composed of members who had clear ideas on every question and knew how to defend them. All this was a guarantee that the Tcheka would rest an instrument of the revolutionary dictatorship.

Now the Party is stifled. At the head of the G. P. U. stands Menzhinsky, not a man, but the shadow of a man! The principal role in the G. P. U. is played by Iagoda a detestable careerist, who has bound his fate with Stalin's and carries out the latter's orders unquestionably. The Political Bureau does not exist—of that the recent revelations of Bucharin bear incontestable witness. Stalin holds the Political Bureau in his palms and uses the G. P. U. to collect such material against them as will insure their obedience. Under such conditions, the execution of Blumkin is a personal affair of Stalin.

Has Blumkin been assassinated? Why? William Z. Foster, the head of the American Communist Party, who has just returned from Moscow, should know. Does he assume joint responsibility with Stalin for this unheard of crime? Do Browder, and Bedacht, and Minor and the others in the Party leadership? Let them speak out publicly! Or do they want the Blumkin affair to become the Sacco-Vanzetti case of the Communist movement?

**YES OR NO! HAS BLUMKIN BEEN ASSASSINATED! TELL US, FOSTER! AND TELL US WHY!**

The undertone of dissatisfaction that has characterized the attitude of the British Japanese, French and Italian capitalist powers at the London conference on naval reduction with the arrogance and demands of the United States imperialist representatives, is now coming sharply into the open. The conference of pirates is showing dissent.

The rift has taken place with America's proposal that she be permitted to build a modification of the proposed capital ship new battleship of 35,000 tons. This is a better America's battleship standing with "holiday" until 1935, and would actually Great Britain, with whom the United States expresses disagreements on replacements. The London Daily Times, organ of the Conservatives and the Daily Herald, organ of the Labour Party and the MacDonald Government, together protest on behalf of British imperialist privileges. The Times protests that the American proposal really give an advantage to the United States; and the Daily Herald refers to naval parity as "Parity disease" and "if the American suggestion is accepted it will mean the conference will be a prelude to, not a cessation of battleship building

Each has its special capitalists interests to preserve, and each each demands its share of cruisers submarines, battleships or other naval armaments. All make plans for war equipment for years ahead.

The French paper, Figaro, complains, "The United States obstinately pursues her plans... All she cares about is to have the kind and size of navy she wants", and goes on to add that France's freedom of action is preferable to agreement. "The Americans started in after the war to build the largest fleet in the world but found it too expensive. Now they think they can achieve the same result by forcing others to reduce. Britain has agreed to impose limitations on other naval powers. They are to be equal but all others are to be inferior and they intend to fix the size of the French, Italian and Japanese navies. Moreover, in condemning submarines in theory, they are trying to force us to accept an unsatisfactory minimum."

#### America Spreads Her Wings

But America is insistent and feels that her strength and resources will prevail. Formal parity with Great Britain under the circumstances actually means that America supersedes Great Britain as mistress of the seas. Stimsons' proposals have the design to place the American delegation in a dominant role at London.

The Japanese are bitterly hostile, but know not where to turn for relief. Small concessions have been made to the Mikado government in the way of submarines.

So the pirates quarrel and fight for the spoils, and politely ask the other fellow pirate to walk the plank. The scared petty-bourgeois pacifist sees his hopes going up in smoke. First secretly, now openly the imperialist powers reveal that all their maneuvers are but paper talk and are actually laying the basis and strengthening themselves for the next imperialist war, first through diplomacy, and finally in the extension of diplomacy into the reality of scourging war. Reduction and disarmament are just talk. These capitalist representatives feel more comfortable that they hear nothing of an actual program for total disarmament in all fields, as proposed by the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. But the road toward total disarmament and the abolition of war lies through the struggle for the abolition of capitalism... And so the London Conference will talk reduction and peace—and prepare for war

# Unemployment Stalks The Middle West

Charity organizations and welfare departments in middle western cities face a situation in February, 1930 which is without parallel except for the winter of 1921-2. Tens of thousands of unemployed men and women walk the streets looking for work, with rent overdue and food credit exhausted.

The Chicago "slave market" is thronged with men. All day long they crowd the sidewalks in West Madison St., spilling over into the side streets and alleys and gathering in mobs in front of any employment office that advertises for help. Most of the employment office windows have chalked up the sign "No Shipment Today".

### Only 44% Work in Toledo

A census of employment taken in Toledo shows that for every hundred men working in February, 1929 there were 44 men working in February, 1930. Some of the more important plants are practically closed down and there is no chance for work outside of an occasional snow-shovelling job.

Estimates place the number of unemployed in Detroit somewhere between 100,000 and 125,000. Day after day they gather before employment offices in lines four deep that extend for blocks. An ad for one man will bring a thousand applicants.

Cleveland has faced hard times for the last three years. Unemployment there is as severe as it is in other neighboring cities, but since it is of longer duration many of the "out-of-works" have drifted to other places, looking for jobs.

The Charities of Louisville, Ky. are facing a late winter and spring in which relief demands from the unemployed, evicted and other distress cases are overtaking their budgets. Present demands indicate a need for the year 1930 of about double the amount of money available.

### "Welfare" Dept. Jammed

The Detroit Welfare Department, a city institution, cared for about 7,000 families in November, about 9,000 in December and about 11,000 in January 1930. Toward the end of January the office of the department was daily jammed with applicants of whom about one in eight received assistance. In addition to the charity distributed by this public organization, the usual private agencies in Detroit found their hands more than full.

Hoover's prosperity conferences have received far more public notice than the lines of unemployed waiting outside the factory gates all through the industrial section of the United States. They do not provide jobs, however, as hundreds of thousands of desperate workers know to their cost. Many of the jobless are loyal supporters of the Republican machine. Most of the balance voted for Al Smith in 1928. Empty stomachs and eviction notices provide the basis for disillusionment.



### Men versus Machines

HILL STATION, Pa.-(FP)—A veteran pick miner, experienced through over 20 years of coal mining in the Pittsburgh coal area, has figured out the operator's book-keeping in deciding whether to use cutting machines at the coal face or a miner with the old time pick. It's the question of leath versus replacement cost.

"We used to do all the mining by hand," he says, nursing a foot on which 150 pounds of slate had fallen in a mine entry. "Then the machines began to come in but they were expensive and not always efficient. We still had them on even terms. But the machine cutters constantly got better and faster. We began to lose out.

"Now the machine does almost all the

work in the pit where I work. We pick miners still get a small share but it does not cheer us much to know why. Anywhere that a machine can safely go we have no chance. But if it is dangerous for the machine, the boss sends us in.

"In some places a fall of rock might smash the machine and that would be a loss of \$4,000 to \$5,000. But if we get killed the maximum compensation under Pennsylvania is only \$3,000. So the company saves at least \$1,000 by taking a chance on a miner's life instead of on its expensive machinery.



### 35'000 Jobless in New Jersey Industrial Center

TRENTON, N. J.—Investigation of appalling unemployment in New Jersey is proposed in a bill introduced in the state legislature. Estimates of unemployment in this state run into the six figures, with 35,000-40,000 jobless in Newark and surrounding cities. The situation is most severe in Camden, Newark and Jersey City. In Caldwell, a Newark suburb, hundreds of colored workers are jobless and almost starving.

Both the Johnson & Johnson medical supplies plant at New Brunswick and the U. S. Metals & Refining Co. at Carteret are reported to have laid off hundreds.

### Where to Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Belmont News Co., 101 East 5th St.; Western News Stand, Box 604, Arcade Station.

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

WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 200 Tenth 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.; and on various newsstands.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. We'ey St.

BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St near Washington; Andelman's, 291 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.

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

DETROIT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1715-24th 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.

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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.

BUTTE, Mont.: International News, 121 So. Arizona.

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

In addition to the stores listed above, The Militant also can be obtained through members and Branches of Communist League of America.

### Taxi Maintenance Men Join Strikers

PITTSBURG—This city's embattled taxi drivers are standing firm in the fourth week of their strike for union and better wages. Maintenance crews in the scab Parmalee garages have joined the strikers.

Although cars that venture on the streets carry large signs that interference with their operation is a violation of a strikebreaking injunction, the order is cheerfully ignored. Deputies, privately paid at \$10 per day, accompany the cabs in their occasional sorties on downtown streets.

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the character of these deputies by the arrest of one who relieved a friend of the change from a \$50 bill after he had paid for the guard's dinner. Strikebreakers imported from Philadelphia and New Orleans are involved in arrests for traffic law violations and figuring in smashups caused by their ignorance of Pittsburgh traffic.



CLEVELAND—Five hundred taxi drivers have signed up and affiliated with the Cleveland Federation of Labor.



### REPORTS BODE ILL FOR AUTO SLAVES

DETROIT—Two reports, appearing here over the week-end, bode ill for employment prospects of Detroit auto workers. One from Chicago, states that "the Chicago Automobile Show drew a record attendance, but available data on sales indicate a sharp decline in comparison with last year".

The other, from the Oakland plant in Pontiac, states: "As a result of the recent installation of a new machine in the sheet metal plant of the Oakland Motor Car Co., production of hood rod clips has been speeded up to 220 a minute.

"Previous to the installation of the machine, hood clips were produced on four machines at the rate of 150 per hour. With the new installation only two hours work is required to turn out a months supply."

### BIRMINGHAM WAGES MISERLY

By T. S. RAWLINGS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.-(FP)—In this steel city a worker is lucky to have any job at all in January, and doubly lucky if he is making enough to keep out of debt. Common labor, mostly colored, is getting as low as 20 cents an hour; carpenters, as low as 35 cents, bricklayers are being offered 50 cents and machinists 45 cents. Young men and women in offices are getting \$7 to \$10 a week. The cost of living though in Birmingham, is as high as anywhere else in the country.

Perhaps the Chamber of Commerce is no different than similar bodies elsewhere. At any rate they can tell you where John Smith moved when he left his previous address (for the benefit of the credit houses and loan sharks), where he works and how much the various open shop firms pay. But on constructive information concerning economic conditions in the district the Chamber is mum as an oyster.

No easy going organizing methods will catch on here. Real fire will be needed to fight back at the long unchallenged sway of the iron and steel, coal and textile barons who shaped this Alabama into a heaven for profiteers and a purgatory for labor.



### WEAVERS WALK OUT IN CAROLINA MILL

WILMINGTON, N. C.—Forty weavers of the Delgado cotton mill in Wilmington have walked out in protest against the stretchout system.

The strikers refused to accept their pay checks after they had read a bulletin posted at the mill announcing the wage cut. They are unorganized.

If the number on your wrapper is

# 32

then your subscription to the Militant has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

## Help Us to Sustain The Militant

A labor paper, particularly a revolutionary organ, does not receive the big advertisements and subsidies, without which a capitalist paper is unthinkable. The Militant is no exception to this rule. It must depend entirely upon readers and supporters for its existence and growth.

The Militant was founded because it fills a special and urgent need in the labor and revolutionary movements. It has been maintained by a group of devoted workers, who understand the value of adherence to the fundamental teachings of the great leaders of our movement, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. These teachings are not strong if they are limited to small groups; they become a powerful weapon for labor's liberation when they are made known to the whole working class—honestly and truthfully. This is the task set itself by the Militant.

This great work can be carried out effectively only if the existence of the Militant is secured. For this purpose, it is necessary to establish and strengthen a systematic SUSTAINING FUND. Such a fund will not only enable us to print a whole series of most valuable books and pamphlets. The Militant has on hand a number of manuscripts by L. D. Trotsky. They include: "What is the Permanent Revolution?" "The Struggle for the Chinese Revolution", "Europe and America", "The Great Organizers of Defeat: a Record of Five Years of the Comintern", and many others. If the SUSTAINING FUND of the Militant is assured, we can proceed to the immediate publication of these Bolshevik classics.

The sooner donations accumulate for the FUND, the more rapidly can we proceed with this important job. Every dollar counts doubly now. We are depending upon all our readers and friends to act with speed. The blank below is for your use. Fill it out now!

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# The Socialist Party and Radicalization of the Masses

By James P. Cannon

The ten year period following the end of the war was marked by an integration and growth of the American Communist movement and a concurrent decline in the organization and influence of the Socialist Party. For the past year or so we have been witnessing a reversal of this process. The relation of forces between the two contending tendencies—of revolution and reform—has undergone a change. These are the important facts which merit consideration and analysis.

It profits the revolutionary wing of the labor movement nothing to evade or deny this state of affairs. On the contrary it will do harm, for the radical workers see what is going on before their eyes and are apt to draw false conclusions regarding the efficacy and future prospects of revolutionary ideas. Such indeed is the meaning of the recent noticeable shifting of allegiance of many workers, particularly in the needle trades, who had conscientiously supported the Left wing and the Communist Party for several years. The Communist workers are entitled to an appraisal of the situation.

The advance of Communism in the struggle against the Socialist Party, and to a large extent at its expense, over a ten-year period is undeniable. A few facts: The Left wing gained a majority in the party struggle of 1919 and the Hillquit-Berger machine was able to prevent its capture of the convention only by wholesale expulsions (aided, however, as has so often been the case, by stupidities of the Left wing leadership). Even after the split in 1919, which reduced the Socialist Party membership from 100,000 to less than 20,000, a new Left wing developed within it under the pressure of Communist sentiments in the ranks. This culminated in the second split—a weak one, it is true, with still weaker leadership—of the "Workers Council" group at the end of 1921. The Communists became organizationally stronger than the Socialists despite the terrific handi-caps of the Palmer terror and the three-years' period of underground organization. The C. P. extended its operations throughout the country while the S. P. influence and strength were confined to isolated localities, notably New York and Milwaukee. The superior strength and fighting ability of the Communists were graphically demonstrated in the big movements which engaged the attention of the workers: The Labor Party campaign, the organization of the Left wing in the trade unions, the Passaic strike, the Sacco-Vanzetti movement, the needle trades struggles. The collapse of the New York Call, the daily paper of the S. P., just preceding the establishment of the *Daily Worker*, symbolized the waning power of one party and the upward swing of the other.

## A Period of Communist Growth

Over that entire ten-year period our party continued to win recruits, individually and in groups, from its Socialist rival, with no shuffling in the other direction. The tides in those days swept out of the S. P. and into our ranks with such eminent pillars of present day Communism as Engdahl, Schneid, Olgin and almost the whole Freiheit staff, not to speak of Kruse, who has begun to drift back by way of the Lovestone detour. Scott Nearing left the S. P. in 1923 and joined the C. P. in 1926. Weisbord, who became justly renowned as the Communist organizer of the Passaic strike in 1926, had been the Secretary of the Young Peoples Socialist League and a campaigner for La Follette in 1924. All of these people, and many others who could be mentioned, were, in one sense of the word, weather-cocks indicating the way the wind was blowing.

Now, after ten years of stagnation and decay, the Socialist Party is showing manifest signs of a revival, partly at the expense of the C. P.. The facts which demonstrate this trend are as incontestable as are the reasons which explain it. The greatly increased Socialist vote in the recent New York municipal election, while the Communist vote was reduced to insignificance is one of these signs. The re-establishment of the Right wing unions in the needle trades is another. The increased recruitment of new members is a third sign. (For example, the report of the secretary at the latest meeting of the National Executive Committee claimed more members enrolled in 1929 than in the whole five preceding years). Socialist influence in the labor movement and renewed activity in the

general trade union movement are a fourth sign. The reformist Socialist Party confronts the revolutionary Communists in 1930 as a stronger foe than at any time since the split in 1919.

## II

Weather-cocks also reflect the new situation. The first of these was Schneid, president of a Chicago local of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union, who came to us from the S. P. on the tide of Communist influence in the union in 1922. Last year the reaction carried him back to the S. P. A recent convert to reformism is Hendin, once a member of the C. E. C., who demanded "armed insurrection"—nothing less—at the first underground convention of our party in 1920. (He overestimated the "radicalization" at the time.) There are many others less prominent travelling the same path; one in particular named Streit, who led a squad of Stalinists to break up a meeting of the Communist Opposition in Philadelphia less than a year ago.

## The Course of Lovestone's Faction

Besides those individuals who desert Communism and pass over directly into the reformist camp of the S. P.—and—more significant—are those who have started on an indirect route, by stages, to the same place. Speaking from the standpoint of political logic—which is decisive—and disregarding personal intentions—which are not—this is the destination of the Lovestone faction. We do not see any ground for the permanent existence of a political party half-way between Communism and reformism which is the sum and substance of Right wing wisdom. The example of the 2-1-2 International and all similar national groupings excludes such a prospect. That Lovestone and Wolfe understand this as well as anyone, cannot be doubted. The *Forward's* estimate of Lovestone's present "work" as the "most useful he has ever done for the working class" is, from their standpoint, a quite intelligent judgement.

It ought to be easily understood why Lovestone and Wolfe cannot proceed directly to their political destination. Conscientious worker-Communists, revolting against the stupidity and brutality of the Foster regime have been caught in Lovestone's trap. Deception and maneuver are necessary to keep these workers together on a graduated reactionary course. Lovestone and Wolfe need time, but they are known for speed and they are making headway. They have already succeeded in leading their followers to Brandler and his program of "National Communism" without a centralized International. They have already translated "Socialism in one country"—the slogan under which they expelled us from the party—into "Communism in one country". This is progress enough for six months. The rest will follow.

## III

A number of factors contribute to the phenomena of a Socialist Party revival after ten years of retrogression. The most important is the beginning of a "radicalization" of the workers about which so much is being written these days. The fearfully accelerated exploitation involved in the development of industrial technique which goes by the name of "rationalization" plus wage-cuts, plus swelling unemployment and its attendant horrors, stimulates a labor discontentment which is beginning to grope for expression. It is of decisive importance to have a precise estimate of the character and degree of this discontent. In this field nothing is helpful but actual facts. In the light of such facts there is no ground whatever for the assumption that this "radicalization" of the American workers has anything approaching immediate revolutionary implications, or that the masses are ready for Communist leadership. So far it is possible to speak of tentative movements in the worker masses as "radicalization" in a strictly defined and limited sense. The traditional lack of class consciousness of the American workers, and their specific indifference to social questions as they record it on every occasion (the elections, for example) absolutely preclude the attempt to fit them into any European or world formula of "radicalization". This term can be used intelligently only on an American scale, in comparison with the recent years of "prosperity"; and then only with the reservation that this "radicalization" is shown in its

first stages, as symptoms of deeper movement to come.

## The Strike Barometer

This is the only possible conclusion which ascertainable facts will allow. Take the record of recent strikes, always a good barometer of working class militancy. Exact figures of strike movements over a period of years are not at hand at the moment, but the general outline is well known. The textile workers' strike in the South, the sporadic strikes of auto workers and similar outbursts certainly show an awakening mood of the workers involved. But altogether they have so far involved only a few thousand workers, a number in no way comparable to the hundreds of thousands who took part in the great strike movements in coal and steel and on the railroads in 1919 and 1922. Moreover, the responsiveness of the workers generally all over the country, to these strikes was negligible. The elections, another yardstick of proletarian class development, show a Communist debacle, a Socialist gain and a reactionary victory. The various political demonstrations organized by the Communist Party have yet to show serious working class support. They are real "Communist" demonstrations in the sense that only Communists take an active part in them. It is self deception to represent curious spectators as participants in these actions. The unemployment movement shows promise but is, as yet, only in its initial stages.

The most pronounced expressions of the symptoms of radicalization of the workers has been through reformist channels. Such is the meaning of the increased socialist vote insofar as it came from the workers; of the general revival of S. P. influence among the workers; of the appearance of "progressive" movements in the trade unions under S. P. leadership. Such is the real explanation of the fact that thousands of workers in the needle trades are turning to the reorganized Right wing unions. The signs of Socialist Party revival appearing simultaneously with the beginning of working class radicalization is no contradiction. It appears so only to those who grossly exaggerate the extent of the radicalization process and attempt to substitute noisy and flamboyant proclamations for actual moods of the masses. They cannot reconcile these imaginary revolutionary moods with a growth of reformist influence and they try to dispose of the latter by ignoring or denying it. The refusal to see things as they are has always been a fool's dangerous game. Nobody, least of all revolutionaries, ever yet won a war against facts. But this is precisely the whole military strategy of the Foster generals.

## IV

A second reason for the recent prosperity which has overtaken the long insolvent firm of Hillquit and Company, bound up with the symptoms of labor radicalism which the capitalists see as clearly as we do and which they fear as much as we welcome, is the patronage of the liberal wing of Capitalism. The more farsighted elements of American capitalism, profiting by European post-war experience, fear a revolutionary influence on a radicalized working class and wish to prepare a buffer against it in advance. For this purpose they are not unwilling to "build up" the liberalized Socialist Party of which they have no fears whatever. The "good press" which the S. P. received in the New York municipal campaign, including the direct support of several papers, had far deeper implications than a mere gesture of protest against the crudities of Tammany Hall. The New York papers were helping to prepare a safety valve before the social boiler has begun to steam.

On its part, the gaining of this capitalist patronage has been facilitated by the deliberate movement of the Socialist Party to the Right. It has spared no effort to establish respectability and harmlessness to the existing social order. It is more and more becoming the haven of inoffensive liberals as well as the shield of labor reactionaries such as the Black Hundreds in the needle trades. Norman Thomas, as spokesman who makes no pretense of Marxism, is a perfect symbol of this metamorphosis of a Party which once proclaimed in words always, and some times in deed, the doctrine of the class struggle.

## V

A third important factor which has aided the Socialists is the crisis in the

Communist Party and the incompetent leadership by appointment, which is made to order for Socialist progress at Communist expense.

The Party crisis which grows deeper from day to day has had a profound effect on the radical workers. Without understanding the principle issues, they see only the splits and get an impression of disintegration and decay. They see a once formally united party appearing as three separate factions, each publishing its own organ. In such circumstances the official assurances of "unity" sound to them like a scared boy whistling in the dark. The recruiting power of the movement is paralyzed and thousands of party members fall away in discouragement and despair. Some of them have become victims of reformist illusions—a fate for which they have been prepared by the reign of opportunism in the Party and in the Communist International.

## The Fosterite Contribution to the S. P.

The incredible weakness of the appointed leadership, which piles blunder on top of blunder in a vicious system, robs the party of its opportunity to plunge forward on the basis of the new trend in the working class and thus facilitates the game of the reformists. The substitution of noise for thought and vituperation for argument—the political method of Foster and Company—hurts nobody but the workers' vanguard and is grist to the S. P. mill. Many of the new recruits of the S. P. are Foster's contribution to Hillquit.

It is quite the fashion these days for the Party overseers to remind the workers of the overwhelming importance of the "leadership" they are receiving, like a gift, as it were, from the skies. The idea appears in the Party press again and again in the most offensive and patronizing manner. Leadership undoubtedly has a great importance in the proletarian struggle. But it works both ways, and in stressing this question the bureaucrats of the day are only helping, unwittingly, to furnish an explanation of Communist defeats and Socialist victories. An ignorant and corrupt leadership, such as now afflicts the party, can deal the heaviest blows against the cause of the workers' vanguard, and is dealing them. Looking back over the ten years record of the Party, with its ups and downs, its often sad experiences with leaders who have come and gone, one can say with complete assurance that history—insofar as it takes note of the matter—will sustain the judgement, that the present leadership of the Party is the worst it ever had. We say this without forgetting any past experience at any stage of the Party's evolution. The Foster regime has all the stupidity of the Hourwich group without their principle, and the corruption of the Lovestone group without their intelligence.

The Communist workers, staggering under defeat after defeat in times when progress ought to be the rule, will do well to take the usurping bureaucrats at their word when they urge them to remember the decisive importance of leadership. The first conclusion they will come to after a serious consideration of this question will be the necessity of overthrowing the present leadership and organizers of defeat. They will find—since the American bureaucrats are simply the appointed agents of the Stalin E. C. C. I.—that the first steps in this direction will lead them toward participation in the great international struggle over the foundation principles of Communism which the Bolshevik-Leninists are defending against the new revisionists. The disintegration of the American Communist movement is bound up with an international situation and cannot be isolated from it. A real fight against this disintegration can be conducted only under the banner of the International Opposition, for that is the banner of Communism.

## VI

The spectacle of Socialist Party advancement and Communist retrogression at a time when there are many signs of a new upward trend of working class activity are transient phenomena based on illusions of the workers, cleverly exploited by the reformists, and misleadership and internal crisis in the Communist movement. In the temporary fluctuation in the class struggle there is no cause for alarm, to say nothing of despair in the revolutionary ranks. The ultimate victory belongs to Communism, but there is no law that it will proceed to this victory on a straight ascending line.

(Continued on Page 8)

# The Fundamental Principle Errors of Syndicalism

(To Serve in the Discussion with Monatte and the Pure Syndicalists in General)

By L. D. Trotsky

When I arrived in France in October 1914, I found the French socialist and trade union movement in a state of the most complete demoralization. In the search for revolutionists, with lantern in hand, I made the acquaintance of Monatte and Rosmer. They had not succumbed to chauvinism. It was thus that our friendship began. Monatte was an anarcho-syndicalist; despite that he was immeasurably closer to me than the French Guesdists who were playing a pitiful and shameful role. At that time, the Cachins were knocking at the servants' entrance to the ministries of the Third Republic and the Allied embassies. In 1915, Monatte left the Central Committee of the C. G. T., slamming the door behind him. His departure from the trade union centre was in essence nothing but a split. At that time, however, Monatte believed—and rightly so—that the fundamental historical tasks of the proletariat stood above unity with chauvinists and lackeys of imperialism. It was precisely in this that Monatte was loyal to the best traditions of revolutionary syndicalism.

Monatte, one of the first friends of the October Revolution, nevertheless, unlike Rosmer had held aloof for a long time. That was well in keeping with the character of Monatte, as I was later convinced, of standing aside, of waiting, of criticizing. At times this is absolutely unavoidable. But as a permanent line of conduct it becomes transformed into sectarianism which has a close affinity with Proudhonism, but nothing in common with Marxism.

## Lenin and the Syndicalists

When the Socialist Party of France became the Communist Party, I frequently had occasion to discuss with Lenin the onerous heritage the International had received in the person of leaders like Cachin, Frossard, and other heroes of the League of the Rights of Man, of the Freemasons, of parliamentarians, careerists and babblers. Here is one of these conversations—which I have already published in the press, if I am not mistaken: "It would be good," Lenin said to me, "to drive out all these weathercocks, and to draw into the party the revolutionary syndicalists, the militant workers, people who are really devoted to the cause of the working class. And Monatte?" "Monatte would of course be ten times better than Cachin and those like him", I replied. "But Monatte not only continues to reject parliamentarism, but to this day he has not grasped the significance of the party". Lenin was astounded: "Impossible! Has not grasped the significance of the party after the October Revolution? That's a very dangerous symptom."

I carried on a correspondence with Monatte in which I insisted that he come to Moscow. He was evasive. True to his nature, he preferred, in this case too, to stand aside and wait. And besides the Communist Party did not suit him. In that he was right. But instead of helping to transform it, he waited. During the Fourth Congress we succeeded in taking the first steps towards cleansing the C. P. F. of Free-masons, pacifists and office seekers. Monatte entered the party. But it is not necessary to underline the fact that this did not mean to us that he had adopted a Marxian viewpoint; not at all. On March 13, 1923, I wrote in Pravda: "The entrance of our old friend, Monatte into the party was a great day for us; men of his stamp are necessary to the revolution. But it certainly would be wrong to pay the price of confusion and lack of clarity of ideas for this rapprochement." In this article I criticized the scholasticism of Louzon on the relations between the class, trade unions and the party. In particular, I explained that pre-war syndicalism had been an embryo of the Communist Party, that this embryo had since become a child, and that if this child was suffering from measles and rickets it was necessary to nurse it, but that it would be absurd to imagine that it could be made to return to its mother's womb. I may perhaps be permitted to say in this regard, that the arguments of my 1923 article, in caricature, serve to this day as the main weapons against Monatte in the hands of Monmousseau and the other anti-Trotskyist warriors.

Monatte joined the party; but he hardly had time to turn about and accustom himself to a house far vaster than his little shop on the quai de Jemmapes, when the

him: Lenin was taken ill, the campaign against "Trotskyism" and the Zinovievist "Bolshevization" began. Monatte could not submit to the careerists who, by leaning upon the general staff of epigones at Moscow, and disposing of unlimited resources, carried on by means of intrigue and slander. Monatte was expelled from the party. This episode, important, but still only an episode, was of decisive moment in the political development of Monatte. He decided that his brief experience in the party had fully confirmed his anarcho-syndicalist prejudices against the party in general. Monatte then began insistently to retrace his steps towards abandoned positions. He began to seek again the Amiens Charter. For all that he had to turn his face to the past. The experience of the war, of the Russian Revolution, and of the world trade union movement were lost upon him, leaving hardly a trace. Once again Monatte stood aside and waited. What for? A new Amiens Congress. During these last few years I was unfortunately unable to follow the retrogressive evolution of Monatte: the Russian Opposition lived in a blockaded circle.

## Monatte's Fetishisms

Out of the whole treasure of the theory and practice of the world struggle of the proletariat Monatte has extracted but two ideas: trade union autonomy and trade union unity. He has placed these two pure principles above sinful reality. It is on trade union unity that he has based his newspaper and the Syndicalist League. Unfortunately, these two ideas are empty and each one of them resembles the hole in a ring. Whether the ring be made of iron, silver or gold, Monatte does not care in the least. The ring, you know, always hampers the trade union's activity. Monatte is interested only in the hole of autonomy.

No less empty is the other sacred principle: unity. In its name Monatte even stood up against the rupture of the Anglo-Russian committee, even though the General Council of the British Trade Unions had betrayed the general strike. The fact that Stalin, Bucharin, Cachin, Monmousseau and others supported the bloc with the strike-breakers until the latter gave them a kick does not lessen in the least Monatte's mistake. After my arrival abroad I made an attempt to explain to the readers of the *Revolution Proletarienne* the criminal character of this bloc, the consequences of which are still being felt by the worker's movement. Monatte did not want to publish my article. And how could it have been otherwise, since I had made an assault upon the sacred trade union unity, which solves all questions and reconciles all contradictions?

When strikers run up against a group of strikebreakers in their path, they throw them from their midst without sparing blows. If the strike-breakers are union men they throw them out immediately, without worrying over the sacred principles of trade union unity. Monatte surely has no objections to this. But the matter is entirely different when it is a question of the trade union bureaucracy and its leaders. The General Council is not composed of starving and backward strikebreakers, no, these are quite experienced and well-known traitors; who found it necessary at a certain moment to stand at the head of the general strike in order to decapitate it all the more quickly and surely. They worked hand in hand with the government, the bosses and the princes of the church. It would seem that the leaders of the Russian trade unions, who were in a political bloc with the General Council, should have immediately, openly and relentlessly broken with it at that very moment, before the masses it deceived and betrayed. But Monatte rises up fiercely: It is forbidden to disturb trade union unity. In an astonishing manner, he forgets that he himself upset this unity in 1915 by leaving the chauvinist "General Council" of the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor).

It must be said squarely: Between the Monatte of 1915 and the Monatte of 1929,

there is an abyss. To Monatte it must seem that he is remaining entirely faithful to himself. Formally, this is true, up to a certain point. Monatte repeats a few old formulae, but he ignores entirely the experience of the last fifteen years, richer in lessons than all the preceding history of humanity. In the attempt to return to his former positions, Monatte simply fails to notice that they have disappeared a long time ago. No matter what question is raised, Monatte looks backward. This may be seen most clearly in the question of the party and the state.

## The Dangers of State-ism

Some time ago, Monatte accused me of underestimating "the dangers of state-ism" (*Revolution Proletarienne*, No. 79, May 1, 1929, page 2). This reproach is not a new one; it has its origin in the struggle of Bakunin against Marx and it shows a false, contradictory and essentially non-proletarian conception of the state.

With the exception of one country, state power throughout the world is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. It is in this, and only in this, that lies the state danger from the point of view of the proletariat. Its historical task is to wrest this most powerful instrument of oppression from the hands of the bourgeoisie. The Communists do not deny the difficulties, the dangers that are connected with the dictatorship of the proletariat. But can this lessen by one iota the necessity to seize power? If the whole proletariat were carried by an irresistible force to the conquest of power or if it had already conquered it, one could, strictly speaking, understand this or that warning of the syndicalists. Lenin, as is known, warned in his testament against abuse of revolutionary power. The struggle against the distortions of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been conducted by the Opposition since it existed, and without the need of borrowing from the arsenals of the anarchists.

But in the bourgeois countries, the misfortune lies in the fact that the overwhelming majority of the proletariat does not understand as it should the dangers of the bourgeois state. By the manner in which they treat the question, the syndicalists, naturally against their intention, contribute to the passive conciliation of the workers with the state of capital. When the syndicalists chant to the workers oppressed by the bourgeois power their admonitions against the dangers of the state for the proletariat, they play a purely reactionary role. The bourgeois will readily repeat to the workers: "Do not touch the state because it is a snare full of dangers for you." The Communist will say to the workers: "The difficulties and dangers with which the proletariat is confronted the day after the conquest of power—we will learn to overcome them on the basis of experience. But at the present time, the most menacing dangers lie in the fact that our class enemy holds the rein of power in its hands and directs it against us."

In contemporary society there are only two classes capable of holding power in their hands: the capitalist bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat. For the petty bourgeoisie has long ago lost the economic possibility of directing the destinies of modern society. Now and then, in fits of desperation it rises for the conquest of power, even with arms in hand, as has happened in Italy, in Poland and other countries. But the Fascist insurrections only end in this result: the new power becomes the instrument of finance capital under an even more naked and brutal form. That is why the most representative ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie are afraid of state power as such. The petty bourgeoisie fears power when it is in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, because the latter expresses and ruins it. It also fears it when it is in the hands of the proletariat, for the latter undermines all the conditions of its habitual existence. Finally, it fears power when it falls into its own hands because it must inevitably pass out of its powerless hands into those of finance capital or the proletariat. That is why the anarchists do not see the revolutionary problems of state

power, its historical role, that is why they see only the "dangers of state-ism". The anti-state anarchists are consequently the most logical, and for that reason, the most hopeless representatives of the petty bourgeoisie in its historical blind alley.

Yes, the "dangers of state-ism" exist under the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well, but the substance of these dangers consists precisely in the fact that power can actually return to the hands of the bourgeoisie. The best known and most obvious state danger is *bureaucratism*. But what is its character? If the enlightened workers' bureaucracy could lead society to socialism, that is, to the liquidation of the state, we would be reconciled with such bureaucracy. But it has an entirely opposite character: by separating itself from the proletariat, by raising itself above it, the bureaucracy falls under the influence of the petty bourgeois classes and can by that very fact facilitate the return of power into the hands of the bourgeoisie. In other words, the state dangers for the workers under the dictatorship of the proletariat, are in the final analysis nothing but the danger of restoring the power to the bourgeoisie.

The question of the source of this bureaucratic danger is no less important. It would be radically wrong to think, to imagine that bureaucratism rises exclusively from the fact of the conquest of power by the proletariat. No, that is not the case. In the capitalist states, the most monstrous forms of bureaucratism are to be observed precisely in the trade unions. It is enough to cast a glance at America, England and Germany. Amsterdam is the most powerful international organization of the trade union bureaucracy. It is thanks to it that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings. The bureaucracy of the trade unions is the backbone of British imperialism. It is by means of this bureaucracy that the bourgeoisie exists, not only in the metropolis, but in India, in Egypt and in the other colonies. One would have to be completely blind to say to the English workers: "Be on guard against the conquest of power and always remember that your trade unions are the antidote to bureaucratic dangers." The Marxist will say to the English workers: "The trade union bureaucracy is the most powerful instrument for your oppression by the bourgeois state. Power must be wrested from the hands of the bourgeoisie and for that its principal agent, the trade union bureaucracy, must be overthrown." Parenthetically, it is especially for this reason that the bloc of Stalin with the strikebreakers was so criminal.

From the example of England, one sees very clearly how absurd it is to oppose as two different principles trade union organization and state organization. In England more than anywhere else, the state rests upon the back of the working class which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population of the country. The mechanism is such that the bureaucracy is based directly on the workers, and the state indirectly, by the intermediary of the trade union bureaucracy.

Up to now we have not mentioned the Labour Party which, in England, in this class country of trade union, is the simple transposition of the same trade union bureaucracy. The same leaders guide the trade unions, betray the general strike, lead the electoral campaign and later on sit in the ministries. The Labour Party, the trade unions—these are not two principles, they are only a technical division of labor. Together they are the fundamental support of the domination of the English bourgeoisie. This latter cannot be overthrown without overthrowing the Labourite bureaucracy. And that cannot be attained by opposing the trade union as such to the state as such, but by the active opposition of the Communist Party to the Labourite bureaucracy in all fields of social life: in the trade unions, in strikes, in the electoral campaign, in parliament and in power. The principal task of a real party of the proletariat consists in putting itself at the head of the working masses, organized in trade unions and unorganized, to wrest power from the bourgeoisie and striking a death blow to the "dangers of state-ism".

# Throughout the World of Labor

## The Crisis in the Spanish Labor Movement

The formula: "Seventy five percent of our activity for trade union unity" had a tremendous echo in Spain and, it can be said, was the only slogan of the Comintern accepted practically by the Spanish working masses in general. The Communist Party of Spain, always at the tail of events and the masses, devoted itself one hundred percent to the application of instructions, blindly, without a clear vision of the problem, driven by the Spanish proletariat which is so inclined to impetuous but momentary actions. A guide was lacking, which would have canalized this strong movement of sympathy for trade union unity, which attained its peak in the very midst of dictatorial repression, during the convocation of the Congress for unity which was to have been held at San Sebastian in May 1926.

The masses demanded trade union unity at all costs. The Spanish Communist Party with the exception of a small group of competent militants who were grouped to be dominated by events and to be over-around the comrades of San Sebastian, among whom was the director of the Party's central organ, comrade Jean Andrade, was unable to establish itself as the guide and vanguard of the proletariat. The leadership of the party did not understand and was incapable of canalizing organically the aspirations of the masses; it allowed itself to be dominated by events and to be overcome on the unity wave that passed over the Spanish labor movement. La Antorcha, the central organ of the Party, was taken away from the competent direction of comrade Andrade and given to the political adventurer, Oscar Perez Solis, and, at the same time, the campaign for trade union unity and the daily La Antorcha came to a complete halt.

Had the masses already become "radicalized"? According to the calculations of the leaders of the Communist International, the "radicalization" already commenced. The poor petty bureaucrats of the Spanish C. P. were ready to comply with all the orders of Stalin and Co. without worrying over the result that their stupid, selfish submission would have for the Spanish labor movement. Inevitably, the masses of the workers who sought and hoped to meet a guide, saw their hopes deceived, and, taking place under the full repression of the dictatorship against the labor movement, they retreated; their militant spirit declined appreciably. Now the labor movement is entering into a real stage of crisis which the leaders of the C. I. and the Spanish C. P. designate as "radicalization of the masses".

The Spanish labor movement, based on the principle of the class struggle, had close to a million and a half organized workers in 1919. The C. N. T. (National Federation of Labor), with an anarcho-syndicalist tendency, counted a good million members. The U. G. T. (General Union of Workers), with a social reformist tendency, had more than two hundred thousand members. There existed besides a few independent trade unions which awaited the fusion of the two central organizations in order to give their adherence to the united trade union organization of the Spanish proletariat.

The repeated betrayals of the reformist general staff, the disruption of the united front which the social reformists perpetrated, the organized sabotage of the C.N.T. made the fusion of the two organizations a distant possibility to a large extent. The false tactic and the methods of struggle employed by the anarcho-syndicalists of the C. N. T., together with the repression of the bourgeois authorities, of which this organization was the object, rapidly weakened this giant that appeared invincible. The U. G. T. stood by impassively, arms folded, while the government attacked the C. N. T. Even more, the organizations fought each other with violence and the blood of the proletariat was spilled in various parts of Spain, at Bilbao particularly, during encounters between partisans of the two camps.

The C. P. of Spain, always slow to get moving, never succeeded, despite its con-

tention into a single Communist Party, to adopt a correct and really Communist position. For its leaders, the whole problem was reduced to denouncing the heads of the U. G. T. and the C. N. T. without giving any concrete directives that might facilitate unity by putting the masses on the right track. Thus, the leadership of the C. P. S. fulfilled the role of a buffer between the leaders of the two organizations without knowing what to do with the masses who detested the false course of the leaders. And then the coup d'Etat of 1926 took place.

"The crisis in the dictatorship is sharpening", "Primo de Rivera is retiring", "a new constitutional era is approaching"—these are the themes developed by the leaders of the Spanish labor movement. All of them await the fall of Primo de Rivera as the triumph of their ideal, await it in order to begin the elaboration of a program for the "struggle for organization" and what is worse, to begin again the "war of the generals" and the aspiring generals in order to determine who was the most ardent, most clear-sighted and most discreet during the dictatorial period.

For us, the Communist Opposition, the problem and its solution does not lie in the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. Primo de Rivera can, in one of his eccentricities, pass the baton of orchestra director to Martinez Anida or some other lackey of capitalism. And even if he formed a government of the type of those of the "old regime", the Spanish working class would always be confronted by a capitalism determined to oppress it and strangle it.

The reorganization of the Spanish working class, the reorganization of the Communist Party, the trade union unity of the Spanish proletariat based on the principles of the class struggle, the struggle against the dictatorship and against the Spanish capitalist regime, the struggle for the liberty of the small oppressed nationalities, the methodical organization of the peasant masses, in short, for the emancipation of the Spanish working class, must be undertaken immediately without waiting for Primo de Rivera to yield his place to another butcher of the proletariat, without hoping for so-called political transformations which can take place in the "last stage of capitalism" only as an insurrection of the proletariat. Whether Primo de Rivera falls or not, the battle against the Spanish bourgeoisie must begin. There can be no waiting until Primo opens the road for us, as some seem to hope.

The Spanish Communist Opposition warns the Spanish workers against the stark optimism of those who see in the "crisis of the dictatorship" the perspective or almost the triumph of our class aspirations. The workers must not await the fall of the dictatorship in order to organize, to undertake the struggle for their emancipation.

The Spanish Communist Party must be the guide of the working class of Spain, its vanguard. Its leaders paralyze its development, prevent its reconstitution. The Communist Opposition has a great task to realize and it will accomplish it along the ideas of Lenin. The perspectives are favorable.

Barcelona, January 1930

—HENRI LACROIX

Φ

## The League against Imperialism

The All-Indian National Congress was presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru, with Gandhi, is the representative of the various vacillating and petty bourgeois masses; driven by the masses, the predominant element of their policy is fear of the masses, of the revolution against which they are fighting today with all ideological means; tomorrow, when the revolution raises its head in spite of Gandhism, the internal logic of their attitude and their policy will lead Gandhi and Nehru into the camp of the avowed enemies of the revolution.

The road that Nehru and Gandhi will take is already clearly indicated in the declaration of Gandhi appearing in Young India, the review of the nationalist Indian intellectuals. This is what it says: "For the introduction of passive resistance, the

choice of the moment and the methods have been left to the Committee of the All-Indian Congress. But I must declare that I do not see the atmosphere propitious for such a measure."

And Gandhi does not conceal the reason for which the atmosphere does not appear to him. It is that every measure of struggle, even if it is conceived pacifically, is exceeded by the masses and can provoke revolutionary struggles.

But Jawaharlal Nehru, charged with expounding this policy, is one of the most eminent celebrities of the "League against Imperialism."

To this League also belongs Madame Sun, the wife of Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Kuo Min Tang. Madame Sun belongs to the Left wing of the Kuo Min Tang, she is close to Wang Chin Wei. Every revolutionist is acquainted with the role played by the Left wing of the Kuo Min Tang at Hankow. If the Left Kuo Min Tang should succeed in conquering Canton in the Spring, the "Left" government of the South would soon prove that it is no less hostile to the working class than the Nanking government. Contrary to Nanking, it would thank Mme Sun by naming her an honorary member.

But in the meantime, Mme. Sun remains one of the luminaries of the "League against Imperialism."

The development of all these "heroes of a day" of the anti-imperialist struggle is obviously not due to chance. The Fengs and the Chiang Kai-Sheks became counter-revolutionaries the moment the worker and peasant masses entered spontaneously on the field of history and formulated their class demands. The same will happen with all the heroes of the Anti-Imperialist League.

It would be ridiculous to demand the exclusion of the already compromised "leaders" of the "League Against Imperialism." Not only must the Sandinos, the Nehrus and Company be removed from the revolutionary community of the world proletariat, but what must also be destroyed is the monstrous illusion, cruelly belied by history, according to which such a "League" can play leading, progressive role in the national revolution of the colonial peoples.

The "League against Imperialism," as a political center comprising Communist and bourgeois organizations, is a constant danger to the Communist International, to which it represents a competitor.

Things are similar if not worse in the Peasants International, which a European Peasants Congress is planned to draw out of its lethargy. For several weeks, the "revolutionary awakening" of the peasantry has been on the order of the day; in Germany, in Austria, etc., there are "revolutionary peasants demonstrations" for the election of delegates to the European peasants Congress. It therefore appears that we have arrived at a new edition of the "peasant policy" of the first "Leftist" period (1924-5); all the more necessary is it to recall to the revolutionary workers what Trotsky says in his criticism of the draft program of the Comintern:

"The peasantry will play a decisive role in the revolutions of the East. But this role will be neither leading nor independent. The poor peasants of Hupeh, Kwantung or Bengal can play a role not only on a national but on an international scale, but only on the condition that it supports the working class of Shanghai, Hankow or Calcutta. That is the only way out for the revolutionary peasant on an international road. The attempt to unite the peasant of Hupeh with the peasant of Galicia or the Dobrudja, the Egyptian fellah with the American farmer, has no chance to succeed."

What International Communism needs is not the creation of independent organizations of peasants and the unification of the bourgeois colonial parties into a "League against Imperialism," but a return to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the "outlived" teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat and the leading role of its party. "The village inevitably follows the city. The question is only to know which of the 'city classes' will be able to lead the village behind it." That is Lenin's formulation.

KURT LANDAU.

## The British Daily Worker

The Communist Party now has its daily paper. It is a present given it by Moscow. It must be said that it was received without enthusiasm. At the Leeds Party Congress, T. A. Jackson, who is himself a capable journalist, declared: "The question is not to launch the paper—that's very easy—but to maintain it."

The first number contained a message from the Communist International, which has caused some stir, for the Conservative press immediately used it to sharpen its campaign against the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. It underlined the passage which said that the paper will be a "new and powerful organ in the hands of the working class in its struggle against capitalism, against rationalization and against the social-fascist Labor government."

That it is a "powerful weapon", only the leaders of the Communist International can believe. The Daily Worker is actually deplorable to the point where the bourgeois papers make fun of it and scoff at "Moscow's parsimony." The embarrassed Communists lay the blame to the press monopoly and the too high wages paid to the printing plant workers. One actually reads in the Communist Review: "It is a characteristic of this monopoly that the trade unions share in it. In the London daily press, there prevails the system of exceptionally high wages not only for the prostitutes of journalism but also—relative to the wages of other sections—for the typos, the pressmen, etc. In this way, the special interest of the unions is assured for cooperation with the capitalist trusts against the independent press and particularly against the workers' press." The leaders of the Party must be pretty ill at ease to resort to such arguments. Moreover, they have short memories: they forget that in 1926, on the eve of the outbreak of the general strike the linotype operators of the Daily Mail, in spite of the so-called exceptional wages, refused to set up a lying article directed against the workers, which still remains a pretty rare gesture.

The Clyde "rebels" have just suffered a serious defeat at the conference of the Scotch section of the Independent Labour Party, meeting in Glasgow on January 12, Maxton and his friends who voted against the government in an important debate—modification of the insurance law against unemployment—asked the approval of the conference. This approval was refused them by 103 votes against 94. If one considers that it is in Scotland that the Laborite Left has its strongest positions, the importance of this defeat will be understood.

Maxton's defense was very weak. He complained of having been cast off in the course of the discussion, by most of those who had signed his declaration: "I was thrown against the cannons," he exclaimed, "and when I looked about nobody was there any longer." That is the language of the "leader" of the I. L. P. He and his friends are full of excellent intentions; they have a faint desire to do something against the policy of abdication of the labor government, but they always halt before decisive deeds. That is why MacDonald always wins so easily over them.

—S B

London, January 21, 1930.

## Chicago

HARD TIMES PARTY  
& REBEL DANCE

Given by Communist League (Opposition)  
Saturday Evening, February 22

STISKA'S HALL, 4021 N. Drake Ave.  
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Doors Open 8 p. m.

Dance Music Refreshments  
Special Entertainment Number

Admission 35 Cents

# The «Third Period» of the Comintern's Mistakes

## The Art of Orientation

The art of revolutionary leadership is primarily the art of correct political orientation. Under all conditions, Communism prepares the political vanguard, and through it the working class as a whole, for the revolutionary seizure of power. But it does it differently in different fields of the labor movement and in different periods.

One of the most important elements in orientation is the determination of the moods of the masses, their activity and readiness for struggle. The mood of the masses however does not fall from the skies. It changes under the influence of certain laws of mass psychology, which are set into motion by objective social conditions. The political condition of the classes is subject, within certain limits, to a quantitative determination (press circulation, attendance at meetings, demonstrations, strikes, elections, etc., etc.) In order to understand the dynamics of the process, it is necessary to determine in what direction and under the influence of what reasons the mood of the working class changes. Combining the subjective data with the objective, it is possible to get to a certain degree the perspective of the movement, i. e., the scientifically based prediction without which a serious revolutionary struggle is in general inconceivable. But prediction in politics has the character, not of a rigid schema, but of a working hypothesis. Directing the struggle to one or the other direction, it is necessary attentively to follow the changes in the objective and subjective elements of the movement, in order to introduce opportunely into the tactics corresponding corrections. Even though the actual development of the struggle never fully corresponds with the prognosis, that does not absolve us from having recourse to political prediction. One must not however, get intoxicated with finished schemas but continually check up the course of the historic process and conform oneself with its indications.

Centrism, which now rules the Comintern, as an intermediary tendency living on the ideas of others, by its very nature is incapable of historical prognosis. In the Soviet Republic, Centrism attained its domination under the conditions of reaction against October, at the descent of the revolution, when empiricism and eclecticism constituted the warrant that permitted it to swim with the stream. And since it had previously been proclaimed that the course of development automatically leads towards socialism in one country, this in itself was enough to liberate Centrism from the need of a world orientation.

But the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, which still have to struggle for power or to prepare for such a struggle, cannot live without prediction. A correct, every-day orientation is a question of life or death for them. But they do not learn this most important art because they are compelled to leap and skip interminably at the command of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Bureaucratic Centrism which is able to live for a time off the interest on the capital of already captured proletarian power, is entirely incapable of preparing the young Parties for the conquest of power. In this lies the principal and most formidable contradiction of the present Comintern.

The history of the Centrist leadership is the history of fatal mistakes in orientation. After the epigones missed the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923 which profoundly changed the whole situation in Europe, the Comintern went through three stages of fatal mistakes.

The years 1924-25 were the period of ultra-Left mistakes: the leadership saw an immediate revolutionary situation ahead of them at a time when it was behind them. In that period they called us Marxist-Leninists "Rights" and "liquidators"

The years 1925-27 were the period of open opportunism, which coincided with a stormy rise of the labor movement in England and the revolution in China. In this period they called us nothing else than "ultra-Leftists".

Finally, in 1928, the "Third Period" is proclaimed, which repeats the Zinoviev mistakes of 1924-25 on a higher historical plane. "The Third Period", has not yet come to a close: on the contrary it continues to rage, laying organizations and minds to waste.

All the three periods are characterized,

not accidentally, by a systematic decline in the level of the leadership. In the first period: Zinoviev, Bucharin, Stalin. In the second period: Stalin, Bucharin. In the third period: Stalin and... Molotov. There is a regularity to be seen in this.

Let us look closer at the leadership and theory of the "third period".

## Molotov «Enters With Both Feet»

The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which met a year after the Sixth Congress (July 1929) could not simply repeat what the Sixth Congress had already said but had to take a higher note. Already on the eve of the Plenum, the theoretical organ of the C. P. S. U. wrote:

"In the whole capitalist world the strike wave is rising. This wave is occurring in the highly developed imperialist countries as well as in the backward colonies at times and in places which interlink with elements of a stubborn revolutionary struggle and civil war. Into the struggle are drawn and actively participate the masses of the unorganized... The growth of dissatisfaction and the Leftward swing of the masses also embraces the millions of the agricultural workers and oppressed peasantry". (Bolshevik, June, 1929, No. 12, page 9).

The picture leaves no room for doubts. If the strike wave is actually traversing the whole world, drawing even "the millions of agricultural workers and oppressed peasantry", and interlinking with "revolutionary struggle and civil war", then it is clear: the revolutionary situation is at hand and the task of an outright struggle is on the order of the day. Whether to call such conditions the "third period" or to leave them unnumbered on this count we would agree not to quarrel.

The tuning fork at the Tenth Plenum appeared, as is known, in the hands of the maestro Molotov. In his programmatic speech before the leaders of the Comintern, Molotov said: "One must be a dull opportunist (!), one must be a sorry liberal (!), in view of the facts of the world labor movement, not to see that we have entered with both feet into the realm of most tremendous revolutionary events of international significance." (Pravda, No. 177). "With both feet"—what power of argumentation!

Harmonizing with Molotov's tuning fork, Bolshevik, the theoretical organ of the Russian Communist Party wrote in August 1929:

"On the basis of the analysis of the working class struggle in the principal capitalist countries, the Tenth Plenum established the development and deepening of the processes of the Leftward turn and revolutionization of the masses, which grows, already at the present time into a beginning of the revolutionary rise, (at least in such countries as Germany, France, Poland)". (No. 15, page 4).

There can be no doubt: if not with his head, then with his feet, Molotov has decisively established the revolutionary character of the period we are living through. Since nobody wants to be called a "dull opportunist" or a "sorry liberal", then Molotov's argumentation appears to be immediately insured against the criticism of the Plenum. Not burdening himself with economic nor political analysis, for reasons which it must be admitted are very valid, Molotov limited himself to a short catalog of the strikes in the different countries (Ruhr, Lodz, Northern France, Bombay, etc.) as the sole proof of the fact that "we have entered into the realm of most tremendous revolutionary events". This is how historic periods are created!

There only remained for the Central Committee and the papers of the national sections to see to it that their own feet, getting ahead if possible of their heads, should be immersed as quickly as possible into "most tremendous revolutionary events". But is it not a suspicious circumstance that the revolutionary situation appears simultaneously in the whole world, in the metropolises and the colonies, completely ignoring in this period "the law of uneven development", that is, that single historic law which, at least in name, is known to Stalin? In reality, there can be no talk of such simultaneousness. The analysis of world conditions is substituted for, as we have just seen, by the summing up of isolated conflicts occurring in different

countries and for different conditions. Of the European countries, Austria alone, perhaps, has gone through a crisis in the past year which, with the presence of an influential Communist Party, might have assumed an immediately revolutionary development. But it is precisely Austria that is not even mentioned. What are mentioned are France, Germany and Poland as "those countries which —(according to Molotov)— find themselves at present in the front ranks of the revolutionary rise". In a series of articles we examined the strike wave in France, in order to determine its actual place in the development of the proletariat and the country. We hope to analyze in the same detail, in the nearest future, the basic indicators which characterize the struggle of the German working class. But the conclusions we arrived at with the French example, which is included by the Tenth Plenum among the least of the three most revolutionary countries of Europe, already show that Molotov's analysis is a combination of three elements: theoretical ignorance, political irresponsibility and bureaucratic adventurism. However it is not "the third period" that these elements characterize, but the Centrist bureaucracy —in all periods.

## Are Economic Strikes Called Forth By Crises or Rises?

"Wherein lies the basis of this revolutionary rise?" Molotov makes the attempt to reflect, and right here presents the fruits of his deliberations: "At the basis of the rise can only lie the growth of the general crisis of capitalism and the sharpening of the basic contradictions of the capitalist system."

Whoever does not agree, is a "sorry liberal." But where is it written that at the basis of economic strikes "can only lie" a crisis? Instead of analyzing the actual economic conditions and finding on the basis of them a correct place for the present strike movement, Molotov proceeds in reverse order, enumerating a half a dozen strikes, comes to the conclusion about "the growth" of the capitalist crisis and—lands in the clouds.

The rise of the strike movement in a series of countries was caused, as we already know, by the improvement of economic conjuncture in the course of the past two years. This refers primarily to France. True, industrial revival which is far from general for the whole of Europe remained until now very retarded even in France and the tomorrow is far from secure at that. But in the life of the proletariat, even a small turn of conjuncture in one direction or the other does not take place without leaving its mark. If they continue daily to lay off workers in the factories, then those at work will not have the same spirit which is bred with them by the hiring of new workers, even though in limited numbers. The conjuncture has no less an influence on the ruling classes. In the period of an industrial revival which always breeds hopes for a still greater revival in the future, the capitalists are inclined to a softening of the international contradictions precisely in order to secure the development of a favorable conjuncture. And this is the "spirit of Locarno and Geneva".

In the not distant past, we had a great illustration of the correlation of conjunctural and basic factors.

The years of 1896-1913 were with few interruptions years of a powerful industrial rise. In 1913, this changed to depression, which for all informed, clearly opened the long and drawn out crisis. The threatening break of conjuncture, after the period of an unprecedented boom, created an extremely nervous mood in the ruling classes and served as a direct impetus to the war. Of course, the imperialist war grew out of basic contradictions of capitalism. This generalization is known even to Molotov. But on the road to war, there were a whole series of stages when the contradictions either sharpened or softened. The same applies also to the class struggle of the workers.

In the pre-war period, the basic as well as the conjunctural processes developed much more regularly than in the present period of brusks turns and steep breaks, when comparatively steep breaks, when the comparatively less important vacillations in economy breed tremendous leaps in politics. But from this it does not at all

flow that it is possible to close one's eyes to the actual development and to repeat three incantations: "Contradictions sharpen" "the working masses are turning to the Left", "the war is imminent"—every day, every day, every day... If our strategic line is determined in the last analysis by the inevitability of the growth of contradictions and the revolutionary radicalization of the masses, then our tactics, which serve this strategy, proceed from the realistic evaluation of each period, each stage, each moment, which may be characterized by a temporary softening of contradictions, a Rightward turn of the masses, a change in the correlation of forces in favor of the bourgeois, etc. If the masses were to turn Leftward uninterruptedly, then any fool could lead them. Fortunately or unfortunately, matters are more complicated, particularly under the present inconstant, vacillating "capricious" conditions.

The so-called general line is a phrase, unless we correlate it with each alternating change in national and international conditions. How does the leadership of the Comintern act? Instead of evaluating conditions in all their concreteness, it smashes its head at every new stage and then satisfies the masses for its subsequent defeat with a change and even expulsion of those on guard duty in the Central Committees of the national sections. We firmly advise Cachin, Monmousseau, Thaelmann and all the Renmeles (and Foster!—Ed.) to prepare themselves in advance for the role of the victims for the theory and practice of the Third Period. This will happen when Stalin has to correct Molotov—naturally after the fact.

## The Rise of the U. S. S. R. as a Factor in the «Third Period»

As the first reason for the "revolutionary rise" in the last two years, Molotov sees the economic crisis which, by the way, he discovered deductively. The second reason he sees in the economic successes of the U. S. S. R. and he even accuses the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. of not having sufficiently appreciated the revolutionizing effect of the Five Year Plan. That the economic successes of the Soviet Republic have a gigantic importance for the world labor movement does not require any proof. But from this it does not at all follow that the Five Year Plan is capable, in an a priori manner, of causing the revolutionary rise in Europe and the whole world. The broad working masses do not live by the prospective figures of the Five Year Plan. But even if we leave aside the Five Year Plan, and take the figures of factual successes of industrialization, we still cannot see in them the reason for the strike of the dock workers in France or the textile workers in India. Millions of workers are led in their actions by conditions which immediately surround them, not to speak of the fact that the greatest majority of the workers learn of the successes or failures of Soviet economy from the lying articles of the bourgeois and social democratic press. Finally, and this is more important than all the rest, what would immediately impress the broad circles of foreign workers is not the abstract figures of statistics but the actual and substantial improvement in the conditions of the workers in the U. S. S. R. It is clear that the conditions of severe food difficulties in Moscow and Leningrad cannot inspire tens of millions of workers in the capitalist world with revolutionary enthusiasm. It is a fact, unfortunately, that only about 100 workers came to hear the triumphant report of the last French delegation to return from the U. S. S. R. A hundred workers—for the whole of Paris! This is a menacing warning; but the noisy and boastful bureaucrats do not consider it necessary to reflect upon it.

## The Slogan of the General Strike

Entering so heartily into the "most tremendous revolutionary events" Molotov five minutes later returns to the same strikes and unexpectedly declares, "However, these manifestations against capital and reformism that serves it, still bear an isolated and fragmentary character".

It would seem that isolated and fragmentary strikes occur in different countries for quite different reasons, but in general, arising as they do out of a conjunctural

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# For an International Conference of the Left

## The Need For Organizing the World Opposition

There is need now to begin preparations to convene an International Conference of the forces of the Left Opposition. Many factors make such a conference both necessary and possible. It is not even a "forced march"; the world situation, the status and policy of the Communist International, urge such a gathering of the Left Opposition throughout the world. Economic and political struggles, arising out of the depressed and receding strength of international capitalism, are taking place on an increasing scale. In these the Opposition plays its part, but it must consider in what manner its role can be more decisive, both directly and through pressure by correct policy and tactics upon the Communist International and its sections in each country.

A steady and growing number of defeats have been inflicted on the proletariat and the Communist Parties in every country (alleviated only by incidental victories of a not very marked character here and there), in the past six years under the influence and direction of the Stalin-Bucharin regime. These range from the catastrophe in the Chinese Revolution (1925-1927); Anglo-Russian Committee debacle; the pro-Kulak policy, until recently in the Soviet Union; up to the May 1st, 1929 adventures in Germany and the washed-out August 1st international demonstrations against war—to mention a few of the outstanding events. For these defeats, Stalin and Stalinism, leaning strongly in these years upon the Right wing, bear the main responsibility. Trade union policy and activity, as embodied in the resolutions and theses and decisions of the Second and Third Congresses of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, when under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, have become a caricature coupled with either the abandonment or grotesque modification of tested united front tactics, have brought isolation of the militants from the mass unions, and sectarianism into practice on a world scale. There is need for a conference of the Leninist-Bolsheviks, of the Left wing, under the leadership of L. D. Trotsky, to examine thoroughly the situation before the world's working class and in the Comintern, and to elaborate a program of action that will more quickly defeat Stalinism and turn the Communist movement again on a correct path. That the bureaucrats are subject to proletarian pressure, even though yielding more comfortably and easily to the opportunists and revisionists of the Right wing, is a fact of experience. But the Left wing must turn the screws still tighter.

### Opposition Problems Need Elaboration

A conference is needed to elaborate the position of the Left Opposition toward the Comintern, the U. S. S. R., and Stalinism. That there is wanted more clarity is evidenced by the differences that arose in some sections of the Opposition (German Leninbund, Belgium) on the Sino-Russian conflict; the attitude toward the recent capitulators to Stalinism (Radek, et al); Thermidorism; etc.

At the same time the Left Opposition has reached the point and possibility where it is necessary and able to establish an international political platform as a guide for the Oppositions in the various countries. Some of the Oppositions, among them the Leninbund (Germany), Bordiga group in Italy, Communist League (United States and Canada), China have drawn up platforms and given their estimate of the international situation and the tasks of the Communists. The basic conceptions of the Left Opposition on the theory of socialism in one country; the Chinese Revolution; role of the Party; party democracy, etc. are incorporated soundly in the Opposition forces. What is needed is to clarify as much as possible such differences as may and do exist; to draft the general platform for all the Opposition; to assist one another in the specific tasks of each country; to lay the basis for the unification and centralization of the organization and activities of the Left Opposition on an international scale.

In little more than a year of the past, the Platform of the Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the activities of the Left Opposition in other countries have made a definite and good

impression on the rank and file workers in the Communist Parties. This too, on an increasing scale among the proletarian forces in the C. P. S. U., among the Russian proletariat generally, and particularly among the party members and workers in the large factories in Leningrad, Moscow and other large cities. Opposition determination, the needs of the workers there, are more and more breaking through the Stalinist suppression and terror. The voice of the Leninist-Bolshevik is being heard and his message read. A major task of the International Opposition is to assist the Russian Leninist-Bolsheviks in their tasks with propaganda, material aid, etc.

### Opposition Growing

The correctness of the views of the Left Opposition are accepted by larger numbers in the Communist Parties and the proletariat each day, by open declaration or silent acquiescence, or a waiting policy. The zig-zag Stalinist line fools less and less. Even now, the sudden dizzy "Left" zig-zag of the Stalinists in the Soviet Union and internationally, a course undertaken without conviction or understanding by the chinovniks, apparatus-men, shows signs of weakening and again gradually yielding (later a collapse?) to the Right wing opportunists (the removal of the so-called ultra-left, Fried, in Cecho-Slovakia, the speech of Manuilsky against the Left are the first straws). Only the active intervention of the genuine Left Opposition everywhere can serve to try to push the apparatus of the Stalinist Centrists and the Right wing onto a proletarian course. To do this more effectively, coordinated international activity and policy of the Opposition is required.

The Stalinist apparatus-men and the Right wing alike proclaim our "death" and have many times chanted our swan song. They may bow to ikons if they want to. The Opposition has its life in historic need and revolutionary activity. The more that Stalin and Bucharin maintain their revisionism of Marx and Lenin by the theory of socialism in one country as against an international revolutionary movement, the broader grows the international ring of the Left Opposition, encircling and isolating this social-democratic theory and Stalin in the narrow confines of national reformism. Stalin, through terror and suppression, makes his way yet in the Soviet Union. But the growing International Left, the increase of its press in the past year, the formation of new Left Opposition movements throughout the world indicate its growing strength and influence.

There is need to cite only the organization and development of the Left Opposition in the United States and Canada, Argentine, Mexico, China and other countries, not to mention the older European Oppositions. The capitulators find little comfort in the increasing proletarian cohorts of the Opposition. These found their way to the Opposition through understanding, and the pressure of the Stalinist chinovniks will not avail against them. It is this very growth of the Oppositions, with their own special problems, the need to define the particular roles of each Opposition (the United States and Belgium as contrasted, for instance, with Germany and France); the problem of the illegality of the Opposition (C. P. S. U.); the acute difficulties of work of the Opposition in China (illegality under Chiang Kai-Shek together with Stalinist suppression) that make advisable an international conference to work out our problems. The extreme conditions under which the Opposition operate make sectarian practice and an incorrect attitude toward the Comintern and the Communist Parties an easy swamp into which to fall. A conference which will discuss how we can increase our influence and activity among the masses and energize our movement in the Communist Parties will help greatly.

The open discussion of such issues as have arisen in the Left Opposition in some countries have helped to clarify our tasks. There is no need to wall about that. However sharp these discussions have been, they will aid the development of unity on a commonly accepted platform. An International Conference should make it possible for ALL groups and tendencies in the Left Opposition to be present and fully heard as an aid toward unity. Secondary issues,

which tend to obscure main lines, can then be brushed aside.

### An International Opposition Organ

An exchange of views in the press of the Opposition is required. At the same time, we must discuss ways and means to transform into reality an International Opposition organ, published in three languages at least, if at all possible, and to develop plans for a wide circulation. Such an organ will go a long way toward the theoretical education of the Left Opposition and the Communists generally.

At this conference should be elected an Executive Committee of the International Opposition to centralize the work of the Opposition. If possible representatives of a few of the European countries and also one from America and China should remain

## The Third Period of the Comintern's Mistakes

(Continued from Page 6)

rise in the world market, are not yet in any way—precisely because they are isolated and fragmentary—"tremendous revolutionary events". But Molotov wants to combine the isolated strikes. A praiseworthy task. But in the meantime, only a task, and not an accomplished step. To unite isolated strikes—Molotov teaches—is possible by means of mass political strikes. Yes, having at hand the necessary conditions, the working class may be united by revolutionary mass strikes. The problem of the mass strike is then, according to Molotov, "that new, that basic and most characteristic problem which stands in the center of the tactical tasks of the Communist Parties at the given moment". "And this means"—continues our strategist—"that we have approached (this time only "approached"—L. T.) new and higher forms of class struggle". And in order definitely to affirm the Tenth Plenum religion of the Third Period, Molotov adds: "We could not have advanced the slogan of a mass political strike, if we had not found ourselves in a period of ascent." This trend of thought is truly unexampled! At first both strategic feet entered the most tremendous revolutionary events, later on it appeared that before the theoretical head stands only the task of the general strike—not the general strike itself, but only its slogan. And from here alone, by the inverse method, the conclusion is made that we "have approached the highest forms of class struggles". Because, don't you see, had we not approached them, then how could Molotov advance the slogan of the general strike? The whole construction is based on the word of honor of the newly made strategist. And the powerful representatives of the parties respectfully listened to the self-confident blockhead and upon roll call reply: "Right you are!"

At any rate, we find out that all countries, from Great Britain to China—with France, Germany and Poland at the head have now attained the slogan of the general strike. We are finally convinced that not a trace is left of the unhappy law of uneven development. We might manage to be reconciled to this, if they would only tell us in the name of what political aims the slogan of the general strike is advanced in every country. It should at least not be forgotten that the workers are by no means inclined towards general strikes just for the sake of general strikes. Anarcho-syndicalism broke its head on the failure to understand this. The general strike may sometime have the character of a protest demonstration. Such a strike is realizable, generally speaking, in cases when some clear, sometimes unexpected, event stirs the imagination of the masses and produces the necessity for unanimous resistance. But a strike demonstration is not yet, in the true sense, a revolutionary political strike, it is only one of the preparatory rehearsals for it. As far as the revolutionary political strike is concerned, in the real sense of the word, it constitutes, so to speak, the final act in the struggle of the proletariat for power. Paralyzing the normal functions of the capitalist state, the general strike, brings forward the question: Who is master in the house? This question is decided in no other way than by armed force. That is why a revolutionary strike which

in the city of the headquarters of the Executive of the Left Opposition.

The International Opposition Conference has to lay out a campaign for an even more thorough expose among the Communist Parties and the mass of workers of Stalin and Stalinism, their methods of suppression and terror against the Leninist-Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union; the blow against the Russian Revolution in the deportation of the outstanding living leader of Bolshevism, Leon Trotsky; and to broaden the activities for the reinstatement of the Left Opposition throughout the world into the ranks of the Communist International and the return of Trotsky and the Opposition to their rightful position and role in the U. S. S. R.

The European comrades, particularly in France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Austria should take the initiative to form a Committee of Action to lay the basis for such an International Conference. When agreement has been reached as to time, place and character of the Conference, the needed steps to bring the delegations from the various countries together can then be taken.

—MARTIN ABERN

does not lead to an armed uprising ends finally with the defeat of the proletariat. If, therefore, Molotov's words regarding revolutionary political strikes and "highest forms of struggle" have any sense at all, it is this: simultaneously, or almost simultaneously, throughout the world, the revolutionary situation has reached such maturity that it puts the Communist Parties of the West and East, North and South before the general strike as the immediate prologue to armed uprising.

It is sufficient to formulate correctly Molotov's strategy of the "Third Period" for its absurdity to be revealed.

### «The Conquest of the Street»

Along with the general strike is set the task of "the conquest of the street". The question here—at any rate in words—is not that of the defense of one of the "democratic" rights, trampled upon by the bourgeoisie and social democracy, but of the determination of the "right" of the proletariat—to barricades. That is precisely how "the conquest of the streets" has been interpreted in the numerous articles of the official Communist press immediately after the July Plenum. It is not for us to deny the right of the proletariat to the "conquest of the streets" by means of barricades. But it is necessary to clearly understand what this means. Before all one must make clear to himself that the proletariat does not go on the barricades for the sake of the barricades, just as he does not participate in strikes for the sake of strikes. There are required immediate political purposes, welding together millions and giving firm support to the vanguard. That is how revolutionists pose the question. The opportunists gene mad approach the question quite differently.

For the revolutionary "conquest of the street"—art for art's sake—they set aside special days. The last invention of this sort appeared, as is known, the First of August. Ordinary mortals wondered: why the First of August, the failure of which was pre-determined by the failure of the First of May? What do you mean, why?—the officials strategists answered excitedly: for the conquest of the streets! Precisely what is to be understood by that: the conquest of the sidewalk or the pavement! Heretofore we thought, that the task of the revolutionary party is the conquest of the masses, and that the policy which can mobilize the masses to the greatest number and most actively inevitably opens up the street, no matter how the police block and lock it. The struggle for the street cannot be an independent task separated from the political struggle of the masses and subordinated to the office schedule of Molotov.

And what is more important, you cannot fool history. The task is not to appear stronger, but to get stronger. A noisy masquerade will not help. When there is no "Third Period" it is possible to invent it. It is possible to manufacture dozens of resolutions. But to make the Third Period on the streets according to the calendar—is impossible. On this road the Communist Parties will find only defeat in some cases tragic ones, but more often simply stupid and humiliating ones.

(To Be Continued)

## Low Wages for Unorganized Miners in W. Va.

COOPERSBURG, Pa.—So far as the mining situation in West Virginia is concerned, there is little to be said but that the United Mine Workers is smashed. The new union, however, has never got its roots into W. Va. soil.

Wages are being slashed with a knife that cuts two ways. First, they cut wages with reductions, and then they cut wages by refusing to pay for dead work. Not only that, but the men have to take the place of mules. Coal is mined in Moundsville at 51 cents per ton. The stone that comes down with the blasting of coal is not paid for. Other impurities have to be thrown out without compensation. All track timbering and the like have to be done for nothing. The cars are delivered to the mouth of the place and from there the miner has to push the car to the face, whereas under union conditions, cars were delivered and taken from place of work.

Men have to walk in a crouching position for 45 minutes or more. Under union conditions, the miners had a man trip to take them to and from work.

A good two weeks' work will average a man \$3.00 a day. Out of this comes smithing, lamp, doctor, and powder. The miner is lucky if he makes \$2.00 net.

In Moundsville, they have a system of turning over one's earnings to the company store. After the store deducts whatever bills the workers runs up he gets the rest of the pay, if there is anything "coming" to him.

An acquaintance would always be "in the hole" when pay would come around. One pay he owed \$3.64, another pay, \$2.37, two weeks later, \$.99 and he thought he was lucky to owe only 99 cents.

The morale of the miners is at its lowest ebb. They have little respect for the old U. M. W. A., due to its control by the bureaucrats. Of course, one argues that militant organization of the miners into a solid body that would strike terror into the operators is the solution, but they tell you that that's only talk. They will have to be shown. That's how sceptical the miners are now. There is a big job ahead for the Left wing.

—AUGUST VALENTINE

## ANTHRACITE TAKES HEAVY TOLL IN ACCIDENTS

WILKES BARRE, Pa.—(FP)—One day's toll in one section of the anthracite is revealed by these mine casualties:

Thomas Walsh, 44, Hughestown, died in an ambulance from injuries sustained when he was caught in a rock fall from the roof of his working place in the Pittston Coal Co.'s mine.

Frank Shumak, 23, Plymouth, was critically injured following a gas explosion in the Dorrance mine of the Lehigh Valley Coal Co. He is in the Wilkes Barre general hospital suffering from burns on the face, neck, chest and arms. A fellow-worker was seriously injured in the same blast.

Peter Kocor, 47, Alden, was burned about the face, neck, and hands when caught in a gas explosion in the Alden Coal Co.'s mine.

Henry Dustrecrem, 47, Wilkes-Barre, suffered serious injuries to his hand while at work in the Glen Alden Coal Co. Mine 7.

MOUNDSVILLE, W. Va.—Wage cuts have brought out 300 miners of the Franklin and Alexander mines, controlled by the Faisley interests of Cleveland. Wages were cut from 51 cents to 45 cents an hour for shovel loaders and 44 cents to 40 cents for machine loaders.

## MINNEAPOLIS!

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Excellent Program

A Workers dramatic troupe will put on a play never before staged anywhere.

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## The Strike of the Toronto Cloakmakers

TORONTO, Canada.—The long-awaited cloakmakers' strike began last week. The wonderful turnout and the fighting spirit of the strikers can hardly be attributed to the organizational efforts of the local I. L. G. W. U. job holders.

The industry has degenerated to such a point that the majority of the workers find it increasingly impossible to make a living. Long hours, speed-up, low wages, unsanitary conditions and short seasons have become the order of the day. In desperation to save their economic existence, the workers are again willing to follow the same leadership that betrayed them so shamelessly in 1924. Even the so-called union-proof elements responded to the call of the general strike, showing how rampant and widespread is the dissatisfaction of the masses.

### Right Wing Leaders Sabotage

But in spite of the wonderful response and solidarity of the workers the leaders of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union refuse to fight. The slogans under which they called the strike, firstly, the 44-hour week but not the abolition of piece work is meaningless. Also the slogan of \$1.00 an hour as a fair union wage without specifying the big shops or the small. In the big shops, with the longer season and cheaper work, \$1.00 per hour represents an increase. In the small shops however, with the considerably shorter season and better line of work, \$1.00 per hour might mean an actual reduction.

In speaking to the workers and in the press reports, the bureaucrats apologize for having called the strike. "The whole fault lies with the bosses who don't want to be fair". But, they go on to assure the workers, "the strike will be over in a few days, since we can't bear to see your families suffer".

Is the strike a fake, as the Stalinists claim? It is not difficult to see that the International does not want to fight and will not fight. They promise the bosses to close the doors to any possible organization of the industry by the Left wing in exchange for Right wing recognition in the shops. That they won't make any real demands, except possibly a few scraps to shut the mouths of the workers and make it look like a real "contract", is true. But the Left wing union is unable to play any decisive role in the strike because of its negative membership and isolation. As a

matter of fact, nobody knows that they are playing any role at all. The leaflets distributed by the N. T. W. I. U. previous to the strike denouncing it as a "fake stoppage" and exposing the Right wing, only had a tendency on the whole to make the workers apathetic. Certainly, it brought no new members into the Left wing union. It never occurred to the Left wing leaders to enter into the struggle and by the course of it win the workers away from the Right wing.

—M. QUARTER

## Pittsburg Cab Drivers on Strike

PITTSBURG, Pa.—In this city, which is considered one of the most industrial cities in the United States, the working conditions are no better than in other cities. The workers are harassed by an unbearable hunger, despair and starvation.

It is 18 days since the taxi drivers went out on strike. The Yellow, Green and Checker companies are using every means at their disposal to break it. Strike-breakers, company thugs, ministers, judges, police and society women—all of them are in their service. Mr. Walter S. Laird, the president of the Yellow company, utilized all the usual means in order to paralyze the courage of the strikers. He brought the professional strikebreaker from Chicago Charles Burger, who is also an organizer for the A. F. of L. He was one who in the strike of the milk drivers last summer used all his tricks to surrender them to the mercy of the Liberty Company.

Now, again, as representative of the A. F. of L., in a speech delivered to a meeting of the strikers, although he was violently hissed by the audience, he dared to tell them that he would take their union charter away if they do not want to compromise with the companies. That is how he tried to terrorize the strikers and show the bosses that he is faithfully performing his duties as a betrayer of the working class. But the strikers to a man and with splendid courage, not only confront these disgraceful and base tricks of Mr. Walter Laird, but also jails and beatings by the police, injunctions and whatever other means the miserable capitalist system is able to put at the disposal of the companies. The strikers are determined to continue the struggle until they win their demands. —JAMES SIFAKIS

## Minneapolis Stalinists Disrupt the Ladies Auxiliary

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Comrades:

It is necessary to acquaint the left wing with the recent events in the Minneapolis Ladies Auxiliary of the Independent Workmen's Circle which the Stalinists have "captured". The Auxiliary consists of various classes of women, mostly of left wing opinions—and has always done constructive work in the labor movement generally. With this program the organization has very seldom been a scene of factional squabbles.

Now however, like a dream, all this has vanished. The Stalinist plague has descended upon us and, as in other workers' organizations, our Auxiliary has not escaped. Here is a sample of their work:

First they began to poison the minds of the members against the class conscious women who would not permit themselves to be misled. Stalin's famous bugle call, "counter-revolutionary" and "renegade" began to be circulated first secretly, then openly in our meetings.

They come with finished decisions made in closed rooms. There is no discussion permitted. Even the chairman is made to order. The Ladies Auxiliary has never yet suffered such dictatorship and such brazen arrogance. The more class conscious women gradually began to react with feelings of injustice, and finally we began to take action on these questions. The healthy criticism of honest working women in regard to the Stalinist tactics began to be heard more and more. But in spite of this the activity of the Auxiliary began to weaken. The old spirit died.

In election periods the Stalinists began to show their wonderful tactics in labor organizations. You see, it was necessary to save the Stalinist officers. There was no lack of automobiles to bring dead timber to the meeting for this purpose.

And the Stalinists were victorious.

What a victory! Loyal proletarian women, some of them founders of the organization were craftily eliminated, while petit-bourgeois women were boosted into office. Whose hands are these raised against class conscious workers? No understanding is necessary. The really vital questions in the life of our movement are thrust aside. After all, why discuss them, they may be "counter-revolutionary." Ideology? What is that—a women's disease, perhaps? A hand for Stalin, and all your past sins against the working class are forgiven. The capitalist class has long ago realized that workers hands and not their minds should be used. The Party leadership is dragging our organization downhill to destruction.

Working women! Don't permit your thoughts to be trampled upon. Historical facts bring us closer to the reality of the new life in the class struggle. Down with the bureaucrats! Down with the disrupters and splitters of the working class! Carry forward the ideas of Lenin. Stand by the working class. Tomorrow it will be with us.

CLARA KAUFMAN

### MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS SCHOOL

The Workers School of Minneapolis wishes to announce the completion of the first half of its courses as planned last Fall. An "examination" in the elements of Communism demonstrated a definite improvement in ideology and a grasp of practical problems of the movement from a Marxian viewpoint. Continued progress will warrant the extension of these courses and possibly the establishment of new ones on an even broader scale. The classes are held every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., at 401 Washington Ave. South. There is no charge and all workers are urged to enroll for the second half of the season.

## The Socialist Party and the Radicalization of the Masses

(Continued from Page 2)

In reality there is nothing strange or inexplicable in the present developments. Reformism is a blind alley which diverts the workers from a class advancement and even from any real struggle for their immediate needs. But how are the American workers, not yet through the primer school of class education to know that? The majority of the workers of Germany, trained for generations in the class struggle, many of whom have seen revolutionary battles, do not know it yet. If they will learn from day to day, on the basis of their own experience, as Lenin said, how will the American workers learn it overnight?

### American Labor and Reformism

It must be remembered that the American workers have never seen Social Democratic betrayal on a big scale for the simple reason that these agents of capitalism have not yet had such an opportunity. The American Socialists have never held any power except in such isolated and relatively unimportant sectors as the needle trades. The American worker, bound all his life to capitalist ideology, is apt to consider a vote for the Socialist Party a radical step forward. He is not fated to stop there. He is not a "fascist" when he takes that step, but a deceived worker who wants to improve the position of his class. Such a worker is, and should be regarded as a potential Communist.

The Communist struggle for the support of the masses in American has many different aspects from than the same struggle in the capitalistically developed countries in Europe. There, the great majority of the workers are already politically organized in the Socialist and Communist camps and the recruiting of workers to the banner of Communism requires the breaking down of long-established traditions and habits and organization bonds. The struggle here, in the main, is to win workers away from direct allegiance to the capitalist parties. In this the Socialist and Communist Parties are and will be rivals. Despite the primary stage of the class struggle in American and the consequent lack of class consciousness of the workers, the prospects of the revolutionary party, even for the proximate future, are good. There is plenty of ground for the assumption that developments in America, on the basis of its inextricable involvement in world economy once fairly started will be swift. In such a setting Communism, given a correct policy can bound forward and become the banner of the workers' struggles as well as of their aspirations for freedom from the capitalist yoke.

This presupposes a correct approach to the workers—the politically unorganized as well as the victims of reformist deception. The Communist International in the fundamental documents of its first four Congresses, has given a clear guide in this task. It is necessary to restore our movement to this basis and cast overboard all revisions and "improvements" which have been smuggled into the International since Lenin's death. Among other things this means to revive the united front tactics and apply them in place of the counterfeit dogma of "social fascism". It means to strengthen and support the Opposition which fights for Communist fundamentals on an International scale.

The sooner and the more aggressively the Communist workers turn to these basic tasks, the sooner will the present advance of reformism be transformed into a temporary incident and the better will the awakening workers be prepared for future victories.

### QUAKER CITY KNITTERS REVOLT ON WAGE CUTS

PHILADELPHIA—Revolt is spreading through the Quaker City's scab hosiery mills on the heels of wage cuts. Three hundred workers, nearly the entire force of the Rodgers mill, have walked out to join the ranks of the 1,400 Aberle strikers. Discharge of union workers caused the Rodgers strike.

Discontent is running high in other non-union mills and further strikes are expected. Smaller plants have caught the contagion and knitters in scab shops out of town are also ready to "pull the rods".

The Rodgers plant not only paid under the scale but worked shifts of 10 and 12 hours. The strikers want the straight union scale and two shifts of eight hours