

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 9,

Telephone: DRYdock 1656

NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, March 1, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

The Murder of Blumkinis An Act Against the Russian Revolution

The cold-blooded and cynically calculated murder of the Bolshevik, Blumkin, by Stalin for his adherence to the ideals of the Left Opposition is bringing in its wake swift revulsion against these latest methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy toward the Leninist Bolsheviks in the U. S. C. R. The worker-Communists and the proletarian forces throughout the world are putting the question: Why the imprisonment, exile and now shooting of the Left Oppositionists? What is behind it all? Stalin and his bureaucrats, in firm unity for years with the Bucharin-Rykov Right wing, carried out a program that was swiftly giving renewed life and strength to the Nepmen and Kulaks in the Soviet Union. They were thereby earning the gratitude of the bourgeoisie throughout the world. The expulsions and persecutions in the most vicious forms of the Opposition led by L. D. Trotsky went on simultaneously. But the Opposition, firmly rooted in the working masses of the Communist Party and the country continued to stand by their platform; for an industrialization

tion has been proved correct on every major issue before the C. P. S. U. and the Communist International. What cynicism, what brutality and coarseness, what disregard of the interests of the proletariat of the Russian October, mark this Stalin and his conscienceless *chinovniks*, the Molotovs, Thaelmanns, Fosters, Minors, Cachits! With one hand they wave the red flag of the revolutionary proletariat and with the other they persecute and even shoot the best fighters of October and the international revolution. The proletariat, the Communist workers demand an answer!

Stalinists Politically and Morally Bankrupt
The acts of Stalin against the Opposition, now culminating in the murder of the noble fighter for the Revolution, Blumkin, are acts against the fundamental interests of the Revolution. Stalin performs the work of an anti-Bolshevik when he decimates the ranks of the Communist movement. In far-off China, the Stalinist followers shot at a leader of the Chinese Opposition. In the United States the Fos-

Build A Broad Movement To Aid The Unemployed

Through out the United States millions of unemployed workers, their ranks increased by tens of thousands in recent weeks, face a future of increased misery, degradation, poverty and starvation. U. S. capitalism offers fine words to the unemployed but no work or compensation. In November 1929, immediately after the Wall Street crash, President Hoover called a conference of millionaire bankers, industrialists and manufacturers at Washington to map out a vast industrial and building program that would "normalize" business again and provide employment for the mass of unemployed workers. That conference has resulted for the workers in exactly—nothing.

Leading capitalist and governmental officials are now less sanguine about the prospects for a swift and huge economic revival. Lieutenant-Governor Lehmann of the State of New York, in which unemployment is greater than in any other section of the country, states: "We are not going to return to normalcy overnight. There never was a chance of that, in spite of optimistic predictions."

The gravity of the situation, the misery rampant throughout the country, rise everywhere to confound with stark facts the Hooverian sooth-sayers. The capitalists and their hired scribblers and mind-befogging professors find themselves unable to put forward any capitalist remedies that can relieve the acute conditions of existence and starvation that affect the lives of millions of working people. On an international scale, in fact, the deadly pall of unemployment hangs over tens of millions of workers and their families. Their need is, in short, bread. They are ready to work to get it. If they cannot get work, the

demand for compensation, for wages must be made upon industry and the government, local, state and national.

Organize Unemployed on Elementary Issues

Under the conditions it is possible to develop a broad movement on behalf of the unemployed masses, as has been previously shown by the Militant. This can be done if the class conscious workers, the revolutionaries and particularly the Communists, use correct tactics; that the broadest conceivable movement is sought and worked for; that simple elementary demands, such as, Work or Compensation from industry and the government of the bosses, are put in the forefront. Mere noise and bombast and demonstrations (here today and gone tomorrow) will not serve the purpose. Sectarian, narrow movements, in which the main object of the leaders is only to express their particular views, and who regard the workers involved, but as objects of agitation, will also not get anybody very far, and least of all the unemployed worker who is looking for a job, food, clothing and shelter.

The participation of workers in such movements of struggle, however, serves as an excellent preparatory school in the class war. Such movements teach the workers the nature of class society, the role of the governing classes, and certainly aid the development of the workers towards a class conscious ideology and action. This is the objective to be sought. But such conferences of the unemployed as the one called and held by the Trade Union Unity League of New York City, on Wednesday February 19th, at the Manhattan Lyceum will end only in a swamp, and bring about no bonafide organization of the unemployed workers to make effective their demands upon the bosses and the state.

New York T. U. U. L. Conference a Talkfest

The T. U. U. L. nationally, as the trade union instrument of the Communist Party in the United States, has set a task to organize the unemployed of this country, which is to culminate in an international demonstration on March 6th against the scourge of unemployment in all capitalist countries. The New York Conference of the T. U. U. L. therefore serves as a picture of what is undoubtedly being duplicated in other cities where it has or is calling similar conferences.

At the New York Conference, 300 people representing, according to the chairman, Sadie Van Veen, 12 unemployed councils, left wing unions, T. U. U. L. groups, workmen's circles, working class housewives, etc. were present. The chairman, Van Veen, was not elected, she just served and opened the meeting with a speech of some 30 minutes length. In the course of her remarks, she stated: "There is no trade union movement outside the T. U. U. L." Such profound notions may or may not be the main problem to discuss at conferences called to organize and aid the unemployed; or they may also help to make clear why the Trade Union Unity League is virtually nonexistent.

Called upon to speak, all C. P. or Y. C. L. members, were a Negro comrade, Alexander; a Pioneer speaker, a youth organizer of the T. U. U. L.; a speaker of the Communist Party, Darcy; a Needle Trades Industrial Union speaker. No remarks from the delegates were invited. None of the speeches advanced concrete tasks for immediate solution and action. All truthfully assailed capitalism as the cause of unemployment; all called for the overthrow of capitalism and for the establishment of workers' rule.

TROTSKY ON STALIN AND BLUMKIN

"Blumkin did visit me at Constantinople..."

"I told him among other things, that my exile as well as the imprisonment of other comrades did not change our fundamental line; that in the moment of danger the Oppositionists would be in the most advanced posts; that in the difficult hours Stalin would be forced to call upon them, even as Tseretelli appealed to the Bolsheviks for aid against Kornilov..."

"...The Stalinist repression against us does not yet signify a change in the class character of the State, but only prepares and makes more easy that change; our course remains, as in the past, that of reform and not that of revolution; the implacable struggle for our ideas must be based on the perspective of a long delay."

—Excerpt from a letter of comrade Leon Trotsky of January 5th, 1930 at Prinkipo, Turkey.

program for the Soviet Union, presenting their projects in 1927 in the form of a 5 Year Plan; for the policy of collective and Soviet Farms and against the encroachments of the Kulak; against the growing bureaucracy in the Party, the Soviet Union and the trade unions; and many other principle and tactical issues.

Opposition Pressure Forces Stalin to the Left

Under the pressure of the Opposition, the Stalin Centrists have been compelled to swing back from a Right course toward the Left, and piece-meal to adopt the Platform of the Opposition. The Militant has made and will make further evaluations of this latest Stalinist zig-zag, the so-called Left turn. But we put here the question: How does one carry out a Left course genuinely and at one and same time expel, imprison, exile and murder the Left Opposition? Why this fury? The Opposi-

ter-Lovestone cliques adopted the methods of the underworld, of gangsterism, against the Communist Opposition. Why? We ask and will continue to demand adequate replies of the Stalinist regime for their defenseless acts against the Opposition, against the Revolution.

These brutal acts only show more conclusively the political and moral bankruptcy of Stalinist Centrism. It is the replacement of a political line with the bureaucratic power of a corrupt apparatus. The murder of Blumkin will but serve to consolidate more firmly than ever before the growing ranks of the Opposition. At the same time the murder will call forth the protest of the Communist and class-conscious workers throughout the world. Come what may, the Opposition knows its path and duty. The Opposition remain at their post and continue to serve the cause of Communism.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MOCKED BY INCOME REPORT

WASHINGTON—Equality of human opportunity in the United States in these days of big-scale industry is mocked by the Internal Revenue Bureau's preliminary report of taxable income for 1928, which shows that 24 persons had private incomes amounting to \$242,000,000. As these were the taxpayers in the class "above \$5,000, 000", it is to be assumed that some of them, such as the Rockefellers and Fords and Mellons, must have had incomes of \$30,000, 000 to \$50,000,000 each. In the year 1927 only 11 persons admitted incomes above \$5,000,000.

SNOW FAILS TO BRING JOBS TO JOBLESS MINNEAPOLIS — (FP) — The hungry and jobless used to look to the skies for help. When snowflakes began falling, they reported to the snow removal bureaus and lined up for jobs.

This year snow means little to the unemployed. Tractors are being used with scrapers to collect the snow, and automatic hoists to lift it into the trucks.

Eighty per cent was the estimate of unemployment given by one building trades council representative. The Citizens Alliance admits that thousands have been laid off in the last two months, and that the

40 Percent Jobless In Bay State

BOSTON—During January but 60% of the 260,000 workers who would be employed normally in 1,106 Massachusetts factories and mills were at work on full time schedule. Jobs, part time and full time, could be found for only 213,000 of the quarter million or more, states the Massachusetts labor department.

Employment declined 1% between December and January and average earnings sank from \$24.16 a week to \$24.08. An upturn in the shoe industry of 17% kept the average from sinking far lower. In 31 industries employment dropped below the December level. During the month seven factories went out of business, including three woolen mills and two shoe factories.

The state labor department has created a new index of employment, based on a figure of 100 for 1925-27. Employment in January was 82.9, according to this revised index, contrasted with 89.2 in January, 1929. Cotton goods showed 68.3, or a decline of one third in the number of jobs in four years. Other depressed industries are: Woolen, 67.5; textile machinery, 81.2; rubber goods, 72.2; hosiery, 76.2. Industries which have gained in employment are: bakery, 107; women's clothing, 102; printing and publishing, 109.

MASS. EMPLOYMENT CONTINUES DOWN

BOSTON—Employment fell off 4% in Massachusetts public utilities between December and January, reports the state labor department. Steam railroads, with a cut of 6.5%, accounted for 2,040 jobless men. Payrolls fell 3.4% and on the railroads alone, 5.7%.

TOO MANY LABOR OFFICIALS

As a preliminary and immediate step, and also an effective one, towards the reduction in the number of trade union bureaucrats, we should consider and spread the idea of reducing the number of useless offices and officials in our local unions, lodges and divisions.

To use the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as an example: The local unions are called "Divisions" and have the following offices and officials which, in my opinion, are not only useless and unnecessary, but decidedly detrimental, namely: Chief Engineer, Second Engineer, Guide and Chaplain.

These officials render the Divisions no special service. Their part played in the useless ritualistic ceremony at the opening and closing of meetings has a most stultifying effect on the membership.

Breeding Bureaucracy
However, the most serious objection to having an organization honeycombed with useless officials is that it breeds bureaucracy and corruption in the union. The B. of L. E. furnishes a glaring example of this. In this case the local officials often become the tools of the Grand Officers in misleading and defrauding the membership. This was especially the case in my local Division 369 where the local officials became the active agents of the Grand Office in selling worthless stock, real estate and fake "Loyalty" Bonds to the members and to frame-up and to expel any member who objected to this wholesale robbery of the B. of L. E.

With the aid and support of the salaried General Officials, these local office holders form a combination or political machine to get themselves reelected year after year. This office-holding develops a craving for personal benefit at the expense of the rank and file, a desire to get on the payroll.

All the elected officials that are needed in a Division of the B. of L. E. are a Secretary-Treasurer, a Grievance man and a delegate to the National Convention. The Chairman (called the Chief Engineer) should be elected for each meeting. This would promote democracy and intelligence among the members. In Division 369 of the B. of L. E. the local bureaucrats headed by J. F. Collins, are running and controlling the Division as if it was their personal property. Through machine control and bull-doing tactics, the Chief Engineer and Secretary-Treasurer have had themselves reelected to office for the last quarter of a century. A lot of useless officials breed such conditions.

Prepare for Convention

The thing to do is for the local union (lodges or divisions) to introduce amendments at the forthcoming convention to eliminate all useless officials, big and small.

The labor constitutions should also be amended to provide for salaried officials to be automatically drafted back on the job after a certain number of terms in office. Trade unionists should discuss this and let themselves be heard also through the columns of the Militant.

C. R. HEDLUND

Long Hours in Steel Mills

Long hours are still the curse of the steel industry. The popular assumption that Pres. Harding induced the late Judge Gary, out of the goodness of his heart, to abolish the 12-hour day, and that therefore steel mills are now operating on the 8-hour shift, is knocked into a cocked hat by figures just released by the Federal Council of Churches, through its research department.

More than Half Work over 48 Hours

Actually but 46.6% of 250,000 steel workers covered by the report are working the 8-hour day. Nearly as high a percentage are working 10 hours while 6.7% are on the 12-hour schedule. More than a quarter of the steel workers studied are working 7 days a week, a half are on the 6-day basis and only 20% work five to five and one half days.

This by no means tells the story however. The figures for the 11 and 12-hour shifts and the 7-day week are minimum figures, the investigators reported, because plant managers often "color" their figures for the benefit of public opinion.

The New Bedford Textile Workers Unite to Aid Jobless and Stalinist «Politics»

(Continued from Page 1)

The unemployment condition in New Bedford is becoming more acute daily. While half of the 30,000 textile workers were jobless several weeks ago, at present about 20,000 are unemployed. It is difficult to state accurately the exact amount of workers who are without work. Half of the mills are closed while many of the others are running only several days a week. Those that are closed include the Acushnet mill and the City Mill. The Dartmouth mill is running two days a week. According to old time textile workers the unemployment situation is worse than it has been in 15 years.

Taking advantage of the scarcity of work, the mill owners are reducing wages and installing methods to further speed up the workers. The workers resent these actions on the part of the employers and are talking of another general strike.

In fact, several weeks ago, when the mills in the South End cut wages of the weavers and added more looms they went on strike. The strike lasted for a few days but the weavers went back to work with the cut in pay and speed-up conditions. The National Textile Workers Union which was conducting the strike apparently was not prepared to lead the workers in a successful struggle.

The tasks that face the N. T. W. U. at present are of great importance to the future development of the union. The workers are in a mood for struggle and with proper leadership can be lead successfully in a strike that will organize the great bulk of the 30,000 textile workers. On the one hand, if the union does not live up to the expectations of the masses, the base that the N. T. W. U. has built will be smashed and the United Textile Workers Union headed by the notorious betrayer, William Batty, will again sell out the workers as it did in the 1928 strike.

When the strike was ended two years ago by the collaboration of the U. T. W. and the mill owners, the N. T. W. U. found themselves in a surprisingly strong position. Almost as many workers were organized in the left wing N. T. W. U. as in the U. T. W. organization. In fact, after the strike the N. T. W. U. continued to gain members at a pace even faster than the U. T. W.

Factionalism Hurts Development

In recent months, when a strong and united organization is more needed than in any time in the past, Communist Party disputes have stepped in to the disadvantage of the union. Within a period of several months the New Bedford Union has had four district organizers and one can never tell when the next change will be made. The same policy of manipulation that has become the vogue in the Communist Party and the Communist movement generally, is what the New Bedford workers are facing in the "third period".

When Eli Keller, who was the union organizer for more than two years, was made national secretary of the union, several months ago, Ellen Dawson was sent to New Bedford to replace him. When the Stalinist leadership discovered that she supported the Right wing Lovestone group, Dawson was quickly replaced by John Nahorsky, unknown to the textile workers of New Bedford. However, Nahorsky did not last long, for Martin Russak, a poet from Paterson, N. J., is now at the helm.

This kind of irresponsible faction politics is not the way to organize the workers and lead a successful strike in New Bedford. All forces who accept the Left wing program of the N.T.W.U. should be utilized to prepare the New Bedford workers for struggle. With the elimination of mechanical, strangulating control and the proper preparations, a strike larger and more important than that of 1928 can be started in New Bedford. The situation is ripe, but how will the Stalinites react to it?

The mass of the militant textile workers who are now members of the N. T. W. U. must demand that the political opinion of any worker shall not bar him or her from an active or leading role in the union. The N. T. W. U. is not the Communist Party and if it attempts to base its leadership upon the acceptance of Stalin's program of socialism

in one country and national Communism, the future of the union is one of defeat. It must abandon its clique control and aim to develop a movement for a united struggle of the New Bedford workers with a leadership that can lead the workers successfully. Instead of devoting all their time to preparing for a strike against the mill owners, the party leadership in New Bedford is busy fighting Lovestone and Trotsky—and not the mill owners or A. F. of L. Such a policy is disastrous and must be opposed vigorously by the union members as well as all conscious Left wing and Communist forces.

A united struggle of the New Bedford workers against the mill owners and their wage cuts and speed up, and against their U. T. W. officialdom allies is on the order of the day.

An appeal must also be made to the U. T. W. rank and file to join in the struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the N. T. W. U. members in the common fight against wage cuts, speed up and unemployment. The future is bright for the New Bedford workers provided the Stalinites do not wreck the union to satisfy their petty factional aims.

FRANK BROMLEY

Conditions of Metal Scappers

CHICAGO—On Lake between 1200 and 1900 West and on State Street from 1600 to 2400 South, there are whole strings of concerns making a specialty of gathering from everywhere old scraps of iron, machinery, autos, brass, copper, etc. of every description. Working conditions of those who labor for those concerns are indescribably bad. The hours are usually ten. Wages average 35 cents an hour. Most of the workers are Poles, Slavs and Negroes, that is of those who stay for any length of time at these places. Horses enjoy a lot better treatment than most of these workers.

Steady Work

The work is very hard. Much heavy wrought iron must be broken up with sledge hammers. We work up a heavy sweat on a tough job on bitter winter mornings. When we are done, then we have to keep on working outside, maybe on a lighter job, to cool off, and so fall an easy prey to colds and the "flu". Often we have to lift extremely heavy weights while the boss stands by and hollers "to give 'er the beef".

The bosses are nearly always the worst kind of slave drivers and seem to regard the workers as scarcely human. For anyone who makes the slightest protest against the intolerable conditions, means to be at once fired or laid off. The work in many places is not steady—maybe work for a few days, get laid off, and be told to return in a few days. There are so many unemployed here at all times, anxious for some kind of a job, that these concerns are never short of help.

Need Union

The workers need a union badly to speak for their interests and to fight against the merciless exploitation that exists now. I worked for the Monroe Iron and Machinery Company at 1322 W. Lake St., and know whereof I speak. This is one of the worst concerns, but they are all pretty much alike—rotten.

CHICAGO WORKER

RANK AND FILE FOR LABOR PARTY

CINCINNATI—"In our opinion there is no issue before the labor movement today of greater importance than of strengthening its political power," declares the leading editorial in the Railway Clerk for February. "It is hard to escape the conviction that the nonpartisan policy does not appeal to the rank and file."

If the number on your wrapper is

34

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

George Siskind, chairman of the New York T. U. U. L., was next called upon and read a lengthy resolution which demanded from the employers and government either Work or Wages, and then went on, in elaboration, with a long list of additional demands, among them, Defense of the Soviet Union, Against another Imperialist War, Down with the Hoover government and private property, Down with Child Labor, Join the Unemployed Councils, Free meals for children in the schools, Demonstrate on March 6th, Down with the A. F. of L., the Musteltes, etc., etc.—all in the name of the Unemployed workers and their immediate problem of existence.

After Siskind's resolution there were more speeches. Finally he summarized the speeches and completed the report.

How Not to Aid the Unemployed

There was no report of any credentials committee. (The delegates from the New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition), James Russell and Charles Curtiss had handed in credentials at the outset.) There were no elections of any kind of committees. No executive was elected to carry out further work; and considering the conduct of the disorganized mass meeting (which is the best that can be said for this T. U. U. L. "Unemployed Conference"), perhaps it was just as well. The majority of those present left long before the meeting adjourned at 12:30.

With such conferences little success can be expected, despite favorable objective factors at present, for the demonstration scheduled for March 6th. The bombast must be done away with if there is to be a serious movement. The slogan of unity of working class forces to work for a minimum program on behalf of the unemployed is an effective one. Other organizations, trade unions, fraternal organizations, etc. can still be appealed to. The United Front and its effectiveness as a rallying call for the rank and file workers of all shades of opinion are not out of date. The Communist Party, and the T. U. U. L. by themselves are insufficient to rally the unemployed and to lead them effectively. When other forces, even Communist elements with dissenting views, are rejected out of hand, the unemployed movement is doomed either to be cut to pieces or to be led into channels that make them easy victims of capitalist propaganda and of the labor fakers and reformists. The rank and file of the A.F. of L. who number hundred of thousands of the unemployed can be gotten into an unemployment movement if proper appeal for united action is made. Their officials are subject to pressure: their unwillingness to act even then can be the best means for the militants and left wingers to expose them in their real role of capitalist lackeys. But their "expose" merely by denunciation is not convincing to a rank and file. Failure to propose a united front to the organizations of the A. F. of L., Socialist Party, I. W. W. etc., on the burning question of unemployment only results, particularly under present conditions, in the isolation of the Communists from the masses and renders them ineffective in the existing and ensuing struggles.

Develop a United Front Movement

The Communist Party must change its course and adopt methods that have brought successes in the past to the Communist movement and given it influence over growing numbers of workers.

It is not yet too late, even for the immediate future of the movement to organize the unemployed into Unemployed Councils. Genuine proposals for a united front movement, in an endeavor to draw all workers together, should be made. March 6th can only be a fleeting and passing demonstration of the unemployed if the movement remains in narrow channels. This must not be so. The conditions for a broad movement remain. Such a broad movement, basing itself on simple and elementary needs of the unemployed, is needed to give an impetus to the organization of Unemployed Councils that can act in concert and make strong demands for work or compensation, for shorter hours, against the speed-up system, upon the capitalists and the government. The militants and revolutionary workers must lend themselves to the task.

—M. A.

The Mining Situation and the Tasks of the Left Wing

Statement of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Three recent events have made it necessary to consider the situation in the mining industry and the tasks of the Left wing. They are: the heavy defeat suffered by the Left wing National Miners Union in the Illinois strike the call for an international anti-Lewis United Mine Workers convention, a call signed by the heads of the Illinois district together with John Brophy, Alexander Howat, August Dorchy, Dougherty, etc.; and the call for a national convention of the National Miners Union itself.

None of the large trade unions in the country has been so heavily hit in the past five years as the United Mine Workers. The once powerful proletarian organization has been rent from stem to stern. One district after another has been mercilessly crushed by the Lewis machine controlling the union. Every progressive and Left wing member of the union has been subjected to the most brutal regime of expulsion and persecution, so that the backbone of the militant resistance to the ruinous course of the labor bureaucrats was broken. The vigorous offensive of the coal operators was countered by retreats all along the line, led by Lewis and Co. The extension of the industry into the non-union South—entirely unorganized to this day—was not followed at all by organizational action by the U. M. W. A. The union standards of the workers have been beaten down steadily by the operators who have had the scarcely concealed collaboration of the union officialdom; and aggravating this decline in living standards has been the festering sore of unemployment.

The coal operators have been gaining all along the line. They have not been met with any effective resistance. Working hand in hand with his capitalist employers, using the vilest methods of corruption, autocracy, black-jack rule, mass expulsions and the like, Lewis and his machine have bled the organization white. The U. M. W. of A. today has been stripped to the point where it exists—as a substantial organization—in only two districts: Illinois and the anthracite field. Under its present leadership it does not even make a pretense at fighting for the miners' interests. It keeps what is left in the union divided by sectional agreements; throttles all initiative; drives members out of the union with the poison gas of corruption and terrorism. Indeed, there is hardly another trade union in the country in which the complete bankruptcy and criminality of the leadership and collaborationist policies has been so conclusively demonstrated.

In the face of this utter bankruptcy of Lewisism and the repeatedly expressed opposition of the bulk of the miners to it (at conventions, in union elections) etc.), and the excellent opportunities for progress thereby afforded the left wing movement, the latter has succeeded in making but little appreciable headway in the industry as a decisive organized force. On the contrary. The course it has pursued under the direction of the present Communist Party leadership has dealt it severe blows which, combined with the new developments in the situation, can prove fatal for its immediate future. To prevent such a development, the Left wing must soberly and objectively observe the newest events, absorb their significance and draw the proper conclusions. This has not yet been done.

1. The N. M. U. Strike in Illinois

The National Miners Union strike in Illinois bore most of the characteristic features of the present ruinous and adventurist course of the Party leadership which has been fastened to the new unions with a strangling grip. The strike was called with virtually no preparations made to carry it through successfully. The Belleville District conference, four weeks before the strike call was issued, was devoted mainly to a thoroughly framed-up polemic against the then national president of the union, John J. Watt, who disagreed with the Party policy of rigid, mechanical control. The strike was not mentioned there. The post conference attempts to discredit Watt among the miners, with the Party utilizing all the contemptible methods so common to the reactionary labor bureaucracy, only deepened

the distrust and antagonism among the miners. Instead of consolidating and extending the front of the N. M. U., in preparation for the strike, the Party leadership created a situation which narrowed the union basis down to the smallest minimum. The whole campaign of the N. M. U. in Illinois at that time was conducted under the banner of the slogan that the principal enemies of the miners against whom the strike was to be directed were not the coal operators but... the "Trotskyists, the I. W. W., the Socialist Party and the S. L. P."

Irresponsibility, bombast and claims based solely on wishes, predominance of narrow factional interest, playing with the interests of the class—these were the outstanding characteristics of the Party leadership of the strike. The sub-district conferences held a week before the strike call was issued by the District Board, did not have the strike on the agenda. The N. M. U. leaders did not even take the trouble of circulating a strike vote among the miners which would have helped to draw broad masses into the struggle. The essential basis of the strike forces was among the unemployed miners and not among those at work. No serious attempt was made to agitate among the members of the United Mine Workers to join the struggle, and everything was done to make collaboration with the members of the I. W. W. in the coal fields impossible. In fact, every element in the situation that did not declare in advance its entire agreement with the political line of the Communist Party was deliberately repulsed. The Party (i. e., the National Miners Union) organizers, and their press (the *Daily Worker*, etc.) devoted more time and energy to "combatting Trotskyism" than to organizing the combat against the coal operators and their trade union agents.

In the face of such a course, it is natural that the strike should have had so calamitous and pitiful a conclusion. The wretched and cowardly attempts of the Party leadership now to unload the responsibility for their own criminal mismanagement on to the shoulders of the local leaders of the N. M. U., whom they directed at every step with the lash of ruthless discipline, is both revolting and characteristic of Stalinist "self-criticism". The warning of the Communist Opposition, the indications that preparations were lacking, the demand made upon the Party to organize the campaign against the operators instead of against Watt, Angelo and others—all these were unheeded. In the same way, the need for a considered analysis of the strike results is entirely neglected—even prohibited by the Party.

What is outstanding is the fact that the N. M. U. has been practically eliminated from the Illinois field as a decisive factor at the present time. Its opportunity for expansion—particularly in face of the scandalous Fishwick-Lewis fight for the spoils—was shamefully bungled. For this the responsibility rests exclusively and four-square on the shoulders of the Communist Party leaders. The present attempt to retrieve the heavy losses incurred in bungling a big situation by the organization of sporadic small local strikes in camps here and there is only adventurist desperation that must be condemned lest the N. M. U. is completely wiped out and the Left wing is retarded for a long period.

The Communist League reaffirms its position—contrary to that of the I. W. W.—of urging the Illinois miners to join in the strike. Whatever the errors of the leadership, however false the policies they pursue, it is the duty of the militant and class conscious workers and workers' organizations to give wholehearted support to every struggle of the workers, to seek to broaden and deepen its ranks, to clarify it in action and purpose.

As a final consequence of the Illinois strike is the foothold gained there for the first time in years by the I. W. W. Even as a passing phenomenon, it has an ominous and instructive significance. If syndicalism (that is, anti-political party; anti-political action; belief in the labor union as the all-sufficient instrument of the working class) is the punishment meted out to the revolutionary movement for the sins of party opportunism and vulgar parlia-

mentarism, it is also one of the ways in which workers frequently repay the workers' political party for mismanagement and for dominating the trade union with the rigidity, bureaucratic arbitrariness, mechanical and formalistic transference of the party into the union which is typical of Stalinism. We warned about such an eventuality months ago in our comments on the Belleville Conference. The sudden spread of erroneous syndicalist conceptions among the Illinois miners may be put entirely at the door of the Party bureaucrats. To re-consolidate the prestige and strength of the Left wing and Communist movements that have been discredited by the methods of the official Party leaders, it will be necessary to approach these syndicalist workers as fighters with whom the closest collaboration must be established. The Party method of calumny and name-calling, instead of seeking to unite with them and discuss the problems and tasks of the movement with the aim of establishing clarity, must be repudiated as entirely false.

2. The Fishwick-Howat-Brophy Convention

The call for an international convention of the U. M. W. A., directed against Lewis and Co., and signed by the Fishwick machine men plus Brophy, Howat, and others, yesterday's allies of the Left wing and the Party, creates a new set of circumstances in the mining industry which can have far-reaching consequences for the Left wing if it proves capable of viewing the situation objectively and acting accordingly. This has also not yet been done by the Party or by the official Left wing which it controls. On the contrary, it has limited itself to substituting mere denunciation for analysis. In place of separating and distinguishing between the various factors in the situation, the Party has resorted to the vulgar method of identifying all groups outside itself and throwing them into one common pot of indistinguishable reaction. Such interpretations of events, which make any serious analysis "unnecessary", is guaranteed in advance to make the Left wing a narrow, ingrown, self-satisfied and uninfluential sect.

The struggle between the Fishwick-Farrington and the Lewis machines has been going on for years, interrupted at periods only by the necessity of making common cause against the Left wing. That struggle was undoubtedly a fight for loot and position, and failed to move any substantial mass of the miners; it interested primarily the big and petty union officialdom and the operators. What is new in the situation is the fact that men (and the groups they represent) like Brophy, Howat and Dorchy have joined with Fishwick in an anti-Lewis fight; that the socialist party has given virtual endorsement, and the C. P. L. A. (Muste group) outright endorsement to the new combination. The Lewis faction has no progressives in its ranks and does not make the faintest pretense at a progressive program. What distinguishes the Fishwick faction now is precisely the fact that the progressives have joined with it and given it a different coloring, which will vitally affect the attitude of the progressive miners.

The new combination and its convention call is at bottom a sign of vitality in the U. M. W. of A. It will in the first place, have a strong tendency to reconstitute the old union. In other words, it is as much the reflection of the desire in the ranks of the miners for the establishment of a strong union on a progressive basis as it is the expression of the Fishwick machine's intention to capitalize this desire for its own purpose.

The development of this progressive and semi-progressive movement among the miners in the old union is, furthermore, of significance for the labor movement as a whole, particularly for the A. F. of L. It belies again the "theory" of the "complete bankruptcy" of the A. F. of L. and is proof positive that there are still at hand powerful forces—already in movement and potential—in the ranks of the old unions that offer a strong basis for the Left wing and for a struggle against the labor union

bureaucracy and class collaboration. is a refutation of the schematic (not Marxist) conception held by the Party (particularly by Foster) of the fatalistic "decline of the A. F. of L."—the "theoretical" foundation upon which have been erected the ruinous policies in the trade union movement now pursued by the official Party machine.

There is power behind the new movement. Fishwick-Farrington have a base in control of the Illinois district of the U. M. W. A., which is one of the two remaining districts of the old union still containing a hold on the workers in the industry. More than that, it has associated with it men like Brophy and Howat who have been associated with the progressive and Left wing movement for years, and have a great prestige among the miners throughout the country. The notion prevalent in the minds of the Party leaders that their denunciation of these men for departing from the Left wing movement has "discredited them among the masses of the miners" is entirely false and a replacement of reality by desire.

The progressive and Left wing sentiment remaining in the U. M. W. of A. will therefore incline strongly towards supporting and pushing forward this movement as a "legal expression" of the fight against reaction in the union. More than that, the miners who have dropped out of the union, without joining the N. M. U., or became passive and indifferent, will tend to see in this movement the hope for reconstituting the organization to its former strength and to a new progressivism. The movement, therefore, will tend to become a rallying ground for the dispersed and discouraged progressive and Left wing workers in the old union, the former members in the disrupted districts, and even in the ranks of the National Miners Union itself.

It is entirely true that any hopes or faith whatsoever placed in men like Fishwick, Farrington, John H. Walker, etc., is quite groundless and must end in bitter disappointment. These people have a record which is not one whit different from that of Lewis. Like him, they ruled by the blackjack, gunmen and terror. Like him, they have expelled militants and broken up progressive local unions. Like him, they worked hand in hand with the operators against the elementary interests of the miners. Their arch-type is Farrington, the paid employee of the Peabody Coal Company during his incumbency in the office of Illinois district union president. That is precisely why the Left wing must exercise its influence upon the workers in this movement, drive a wedge between the union misleaders operators' agents, and self-seekers on the one hand and the genuinely progressive elements in the ranks and the leadership on the other.

To deal with this movement by frontal attack and simple denunciation alone, as is the Party method today, to neglect to influence it from within, means only one thing: The Left wing, willy-nilly, will be aiding Fishwick and Co. to establish virtually unhindered domination over tens of thousands of progressive-minded workers who will lean to the new movement. The Left wing must bear in mind that the present C. P. policy is only the other side of a counterfeit coin: Yesterday, the Stalinists united in a most intimate bloc with the most reactionary reformist leaders (Purcell, Chiang Kai-Shek, etc.) without any regard for the masses; today, they again see only the leaders—this time condemning them out of hand—and again forget that there is such a thing as workers in the ranks who follow them. Neither policy has any particular virtue. The second is only a despairing effort to cover up the traces of yesterday's disappointments.

The Left wing cannot regard the formation of the N. M. U. as the end of the problem of the old union which still has the bulk of the organized miners, or as having solved the problems of the Left wing once and for all. It is rather a stage in a long struggle to reconstitute the miners' organization on a national scale on a militant basis. In this struggle the Left wing organized in the National Miners Union must retain its ability to maneuver. With only a few thousand members in its

(Continued on Page 8)

What is the «Permanent Revolution»?

By L. D. Trotsky

These these constitute a brief statement of contents of a large pamphlet which is being prepared by me for publication under the same title. The questions to which the pamphlet is dedicated, are inseparably bound up with the foundations of the program of the Comintern and consequently with the future platform of the International Opposition. I make these theses public as material for the elaboration of the theoretical section of the platform. The pamphlet, I hope, will shortly appear in numerous languages. —L. T.

1. The theory of the permanent revolution now demands the greatest attention of every Marxist, for the course of the ideological and class struggle has finally drawn this question out of the field of reminiscences over the old differences of opinion among Russian Marxists and converted it into a question of the character, the internal connections and the methods of the international revolution as a whole.

2. With regard to the countries with a backward bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their democratic and national liberative tasks is only conceivable through the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leader of the subjugated nations, primarily of their peasant masses.

3. Not only the agrarian, but also the national question, assigned to the peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population of the backward countries, an important place in the democratic revolution. Without an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry, the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved, yes, not even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realized in no other way than through an intransigent struggle against the influence of the national liberal bourgeoisie.

4. No matter how the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the individual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political direction of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist Party. This in turn means that the victory of the democratic revolution is only conceivable through the dictatorship of the proletariat which bases itself upon the alliance with the peasantry and solves the tasks of the democratic revolution.

5. The old slogan of Bolshevism—"The Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry" expresses precisely the above characterized relation of the proletariat, the peasantry and the liberal bourgeoisie. This is demonstrated by the experience of October. But the old formula of Lenin does not solve in advance the problem of what the mutual relations between the proletariat and the peasantry inside of the revolutionary bloc will be. In other words, the formula has unknown algebraic quantities which have to make way for precise arithmetical quantities in the process of historical experience. This latter showed, and under circumstance that exclude every other interpretation, that no matter how big the revolutionary role of the peasantry may be, it can nevertheless not be an independent role and even less a leading one. The peasant follows either the worker or the bourgeois. This means that the "Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry" is only conceivable as a Dictatorship of the Proletariat that leads the peasant masses behind it.

6. A Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry, as a regime that is distinguished from the Dictatorship of the Proletariat by its class content, would be realized only in case an independent revolutionary Party could be constituted which expresses the interests of the peasants and in general of petty-bourgeois democracy—a Party that is capable of conquering power with this or that aid of the proletariat and of determining its revolutionary program. As modern history teaches and especially the history of Russia in the last 25 years—an insurmountable obstacle on the road to the creation of a peasants party is the economic and political dependence of the petty-bourgeoisie and its deep internal differentiation, thanks to which the upper sections of the petty-bourgeoisie (peasantry) go with the big bourgeoisie in all decisive cases, especially in war and in revolution, and the lower sections—with the proletariat, while the intermediary section has the choice between the two extreme poles. Between the Kerenskiade and the Bolshevik power, between the Kuo-Min-Tang and the

Dictatorship of the Proletariat there can lie nothing and there lies nothing, that is, no democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

7. The endeavor of the Comintern to foist upon the Eastern countries the slogan of the Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry, finally and long ago exhausted by history, can have only a reactionary significance. In so far as this slogan is counterposed to the slogan of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it contributes to the dissolution of the Proletariat into the petty-bourgeois masses and in this manner creates better conditions for the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie and consequently for the collapse of the democratic revolution. The introduction of this slogan into the program of the Comintern is a direct betrayal of Marxism and of the October traditions of Bolshevism.

8. The dictatorship of the Proletariat which rises to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly placed before tasks that are bound up with a deep incision into the right of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution rises over immediately into the Socialist, and thereby becomes a permanent revolution.

9. The conquest of power of the proletariat does not end the revolution, but only opens it. Socialist construction is only conceivable on the foundation of the class struggle, on a national and international scale. This struggle, under the conditions of an overwhelming predominance of capitalist relationships on the world arena, will inevitably lead to outbreaks, internal, that is, civil wars, and external, that is, revolutionary wars. Therein lies the permanent character of the Socialist revolution as such, independent of whether it is a question of a backward country which only yesterday had its democratic overthrow, or an old capitalist country, which already has behind it a long epoch of democracy and parliamentarism.

10. The completion of the Socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable. One of the main reasons for the crisis in bourgeois society is the fact that the productive forces created by it overflow the boundaries of the national state. From this follow, on the one hand, imperialist wars, and on the other hand, the utopia of the bourgeois United States of Europe. The Socialist revolution commences on the national arena, is developed further on the inter-state and finally on the world arena. Thus the Socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in the new and broader sense of this word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet.

11. By the above outlined schema of the development of the world revolution, the question of the countries that are "mature" or "immature" for Socialism in the spirit of that pedantic, lifeless, classification by the present program of the Comintern, is eliminated. Insofar as capitalism has created the world market, the division of labor and productive forces throughout the world, it has also prepared world economy for socialist reconstruction.

The various countries will go through this process in varying tempos. Backward countries can, under certain conditions, arrive at the dictatorship of the proletariat sooner, but they come later than the latter to Socialism.

A backward colonial or semi-colonial country whose proletariat is insufficiently prepared to unite the peasantry and conquer power is thereby incapable of carrying its democratic overthrow to its conclusion. On the contrary, in a country where the proletariat has power in its hands as the result of the democratic revolution, the further fate of the dictatorship and socialism is not only and not so much dependent in the final analysis upon the national productive forces, as it is upon the development of the international socialist revolution.

12. The theory of Socialism in one Country which rose on the yeast of the reaction against October is the only theory

that consistently and to the very end opposes the theory of the Permanent Revolution.

The attempt of the epigones under the blows of our criticism to confine the application of the theory of Socialism in one Country to Russia alone, because of its special qualities (its extensiveness and its natural resources) does not improve but only worsens the matter. The splitting off from the international position always leads to a national doctrine of salvation, that is, to the recognition of the special prerogatives and peculiarities for one's own country, which would permit it to play a role that other countries cannot attain.

The world division of labor, the dependence of Soviet industry on foreign technique, the dependence of the productive forces of the advanced countries of Europe on Asiatic raw materials, etc., etc. make the construction of a socialist society in any single country impossible.

13. The theory of Stalin-Bucharin not only sets up the democratic revolution quite mechanically against the socialist revolution, contrary to the experiences of the Russian revolution, but also tears the national revolution from the international path.

This theory sets the revolution in the backward countries the task of establishing an unrealizable regime of the democratic dictatorship; this regime it sets up against the dictatorship of the proletariat way it introduces illusions and fictions into politics, paralyzes the struggle for power of the proletariat in the East, and hampers the victory of the colonial revolution.

The very seizure of power by the proletariat signifies, from the standpoint of the epigones theory, the completion of the rev-

olution (to "nine-tenths", according to Stalin's formula) and the opening of the epoch of national reform. The theory of the Kulak growing into socialism and the theory of the "neutralization" of the world bourgeoisie are consequently inseparable from the theory of socialism in one country. They stand and fall together.

Through the theory of national socialism, the Communist International is degraded to a weapon of assistance which is necessary for the struggle against a military intervention. The present policy of the Comintern, its regime, and the selection of its leading personalities, correspond entirely to the debasement of the Communist International to an assisting troop which is not designed to solve independent tasks.

14. The program of the Comintern created by Bucharin is thoroughly eclectic. It makes the hopeless attempt to reconcile the theory of Socialism in one Country with Marxist Internationalism, which is however, inseparable from the permanent character of the world revolution. The struggle of the Left Communist Opposition for a correct policy and a healthy regime in the Communist International is inseparably combined with a struggle for a Marxist program. The question of the program in turn is inseparable from the question of the two mutually exclusive theories: the theory of permanent revolution and the theory of socialism in one country. The problem of the permanent revolution has long ago rooted out the episodic differences between Lenin and Trotsky, which were quite exhausted by history. The struggle is for the basic ideas of Marx and Lenin on the one side and the eclectics of the Centrists on the other. Constantinople, November 30, 1929

Opposition Serves the Bolshevik Revolution

"Up to the very last moment Blumkin carried through work of the utmost importance for the Soviet Union. How could he do this while adhering to the Opposition? This is explainable from the nature of his work, which was of an entirely individual character. Blumkin had little, if anything, to do with the Communist nuclei, and no possibility of participating in Party discussions. But this does not mean that he hid his thoughts. On the contrary, Blumkin had told Menjinsky and Trilisser, the former chiefs of the foreign department of the G. P. U., that his sympathies were with the Opposition, but that naturally, like any other Oppositionist he was absolutely prepared to carry out his important tasks for the October revolution. Menjinsky and Trilisser considered Blumkin to be irreplaceable, which was true. They left him to his tasks which he always carried out.

Blumkin did visit me at Constantinople. I have already mentioned the fact that Blumkin had slight connections with my secretarial work. In particular, he had prepared one of my military works (I mention this in the preface of that work). Blumkin came to me in Constantinople in order to ascertain my analysis of the situation and in order to assure himself that he ought to remain in the service of the government which was deporting, banishing and imprisoning those comrades who were of the same mind as himself. I replied, naturally, that he was doing his revolutionary duty—not towards the Stalin regime, which had usurped the rights of the Party, but towards the October Revolution.

There has, perhaps, been quoted to you, from one of Yaroslavsky's articles, an allegation concerning my conversation with a visitor last summer and to whom I had predicted the inevitable and imminent collapse of the Soviet government. The miserable sycophant lies, that goes without saying. But on comparing certain facts and dates, I am certain that this referred to my conversation with Blumkin. As for his question concerning the possibility of reconciling his work and his adherence to the Opposition, I told him among other things, that my exile as well as the imprisonment of other comrades did not change our fundamental line; that in the moment of danger the Oppositionists would be in the most advanced posts, that in the difficult hours Stalin would be forced to call upon them even as Tseretelli appealed to the Bol-

sheviks for aid against Kornilov. In that connection I added: "If only it is not too late." Apparently, Blumkin, after his arrest disclosed the nature of his interview in order to show the attitude and state of mind of the Opposition: it must not be forgotten that I had been exiled because of the accusation that I was preparing an armed conflict against the Soviet power!

Through Blumkin I had sent an informative letter to Moscow for our friends, based upon the same ideas that I had set forth in a series of published articles: the Stalin repression against us does not yet signify a change in the class character of the State, but only prepares and makes more easy that change; our course remains, as in the past, that of reform and not that of revolution; the implacable struggle for our ideas must be based on the perspective of a long delay."

—L. TROTSKY
(Excerpts from letter of January 5th, 1930 at Prinkipo, Turkey).

QUARTER MILLION JOBLESS IN N. C.

RALEIGH, N. C.—(FP)—250,000 are jobless in North Carolina, leading industrial State of the south, according to Comm. F. D. Grist of the state department of labor and industry. Unemployment in Raleigh is double last year's.

Hunger, prevalent in the broken farm districts of eastern North Carolina, is creeping into the farms and small cities that dot the region. Tenants and farm laborers, driven from the land, congregate in these communities, while the crop failure causes curtailment of employment in the urban establishments, and the slowing up of new construction.

In Goldsboro scores of Negroes are being fed in jimcrow soup kitchens. In Goldsboro two thirds of the destitute are Negroes. In some places schools are feeding children at least once a day.

Edward C. Lindgren, former member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, will speak before the New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition) on Tuesday, March 4th, 1930 at 8 p. m. at the Militant Hall, 25 Third Ave. Room 4. His subject is: What is Wrong with the Communist Party?

Throughout the World of Labor

The Fall Of Primo De Rivera and its Consequences

The fall of Primo de Rivera surprised almost no one. It surprised only Primo de Rivera himself... and the leading Spanish Communists. The former stated, two weeks before his collapse, that he would relinquish power of his own accord in six months; the latter, like an echo, were writing that Primo would be with us for a long time.

Primo did not yield up power of his own accord. Neither was he driven out by a revolutionary movement. His downfall was due to one of those secret revolts which threaten to, break out not only against a government, but also against the class which maintains it. The class—the bourgeoisie, the monarchy the army—wish to ward off the immediate danger, the discontent and the growing revolution, by driving Primo out of power and promising a return to the constitutional form of government. In fact, a large-scale conspiracy was organized, which, in breaking forth could have overthrown not only the dictatorship, but even the monarchy, and which, under the existing circumstances, could have exceeded the desires and intention of the organizers themselves.

It can be said with certainty that the discontent against Primo was widespread. The proletariat showed their discontent through the powerful strikes of 1927-28-29 in Austria, Catalogne, Seville, etc., strikes of an almost spontaneous character, let loose through economic causes, and which rapidly assumed a political character, not through the almost non-existent efforts of the official communist movement, but through the intervention of the dictatorship, on the side of the bosses, against the proletariat and through the rapid development of the latter.

(The leading Spanish Communists have deceived the International in pretending that these strikes were instigated and directed by themselves. Unfortunately this was not so.)

Bourgeoisie Desert Primo

The discontent of the petty-bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, and of a section of the army manifested itself in the form of conspiracies, (six, up to the one which was being recently prepared) and in the student movements. Primo was already left with the support of only a section of the big financial and industrial bourgeoisie whom he had succeeded in reassuring through the establishment of national monopolies at the expense of foreign finance capital, and through extreme political protection. But he ended up by losing the support of the big bourgeoisie as well because of the fall in the value of the Peseta.

The pressure of international finance was in fact one of the chief causes, a fact which can easily be explained, it having given rise to the ultra-nationalist political economy of Primo. This, however, was not the sole cause. Instead of correcting this entire political economy, financial and social, and of achieving parity, the dictatorship believed that it could sustain the Peseta by means of simple manipulations in the world market. It obtained a credit of 18 million pounds from a group of British and American financiers, which made possible only a temporary halt in the decline of the Spanish standard. The decline proceeded in a fatalistic manner, resulting first in a defection of the Minister of Finance and finally in the collapse of the entire government.

Financial Crisis in Spain

The economic and political situation which Primo is leaving as a heritage to his successors, is extremely dangerous. If the best-known former political leaders—Cambó, the younger Maura, Sanchez Guerra, etc.—definitely refuse to aid Berenguer, it is because of the seriousness of the situation. Above all stands the financial question. In 1923, the year of Primo's Coup-d'Etat, the Spanish public debt, according to the official figures themselves, was 8,531 million Pesetas, the total indebtedness of the treasury approaching 5,000 million. At the end of 1929 these figures had risen to 19,835 million pesetas (an increase of 11 million in six years and four months of the dictatorship!)

Naturally, the political situation is also extremely serious. In 1923, Primo destroyed

all the government parties. Those could no longer offer the least resistance, being discredited in the eyes of the people.

But Primo set up nothing in their place. The Patriotic Union was an artificially created party, an empty shell in the eyes of the public owing its existence solely to official support. This group, together with the Advisory Assembly and everything created by the dictatorship of Primo, were doomed to perish. The proof of this lies in the fact that the king appealed and continued to appeal to the former leaders of the traditional parties, through Berenguer, that they reorganize their parties and prepare for distorted elections, following the vicious methods of former years. All this as though nothing had happened!

Of course the Spanish proletariat did not look at things in the same light. For them the former parties were permanently discredited. They did not await, they did not desire their return—a return to the status of 1923. Not a praetorian guard, but neither the former regime, and above all not a monarchy. Primo had engineered his coup-d'Etat in 1923 in order to save the monarchy.

The Growing Republican Movement

It is also in order to save it that his rule has just been liquidated and that the former politicians are preparing to govern anew. Will they succeed in saving the crown? We think not. A wider and wider republican movement is taking form in Spain. The very first acts of Berenguer have been to arrest several of the republican leaders in Valencia, Barcelona, etc. The demonstrations of the students and workers against the dictatorship revolved not only around the slogan of "Down with Primo", but "Down with the Monarchy". The republican movement cannot but grow. The important problems left over by Primo and which cannot be solved by his successors will serve to aggravate the crisis of the monarchist regime. We are at the threshold of political struggles of the greatest interest.

But we Communists, in this situation, which, by the action of material forces assume an increasingly revolutionary character, must act with energy and facility. The anti-monarchist movement will be led in its first stages by the petty-bourgeoisie, by the republican party and by the socialists.

The Spanish proletariat, whose living conditions are extremely wretched, and whose hatred of the entire system has matured during the last few years of dictatorial oppression are getting ready for participation in the struggle.

The Need of a Communist Party

But in face of the socialists who are preparing to manoeuvre, and of the anarcho-syndicalists who will attempt to reassume the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions, what is needed now is a strong Communist Party, disciplined, supple, knowing how to lead the proletariat in the coming struggles towards its emancipation. Will the actual Communist Party attain its historic mission? This is the serious problem for the entire International. Today, once again, the leaders of the Spanish Communists, with the support of the Stalin clique which steers the Comintern, readily devote themselves to the miserable task of systematically hounding the best militant Communists. Under any circumstances this attitude would be incorrect; at present it is an anti-Communist crime. We Opposition Communists will know our duty. But if the Stalinist bureaucrats attempt to hinder us, they will be responsible before the international proletariat.

Paris, February 7, 1930.

—GORKIN

German Unemployed Defy Tyrannous Laws

BERLIN—(FP)—Depression has laid its heavy hand on Germany's Manhattan. Nearly 400,000 jobless pace the cold streets; old men and women peddle newspapers or matches; the free soup stations are crowded with the destitute.

Everywhere in Germany, whose total unemployed exceeds 3,500,000, the jobless are forming organizations of protest. Demonstrations have occurred in Wurms, Erfurt

and Hamburg in defiance of the severe anti-demonstration laws recently passed by the government. These laws aim to cripple the growing Communist movement.

Police frequently shoot into crowds of marching out-of-workers. Many of the unfortunates have been killed or wounded.

But the protests continue despite the oppressive laws. "We have only our lives to lose," commented one of the jobless. "And under the present regime our lives are worthless anyhow."

Φ

German Unemployed and the First of February

For weeks and weeks the German party has proclaimed through its 35 publications that on the first of February millions of unemployed would parade throughout Germany. The factory workers would give proof of their solidarity. Braving the ban of Zoergel and of Severing, the working class would capture the streets.

The first of February was to have marked the beginning of great mass battles. In the Leningrad Pravda appeared:

"In no country are the rise of the revolutionary wave and the collapse of capitalist stabilization as evident as in Germany. The Communist Party of Germany is, next in order after that of the Soviet Union, the most bolshevik party. That is why it is not to be wondered at that it is in Germany that one can see the advance of the approaching European revolution.

"The barricade fights in Hamburg, the defiance of the ban against demonstrations in German cities, the parades of the armies of the unemployed are, under the existing circumstances, the expression of the growing revolutionary tendencies of the masses. The events of the last few days prove that a revolutionary situation approaches at full speed in Germany."

In proportion as the leadership of the Party becomes intoxicated with its own prophecies and bombast, the social democracy becomes increasingly arrogant. The social democratic press, energetically supported by the democratic press, agitates against the C. P. G. and spreads the most fantastic lies. The closer did the 1st of February approach, the clearer did it become that the social democracy hoped, through a sweeping provocation, to definitely strike down the Party and drive it into illegality. The agitation of the social-democracy was complemented by the slander of the Brandler press, which branded the would-be plans of the Party leadership as putschist.

Wherein Lies the Defeat of the 1st of February

The leadership and the Party press evidently speak only of a "victory". Thus, the Rote Fahne of the 2nd of February writes: "The Communist party achieved its desired end on the first of February; the solid advance of marching proletarian regiments crushed Grzesinski's ban against demonstrations."

The social democracy and the bourgeois press are jubilant: the "revolutionary plans" miscarried. The social democracy and the bourgeoisie know quite well that the First of February was not the "day of the revolution" on the calendar of Thaelmann's adventures. But they also know that on the 1st of February the C. P. G. suffered a serious defeat. For the actual task which they had set themselves was far from accomplished. Only a few thousand of the 350,000 unemployed in Berlin heeded the Party's call. None of the Berlin factories in which the Party obtained so many votes, as was the case last year, when it had such great success, participated in the solidarity strike. The Party leadership did not even call upon the factories to go out on strike in solidarity with the unemployed, for it knew that this appeal would be useless.

In Red Berlin, where the C. P. G. mustered as many votes as the socialist party in the communal elections of Nov. 17, 1929 this despite the growing bitterness of the masses, and despite the increasing contempt of the Berlin proletariat for the leadership of the socialist party.

Why Was the Defeat Inevitable?

The C. P. G. is a mass party which represents 3 million workers, and this despite the political adventurism of its leadership, despite the unfitness of Thaelmann, Neumann, Remmele, etc.

But the masses, although voting for the party, whether in the general elections or in the elections of the factory councils, do not at all thereby show that they have decided to carry through the proletarian revolution. They simply show that they are dissociating themselves from the counter-revolutionary policy of the Social-Democratic Party—the enemy of their class. Unfortunately this is not how the Rote Fahne puts it:

"In the factories, among the unemployed on the streets, in the country and on the farms, everywhere, the willingness to abolish the system which brings nothing but hunger and misery for the masses, is growing among the workers, the willingness to put an end to a system which has proven its inability to guarantee to the working people an existence at least worthy of a human being!"

The masses who vote for the party, even those who follow its actions, are not yet that far advanced. The Party's appeal for the first of February was forcibly extinguished without achieving its aim, because it did not appeal to the masses with immediate concrete demands affecting every unemployed worker, but all it could do was to get itself drunk with vague political phrases which could not represent to non-party workers the goal to be sought after today, and tomorrow.

Berlin, February 2, 1930.

—KURT LANDAU

Φ

La Verite and the Militant

"There was no dearth of prophets who predicted the doom of La Verite even before it appeared. Several profound sages explained their desertion by saying that conditions were not suitable for the formation of a Communist Party in general. Nevertheless La Verite not only grows and gathers strength, but now has acquired a fighting ally as precious as La Lutte de Classes. La Verite itself assumes a clearer and more distinct form. One cannot but agree with our Chinese comrade N. who recently wrote from Shanghai that La Verite of Paris and The Militant of New York are the best publications of the International Opposition."

Excerpt from "A New Step Forward" by L. D. Trotsky, Constantinople, January 22, 1930.

Φ

ACTORS EQUITY DEPRECATES COMPANY UNION PLAN

HOLLYWOOD, Calif.—(FP)—Company unionism is sneaking into Hollywood as a backfire against Actors Equity Assn., the theatre and movie union. Using the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the movie magnates are compelling screen people to swear away their right to strike in return for a dubious agreement.

Among concessions made to the actors as a result of the Equity strike last summer, and written into the company union agreement, are reasonable notice of dismissal (the company to determine what is reasonable) and overtime pay at regular rates. Actors are to be permitted to rest 12 hours between calls, and eight hours to constitute a day's work for day workers.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—For posting a sign calling for work or wages, Angelo Cappello was arrested at the Broadway Auditorium and held for \$500 bail. The maximum penalty, under an ancient city ordinance, is one year in jail.

Two workers were arrested at an open air protest demonstration held by the Council of the Unemployed. Bail was set at \$2,000.

ST. LOUIS JOBLESS SWAMP CHARITIES

ST. LOUIS—Pleas for charity coming to the St. Louis Provident Assn. during January again established a new high record, unequalled during the 60-odd years of the organization's life

Imperialist Development and its Inevitable Doom

By Arne Swaback

Marx has given to the movement his brilliant terse definition of the true nature of the capitalist system of production. In his description of the transformation of the individual means into social means of production with the social product appropriated by the individual capitalist, he demonstrated the basic contradictions whence arise all the contradictions in which our present day society moves.

The specific features of the development of monopoly capitalism are, alongside the higher stage of socialization of production, also an intensification of contradictions and sharpening of the class struggle, as indicated most vividly in this present depression. Its extent and depth cannot yet be estimated, but whatever the degree, the depression itself will accentuate these conflicts. Any steps taken toward "social control of business"—to use the phrase of the capitalist economic writers—by monopoly capitalism and its government, will naturally mean not merely attempts at new divisions, but first of all a further expansion of productive capacity with increased exploitation of the workers. Evidence of this has already been given in the Hoover conferences. Discounting all the window dressing from the "promises" for building and expansion of activities by the big corporations and retaining that part which will actually find a place in their "normal" development, what have we left? Just such building and expansion which makes each corporation a more effective competitor and bring results in increased production of surplus values, at reduced cost by further rationalization, labor saving machinery and speed-up.

Lenin distinctly emphasized that capitalism in its imperialistic phase leads to the most extensive socialization of production, that the fundamental contradictions of capitalism are not eliminated but become intensified, that the general structure of free competition remains and the oppression by a few monopolists becomes much harder, more painful and unbearable.

The Imperialist Struggle for Market Control

Concretely, the further developments will manifest themselves today first of all in efforts by American monopoly capitalism to overcome its economic difficulties by further pressure upon the workers. The theories of the capitalist economists of the high wage standard, labor stock ownership in enterprises and capital and labor partnership, also valiantly championed by the A. F. of L. "leadership", are due for some rude shakings: for the indispensable and fundamental condition of the capitalist method of production is a starvation standard, with, however, continued imperialist bribings of certain sections of the more skilled. This is already on the order of the day. The working class as a whole is suffering both by outright wage cuts, by the fact of a standing army of unemployed hitting most families, as well as increased speedup. The working class will find itself compelled to ever more resistance, thus sharpening the class struggle.

American imperialism will further seek to overcome its economic difficulties on the international arena by conquests of new markets. But the division of the world among the groups of capitalists, as far as colonial territory is concerned, was already completed at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Now only redivisions are possible which usually find this "solution" in war. The American exports to foreign markets are increasing, and already presage an immediately sharpening trade war, because the European imperialist powers will do their best to retaliate. In answer to the new U. S. tariff policy, for example, similar steps are indicated in Europe. The French parliament is laboring over a bill providing for an exceptionally high duty on import of automobiles. The recent League of Nations Report shows Germany increasing her foreign trade much faster than the United States. One of the special tasks of the McDonald government is to carry through a complete reorganization of British industry to become a better competitor with the United States, and, if possible, to make the British workers "like" the speed-up system. A trade war of imperialist cut-throats will be based primarily upon their ability to cut wages and increase the pace of the workers. This struggle for the world market, or for redivision of the world, is but the prelude to the imperialist war, in other words—a continuation of the trade war with different means—which now finds its reflection in the

jugglings for position at the London naval conference in the race for armaments.

American Expansion will Bring Revolutionary Disturbances

"The inevitable further development of American expansion, the contraction of the markets of European capitalism, including the European market itself, entails the greatest military, economic and revolutionary disturbances, such as will leave all disturbances of the past in the shade." (Trotsky—Criticism of Comintern Program.)

As for any beliefs of the ability of the often appearing world trusts or syndicates actually to divide the world spheres between them and eliminate competition, historical experiences should teach a good lesson. Lenin cites some examples in his book "Imperialism":

The petroleum market already in 1905 was divided between two groups: The Standard Oil Co. and the Rotchild-Nobel combine. Both of these groups were closely connected, but their monopoly became threatened by newly developing oil fields mainly backed by German banks. A struggle ensued between the Standard Oil and the German banks, involving the German government, with the result that the former became victorious. We can add, that now this struggle is continued between the Standard Oil and the Royal Dutch Shell. Lenin further cites the field of mercantile navigation where the gigantic growth of concentration led to division of all routes between the two German groups, Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd on the one hand and the Morgan trust of Anglo-American companies on the other. An agreement for division was concluded in 1903 to run for 20 years. It became void by the world war. Similarly in 1904 the steel rail cartel was organized with a definite basis of division of the market between England, Germany and Belgium. Later France and the United States Steel Corporation, followed by Austria and Spain, joined. The war scattered it again.

Capitalism Can't Harmonize Contradictions

Recently rumors were current of American steel trusts entering the new European steel syndicate. Here again the prospects of the coming imperialist war indicates its short lease of life, if the conflicting interests of the national capitalist groups can be harmonized even that long. However, the decisive conclusion from such developments was drawn by Lenin:

World Textile Situation Bodes Workers Ill

By ROBERT W. DUNN

Anarchy of production under the present economic order is freshly illustrated in textile industry figures recently released. While mill owners complain of over-production and depressed prices, the annual review of the Textile World reports the total amount of mill construction in 1929 is larger than for 1928. Of the 550 separate concerns in the industry that erected, enlarged or improved plants during the year, 162 were cotton mills, 194 knitting mills, 74 woolen mills, 52 silk mills, 18 rayon mills in addition to 50 dye-houses and finishing plants.

While new construction was being rushed in this highly competitive and "depressed" industry, other plants were working two shifts. Still others, chiefly in the north, were going out of business altogether. But on the whole the capacity of the industry to turn out goods was being steadily increased.

In one of the "sickest" years for the cotton industry new mill construction was booming in the south. North Carolina led with 40 new plants, units and basic improvements to mills. South Carolina was a close second with 32. The south added 420,000 new spindles and 9,215 looms in 1929, according to figures compiled by the Southern Textile Bulletin which reports that the average increase in southern spindles since 1912 has been 468,000 a year. Eight brand new cotton mills were built in the south in 1929, the largest being the Goodyear Rubber Co.'s mill at Rockmart, Ga., for the manufacture of tire fabrics.

With new mills and additional spindles running day and night, the owners turn their eyes overseas to find markets for goods. About 6% of cotton manufactures are now exported. The cotton men want to raise this to 15, 20 or more. And yet they realize with the export manager of the

"Some bourgeois writers were of the opinion that international cartels, being one of the most striking expressions of the internationalization of capital, give hope that peace among nations will be possible under capitalism. Theoretically, such an idea is an absurdity, and in practice it is a sophism and a means of dishonest defense of the worst kind of opportunism. The international cartels show the point to which capitalist monopolies have now grown and what the struggle among groups of capitalists is about. The latter point is the most important; it alone explains to us the historical-economic meaning of what is going on at present, as the FORM of the struggle may change and does change constantly, being dependent on various comparatively trifling and temporary causes, but the ESSENCE of the struggle; its CLASS CHARACTER CANNOT CHANGE as long as classes exist." (emphasis in original.)

Finance Capitalists Direct Government

It would be foolish, however, to close one's eyes to the possibilities for further expansion of American monopoly capitalism even on the home market. The tendencies manifested in the Hoover conferences toward "social control of business" (state capitalism) is keeping that well in mind and is based upon such possibilities. They envisage the prospects of bringing the government into more direct participation, support and responsibility, that is:—to establish a more perfect synthesis of control by the dynastic oligarchy both in the economic and political spheres. In this country the personal union, or fusion, of banks, industrial establishments and the government has not been lagging. The banks are no mere intermediaries in business but powerful monopoly holders; finances are completely interwoven with direction of industrial activities, industrial magnates are on board of directors of the banks and ever more openly this whole gentry fills the seats of government. Mellon, whose family cleaned up nearly 300 million dollars during the month of May last year in the rich stock market harvest, has long been the most outstanding directing force in the cabinet. Recently, as part of the general Hoover program, he was able to hand down a small subsidy in the form of a 160 million dollars tax cut on all incomes between 1 and 10 millions. Now Grundy has been put in the Senate and Morrow, Morgan's partner, will soon also take a seat

there.

It follows incontestably that any such further expansion on the home market as well leads to further contradictions, further sharpening of the class struggle, further competition between the monopolies themselves and with the smaller capitalist enterprises. This is inherent in capitalism and substantiated by all historical experience. The present industrialization of the south is the most vivid example. So far only in the first stage, it is already developing acute class conflicts.

The Petty Capitalists are Ground Under

There are throughout the country plenty of advocates for extension of super-power developments; for damming of mighty rivers and irrigation and fertilization of extensive tracts of land or for a waterway from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic. Unquestionably the resources are available but within lie also sharpened competition and conflicts. We witness the uneven development not merely between the capitalist countries but also of capitalism within the country itself—not in the least softened in its monopolist stage. There are constant competition and encroachments upon the lighter or finishing industries by the heavier industries in control of raw materials, sometimes represented by horizontal versus vertical trusts. There is constant developing competition for new raw materials made possible by inventions of new methods. The new Edison process of making rubber from goldenrod or other weeds, for example, is likely to make great changes in the world struggle for rubber. Even the mere advocacy of the expansions mentioned above has struck opposition and conflicts between the various capitalist groups and monopolies. Conflicts between the capitalist groups is reflected in the dispute around the proposed high tariff legislation.

The Increase of Bankruptcies

The present depression as with others, is taking its toll in bankruptcies. According to the R. C. Dun review there were 2,759 bankruptcies during the month of January, the greatest number of any January for years. This offers the usual "splendid opportunities" for finance monopoly capitalism to proceed to organize these concerns or buy them for a song. The smaller capitalists and the middle class elements, who are thus being hit and who suffer in general from the oppression of the few monopolists have always looked for saviours to free them from the monopoly domination. They thus looked to and followed Roosevelt and LaFollette and they are now cherishing hopes that the present "progressives" in Congress will take up the cudgels against Grundy and Morrow and lead another "trust busting" campaign. It presages disturbances and splits within the important props of finance monopoly—the capitalist parties, mainly along economic lines. Many of the middle class elements, however, will be reduced to the ranks of the proletariat and become disillusioned.

The Growth of Communism

These are the dialectics of the capitalist system of production standing out more clearly in its greater maturity in the imperialist epoch. Every expansion of productive capacity; every step for more perfect stabilization of production, produces and intensifies its exact opposite—greater competition although in changed forms, and sharpened class antagonisms. These develop opportunities to advance the Communist movement. They should not be wasted in academic debates over primacy of external or internal contradictions; not to proclaim, as the Stalinists do, that the Right wing view of the disappearance of internal contradictions and the growth of anarchy in the international arena means that they hence "lead a purely metaphysical existence in the cosmic space". This is not the way to combat wrong theories. Crises in the specific country may focus particularly its internal contradictions; wars may focus particularly the external contradictions. Nevertheless these contradictions interrelate and are in the imperialist epoch inseparably bound together. The fact that American imperialism rests upon a foundation of world economy with its international conflicts hastens and sharpens the conflicts within.

DENVER—In January 24% of union members in Denver were unemployed, an increase over December of 1%. The percentage of unorganized workers unemployed is, of course, much higher.

YOUNG VANGUARD

- - A Section Devoted to Problems of the Working Class Youth - -

The Decline of the Y. C. I.

The present crisis in the Young Communist International is a direct reflection of the situation in the Comintern. The latter, under the leadership of Stalinist Centrism, with its policy of national "socialism", and the conversion of the Communist parties into automaton to carry out its bureaucratic orders, finds itself in a state of disintegration.

The Young Communist International as a section of the Comintern, has the same political and tactical line as the latter. Therefore the mistakes of the Comintern become the mistakes of the Y. C. I. The bureaucracy in the Comintern and its sections has more than its equal in the Leagues and the Y. C. I. Mechanical calling of conferences, bureaucratic appointments with complete disregard for the mass of the membership, mechanical use of Party slogans and policies for youth work, bureaucratic carrying out of decisions, (as "proletarianization" and "nativization") etc. are prevalent in every League in the Y. C. I. The well-known Stalinist abhorrence for revolutionary theory has its fitting supplement in the almost complete absence of educational work in the Leagues. The fundamentals of Marxism, the teaching of Lenin, the history of the Comintern and the Y. C. I., the history of the Russian October, are unknown to the average League functionary, not to speak of the average member. The above, when taught, is falsified—officially called "popularized". (See Stalin's "Leninism" as a model.)

Simultaneous with the declining influence and numerical strength of the Comintern since 1924, the Y. C. I. was transformed from an organization of over a million (exclusive of the Soviet Union) to, according to the report of Furenberg at the recent Plenum of the E. C. Y. C. I., a little over eighty thousand (\$3,067 to be exact). (This is less than one half the number of members it had in November, 1919, the time of the First Congress.) In every country, with the exception of the Soviet Union, the Leagues are small sects with little influence over the working youth, mere shadows of the Communist parties (although theoretically the former is supposed to be more of a mass organization than the party.)

The Fifth Congress of the Y. C. I. settled the entire question in a very simple manner. It reiterated the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern on the necessity of a new line, the third period, the Right danger as the main one, and issued the slogan of: To the masses. These decisions were patented to give an impetus to the growth of "mass young Leninist leagues". A genuine discussion of policy and tactics; a critical analysis of the conditions of the young workers in the various countries; steps to educate the membership of the Leagues; ways and means of drawing the working youth into the struggle, these and similar questions were absent from the proceedings. It is no longer necessary to follow such tedious and "academic" procedure—for don't we know that in the present, the "third period", the young workers are becoming radicalized, that the Communists are the only true representatives of the workers and, ipso facto, the communist youth leagues will grow? Such reasoning sometimes with the most naive consciousness, other times unwittingly, is the prevalent logic of the young Stalinist leadership, internationally and nationally.

Y. C. I. Follows the False Path of the C. I.

Since the Fifth Congress, the Y. C. I. conducted the following mass activity. On July 20th and 21st of last year an International Anti-Imperialist Youth Conference was held at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Germany, for the purpose of forming "youth sections" of the Anti-Imperialist Leagues in the various countries. The advisability of such a conference, even from a principle point of view, is highly questionable. The conducting and leading of the struggle against imperialism is the tasks of the Comintern and its sections, especially the Y. C. I. To organize the petty-bourgeois liberals and socialists into an organization and expect them to carry on a consistent fight against imperialism is to close one's

eyes to the history of the liberal and socialist betrayals. Nevertheless, the Y. C. I., in calling into existence the above conference, once again mechanically and with as much reason, followed the policy of the Comintern in its organization of the World League Against Imperialism—which has contained such celebrated and consistent anti-imperialists as, Lansbury, Cook, Sandino, the elder Nehru. The first two were official spokesmen of the organization for some time, while the latter were colonial "heroes."

The proceedings of the conference were very simple. Representatives of petty bourgeois colonial groups and representatives of Communist Youth Leagues present reported on their activities. William Rust, who helped ruin the British League, and served Stalin in lining up the American League at its last convention, gave the report for the Executive Committee of the Y. C. I. He urged the necessity of anti-imperialist work and the formation of youth sections of the Anti-Imperialist League. Two days were spent in discussion. Not a single new youth section has been formed since then—anti-militarist activity in the League is less now than ever before—the E. C. Y. C. I. which convened the Conference did not even consider it important enough to discuss its resolutions and proceedings.

The May Day and August First Fiascoes

The sections of the Y. C. I. took part in the May Day affairs of the Parties and shared in the latter's failure to arouse the masses; it participated in the August 1st demonstrations. In reference to this, Manuilsky tells us: "On the eve of August 1st—we said to you, comrades of the Y. C. I.—organize a number of demonstrations in the street before August 1st, dissipate the strength of the enemy, don't let him have a breathing-space. Did you pay heed to this call, did you respond to it? you who declaim about being rendered unpolitical? Did you, with the exception of timid efforts in Germany organize many such demonstrations in other countries?" Following this failure, the Y. C. I. called for the annual International Youth Day, September 1st, as a continuation of August 1st—and it was! Due to false political policy, an incorrect approach to the youth, lack of preparation, absence of the united front tactic, International Youth Day went the way of August 1st—no large sections of the working youth were mobilized.

Big Loss in Membership

The national sections of the Y. C. I. were just as impotent. In the period between the Fifth Congress and the recent plenum, the French League lost, according to official reports, one thousand members, (it fell from 7,000 to 6,000). In Great Britain, although the League had made great strides during the British miners' strike and the General Strike in 1926, had dropped to 900 members at the time of the Fifth Congress, and now has about 300. In Germany, the Brandlerite (Right Wing) youth succeeded in organizing a group, which has resulted in the loss to the Communist movement of many young workers, some going over to the Right wing, some leaving the movement entirely. In Czechoslovakia, the League in a period of one year has declined in membership 50%—from 12,000 to 6,000. In the United States the League has fallen to a little over fifteen hundred members (1539). Not a single youth section of a trade union or auxiliary organization had been formed. Meanwhile, we witness the attempts on the part of the social democracy to revive and activate its youth sections. In Germany the social democratic youth is taking an increasing active part in the strikes led by the social democratic controlled trade unions; in England, the Guild of Youth of the Independent Labour Party, after being made impotent by the winning over of many of its best elements by the Y. C. I. of Great Britain, is showing signs of life; even in the United States, where the national movement of the socialist youth has been practically non-existent since the war, the Socialist Party is attempting to resurrect it. The Leagues of the Y. C. I. are carrying on no work

against the young social-reformists. In a period when the young workers are beginning to show signs of active struggle, the absence of alert and active Communist youth Leagues, give the social democratic youth an exceptional broad base for growth.

With these facts before it, the Plenum, recently held, had as its main task a thorough review of the policies and tactics of the Leagues and the Y. C. I. including the line of its Fifth Congress, and the position of the Sixth Congress and Tenth Plenum of the Comintern. To prevent this, was the function of the Comintern representatives to the Plenum, Manuilsky and Remmele.

Manuilsky Passes the Buck

At this meeting, self criticism reigned—the Comintern representatives criticized the work of the Y. C. I. For example, Manuilsky said: "In words you stand for the third period, but in deed you are still in the second period." What criticism could be worse than this! The political resolution (which was eventually carried) was said to indicate "fear of the masses". The slogan, "To the masses" is insufficient, said Manuilsky, unless we carry on a struggle against the Left danger, that is, the sectarian tendency which leads to isolation. In spite of this, the resolutions and decisions of the Tenth Plenum were reiterated. Some of the comrades could not completely swallow the statement that the reason (!) for the present condition of the Y. C. I. is the "sectarian isolation and separation from the basic mass of the working youth which dominates in the organizations of the Y.C.I."

Some ventured that while that was true enough as a condition of the Leagues, the cause must be sought in the political policy and tactics of the Y. C. I. This "doctrinaire" conception was readily dismissed by Stalin's representatives, and the Plenum found itself once again in complete "agreement".

The Opposition Youth is Taking Hold

The young workers in the Opposition, who fought the false policies and leadership of the existing Leagues and supported the International Opposition led by comrade Trotsky, have the important task of educating the working youth, inside and outside the official Leagues in the principles of Communism. In France our young comrades are actively participating in trade union activity; in Mexico they are taking the initiative in forming a strong Opposition group; in Canada and the United States, they are taking an active part in the work of the Communist League of America (Opposition); and lastly, and of utmost importance, in the Soviet Union, our comrades are winning over more and more young workers to our position; a recent report in *Izvestia* states the disbanding of two Komsomol nuclei for being "nests of Trotskyites". This work must be increased. The publications of the Opposition must devote more space to youth questions, where feasible, special youth organizations should be formed, all efforts should be made to win the young workers and especially, the Communist youth for the principles of Marxism, for the Opposition.

JOSEPH FRIEDMAN.

Lovetone's Whining Baby

The long awaited Revolutionary Youth organ of the youth members of the Lovetone group has finally graced us with its maiden debut. Expressing intentions of becoming the fighting organ of the American youth movement, the beacon light for the training of young Communists, and the herald of all that is "revolutionary" "Leninist," etc. It actually typifies in the main the characteristics of the whole composition of the Lovestone group. It goes without saying that Revolutionary Youth embodies none of these forms; on the contrary, it exhibits the worse features that have become attached to the body of the Communist movement.

The problems of the American League have not grown up today. The decline, both organizationally and politically of the Y. C. I., its cynicism, high politics, lack of vital activity, and all the retarding conditions of the Communist Youth League, are not the product alone of the present leadership. While it is true that the present regime of Harvey, Green, Rijack, has only accentuated these conditions, basically they have been part of the League from the period of the Lovestone-Zam leadership.

Present Disintegration of the League

The present leadership despite its strict adherence to the "leftward" swing in the Comintern, actually carries over all the features of the former opportunist and bureaucratic leadership. The heritage of the Harvey-Green-Rijack (Steuben) leadership from the former Lovestone-Zam clique was a non-appearing Young Worker, a pitifully small membership, a League that was apathetic to its tasks, that was virtually non-existent as a factor in the revolutionary movement. This inheritance found fitting executors in the present regime, who while differing in their political affiliations, are for all practical purposes alike in their concepts of the needs of the League, and the methods of building a mass youth movement. Not only has the present leadership failed to better substantially the state of affairs left by the former ruling group, but it is responsible for the further decline and disintegration of the League.

Revolutionary Youth offers no solution for these conditions. Upon the heads of the Rubinsteins, Silvis, Luryes, Zams, Herbergs, as well as the present Harveys, Rijacks and Greens, lie the shortcomings of the League. The attempts of the Lovestone youth section to cry for democracy, discussion, mass work, organization, etc. can only draw crocodile tears from the members of the Communist Opposition. Only a year ago we were faced with the same bureaucratic expulsions, lack of opportunity of discussion and sluggings from the same group that finds it expedient today, to discover that the principles of Communist organization are mercilessly looted by the present Stalinist adventurer.

It is apparent from the situation that

exists in the League (which cannot be and is not separate and apart from the general conditions prevalent in the Party, and for that matter in the Comintern and Y. C. I.) that the problems of building a mass youth movement are far greater and deeper than the personalities in the leadership. Revolutionary Youth clarifies nothing. It actually brings on greater confusion.

Needs of the League

What is necessary at this juncture is a reevaluation of the principles that accompanied the organization of the Y. C. I. Clarification is sorely needed on the following questions: What is and what should be the character of the Communist youth leagues? What shall be the attitude towards the question of "vanguardism"? What shall be the attitude on the question of "independence"? What are the main problems and the immediate tasks of the Youth? What is the attitude of the youth movement on the burning questions of principle between the Centrist leadership and the Leninist Opposition?

A discussion of these questions and the arrival at their proper decisions will fundamentally alter the course of disintegration of the youth Leagues. A correct solution would spell death to the sophistication, high politics, cynicism and opportunist adventurism that today pervades the youth movement. To these and other questions, subsequent issues of the Militant will devote itself.

—A. M. G.

FOODLESS MOTHER TRIES SUICIDE

DETROIT—(FP)—Rescued after an attempt at suicide in the Detroit River here, Vida Britton, unemployed waitress and mother of two, tells a pitiful tale of hunger and misery in "dynamic" Detroit.

"I've worked so hard, and life is so hard," she sighed, as she told of hard work as a waitress bringing in a few pennies a day. "Business slumped and I lost my job."

Mrs. Britton then went to work as a dancing partner in a local dancing school. "I had to depend on taxi-dancing for a living. Sometimes I barely earned enough to buy food, let alone pay my share of the apartment rent where I lived. I earned 40 a dance. These last weeks I sometimes didn't earn more than 50c a night. I couldn't live on that. Half the time I didn't get enough to eat. Things went from bad to worse."

"I love dancing but dancing, night after night isn't so easy as it sounds. Whether you are tired or not, whether you like your partner or not, you must dance. I couldn't be pleasant to people half of the time, and that was bad for my income. There was nobody to whom I could look for help."

And so Vida Britton tried to drown herself.

The Mining Situation and the Tasks of the Left Wing

(Continued from Page One)

ranks while the old union is numerically many times stronger its fight cannot consist exclusively of a frontal attack against the U. M. W. A., but of the mobilization of the broadest possible sections of the miners to conduct a struggle against the offensive of the employers and the betrayals of the officialdom. For this a two-sided policy is necessary: the extension and consolidation of the National Miners Union on the one hand and the establishment of a firm base in the ranks of the old union on the other.

Under the new conditions that have been created, the N. M. U., particularly in view of the fact that its generally weakened position throughout the industry has been further aggravated by the Illinois defeat, must in all fields where the U. M. W. A. embraces the majority of the miners—and particularly where the check-off system prevails—maintain and constitute itself as a Left wing in the U. M. W. A. without at the same time dissolving the N. M. U. In Illinois, this is especially imperative because of the practical "illegality" of the N. M. U. and the conditions of check-off that prevail. The organization of a Left wing minority in the U. M. W., especially in Illinois, has a favorable basis and is necessary as a counter-agent to disintegrating tendencies.

3. The Coming Convention of the N. M. U.

The Left wing at the coming convention of the N. M. U. in Pittsburgh should set for itself the goal of re-uniting the miners on a national scale in a single organization. This does not exclude but presupposes temporary agreements with progressives and semi-progressives, which is one of the most effective means of establishing broad contacts in the ranks and advancing the interests of the workers and its most progressive vanguard. The elements in and around the N. M. U. must establish connections with the new movement in Illinois and push it persistently to the Left. They must demand of Howat, Brophy and others who base themselves on the progressive-minded workers, that they express themselves on the record and program of Farrington-Fishwick-Walker, and separ-

ate themselves from the latter. The Left wing must put to the progressives—in formal public statements and by widespread agitation in the ranks—the question of their position on various issues: Democracy in the union; National vs. local and district agreements; the organization of the unorganized miners and a fight for regaining their lost standards; the reinstatement of expelled miners; the Lewis plan to run 300,000 miners out of the industry; the right to independent thought and action and expression for minority groupings; independent working class political action, etc., etc. By working in the ranks of the miners along this line, the Left wing will clarify the situation; it will be able to draw the miners to its side and prevent them from falling under the complete influence of the Fishwick-Farrington machine and those who support and strengthen it in any way.

There are, however, certain pre-requisites for such a drive, which must be accomplished by the N. M. U. Pittsburgh convention. The N. M. U. must become a forum for the rank and file members, who should be made to feel that it is their union. The N. M. U. must declare for the unity of the Left wing, which means that all elements must be given full opportunity for participation and expression of their views. Up till now, the party leaders in control of the union have used it for a faction battlefield against their party opponents. A united Left wing, however, is a pre-condition for a successful influencing of the new movement. The N. M. U. must throw overboard the whole narrow line with which it has been operating, arbitrarily foisted upon it by the party leadership, and certain if persisted in, to doom it to a futile sectarian existence. If the Left wing is to fight successfully for trade union democracy in the U. M. W. A. it must first establish such a regime in the N. M. U. This does not exist today. All opponents and critics of the Party policy are mercilessly crushed without the interests of the workers and their union being considered. The N. M. U. must reject the party theory of purely mechanical, strangulating control of the unions by the C. P., and replace it with ideological and comradely guidance, advice, influence and aid of the working class party. The present relations of the Party to the union only plays into the hand of the Lewis-Green-Gompers theory of "no politics in

the union" (i. e., for capitalist politics in reality) or into the hands of the "pure and simple industrial unionists" (I. W. W. anti-political actionists).

Not only the convention, but the Left wing miners now, must reject the course proposed in the T. U. U. L. Board statement, (*Daily Worker*, February 20, 1930), which states: "The T. U. U. L. calls upon the miners to quit the Lewis organization and to eliminate Fishwick and his whole crew of 'progressive' fig leaves. Send no delegates to this fake convention." That is no method of eliminating Lewis and Fishwick, but of strengthening their position. The Left wing miners must, on the contrary, send as many delegates to the proposed convention as possible, establish a Left wing bloc there, force the progressive leaders to the wall on the burning issues of the day, and challenge Fishwick and Co. for the confidence of the miners. The proposal to leave Fishwick an open, unhampered field at this convention must be repudiated out of hand by the Left wing.

The Left wing is confronted by the most serious tasks. Its present line is a rope around its neck that must be ruthlessly cut before it chokes the breath of the movement among the miners. A new course must be steered. The Left wing must rise to its task and be capable of mastering it.

* * *

The members of the Communist League in the mining industry, and the non-party militants co-operating with them, have before them now exceptional opportunities and responsibilities. In carrying their work forward it is particularly necessary for the Opposition Communists to bear in mind the differentiation and relation of forces within the Left wing as well as within the miners movement as a whole. The Left wing, organized primarily in the National Miners Union with all its defects and weaknesses, and the false policies of its leadership, is the main dynamic force for progress in the industry. The adherents of the Communist Opposition are but a faction—at present a small faction—of the organized Left wing. From this follows the central task of the Opposition Communists: to struggle within the Left wing to unite it on this program. All provocation and slander, aimed to isolate them from the or-

ganized Left wing, must be met with a deeper penetration of it. This work within the ranks of the National Miners Union goes hand in hand with the widest possible proclamation of these views in the ranks of the U. M. W. A. and independent agitation for them.

By steering a firm and steady course as Bolshevik fighters along these lines the Opposition Communists in the mining fields can bound forward. They can render great service to the interests of the miners and bring a new prestige to the banner of Communism which has been sullied by the Party bureaucrats. Conscientious work for the policy indicated in this statement is the road to this accomplishment.

National Committee
Communist League of America (Opposition)

Operators Speed-Up Illinois Coal Diggers

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Speedup in Illinois mines is on the increase month by month, according to official state figures. For January the statistics show that more coal was dug than in December. This was done with fewer miners employed than in December. And each miner worked fewer days in January than in December. When an Illinois coal miner told Michigan college professors three years ago that the mine was turned into a "goddam factory" that was only a very modest beginning of the underground speedingup.

The actual figures are given by state director of mines and minerals John G. Milhouse as follows: Tons of coal dug in Illinois in December, 6,415,338 in January, 6,590,275; number of miners employed in December, 51,265, in January, 50,664; average days employed per miner in December, 20.1, in January 19.7 days.

Ten men were killed and 1,399 were injured seriously enough to keep them from work a day or more in January mine accidents in the state, the director adds.

HAMMOND Ind.—Stone hands and electricians in union theaters in Hammond, East Chicago and Indiana Harbor won a raise of \$2.50 a week to \$72.50. Operators were raised \$16.25 a week to \$95.

BATTLE CREEK, Mich.—Union painters have won a 5c increase to 85c an hour in a contract with the employers as-

WAR'S GLORY

By Peter Hansen

Brr...brr...went the field telephone in the dugout in trench No.—, where a group of Russian officers shivered in the cold of an early morning of the winter of 1915. Brr...went the telephone, and the operator lost no time in answering it.

"Lieutenant Orloff!" he called out. "Division Headquarters on the wire."

A tall, blond fellow with a mild peasant face that harmonized little with his military bearing strode forward and seized the receiver, frowning. He listened intently for a moment, and his face cleared as he wrote down the message:

"At eight o'clock sharp you will attack enemy trench No.—. Two hours of artillery preparation will clear the wire entanglements. Occupy the trenches and hold them at any cost."

"Thank God!" he exclaimed. "We're going into action." Similar cries of relief came from the assembled group, and one after another the officers leaped to their feet to receive their orders. The Lieutenant, breathing quickly, read off the message.

"It's just five minutes of six," he concluded, consulting his watch. "You've got two hours to get the boys ready. Each man to his post now." They saluted him gravely and turned to go.

"Just a moment!" he called. "There's one thing more." He smiled. "See that all the men have a good stiff drink before we go into action. They're going to need it."

The smile still lingered on his face as he entered the trench for his morning inspection. The dawn was breaking and the forms of a long line of khaki-clad men, still shivering from the night's intense cold, were just barely visible. Orloff spoke a few encouraging words as his men saluted, but as he passed along a little inward voice kept asking: How many of you are going to be missing at the next inspection? To Orloff his men were not inferiors, but fellow-fighters in a common cause.

Inspection over, he returned to the dugout, listening intently the while for the familiar booming of the Russian

artillery from the lines in the rear. It would announce the beginning of the engagement, but now, at ten minutes after six, it was already overdue. "Two hours are hardly enough to destroy the entanglements," Orloff muttered to himself. "And still they are delaying." Scarcely able to contain himself, he re-entered the trench, and another quarter of an hour passed while he strove to hide his gnawing agitation. His subordinate officers looked toward him as if to question him, but military discipline held them back.

Orloff had kept up a nervous pacing. At seven o'clock he came to a halt, took off his cap, and wiped the sweat from his brow. He could hear the roar of cannon in the far-off distance but from his own sector not a sound.

"My God! Only one more hour," he groaned. "What can the matter be?"

He hurried into the dugout. "Was there a call from headquarters?" he asked the operator.

No, sir. Not a word," was the reply. Orloff turned away. His face was pale with rage and fear, and as he raised his field-flask to his lips his hand shook.

"Some more of their damn blunders—that we must pay for with our lives," he wheeled around again to say. With this he rushed out into the trench. But in a moment he was back. A look of dumb appeal on countless human faces was more than he could bear. He took the telephone receiver in his hand. He hesitated but a moment. Then, "Damn the discipline," he said aloud, and when a voice answered his ring his voice had the same edge of angry protest in its tone.

"What's the delay?" he demanded. "I am to go over the top at eight and the artillery hasn't started firing yet."

"Orders have been given," came the reply. The voice was a grey monotone.

"But what am I to do?" protested Orloff.

"Obey orders," mechanically returned the voice, and there followed a sharp click as the receiver at Division Headquarters was hung up.

The soul of Lieutenant Orloff was at that moment a battlefield; and his face showed it. There the unquestioning obedience of the seasoned soldier fought with the passionate revolt of youth faced with death for himself and his comrades. Once more Lieutenant Orloff hurried into the trench; once more he faced the mute glances of his men.

Second Lieutenant Osol saluted him

"What's the order?" Their eyes met. All too well they understood each other. But Lieutenant Orloff resumed the military mask. "You have your orders. Eight o'clock. All the men to carry snipers. Wire snippers...is that clear?"

Osol repeated the order and withdrew. Orloff looked despairingly at his watch. Only ten minutes of the hour remained. His glance swept up and down the ranks of men, waiting, with fixed bayonets, for him to give the signal. He thought of what awaited them and a sob of pity tore at his throat.

Sharp on the hour of eight he raised his signalling whistle to his lips. A shrill note rolled along the line and with a shout, "For the Czar and the Fatherland," Orloff leaped out of the trench. A thousand voices echoed the cry as the Russians followed their leader. A short and furious run across No Man's Land and they had reached the wire entanglement.

"Down and cut through," shouted Orloff, panting for breath.

"Ra-ta-ta-ta," answered the German machine guns, and the Russians began to drop, while those who escaped the bullets cut feverishly at the wires. Terrific explosions now began to sound from the rear of the German lines and shells to plow the ground around the attackers. A shell burst over the head of Lieutenant Orloff and his face contorted with fury.

"Damn you!" he shouted. "Damn you! You're two hours too late!"

His men wavered. They were caught in a curtain of fire, the barrage from their own cannon. Their retreat was cut off.

"Forward!" shouted Orloff, and his order was repeated down the line. Again the men threw themselves upon the wire entanglement. In cutting through it lay their only hope.

"Ra-ta-ta-ta-ta!" The enemy's machine guns ceaselessly spit death. Boom! Boom! Boom! Boom! and the Russian shells burst over their heads, raining deadly fragments among them.

Ramloff was on his knees, the blood streaming down his face. He staggered to his feet and shook his fists toward the Russian lines.

Fools! Murderers! You have betrayed us!"

"Ra-ta-ta-ta-ta!" And Orloff crumbled up.

"Boommoooooooo!" roared the Russian artillery, tearing up the wire entanglements.

Too late...Forever too late!...For Lieutenant Orloff and his men obeyed orders.