

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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BACK TO LENIN! MANIFESTO TO THE RANK AND FILE AND SEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE C. P. U. S. A.

The crisis in the Party, manifest to all but the self-contented bureaucracy, demands the most serious attention of all Communist workers. It is to aid them to break through the rigid barriers erected by the ruling regime in the Party for the worthless "pre-convention discussion" that the Left Opposition addresses this appeal to the Party membership.

There is a widening gap between the possibilities for the strengthening of the movement in the United States and the accomplishments that the leadership has to record. The increase in Party membership and influence over the workers corresponds less and less to the activity of the Party. There is not a single mass organization of the workers where the Party has succeeded in consolidating or advancing its position in the past year or two, be it in the Left wing unions, in the conservative A. F. of L. and independent unions, in the cooperatives, in the numerous language fraternal orders, etc. etc. In the ranks of the Party itself there is a deadening passivity, an indifference and a growing dissatisfaction with the prevailing Party course, which are prevented from completely paralyzing all activity only by feverish administrative lashings and the ever harder measures of the control commission.

In the upper strata of the Party, new "leaders" appear every day and old "leaders" disappear or are demoted without the Party or working class knowing anything about it until they are informed by the official press. The suppression of all initiative and the complete dependence of all activity upon decrees from above make the Party immobile, and the leadership endeavors to make up for the Party's failure to meet situations in time by plunging it unprepared into adventures and consequent debacles.

The Party's immobility and the leadership's adventurism is the more dangerous because of the broad perspectives for the growth of Communism in this country.

Apart from the historical causes, the immediate reasons for the bourgeois, class-collaborationist ideology and political backwardness of the American workers have been the relative prosperity it enjoyed in the past few years and the privileged position it occupied in comparison with the European and Asiatic working class. The American workers have developed for the better part of a decade under the illusion of a "permanent prosperity".

The Economic Crisis

The collapse of the stock market, the deep-going decline and crisis in industry,

For Unity of Communist Ranks

We raise before the Party convention the question of restoring the Party membership of the expelled comrades of the Opposition on the basis of the foregoing statement of aims and views. We also propose to the Convention that it take a stand for the reestablishment of the Unity of the Communist International by calling for the reinstatement of the Russian and International Opposition, and for the immediate cessation of those measures which especially undermine the Party and the Proletarian Dictatorship and strengthen the enemies of the working class—the arrests, exile and banishment of the Russian Opposition.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

and the creation of a huge army of the unemployed are having the effect of wiping out this illusion in the minds of broad sections of the working class. The sharp contrast between the previous "prosperity" and the misery of unemployment which and hangs like a Damoclean sword over has cut into more than 6 million workers the rest of them, is jolting the working class out of its bourgeois stupor. A deep-going process of radicalization is beginning to take place. The process will be accelerated by the exhaustion of the "prosperity reserves" of the workers. The attempts of American capitalism to issue out of its crisis by a re-adjustment of its industry for more effective competition on the world market, attempts which spell

rationalization, wage-slashing, and in general an offensive upon the workers' standards of living, can only hasten the process. U.S. imperialism can re-create a bourgeois working class in this country, such as England had at the opening of the century, only by enslaving the rest of the world, the mere endeavor of which involves the most violent military and revolutionary eruptions.

Under the pressure of these developments, the American workers are moving away from bourgeois influence and ideology, and their former passivity. There is a growing mood for struggle and militancy. The huge demonstration on March 6 and even the smaller ones of May Day (Continued on Page 3)

Rally to Weekly

New York Leads the Way!

As we go to press, we are informed that the New York Executive of the Communist League (Opposition) has met in response to our appeal for \$2,000 to maintain the Weekly Militant, and has pledged a sum of \$500.00 toward this end. A Day's Pay from every member of the Branch was accepted as an immediate action. In addition, the Branch members will proceed to canvass sympathizers with special lists, and will inaugurate house to house collections and other means to assure it quota of \$500.00 being raised in the given time.

New York has set a good example. We look forward with confidence for adequate pledges and results throughout the country.

The Militant has been a fighting guide to the Communists and Left wing in their struggle against the labor bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. and the "labor leaders" of the Hillman-Beckerman A. C. W. crew.

The Militant has fought for the organization of the masses of unorganized workers into labor unions on a militant industrial basis.

For the Unemployed

The Militant has conducted a campaign on behalf of the unemployed millions under the slogans of work or compensation, for social insurance, the six hour day and the five day week, etc., and has mercilessly and accurately shown up the thread-bare "prosperity" of the imperialist regime of Hoover and Company.

The Militant has maintained a consistent position for revolutionary Communism, for the preservation and defense of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution. It has with equal vigor combatted the revisionist theories, the opportunism and bureaucracy that have been nourished by and grown to huge proportions under the directions of the false disciples of Lenin — the Stalins and Bucharins.

For the Opposition

The Militant has espoused the cause of the Russian Opposition—the Bolshevik. Leninists led by Trotsky—who, in prison or in exile, maintain the struggle for the preservation of the proletarian dictatorship and who struggle for the regeneration of the Party of Lenin on its October basis.

The Militant fights for the building of a revolutionary Communist Party in the United States on a Leninist foundation, as against the caricature of one as developed by the Fosters and Lovestones.

The Militant as a WEEKLY publication, has been better able to carry on these historic tasks than in its early days as a semi-monthly paper.

Last week, we spoke of the danger and possibility of a return by the Militant to existence again as a semi-monthly. We called upon our readers, members and sympathizers to render us financial assistance that we may continue as a Weekly Militant in the forthcoming period, and to solidify our position.

Our Appeal

We need \$2,000.00, over and above our regular income of subscriptions, bundle payments, etc. to insure our existence as a Weekly publication for the next six months.

We believe that we can count upon your support.

Respond generously for the maintenance of the WEEKLY MILITANT.

Help raise the \$2,000.00 Fund for the WEEKLY MILITANT.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION AT ONCE TO THE MILITANT, 25 Third Ave, New York, N. Y.

The Militant
25 Third Avenue
New York, New York
Dear Comrades:

Enclosed please find \$..... as my contribution to the maintenance of the WEEKLY MILITANT

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE

Left Needle Workers Convention Meets

The Second National Convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union met in New York City last Saturday and Sunday, June 7th and 8th. There were over four hundred delegates present of whom 307 hailed from New York. According to official reports 200 shops sent delegates from New York City. In other words this is an indication of the lack of Left wing organization in the thousands of New York shops which were not represented.

The two days of the convention were devoted to combatting the Lovestonesites, without any intelligent discussion of the actual needs of the union. The General Executive Board that was elected was a continuation of the Stalinist factionalism which is undermining the Left wing influence in the unions. Not only were one-hundred percent members of the Stalin faction and their plant supporters elected to office but even Party members who at one time or another had happened to express a word of criticism or were unfortunate enough to harbor an independent thought were eliminated from the C. E. B. in spite of their superior experience.

We go to press just as the convention concluded and are therefore compelled to hold over for the next issue a thorough and detailed analysis of the course and perspectives of the Industrial Union.

Save Georgia Class War Prisoners

One of the most brazen examples of American capitalist class justice is the attempt to send to the electric chair the six militant workers, H. M. Powers, Gilmer Brady, Henry Storey, Joseph Carr, Mary Dalton and Anna Burlak, the last three of whom are members of the Young Communist League, at Atlanta, Georgia. The Southern Bourbons threaten to deprive them of their lives for holding meetings of Negro and white unemployed workers and for distributing Communist literature! For this they have resurrected from the archives of 1861 an unused law on insurrection.

The indictment is so astounding that it seems almost incredible. But if anyone thinks this is just some farcical trickery with which the reactionaries of Georgia are trying to amuse themselves let them at once drive this dangerous illusion out of their head. These legal lynchings are in deadly earnest. They want the blood of the workers. They hope to terrorize the Negro and white workers, and prevent organization for better conditions. They want to maintain the South as the stronghold of feudal reaction while the most modern methods of industrial exploitation are developed. But they live in the past.

The alarm must be sounded. The workers of America must be aroused to the terrible fate which await these six workers in the prisons of Atlanta, if the bloodhounds of the South are permitted to carry through their murderous plans. Remember Sacco and Vanzetti! Remember Mooney and Billings!

MILITANT OUTING

Members of New York Branch Communist League (Opposition) and sympathizers will have an outing Sunday, June 15, at Hunter Island. Hikers will meet at Pelham Bay Park Station at 10:30 a. m.

Senate Red-Baiting Probe Starts

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Edgar Hoover, chief of the Bureau of Investigations in the Department of Justice—the job formerly held by W. J. Earns—will testify behind locked doors, June 9, in the first session of the star-chamber hearings to be conducted by the special House committee on investigation of Communist plots in the U.S. Rep. Fish of New York, chairman of the committee, announced the program when he emerged from a secret session of the five committeemen in Speaker Longworth's office, June 4. Longworth, Majority Leader Tilson and Chairman Snell of the rules committee, the actual bosses of the House, had been in meeting with Fish and his associates. They had apparently agreed that about \$40,000 would be provided by the House for the early expense of the probe.

Barring of the press and public from the hearings at which the governmental departments' officials will testify, was declared by Fish to be necessary. Oscar Lühring, head of the criminal section of the Department of Justice, was slated as the second witness. After him would be summoned anti-radical spokesmen from the Labor, Postoffice, War, Navy, Treasury Commerce and State Departments. The evidence and allegations given to the committee by these administration officials was to be confidential. The press would have no chance to analyze or dispute it.

On the other hand, Fish said, he expected to summon President Green of the American Federation of Labor and Acting President Woll of the National Civic Federation to testify in open sessions. The date for their appearance had still to be arranged. When Congress adjourns, the committee will conduct hearings in New York City. Ralph Easty of the National Civic Federation and other prominent anti-Communists will be invited at that time.

To the surprise of his critics, Fish announced that no counsel would be employed by his committee at the start. Four lawyers are members of the committee, and it appeared that one or more of them had proposed that the committee do its own work, so far as the questioning of witnesses is concerned. But a staff of detectives will be employed at once. They will be called investigators, and will be picked by Fish with a view to gathering all possible evidence of Communist propaganda against American government.

Edgar Hoover, chief of detectives for the Department of Justice, was the law officer of that bureau at the time of the Palmer "red raids" and what the late Louis Post called the "Deportation Delirium of 1919-20". He was feverishly active against labor radicals in that after-war period of unrest, and he convinced Immigration Commissioner Caminetti that the Communists were about to attempt armed revolt if conditions seemed favorable. Caminetti, frightened, caused warrants to be issued for the sudden arrest on deportation charges, of 20,000 alien workers in industrial centers throughout the country. Thousands of these workers were herded into over-crowded cells, into corridors of federal buildings and other unfit places of imprisonment, and were held under barbarous conditions for days. Their release under bond or upon showing of false arrest, were effected in some cities, such as Detroit, only after citizens' committees had demanded that Palmer's hysterical persecutions be stopped. Only a few of the army of victims of these raids were found to be legally liable to deportation. Several deaths resulted from the raids. The wife of one man thus arrested went insane.

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SAN FRANCISCO—(FP)—Five Communists one a woman, Ida Rothstein, organizer for the Trade Union Unity League, have been sentenced to the San Francisco county jail on rioting charges arising from a demonstration against deportation of 4 members of the Party. All received 30 days except one, sentenced to 90 days; one defendant failed to appear. All have appealed the case and are out on bail.

Our National Tour

Meetings Stir Great Enthusiasm

Good crowds, despite the hot June weather, are turning out to hear comrade Max Shachtman, now touring for the Communist League of America (Opposition) on his visit with L. D. Trotsky at Constantinople and the conference of the International Left Opposition at Paris, France and Berlin, Germany.

Splendid Meetings in Boston

The Boston meeting was a splendid and enthusiastic gathering with over 100 in attendance. A good discussion followed the lecture, in which the Lovestoneite, Stephens took part, and to whom comrade Shachtman replied effectively and strongly. On the morning of the same day, comrade Shachtman spoke before Branch No. 27 of the Independent Workmen's Circle on "The Communists and Work in the Mass Organizations". Sixty people were present, evincing great interest and applauding the position of the Communist League.

The Boston branch members are highly pleased over the results and expect as a result to gather new forces and to increase their activities.

The Philadelphia Meeting

In Philadelphia comrade Shachtman spoke before 60 workers. A warm discussion took place in which a Communist Party defender found himself in a defenseless position—ideologically.

The small branch of New Haven had a good-sized meeting and additional activ-

ity can be expected there.

Stalinists Boycott Meeting but Workers Turn Out in Toronto

A crowd of 100 attended Shachtman's meeting in Toronto, Canada. The official Communist Party boycotted the meeting—after the fashion of the Catholic Index—and actually had a picket line before the hall. They did not dare to participate in the meeting and to discuss the issues, realizing that they would be uncovered before the workers and exposed as opportunists and political cowards. Shachtman's speech made a strong impression upon the audience with his review of the actual program of the Left Opposition and its activities.

A banquet is scheduled on the following day, of which as we go to press, we do not yet have reports.

The immediate dates that follow on the tour are Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, and Detroit, Mich.

Chicago, Twin Cities and Lake Cities Prepare Extensively

Beginning with June 9th, comrade Shachtman will have numerous meetings in Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth and Superior, and then proceed westward to Kansas City. Extensive preparations have been made in these cities for the meetings, which will undoubtedly prove the largest yet. The remainder of the schedule follows.

Watch This Schedule for Your City

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Friday, June 13, Mass Meeting at COOKS & WAITERS UNION HALL, 520 Hennepin Avenue (above Unique Theatre).

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Saturday, June 14. Twin City Membership Meeting.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Sunday, June 15. Mass Meeting at LABOR TEMPLE, 8 p.m.

DULUTH, MINN.

Monday, June 16, Mass Meeting at CAMEL HALL, 12 E. Superior St.

SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN

Tuesday, June 17, Mass Meeting at WORKERS HALL, Tower Avenue.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.

Friday, June 20, Mass Meeting at HALL, 914 Grand Avenue, 2nd Floor.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Thursday & Saturday, June 19 and 21—Branch Meetings.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Sunday-Monday, June 22-23. (Place to be announced).

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Tuesday, June 24. (Place to be announced.)

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Wednesday June 25, Mass Meeting at PAINTERS HALL 2030 Euclid.

Thursday, June 26 Membership Meeting.

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

Friday, June 27. (Place to be announced.)

PITTSBURG, PA.

Saturday-Sunday, June 28-29. (Place to be announced.)

Upholsterers Organize to Fight Speed-Up

MINNEAPOLIS—

Upholsterers Union No. 61, Minneapolis is conducting a drive to organize the unorganized upholsterers. The organization Committee, composed of John Brinda, Israel Colton and Carl Cowl has issued the first of a series of leaflets describing conditions among the upholstery workers and calling upon the workers in the industry to join the union. The Union meets the 1st and 3rd Thursday of each month at 60—4th Ave So. at 8 o'clock.

MINNEAPOLIS—

Mike Mihalick, upholsterer at Levin Brothers Furniture Co., suffered the loss of one eye and possibly both from injuries received from a flying piece of spring steel while tying up springs. Due to the vicious speed-up system in Levin Brothers such accidents are growing more and more common. Upholsterers Union No. 61 has launched a campaign of organization in the industry as a step towards the abolition of the misery and sickness produced by the speed-up.

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PITTSSTON, Pa.—(FP)—A general strike of all Pittston Coal Co. miners is near unless the company retreats from its position of closing down part of its mines altogether while allowing others to operate. The union miners are demanding that work be equalized among the various collieries.

Scab Gunman is Acquitted

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—"If I had it to do over again, I'd bump off the four of you." Those were the words of "Red" Pheiffer, Aberle mill hosiery gunman tried in Philadelphia for the murder of Striker Carl Mackley as he rode with Mackley's three companions in a patrol wagon to the police station March 6 immediately after the murder. Nevertheless he was acquitted.

Walter Morrow, one of the unionists' companions testified to Pheiffer's words as the strikebreakers went on trial. Young Mackley was riding with three other Aberle strikers the night their auto was met by one filled with gunmen, all of whom fired pointblank into the union car. By some miracle Morrow, William Zimmerman and John Cooper were not also killed.

Red Pheiffer and his fellow-strike breakers were given guns by a private detective agency employed by the Aberle mill company, the Hosiery Workers Federation charges. All three of the union survivors, on the witness stand, told of the murder of their friend. The union and the scab car had come to a halt before a red traffic light. Zimmerman heard the scabs yell out, "Now throw your bricks." Then he heard another cry: "Let them have it."

Then bullets began to fly. All four gunmen blazed away. A bullet grazed Zimmerman's face and went through his hat before he could duck, he testified. He flopped behind the rumble seat and pulled his companion, young Cooper, with him. Another bullet passed through the metal shield and pierced Zimmerman's back and lungs. A bullet hit Cooper but did not wound him seriously.

Mackley, a youngster highly respected by his fellow workers in the Aberle mill and a staunch strike leader when the mill was struck because of wage cuts and the yellow dog contract, was trying to open the door of the coupe when he was mortally wounded, his companions told the court. His body was found lying almost under the wheels of the car.

Leftist Sectarianism in Toronto Needle Trades

When in Toronto the bureaucrats of the I. L. G. W. U. working with the bosses betrayed the strike of the cloakmakers, promising them better conditions but utilizing the militancy of the rank and file to seat themselves more firmly in the bureaucratic saddle—I expected that now the Left wing Industrial Union would understand its duty and organize the Left wingers inside the I.L.G.W.U. shops. Numbers of Left wingers have been forced by economic necessity to register with the class-collaboration I. L. G. W. U.

This has not been the case. Under the direction of the Stalinist Party officialdom, one opportunity after another has been lost to give organized expression to the grievances of the rank and file in the Schlesinger union and also to the readiness of the Left wingers to fight the Schlesinger machine from within. The Party bureaucrats and their puppets in the Industrial union leadership simply proceeded to expel from both the Party and the Young Communist League the needle trades comrades who had been forced by the menace of starvation to register.

If we had a fraction inside the I.L.G.W.U. we could have had a big following. The betrayals and the class collaboration of the Schlesinger clique are so manifest that the workers are ready to follow the Left if they were given an organized lead. All Summer the Cloakmakers Section of the Industrial Union did not even meet and did not discuss their needs and policies. Evidently things are no better in Montreal. The Stalin policy works the same ruin in the unions as in the Party.

—A TORONTO CLOAKMAKER

If the number on your wrapper is

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

Manifesto to Seventh Convention of the C. P. U. S. A.

(Continued from Page 1)

(We do not speak here of the bluff and exaggerations of the Party leadership, or of their incompetent direction which resulted in the frittering away of these gains) and the alarm of the American bourgeoisie at the "specter" of Communism, are signs of the changing situation. In addition, sections of the workers are moving from acquiescence in the leadership of Green, Woll and Co. to participation in the various "progressive" movements, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and to a certain extent the new "Left wing" of the socialist party. For the workers, this is a movement towards the Left. Muste, Thomas and Co. form the ideological and organizational curb on this movement, a "safety valve" against Communism, a rut for the harmless canalization of the forward movement of the ranks.

American Reformism

There is no foundation for the idea that the half-way house of reformism, or its "Left" variety, must be occupied by the American workers for a long time. There is no fatalistic analogy between the development of the German or British working class and that of the American proletariat. The unevenness of social struggles and development, and the abrupt changes inherent in the imperialist epoch, speak against this analogy. That decades elapsed between the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions, in let us say, Germany, was not at all an absolute precedent for the interval between them in Russia. The British and German workers went through their long period of reformist domination during the upward swing of world imperialism.

The American working class is developing to maturity after the world war, in the period of the collapse of world imperialism of violent wars, of proletarian and colonial revolution, of the existence of an international Communist movement which concentrates within it enormous experiences. These facts, and America's involvement and dependence upon a declining and anarchical economy, make probable a situation in which the reformist experiences of the working class here can be traversed with unprecedented rapidity.

This process and its speed are not automatic. Their acceleration depends largely upon the Communists. It is the task of the Communist Party to reduce to the smallest minimum the "reformist period" of the American workers, to paralyze the power of the Left and Right wing reformists, to fight for every worker whom they still influence. But it is precisely here that the present course of the Party and the leadership foisted upon it demonstrate their impotence. The great opportunities are allowed to pass by entirely, or else they are misused and ruined to the detriment of our movement and the advantage of its enemies.

Fruits of the "Third Period"

The weaknesses and the defeats of the Party, and conversely, the growth of reformism, are traceable to the policies pursued by official Communism for the past six years, and more recently, to the theory and practise of the "third period". The theory of the "third period" with its thoroughly opportunist motivation, officially inaugurated the present ultra-Leftist zig-zag of the Comintern.

The arbitrary proclamation of a "third period" was intended to serve as the theoretical foundation for explaining away the past crimes and blunders of the Right-Centrist bloc in the International (Stalin-Bucharin). The fatal subordination of the Chinese Communist Party to the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, which enabled the Chiang Kai-Sheks to mount to power over the corpses of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry, was and is justified by its occurrence in the "second period". The bureaucratic protection which the Anglo-Russian Committee gave to Purcell, Hicks, Swales and Co. after they had stabbed the British workers in the back, was and is explained away by the "second period". The course based upon the Kulak in the Soviet Union, the reactionary struggle against the industrialization proposals and the rest of the program of the Leninist Opposition, is similarly excused. There is, however no change in the practical consequences of the "third period", which, like the practise of the "second" results in reality in the strengthening of reform-

ism in the working class.

The United Front Policy

From united fronts exclusively at the top, with bureaucrats like Purcell, Fimmen, and their ilk, or with reactionary militarists and national bourgeois like Chiang Kai-Shek or Calles, the official policy has been changed today to no united front at all, that is, no united front with non-Communist workers who are still under the influence of the reformists. The ruling apparatus and its spokesmen in all the Parties have changed from their conception of the "progressive" leaders as fighters against imperialism to a conception of the progressive workers as "social fascists". Both conceptions have a common base: the surrender of the non-Communist workers to the control of the reformist leaders.

However, the labelling of reformists as "social fascists" does not result in the decline of their strength and influence. Social reformism is growing in the U.S.—not a little of which is attributable to the policies of official Communism. The petty bourgeoisie, heavily hit by the industrial and stock market crises, is seeking political expression manifest in the tendencies towards a "third party", and in the increase of the socialist party vote and organization, to which the desperate middle class so largely contributed (Thomas vote in New York).

The socialist party is gaining not only among the middle class, but also among the workers: in the new miners' unions of Howat-Fishwick-Brophy-Germer-Ameringer, and in partial reestablishment of socialist strength in the needle trades unions. In the South, the sectarianism and blunders of the Communist Party have made it easier for both the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to play its ordained role of labor agent for capitalism and the Musteites to play the role of shock absorber for Green and Co. against the militancy of the workers.

The sectarian, ultra-Leftist line of the Party, its failure to apply the tactic of the united front, its refusal to penetrate and work within movements, not under the direct control of the Party has enabled Green to have a free field in the South (and in the A. F. of L. as a whole), has enabled the Musteites to play their treacherous game in Marion and Elizabethton without the Left wing having any chance to intervene, has enabled the Muste-Fishwick combination to establish their control in the Illinois mine field without effective challenge from the Left wing.

The Party must change its course and adopt instead the tactic of the united front. Applied in a revolutionary sense, and not in its pro-Purcell, pro-Chiang Kai-Shek interpretation, it is a most effective instrument for separating the workers from their reformist leaders, and helping to speed the movement of the American proletariat along the revolutionary path. The present line of the Party is a brake on this movement.

International Roots of Party Crisis

The crisis in the American Party is not an isolated phenomenon; it is a part of the crisis in the U. S. S. R. and the Communist International. That crisis developed under the reactionary banner of the struggle against an alleged "Trotskyism", that is, in reality against the fundamental principles and strategy of Marxism and Leninism. The "Left course" has not alleviated this crisis. It has only brought it to full bloom. The Parties of the International are everywhere incapable of measuring up to their tasks, and are paying with defeats for the past years of Stalinist corrosion.

In India, with a revolutionary situation, there is no Communist Party in existence, and the mass movement is threatened with complete strangulation by Gandhi, Nehru and other representatives of the national bourgeoisie. In Great Britain, the hostility of the workers towards the monstrous treachery of MacDonald and the Labor Party is being transformed into support for the "Left" wing of the Independent Labor Party; the official Communist Party is virtually out of the picture. In Austria, Italy and Spain, where there are powerful or potential mass movements against fascism, the Communist Parties are reduced to unimportant sects with no substantial influence. There is hardly a Party in the International that is not torn by a

crisis or rendered impotent by stagnation and passivity. That is the balance sheet of Stalinism in the Comintern.

This condition is part and parcel of the crisis in the Soviet Union and the Russian Party. The attempt to bridge the gulf between an isolated proletarian state and the retarded world revolution with the utopian, reactionary theory of "socialism in a single country" has failed in two different ways. Proceeding from this theory the Stalin-Bucharin regime proclaimed that socialism would be built "at a snail's pace" by the "kulak growing into socialism".

This perspective of decades-long capitalist stabilization was accompanied by resting upon and mobilizing all the anti-proletarian elements in the Soviet Union in the campaign against the Left Opposition. The course towards the Kulak culminated not only with the organizational crushing of the Leninist group in the Russian Party, but also with the "bloodless Kulak uprising" of 1928. The pressure of the Opposition's ideas and the proletarian core of the country compelled the rupture of the Right-Center bloc and the commencement of the zig-zag to the "Left" of the Stalinist faction. But just as the Stalinist faction abandoned—with one foot—the positions of the Right for those of adventurism, so surely is it now preparing to return to its former position and to heal its temporary breach with the Thermidorian elements of the Right wing. This movement backward, foretold by the Opposition, is now in the process of realization. The serious situation engendered by the adventurist course of Stalinist Centrism in Soviet economy, which brought about a virtual rupture of the bonds between the proletariat and peasantry, which lightened the bureaucratic stranglehold that stifles the Party and reduces it to an automaton, demands the active intervention of every Communist worker.

The predictions and the program of the Left Opposition have been confirmed a thousand times over. For that "crime" it has been subjected to the foulest slanders, to imprisonment, exile, deportation and even assassination. In exile, in the factories, in prison and in the Party, the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) stand on guard for the revolution and its conquests. It is the revolution's reserve of gold. The American Opposition proudly re-affirms its solidarity with the Russian comrades. Their reinstatement into the Party, like our own, is the principal guarantee for the advancement of the movement and the solution of its crisis.

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The Right Wing and Stalin Factions

The pre-convention "discussion" up to now, the fact that the "theses" were officially and finally adopted long before the discussion commenced, and all Stalinist precedents, are sufficient indication that the convention will be another meeting of the functionaries of the Stalinist faction, with a purely formal and decorative attendance of workers-delegates. The convention will prove incapable of solving the urgent problems of the Party. Our appeal is therefore directed primarily and essentially to the worker-Communists in the Party.

Our warning against, and designation of the character of the Lovestone group, made while it was still the American representatives of the ruling regime in the Russian Party and the International, have been more than confirmed by subsequent events. We characterized the Lovestone faction as a Right wing group, which was leaving the positions of Communist principle, at the moment when half of the present leadership of the Party was an integral part of the Lovestone group (Minor, Bedacht, Stachel, Weinstone) and the other half was in a bloc with that group to expel us from the Party (Foster, Browder, Hathaway). All the noise and "predictions" of the "uniting" of the Right and Left Oppositions—is designed to conceal the damning fact of the unity between the Lovestones and Fosters in the fight against us.

The Right wing has turned its back upon internationalism, and applied the Stalin-Bucharin theory of "socialism in one country" to the United States. It has crystallized its opportunist conceptions of Communist work among the masses, which, while it led the Party under Stalinist dispensation, was always so thoroughly im-

bued with timid conservatism, dragging along behind the masses, bureaucratic "maneuvers" and "united fronts" at the top with all varieties of reformist leaders, exaggerations of the omnipotence of American imperialism, faith in the capture of the official trade union apparatus as a substitute for the struggle to win over the workers in the ranks. Its whole line of thought and action fitted it eminently to lead the reactionary campaign against "Trotskyism", which the present manufactured leadership is seeking so vainly to continue.

We stamped the nature and course of this group correctly and in time. We fought against its liquidationist tendencies instead of uniting with it to expel the Left Opposition. The official leaders of the Party have now undertaken a belated struggle against the Right wing but they are incompetent to conduct it. In reality, they have helped to strengthen it, and that in three ways: by uniting with it against us; by carrying out such an adventurist, sectarian, ultra-Leftist policy that they play into the hands of the Right wing and drive many Communist workers in its direction; by methods of hooliganism and "strong arguments" which discredit the Party and only create an artificial sympathy for the Right wing. The Centrists, bound to the Right wing by a hundred theoretical threads, are incapable of conducting a serious Marxist struggle against it. The smashing of Centrist impotence and theoretical confusion will be the heaviest blow against its former and future ally, the Right wing.

As in our struggle against the Right wing, the course of events has more than sufficiently justified our opposition to the present Centrist regime in the Party. The latter has only deepened the crisis engendered by the previous rule of the Lovestone faction. It has weakened the Party, paralyzed its activity, cut down its influence and prestige among the militant workers. It has driven away hundreds and even thousands of workers from the Party; it has been unable to hold the thousands of workers who have recently come to the Party; it will continue to be incapable of holding the many others who move towards Communism under the impulsion of the struggle.

Solution of the Party Crisis

The pre-requisite for the solution of the crisis is clarity and understanding of its nature and its source. To attain this clarity and understanding, the Party requires a genuine, a free discussion, which we have not had up to now because it is officially prohibited. For such a discussion, the Party requires the re-establishment of workers' democracy. For workers' democracy, the Party requires an intransigent struggle against the Party bureaucracy appointed from above and against the regime which it represents and by which it lives.

The Party must be returned to the Party membership!

The Left Opposition, since its existence as a separate group formally outside the Party as a result of bureaucratic expulsion, has continued to fight for its principled viewpoint and to defend the foundations of Communism, even under the extreme provocations of the apparatus. It is pledged to continue this struggle. The Centrist regime's deformation and discrediting of fundamental principles upon which our Party and our International were built, only necessitates a firmer and more relentless struggle in our Party since the whole future of our movement is involved. The great problems with which the whole movement, particularly the American, are confronted demand the re-incorporation of the Opposition into the Party. Our fight for Communism must of necessity be conducted in fraternal solidarity, shoulder to shoulder with the Communist workers in the ranks of the Party. It is they, and not the miserable, blind bureaucrats, who will decide in the end. It is to this end that we are working. It is for the clarity needed to attain this end that we address ourselves—now, in the past, and in the future—to the Communist workers.

National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)
Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Albert M. Glotzer, Max Shachtman, Carl Skoglund
Maurice Spector, Arne Swaback

The Slogan of the National Assembly in China

By L. D. TROTSKY

(China has been and will continue to be one of the touchstones of Marxist theory and Leninist strategy in the Communist International. The Stalin regime has brought an incredible amount of confusion into the ranks of the Communists regarding the character, the perspectives and the slogans of the Chinese revolution. This important contribution by Trotsky on the slogan of the Constituent Assembly was written in reply to some questions of the Chinese comrades but it is of universal concern to all proletarian revolutionaries. —Editors.)

It seems to me that our Chinese friends support too much of metaphysics and—even some scholasticism into the question of political slogans of democracy.

The "delicacies" begin with the name: Constituent Assembly or National Assembly. In Russia until the revolution we used the slogan of Constituent Assembly, because it most clearly emphasized our break with the past. But you write that in Chinese it is difficult to formulate this slogan. If so, it remains to adopt the slogan of the National Assembly. For the consciousness of the masses the contents of this slogan will depend, firstly, in the implication the revolutionary agitation will give it, and secondly, on the events. You ask: "Is it possible to carry on agitation for a Constituent Assembly while denying that it can be accomplished?" But why should we decide beforehand that it cannot be accomplished? Of course the masses will follow the slogan only if they consider it feasible. Who will accomplish it, and how will it be accomplished? Here only suppositions are possible. In case of the further weakening of the military-Kuomintang regime and the growth of discontent among the masses, particularly in the cities, it is possible that an attempt will be made by a part of the Kuomintang together with a "third party" to convene something on the style of a National Assembly. Of course, they will as much as possible cut into the rights of the more oppressed classes and layers. Will we Communists, go into such a curtailed and manipulated National Assembly? If we will not be strong enough to replace it, that is to take over power, we will, of course, go in. Such a stage would in no way weaken us. On the contrary, it would help us gather and develop the forces of the proletarian vanguard. Inside the pseudo-assembly, and particularly on the outside of it, we would carry on our agitation for a new and more democratic assembly. In case of a revolutionary mass movement we would simultaneously build Soviets. It is very possible that in such an event the petty-bourgeois parties would convene a comparatively more democratic National Assembly, as a dam against the Soviets. Would we participate in such a sort of representation? Of course we would participate. Again, if we would not be strong enough to replace the assembly with a higher form of government, that is the Soviets. But such a possibility reveals itself only at the highest point of revolutionary ascent. But as it is presently, we have not as yet approached the beginning.

Even if the Soviets were a fact—which is not the case in China at present—this in itself would not be cause enough for the abandonment of the slogan of the National Assembly. The majority in the Soviets may be (and at the beginning will certainly be) in the hands of conciliatory and Centrist parties and organizations. We will be interested to have these parties exposed in the open forum of the National Assembly. By this method the majority of the Soviets will be won over to our side sooner, and much more certainly. When our conquest of the majority will become a reality, we will counter-pose the program of the Soviets against the program of the National Assembly, we will gather the majority of the country around the banner of the Soviets, which will give us the possibility, in deed and not on paper, to replace the National Assembly, this parliamentary-democratic institution, by Soviets, as the organ of the revolutionary class dictatorship.

The Constituent Assembly in Russia

In Russia, the Constituent Assembly existed only for one day. Why? Because it made its appearance too late, when the Soviet power was already in existence, and came into conflict with it. In this conflict, the Constituent Assembly represented the

yesterday of the Revolution. But let us suppose that the bourgeois provisional government had been sufficiently decisive to convene the Constituent Assembly in March or April (1917). Was it possible? Naturally it was. The Cadets were busy with legal trickery to drag out the convening of the Constituent Assembly in the hope that the revolutionary wave would subside. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries took their cue from the Cadets. If the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries would have had a little more revolutionary drive in them they could have convened the Constituent Assembly in a few weeks. Would we Bolsheviks have participated in the elections and in the Assembly itself? Undoubtedly, for it was we who demanded all the time the speediest convening of the Constituent Assembly. Would the course of the revolution have changed to the disadvantage of the proletariat by an early convening of the Assembly? Not at all. Perhaps you remember that the representatives of the Russian possessing classes and following them also the conciliators were postponing all the important questions of the revolution "until the Constituent Assembly", at the same time also dragging out the convening of it. This gave the landowners and capitalists a possibility to mask to a certain extent their property interests in the agrarian question, industrial, etc. If the Constituent Assembly would have convened let us say in April 1917 then all the social questions would have been raised before them. The possessing classes would have been compelled to show their cards, the treacherous role of the conciliators would have been apparent, the Bolshevik faction of the Constituent Assembly would have acquired the greatest popularity and have assisted the Soviets to elect a Bolshevik majority. Under these circumstances the Constituent Assembly would have existed not

one day but possibly several months but that would have enriched the political experiences of the laboring masses and not only would not have retarded the proletarian revolution but would rather have accelerated it. This in itself would have been of greatest significance. If the second revolution would have occurred not in October but let us say in July or August the army at the front would have been less exhausted and weakened and the peace with the Hohenzollerns might have been more favorable to us. Even if we should assume that the proletarian revolution would not come a single day sooner because of the Constituent Assembly, the school of revolutionary parliamentarism would not have passed without leaving its trace on the political level of the masses and this would have made our tasks the day after the October Revolution much easier.

A Slogan to Mobilize the Masses

Is this sort of a variant possible in China? It is not excluded. To imagine and expect that the Communist Party of China can make the jump from the present conditions of the rule of the unbridled bourgeois military cliques, the oppression and dismemberment of the working class, and the extraordinary low ebb of the peasant movement to the seizure of power—this would be to believe in miracles. In practice this leads to guerilla adventurism, to which the Comintern now lends its covert support. We must condemn this policy and guard the revolutionary workers from it.

The political mobilization of the proletariat and following it the peasant masses is the first task that must be solved in conjunction with the present circumstances. And these are the circumstances of the military-bourgeois counter revolution, the power of the suppressed masses is in their number. When they awaken they strive to express their strength of numbers in pol-

itics through the medium of the universal suffrage. The handful of Communists know even today that universal suffrage is an instrument of bourgeois rule and that they can liquidate this rule only through the medium of the proletarian dictatorship. In this spirit you can educate beforehand the proletarian vanguard. But the millions of the toiling masses can come to the dictatorship of the proletariat only on the basis of their own political experience and the National Assembly would be a progressive step on this road. This is why we come out for this slogan in conjunction with four other slogans of the democratic revolution: the transfer of the land to the peasant poor; the eight hour work-day; the independence of China; the right of self-determination of the nationalities included in the territory of China.

It is understood that we cannot deny also such a perspective—it is theoretically admissible—that the Chinese proletariat leading the peasant masses and supporting itself on the Soviets will come to power before the achievement of the National Assembly in one or another form. But for the immediate period this is at any rate improbable, because it presupposes the existence of a powerful and centralized revolutionary party of the proletariat. But in its absence what other forces will unite the revolutionary masses of your gigantic country? In the meantime it is our misfortune that there is no strong centralized Communist Party in China as yet. It first has to be formed. The struggle for democracy is the precisely necessary condition for that. The slogan of the National Assembly would unite the scattered provincial movements and uprisings, give them political unity and create the basis for welding together the Communist Party as an all-national leader of the proletariat and the entire toiling mass.

That is why the slogan of the National Assembly (on the basis of the universal, direct equal and secret ballot) must be raised as forcefully as possible and a courageous decisive struggle developed around it. A month sooner or later the sterility of the purely negative position of the Comintern and the official leadership of the Chinese Communist Party will mercilessly expose itself. This will happen the sooner, the more decisively the Left Communist Opposition will unfold and develop its campaign for the slogans of democracy. In this case the inevitable crash of the policy of the Comintern will greatly strengthen the Left Opposition and will help it become the decisive force in the Chinese proletariat.

April 2, 1930

The Economic Crisis

American capitalism has been unable to overcome the serious depressions in agriculture and in the coal, oil, textile, shipping and other industries, nor will it be able to prevent the coming decline in iron and steel and automobile industries.

The rapid increase in brokerage loans, in face of an average trading volume of more than five million shares a day, presages the beginning of the end of the "bull" market far more profoundly than the price fall of June 1928. The fact that rates for stock-market had to be doubled and quadrupled has caused the more realistic of the bourgeois economists to be very cautious in their predictions for the coming year.

The fate of American imperialism, we repeat, is now bound up with its dependence on world economy. Conversely the situation in Europe is directly linked with the development of American national economy. The United States will seek to use Europe as a shield to take the blows of its own difficulties. This will in turn create such situations in Europe, above all in Germany, where with proper revolutionary leadership, a new wave of proletarian revolt will be initiated, or the relations between England and America will come to the breaking point. This rapidly materializing process will change the correlation of forces in the United States in favor of the revolutionary proletariat, by undermining the base of the American labor aristocracy.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

In the International Opposition

Pertinent Questions to the Prometeo Group

Dear Comrades:

A few months ago you addressed to me an open letter to which I then replied. Now it seems to me the time has come to address an open letter to your group.

In Paris a preliminary conference of the International Left Opposition was recently held. This conference is a serious step forward because it was made possible only in consequence of lengthy preparatory work of an ideological character. Your group, before the eyes of which this work was being developed, did not consider it possible to participate in this conference. This extremely important fact of absenteeism prompts me to ask you the following questions:

1.) Do you assume that Communism can have a national character? This for example, is the position of Urbahn, who, while repeating the ritualistic formulas of internationalism, created a purely German sect having no connections in the whole world and consequently deprived of revolutionary perspective. Therefore do you regard yourselves as a national current or part of an international current?

2.) If in your answer to this question you state that you are fully satisfied with your isolated national existence then there would be no room for any further questions. But I have no doubt that you consider yourselves internationalists. In this case the second question looms up: to what particular international current do you belong? There are now three basic currents in international Communism: the Centrist, the Right and the Left (Leninist). Besides these there are different kinds of ultra-Left offshoots who grope about between Marxism and anarchism. Until now we thought that you stood nearest to the Left Opposition. Your hesitancy we ascribed to your possible desire to orientate yourselves in the development of the Left Opposition. This hesitancy cannot be maintained forever. Life is not stagnant either in Italy or in the rest of the world. In order to join the International Left there is no need whatever for false "monolithism" in the spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy. What is needed is actual solidarity on the basic questions of revolutionary strategy that has stood the test of the past few years.

Particular tactical disagreements are absolutely unavoidable and can be no obstacle for close common work in the framework of an international organization. Wherein do your disagreements with the Left Opposition consist? Are they of a principled or of an episodic character? You must reply to this clearly and precisely.

3.) Your absence from the preliminary international conference can be interpreted that there are disagreements of principle that divide you from the Left Opposition. If this be so a third question crops up: why don't you proceed with the organization of an international faction of your own current? After all you cannot conceive that revolutionary principles adaptable for the whole world are not applicable to Italy or vice versa. The passive-conciliatory attitude towards the Left Opposition combined with reluctance to join it and the refusal to participate in the life of the Communist vanguard of other countries is characteristic of national socialism or national Communism and has nothing in common with Marxist Communism.

Your reply to these questions is of serious consequence not only from the international but first of all from the Italian point of view in so far as these two viewpoints can be in any way set off against one another. The illegal character of the Italian Communist Party makes it difficult to follow up developments. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that within the framework of the Italian Communist Party there are besides the official faction, your group and the group of Rights (Tasca), numerous revolutionary elements who have not yet openly formulated their positions. Under these circumstances you are among the indefinite elements. Meanwhile precisely the illegal existence of the Party demands with double force the full principled clarity of the leading groups. Your reply will help speed up the ideological crystallization within the Italian proletarian vanguard.

It is needless to say that the Russian Opposition would be happy to learn of your decision to join the International Left.

With Communist Greetings,

L. TROTSKY

Prinkipo, April 22, 1930.

In Germany

The Menace of Fascism

BERLIN—

For several weeks the new government of the bourgeois bloc, the government of Brüning-Schiele-Treviranus has been in office. From the outset, it has placed itself under the sign of menacing dictatorship. It sought a parliamentary majority but it declared at the same time that if this majority were not forthcoming, it would not resign—but would govern without parliament.

During the twenty-one months when the social democracy had power in its hands, it prepared the ground for a stronger reaction; the bourgeois bloc took possession of the bloc which had been willed to it by the coalition—to carry out in a speedier and more brutal fashion that which the social democracy has begun: the throttling of the working class.

It was evident to every revolutionary Marxist that the social democratic coalition could only play the role of preparing the way. Nothing could be more false than the conception that the official Communist Party theoreticians defend nowadays after trying to rid themselves of the theory of social fascism. A leading article of the *International* (No. 7) says among other things that in the course of recent years every government has marked "one step further in the direction of the fascist development of Germany" and that consequently the "Müller government was obviously as reactionary a government as those which preceded it."

This mechanical conception has nothing in common with Marxism and completely disregards the development of the class struggle which is full of contradictions.

Why did the bourgeoisie, which called the Socialist party to the government after the elections of 1928 so brutally dismiss its "socialist" domestics in 1930?

The Communist Party and the Leftward Movement

The bourgeois government bloc suffered a mark defeat in 1928 in the Reichstag elections. The piratical tariff policy and the reactionary social policy, the brutal measures of capitalist rationalization had set the masses in motion. About a million and a half petty-bourgeoisie, workers and medium and poor peasants turned from the Right to the Left wing of the bourgeoisie, towards the social democracy, which increased its vote from 7,881,000 to 9,151,000 votes. Half a million workers abandoned reformism and the open bourgeois camp, to go to the Communist Party whose vote increased from 2,700,000 to 3,260,000. The years 1927 and 1928 witnessed an increasing activity of the masses. To stop the development to the Left and to bring confusion to the masses, to disintegrate their plan—that was the function of the coalition. Today after nearly two years one must admit that the bourgeoisie has largely attained its object. Despite as reactionary a policy as possible in nearly every field, the social democracy succeeded in putting a brake on the militancy of the masses.

With the aid of the Young Plan it succeeded in sowing illusions inside the proletariat. And as the Communist Party did not know how to lead the masses into struggle step by step, nor to organize them by the revolutionary application of the tactics of the united front, no real struggle was developed against the Young Plan against the capitalist offensive, and as the Left current of 1928 did not develop further, no real mass desertion of the

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Spanish Left Organ Appears

The Militant is glad to report that the Spanish section of the *International Left Opposition* has just been able to establish an organ of its own under the name of "Against the Current". It is to begin as a semi-monthly and will aim to become a weekly.

The situation in Spain, with the prevailing ferment among the workers and peasants following the end of the Primo de Rivera regime is favorable. The Opposition has already made gratifying gains in the fight to win the masses for the revolutionary line against the Stalin faction which has control of the Party apparatus. Our warmest fraternal greetings to our Spanish comrades.

workers from the social democracy to the Communist Party took place.

Tricked by the social democracy, repelled by the Communist Party's politics of bluff, the bombastic phrasemongering which held sway over the Wedding Congress of the Party, great masses of class conscious workers sank into apathy and indifference, tens of thousands have been lured over into the camp of the fascists. The anger, the discontent and even the revolutionary hatred of the social democratic party have grown among the masses but at the same time confidence in the leadership and slogans of the Communist Party, in the political correctness of its line in the immediate struggles, has waned.

The bourgeoisie is well aware of this change in the outlook of the masses. Today the bourgeoisie fears incomparably less than in 1928 the development of a revolutionary movement against its domination.

The Bourgeoisie Dismisses the Social Democracy

That is why the preparatory role of the social democracy has come to its close; the bourgeoisie feel it can now reach its ends without the direct aid of the socialist party. The party was shown the

door. After the abrupt attack of Schacht against Hilferding (December, 1929) the end of the coalition was only a matter of weeks....

The new bourgeois bloc (Brüning-Schiele-Treviranus) is by its very nature a transitional regime. With its left foot it supports itself on the parliamentary regime with its right foot it rests on the open dictatorship. If contrary to all predictions, the resistance of the masses against the regime of the bourgeois bloc should become too strong, the road to a new coalition would not be barred. The transition to such a regime as exists in Thuringia—parliamentary in its externals and fascist in its essence—is quite within the realm of possibilities. What is least likely is that the bourgeoisie will at the present time openly install a fascist regime, letting the parliamentary mask fall. The legal and semi-legal possibilities are not yet exhausted, the class struggle in Germany has not yet taken on that form which compels the bourgeoisie to renounce the advantages of parliamentarism.

The traditional character of the present regime reflects the profound crisis in which bourgeois democracy finds itself in Germany. The crisis in all the bourgeois parties is the expression of the same phenomenon: but the crisis of bourgeois democracy itself is only the external expression of the crisis of the capitalist social order. The solution of this crisis will depend on the further development of the class struggle in Germany.

—K. L.

Discussion

Communism and the Negro Problem

The Militant welcomes membership discussion on all the basic problems of the Communist movement. We do not regard leading committees as the sole repositories of all the wisdom of Marxism and Leninism. What is called the Negro problem especially is one that will bear a good deal of thorough study and discussion. The easiest line of approach would be to repeat some glib formula.

Discussion articles on this or other questions of Communist theory and strategy should be as brief and to the point as possible in view of our limited space. —Editors

Philadelphia, Pa.

Editors, the Militant:

Some time ago I heard a member of the Communist Party, Ben Thomas, state in a lecture that the Negro should be given autonomy, and that in such districts where the Negro is in a majority, a Negro Soviet Republic should be set up. My reaction to this was strongly in Opposition. It seemed to me that this was a purely mechanical attempt to introduce European, African or Asiatic conditions into America. I am not afraid of being nailed as an "exceptionalist" when I state that the American Negro Problem is an American problem and must be solved on the basis of actual conditions in America. That it cannot be solved with any transplanted formula.

What is the situation here? Is the Negro a National Minority, in the European sense? Has he a culture, or a language that is different from the American people?

Most emphatically no! The American Negro is integrally a part of the American working class and any attempt to segregate him is absolutely wrong. The Communist movement should bend every effort to eradicate every tendency in that direction.

What the Negro needs is class consciousness, not race consciousness.

Bourgeois Negroes are themselves trying to build up race consciousness, shouting for race interests. They desire that the Negro should be segregated into separate schools, in order that Negro daughters should have opportunities to become schoolteachers. They want Negroes to patronize Negro doctors, dentists, merchants, bankers, etc... Why? For the particular advancement of the Negro professions, etc.

The Communist movement should avoid this pitfall. Every effort to segregate the Negro should be fought. Negro girls should not teach Negro children, they should, when qualified as teachers teach any school, no consideration of their race or color should be given. Negro children should go to schools in the districts in which they live, there should be no Negro schools.

There should be no Negro labor unions. Workers should unite! Marx was not wrong when he said, Workers of all lands.

Unite!

When the American Civil War occurred, Marx was strongly for the Northern cause and supported Abraham Lincoln. He saw that part of the American working class was still under chattel slavery. Their color was not a factor. Today the whole American working class is under wage slavery and color is not a factor.

The finest way in the world to play into the hands of the Southern bourgeoisie is to talk about Negro Soviets. They will immediately translate this into Negro dominance, and with this slogan they can alienate the Southern whites of the working class.

Segregation even when apparently for the good of the Negro is wrong. Our policy should be to knit closely together all workers, black and white, native and foreign.

There is no physiological or biological race hatred. Race prejudices are purely social and economic. I was raised in Washington, D. C. and Virginia. I know that as kids we white and black children associated freely and without prejudice. It was only later, when we realized that the Negro had a lower position, lower even than our own as "Poor White Trash", that we developed a superiority complex. White and blacks in the South would mingle freely if permitted. In fact they do in such lowly circles as bootleggers, prostitutes, etc. where they feel that there is nothing to lose. Only social advantages draw the color line. Communists are not snobs, our base is the workers, and on this base we can and must build up a united front of the earth's exploited.

In the South our soviets must be built up from the workers, black, white and mixed. If the official Party fosters such wrong ideas of Negro segregation we should fight it.

Summing up then let me state:

No national minorities exist in the United States. Any efforts to transplant a foreign culture, Negro, Jewish, Polish, European or what not, should be vigorously combated. There is one American working class, and it works only to the interest of the Ruling Class when efforts are made to differentiate between the workers.

Particularly the Negro has no separate interests. He is not a foreigner. He is American for many generations. He has no national culture. Russians may be interested in Russia, Poles in Poland, Jews in Jerusalem, but the Negro is interested in America. He is American. Garvey is doing all he can to manufacture an artificial background for the Negro in Africa. Let us be careful to avoid such nonsense.

Fraternally,

—K. M. WHITTEN

* I mean bootleggers in the Southern sense, who sold drinks out of a bottle in a small way, not our modern capitalist "Al Capone" type

LOVESTONE'S «AMERICANISM»

Nowadays nobody with eyes in his head can mistake the sorry role that Lovestone and his faction are playing in the Communist movement. Years ago his opportunistic ideas could always find shelter under the protecting arm of Stalin's Comintern; today he must shiver in the rain of criticism. To illustrate this I will point out several things which occurred at a youth meeting held by the Lovestone group in the Grand Opera House last week.

About fifteen people attended this meeting. The audience was mainly composed of Lovestoneites, a few League members and a stool pigeon of the Y. C. L. sent there to report the League members foolish enough to think they could attend any meeting but their own. The reporter of the evening was Will Herberg. He gave a fairly accurate representation of the situation in the Party. Any half-way educated Communist can see the countless mistakes and false policies of the leadership and the impasse into which they have led the C. I. But when he tried to analyze the causes at the bottom of this crisis and to estimate the work and value of the Left Opposition he got himself into an awful mess. His only attempt to discuss the questions the Opposition has raised was on the problem of Thermidor. Firstly he drew an utterly false picture of no unity of opinion among the forces of the Left Opposition on this question. Some, he said, believed that Thermidor was already accomplished, others that it was on its way and still others didn't believe in it at all.

The first view (that Thermidor is already accomplished in the Soviet Union) is held by Urbahns, he maintained. And then, like a typically bankrupt politician he attacked this view as the one of the Opposition. This he succeeded in doing, since it doesn't take much brains to expose as erroneous a theory like this one. But he didn't dare attack the official viewpoint of

(Continued on Page 8)

The Role of American Imperialism

Every estimate of the present situation must proceed from the fact that the world center of economic gravity has shifted to the United States. American imperialism now levies tribute from practically all the capitalist countries of the world. This development which has risen to its height in the period after the world war, has bound up the fate of American imperialism with the economy of the whole world in an inextricable form. No analysis of its future economic course, internally as well as externally, can be made without a consideration of its international position.

The effect of America's direct intervention in European affairs after the war was the temporary, partial stabilization of European capitalism. This stabilization occurred in direct connection with the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923 and resulted in the consolidation of social democracy for the time. In turn it enabled the United States to avoid the convulsions that would have affected it inevitably in the event of the development of the revolutionary wave in Europe.

The United States has expanded its productive capacity which has brought about a further contraction of markets for European capitalism and consequently a contraction of the European market itself. The post-war chaos of Europe has made it impossible for the debtors of that continent to present a sufficiently consolidated united front to which they are inclined. The very strength and expansion of American imperialism has laid the foundation for the most violent struggles in Europe and in the colonial countries. The European powers must fight among themselves for a larger ration in world economy, and against the United States for the same reason. The pacifist effect which American intervention had upon the European situation in the beginning is now being transformed by the process of development into a revolutionizing effect. American imperialism is now beginning to look for a solution of its own approaching internal convulsions at the expense of Europe, and primarily of Germany, and increased exploitation and imperialist raids on Latin America and China.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

An Open Letter to the Members of the C. P. S. U. (b)

(Concluded from the Last Issue)

A French proverb says that one must know how to fall back sometimes in order the better to leap. That is the condition in which the leadership of the Soviet state, as well as the leadership of the Communist International finds itself at present.

Both are driven by their own adventurism to the depths of an impasse. Placing its "prestige" above the interests of the world revolution, the Centrist bureaucracy draws ever more the noose around the neck of the Party. In matters of tactics, the first task is the following: to beat a retreat by abandoning the positions of adventurism. The retreat is inevitable in any case. It must therefore be carried out as soon as possible and in the best possible order.

Put an end to the "complete" collectivization replacing it with a careful selection based on a real freedom of self-determination.

Bring the Kolkhoz (the farm collectives) into harmony with real resources.

Put an end to the policy of merely administrative abolition of the kulaks. To bridge the exploiting tendencies of the kulak will remain a necessary policy yet for many years. The fundamental policy with regard to the kulak holdings must consist in a rigid contractual system of coercion (i. e., a contract with the government organizations obliging the kulak to furnish certain products at fixed prices).

Put an end to the shock brigade methods of collectivization. Re-evaluate the question of the tempo of industrialization in the light of experience taking into account the necessity of raising the standard of living of the masses.

Frankly raise the question of the quality of production, its importance being as great for the consumer as for the producer.

Put an end to inflation by establishing a rigid financial discipline by means of cutting down exaggerated plans.

Give up the "ideal" of a closed economy. Work out a new variant of the plans based on as extensive a collaboration as possible with regard to the world market.

Supported on the growing unemployment in a number of countries, develop an important international campaign having as its basis concrete economic proposals in the direction of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union. Organize an offensive of the working masses under this slogan, particularly of the unemployed, against the social democratic government in Germany and against the "labor" government in England.

It is necessary to stop looking upon the Communist International as an auxiliary apparatus for the struggle against the dangers of intervention. It is a question no longer of occasional demonstrations against war but of a struggle against imperialism, for the world revolution. It is necessary to develop a real struggle in the capitalist countries to win the masses taking into account the real state of the economic and political processes in each country.

An end must be put to the falsification of facts consisting in the (verbal) transformation of specific economic conflicts or unimportant demonstrations into so-called revolutionary struggles.

Stop the fabrication of statistical data in the service of pre-established schemes. Drive out ignominiously all "tailendism" the lying and deception of the masses.

Give up the scholasticism of the "third period"!

Put an end to the adventurist policy of "red days"!

Condemn the theory of "social-fascism" which renders the greatest services to the social democracy!

Return to the Leninist policy of the united front!

The loss of influence over the youth is one of the most menacing symptoms of the abyss which is opening up before the Communist International and the masses. Never yet has bitter, dried-up, self-interested and conceited bureaucratism been able to find its way into the hearts of the younger generations. What is needed is not commandments of officialdom but sensitive and tactful leadership on the part of the Party.

One must leave to the proletarian

By L. D. TROTSKY

youth the possibility of developing its own initiative, of judging, of discussing, of committing mistakes and correcting them:—in the absence of such pre-requisites there is the danger of a fatal rupture between the successive revolutionary generations.

Above all, it is necessary to alter the policy of the Communist International in the East.

The organization of peasant guerilla warfare in China while the workers' movement in the proletarian centres continues to vegetate, is to throw dust in the eyes—it is the sure road to the destruction of the Communist Party.

It is necessary to stop playing with the fire of adventurism. The Chinese Communist Party must be armed with the slogans of revolutionary democracy to aid it in the mobilization of the great masses in city and country.

The weakness of the Hindu proletariat at a time when a profound revolutionary crisis is developing in the heart of an enormous colonial country is explained by the long reign of the reactionary theory

and practise of the "Workers and Peasants" Party (Stalin).

The cowardly, half-way abandonment of this theory is not enough. It must be pitilessly condemned as the worst example of political treachery which has compromised for a long time the proletarian forces of Japan, India, Indonesia, and other countries of the East.

With no less decision must there be a repudiation of the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants" which is only a reactionary cover for a policy of the Kuomintang kind, that is to say, for the hegemony and dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the national revolution.

The program of the Communist International adopted at the Sixth Congress is entirely eclectic. It gives an incorrect conception of the world situation. It is built up on a concoction of internationalism and of national-socialism. It gives a Menshevik characterization of the colonial revolutions and of the role that the liberal bourgeoisie plays in them. It is impotent

Barred from Union Activity for «Trotskyism»

Editor of the Militant:

Your issue of May 17 carried a brief article from comrade Plarinos, describing the May Day demonstration in this city. Brief though his article was, it was adequate to cause his rejection as a member of the Metal Workers Industrial League; the League which ironically claims to be interested in the organization of the unorganized.

Plarinos, who has many years standing in the revolutionary movement, did not participate in the May Day demonstration for the purpose of seeing its faults. He went into it with revolutionary enthusiasm; with the desire of doing his part to make it a success; and to challenge the Steel Barons. But despite his fidelity and enthusiasm he could not avoid seeing the conspicuous blunders of the leadership.

In his "May Day in Youngstown" article comrade Plarinos said, "Thousands of workers and business men gathered on the streets to see our parade." He might have added that the only workers on hand that day were the unemployed.

The "Mass Political Strike"

The party call for a "mass political strike" was a complete failure. How could it be otherwise? While the great majority of the workers were unemployed and were walking from place to place in search of anything they could find, they would be willing to work under almost any conditions, just for "coffee and—". The workers who had a job looked upon themselves as the favored recipients, as the chosen children of their particular deity. While it is quite true that the great majority of the mill workers, employed and unemployed, are sore at the bosses and hostile to the Company, yet few know anything of the international revolutionary movement and still less of the Third International.

In fact, I don't think the mill workers who have a job would respond to any strike call at the present time. But if they were called on to organize with the intention of ultimately striking for better conditions, higher wages and so forth, they might at least understand it. But the call for a "mass political strike" of unorganized workers during an industrial depression is of course beyond the comprehension of these non-class conscious workers. It is easy enough to see why the mill workers who had jobs paid no attention to the call for a mass political strike. The call reached deaf ears as any one with any sense might easily anticipate.

The slogan of a mass political strike at this time and place is like sowing seed on barren rocks. The seed not only will not grow but it will die. This serious slogan has been abused so much by the phrasemongers and half-baked intellectuals who look on themselves as the fountains of working class knowledge that it has become meaningless. No one, not even those who write it, any longer take it seriously. But of course this is the "Third Period" so we cannot be surprised at anything.

For quite some time this year the

Youngstown workers were honored by the presence of a combination organizer. He was here to build up everything. The Party, the T. U. U. L., the I. L. D. the M. W. I. L. and what not. He spoke at the Public Square and the thing he succeeded most in doing was in keeping the crowd moving. No one would stop to listen to him. Such organizers who cannot speak and do not know what they are trying to say do much more harm than good.

Barred from Union for Opposition Views

The Metal Workers Industrial League is supposed to be an organization of metal workers irrespective of their political views, their race, creed or color. They pretend to be extremely anxious to organize the unorganized, but it is obvious that they are out to organize no one but the bona fide followers of Stalin. The application of comrade Denis Plarinos has been rejected because he sent the Militant a truthful synopsis of the May Day demonstration in addition to the fact that he is a reader of the Militant. So it seems that readers of the Daily Worker exclusively are eligible to join the M. W. I. L. which pretends to be an organization of metal workers! Only the faithful disciples of Stalin will be organized, although these disciples do not number more than one percent of the workers. It is quite safe to say that nine out of every ten of the mill workers have never heard of Stalin.

The great majority of mill workers who read any newspaper at all read the capitalist sheets. They do not read them on account of their editorial policy or political views. They read them for the latest news of baseball, football, horse-racing, etc. But, yet they read the capitalist papers and not the Daily Worker. Are they to be ignored and pushed off the map by the heresy-hunting M. W. I. L.? Are they not to be organized to fight the steel barons unless they are born again or unless they, wake up some morning and by some cablegram magic find themselves ardent admirers of Stalin and diligent students of the Third Period?

It is easy to foresee the end of this so-called Metal Workers Industrial League. Its sectarianism will choke it, lead it to decay and finally to the scrap heap of oblivion, unless it is taken over by the militant workers who will fight the steel barons by forming a united front of all steel workers irrespective of their political views or of what newspaper they read.

The mill workers can be organized on an industrial basis only. But they cannot be drawn into an organization which spends its time talking of the Russian situation, the Third Period, etc. These workers believe in organizing to fight the steel barons. Asking them to fight the battles of Stalin is sheer folly.

Organization will yet come but not through our present Communist leadership which insists on substituting wishes for facts and which believes the rank and file are to be merely drilled by the Party bureaucracy.

—CHARLIE BRYNE

and sterile in the sphere of transitional demands. It defends the erroneous slogan of "democratic dictatorship". It combines the scholasticism of Bucharin with the empiricism of Stalin and gives a theoretical elucidation of all the aberrations of Centristism.

It is necessary to construct a program worthy of the theory of Marx and the revolutionary school of Lenin.

* * *

One cannot find a way out of the present contradictions without crises and struggles. A favorable change in the relation of forces on a world scale, that is to say some striking success of the revolution would constitute an important and even decisive factor in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. But it is impossible to construct a policy on the expectation of some miraculous salvation "in the shortest possible interval". Certainly there will be no scarcity of economic and revolutionary crises in the coming period, especially in Europe and Asia. But this will not be enough to solve the problem. The defeats we suffered after the war taught us that without a party powerful and sure of itself, in full enjoyment of the confidence of the masses, victory is impossible. Well, on this very decisive point, the balance of the post-Lenin period shows a marked deficit.

That is why it is necessary to be able to foresee that the situation internally and internationally heralds a coming period full of prolonged and grave difficulties which will have their political repercussion. The suppressed questions, the hidden doubts, the heavy discontent of the masses will come to the surface. The whole question is to understand whether they will explode tumultuously, taking the Party by surprise or if the latter will be able to muster sufficient forces in itself at the supreme moment to become a new Party (or rather the old party again) in determining its role in regard to the laboring masses. The key to the future is to be found in this alternative.

To effect the retreat which has become necessary, to renew its strategic arsenal without too great damage and without losing its sense of perspective—this is only given to a party that clearly understands its goal and knows its strength.

This demands a collective criticism of the whole experience of the Party in the post-Lenin period. The fraud and lies of "self-criticism" must give place to internal democracy within the Party. A general examination of the general line—not in its application but in its direction—this is the way to commence.

Only the Left Opposition is in the present circumstances capable of condemning and explaining fearlessly all that is going on in the country and the Party to the extent that it is the result of the whole preceding course of developments. As long as this has not been understood it is of no avail to talk of some "general line"—whatever that is.

At the present moment the Left Opposition is more than ever a necessity for the Party. The crimes of the Stalinist apparatus must be put an end to and the Opposition returned to its rights within the Party. This we will once more say to the Sixteenth Congress.

The mission of the Opposition at the present time can be formulated as follows: to increase tenfold its efforts to aid the Party despite all obstacles to overcome the profound crisis which is manifesting itself internally, before there should develop in all its amplitude the crisis of the revolution.

Just as in the years of the imperialist slaughter little uncompromising groups and even isolated revolutionary individuals personified in themselves alone proletarian internationalism, so the Left Opposition, small in numbers and persecuted, is the guardian of the spirit of the revolutionary party. Neither the oppression of rulers nor the treachery of the feeble and exhausted, will shake us of our determination.

Against bureaucratism! Against opportunism! Against adventurism!

For the October Revolution!

For the regeneration of the Russian Communist Party and the Communist International on the basis of Leninism!

For the International Proletarian Revolution!

Prinkipo, March 23, 1930. —L.D.TROTSKY

«MY LIFE» - and Its Critics DeWitt, Browder and Gold on Trotsky's Autobiography

By James P. Cannon

To a revolutionary all activity is a form of struggle and every instrument is a weapon. Cooped up in Constantinople through the amicable cooperation of Stalin and Kemal Pasha—"patiently, waiting for what is to follow"—Trotsky writes his memoirs, and they become a bombshell whose explosion resounds throughout the world.

"My Life" is a literary sensation. The "critics" are amazed at the brilliance of its literary execution. The skillful arrangement of words, in their conception, is an art which belongs exclusively to those who have nothing to say. The legend that wisdom expresses itself through dullness has a wide popularity but that fact does not give it any real value. Why should those who devote themselves to the struggle for ideas not learn the art of presenting them effectively? Trotsky has done this to a superlative degree and has thereby added to his power and stature as a revolutionary politician. His book, besides being a literary masterpiece is a mighty weapon in the political struggle. This, in fact, is its essence.

Political Autobiography

"In these pages," says the author, "I continue the struggle to which my whole life is devoted. Describing, I also characterize and evaluate; narrating, I also defend myself, and more often attack." And again: "This is a book of polemics. It reflects the dynamics of that social life which is built entirely on contradictions." So, in the introduction, the author sets the keynote for his work. That he has succeeded in his design is attested by the flood of comment which the book has called forth—comment which shows that his political blows have hit their mark.

The positive political qualities of Trotsky's memoirs have already been evaluated in the *Militant*. Since then a number of hostile reviews have appeared in other columns. A review of these reviews should enable us to bring out more sharply and clearly the essential character of the autobiography, since a book, like a man, is also to be judged by the enemies it has made.

As far as the bourgeois writers are concerned it suffices to say that not one of them, to our knowledge, has failed to understand that Trotsky's standpoint is what it has always been. The millions of words that have been written to prove that he has become a renegade to the revolution and an ally of the bourgeoisie have all been wasted as far as these same bourgeoisie are concerned. For them, now, as before, Trotsky is the symbol and representative of the October revolution, and, insofar as they depart from the purely literary side of his book and express opinions on the Party struggle, their "sympathies" are invariably given to the "practical" Stalin as against the "visionary" Trotsky. This simple fact speaks volumes.

The Social Democrats

If we turn to the social democratic press we meet the same phenomenon. "Trotskyism" has more than once been labelled a "social democratic deviation" in solemn official documents of the Comintern. But with a strange perversity these people also fail to catch the point. The *New Leader's* review of "My Life" is no less hostile than those of the Stalin press, and—what is especially noteworthy—its bitter criticisms reveal such an identity of content with the Stalinist reviews that one could hardly distinguish between them if they were printed side by side in the same journal, with the names of the authors omitted.

Let us first consider the review in the *New Leader* for May 10th by S. A. DeWitt. The reviewer is somewhat of a "literary" man himself and the conductor of "The Chatter Box". One might think that Trotsky has suffered enough of misfortune and tribulation. But no, another cruel disappointment awaits him: "comrade" DeWitt disapproves of Trotsky and his book, too. He says so straight out with all the heavy solemnity of a man who knows the weight and import of his words.

Trotsky's autobiography is a masterful exposition of the historic process in which individuals are playing their parts. His own activities are related and subordinated to it with an objectivity that is un-

ique in literature of this kind. But, even so, the book remains an autobiography, not a history. It does not merely describe the historic events but relates also the part the author played in them. And this is the first point of DeWitt's complaint.

"There is so much of Leon Trotsky in those six hundred pages of print and phrase that one receives only a hazy outline of the Russian episode." Again: "I'm terribly sorry to have allowed so much animus to creep into a review of a book. But Trotsky has left me so little of impersonal material to judge, and so much of himself, that no other procedure is possible." Well, that's too bad. But how could it be helped? As Trotsky himself remarked: "Nobody has yet succeeded in writing an autobiography without writing about himself."

A big section of the book is devoted to the Party struggle that began with Lenin's fatal illness. The account is a political analysis which shows that it was not as the philistines think, simply a struggle of persons for power. "The struggle of the epigones for power, as I shall try to prove, was not merely a struggle of personalities; it represented a new political chapter—the reaction against October, and the preparation of the Thermidor." On this thesis Trotsky bases his account of the Party struggle; but it is all lost on DeWitt.

He sees, or pretends to see, only the personal side of the struggle and takes Trotsky to task for failing to play the game like a good sport. The conductor of "The Chatter Box" chides the organizer of the Revolution and the Red Army: When it came to stepping down from your pet theories, and playing along with your political comrades on a 'give and take' basis you flopped miserably. Either they would do as you ordered, or they were betraying the revolution.

"This business of being as infallible as God is so stupid."

One might think that DeWitt would stop at this and call it a day. But the Trotsky-killer has tasted blood and presses on remorselessly. "I, for one wouldn't swap a regiment of strutting Trotskys for one Stalin." There's another vote to make it still more "unanimous". He must have thought he was writing a Party thesis. He continues: "Calling all of us names, and then spitting so viciously at Stalin convinces us beyond further argument that your present fall from grace is the direct result of the poetic judgement...wherein great pride cometh before a fall."

Trotsky might receive a grace if he would be a bit humble under his adversities, but his stubborn pride shuts out even that. And he doesn't understand the workers either! "There is an aristocracy about your carriage," says DeWitt, "throughout the adventure which belies your oft-quoted love for the proletariat. There is so little about the workers in your narrative. All you are taken up with is your theoretical paragraphing in this radical journal and that." And so on and so forth. We must leave DeWitt here while we try to catch up with his line of argument in other columns.

The Stalinists

The Stalinists had to take notice of the book in question in order to bury once again the doctrine that has died so many deaths at their hands. And they have done the job this time with characteristic brilliance choosing for the medium, the *New Masses*.

Why the *New Masses* of all places and all things? The explanation is simple. Up till now the *New Masses* confined itself in the war against "Trotskyism" to the modest role of keeping quiet, suppressing all material on the question and refusing paid advertisements for our publications. This course was predicated on the theory that it was a "political" matter; and the *New Masses* is a hot-house for the cultivation of that flower of the ages: the proletarian writer who has nothing to say about politics.

But "My Life", it seems, is a "literary" product, and that makes it duck soup for the *New Masses*, which, as everybody knows, is literary at all costs. Consequently we have in the June number not one review but two, and both of them from eminent literati—Earl Browder and Mike Gold.

Quotations from these reviews, after DeWitt's, would weigh this article down with an unavoidable burden of repetition. The soul of DeWitt is marching on in them. The words of "The Chatter Box" leap from the pages of the *New Masses* like armed men from ambush.

Browder, like DeWitt estimates the historic Party struggle as a contest for personal position and dismisses Trotsky's pretensions in the same cavalier fashion. "The theme of the book is how Trotsky happened to become subordinated to Lenin; how he planned to come into his own when Lenin died; and how the "degenerate" leadership of the Communist movement entered into a conspiracy to despoil Trotsky of his inheritance. Around this rather trite detective story scheme the book is built up." Needless to say the shrewd Browder is not fooled by this dodge about "political issues" at the bottom of the contest and like DeWitt refuses to be lured into a discussion of these extraneous questions. "I, Trotsky, had power," he says, "This was taken away from me by a conspiracy of the degenerate leadership of the Party headed by Stalin." And from this follows logically his pontifical admonition: "The dictatorship of the proletariat can have no more dangerous or insidious enemy than a leader inside its apparatus who thinks in terms of personal power."

Browder Joins the Freudians

For Browder, as for his confrere of the *New Leader*, there is too much Trotsky in Trotsky's book about his life, and the two reviewers meet again in protest against his "underestimation of the working class". "As a matter of fact—we are quoting Browder now — "it is almost impossible to find any hint of the existence of the working class in this book. It exists only to provide a dark background which throws into higher relief the brilliant exploits of Trotsky."

What is left of Trotsky after these withering blasts? Putting an upstart in his place is what we call it. And it is to be hoped that he will stay there when he gets the following profound diagnosis of the whole trouble. Trotsky refers to Marx and tries to hinge his case on the Marxian method of social analysis. Browder declines to follow him into this field, being too smart, as they say in the West, to play another man's game. Browder appeals to Freud, and the result is fatal—for Marx as well as for Trotsky. Trotsky has a "complex" says the reviewer—Browder, not DeWitt. Lenin once gave him a pair of shoes which hurt his feet so badly that he recalls the incident in the book after many years. And what does that prove? It proves everything. Says Browder: "Let each amateur Freudian give his own analysis of this interesting paragraph. Our own analysis is that Trotsky's ruling idea, from the time he met Lenin, was connected in one way or another with occupying Lenin's shoes." What mud could be clearer?

Mike "Arrives"

After all this it might be well to let the matter rest. But the review of Mike Gold remains, and who can ignore him? Mike has "arrived", so to speak, and success has made him bold. He thinks he can get away with anything—even plagiarism. There has to be some honor, among writers as well as among thieves, and DeWitt has a just ground to complain at the way Gold has stolen his stuff on Trotsky and has passed it off as his own.

An example: "One point that struck me in Trotsky's autobiography. What Luciferian pride in every line!...Trotsky is too convinced that he is a great man... But there are no supermen. All men are fallible," etc. That's clever, but DeWitt said it first. Why not give him credit?

Another example: "Trotsky writes of the revolution as a chess player might, or a general." And—believe it or not—"He has no feeling for the pathos, the poetry and human beauty of the proletarian masses." This is more literary larceny against which DeWitt may rightly protest. These quotations are the core of Gold's review, and they are lifted bodily, almost literally, from "The Chatter Box". This thing can't go on. For the good of the profession, literary ethics must be observed and swiping the other fellow's stuff must be cut out. Even if such a ruling would debar the *New Masses* from further parti-

cipation in the Trotsky discussion there would be nothing really lost. The *New Leader* will say it for them—and say it first.

The S.P.-Stalinist United Front

The fundamental similarity of the three reviews mentioned has its own meaning for those who look for the political content in literary polemics. It is quite possible that many will fail to see any significance in this united front and ask: "Are people not allowed to have the same opinions once in a while?" And to this we can answer: It is not only allowed; it is unavoidable when they approach questions from the same essential standpoint.

The common ground on the matter at issue of the social democratic philistine and the Stalinist Hessians of the pen only demonstrates how far the official Communist Party has departed from the Marxist method of analysis—the method which seeks the underlying social explanation of historic event and which sees persons—even the greatest as representatives of social forces.

We Oppositionists who fight under the banner of Marxism in the International are often reproached with merely being adherents of Trotsky in a personal struggle. But it is precisely the Oppositionists who protest against such an interpretation of the cleavage in the Party. The struggle of the Opposition against the reaction in the Soviet Union is no more a mere fight of persons for power than was the struggle of the Bolsheviks against Kerensky. In each case the philistines and reactionaries saw only the persons fighting for place, while the Marxists sought to explain the causal social factors and their potential manifestations.

Trotsky applies this scientific method to his entire book about all stages of the Russian revolution up to the present moment. The failure of DeWitt, Browder and Gold to grasp this issue and meet it condemns their interpretations to absolute worthlessness. They miss the point entirely and throw no light on the real questions at issue.

The worker who seeks an understanding of these questions must turn from the critics of Trotsky's book to the book itself. They will find it there.

World Union Membership Declines

AMSTERDAM—(FP)—Official statistics show the trade union membership in 76 countries as of Dec. 31, 1927 and 1928, as respectively 46,187,060, and 44,180,525. This great loss in one year is due to the collapse of the huge figures reported from Asia at the height of the Chinese revolution. For 1927 Asia reported 3,697,000 trade unionists, while in 1928 it reported only 724,194. Chiang Kai-Shek had crushed in blood the Chinese trade union movement which sprang up at the triumph of the revolution in 1927.

Europe reports at the end of 1927 a total of 33,936,784 trade unionists, while a year later its total had risen to 35,392,081. America confessed that while its 1927 total was 7,416,491, its 1928 total was only 6,947,296. Australia rose from 99,652 to 1,018,299. Africa fell from 144,33 to 90,497.

Trade unionism in the United States showed an increase, but in Mexico and other Latin-American countries a loss was registered. European countries making gains in that year—1928—were Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Memel, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia. Notable losses occurred in Greece, Great Britain, Lithuania, Poland and Portugal and less losses, in Belgium, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, France and Rumania.

«MY LIFE»

All readers of the *Militant*, and their friends, who desire to get their copy of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the *Militant*. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, (\$5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The Misery of India's Youthful Toilers

It would be ridiculous to expect from the British (and their junior partners, the native) ruling classes that have made of India a huge welter of poverty, pestilence, superstition and ignorance anything but the most callous treatment of the young toilers in field and factory. But even we, none too pampered by Hooverian propriety were deeply shocked to read of the terrible conditions the young workers and peasants are forced to live and work under.

Speaking generally, an idea can be gained by noting the fact that infant mortality reaches the rate of 206 per thousand all over the peninsula as compared with 91 in the United Kingdom. In the textile city of Bombay this reaches the sickening total of 667 on the average and 828 in the workers centers. Behind these figures can be glimpsed the terrible poverty, poor housing and poor food that grips the nation, the five acres of land that compromise the average holding, causing the terrible holocausts that sweep the country in the shape of epidemics and pestilences.

The margin between bare existence and non-existence is so slight that the child, when barely able to balance itself must go into the field to work. School is out of the question even if such facilities were present. The British Empire, that carrier of enlightenment, does not deem it necessary to spend more than 11 pence per head in India for education (local, district, national and from the empire) as against the two pounds spent in the British Isles which has none too a high a standard.

When Prince Albert Victor (the royal gentleman on the tins of tobacco) who was the grandson of Queen Victoria visited Poona in 1882, the following doggerel greeted him:

"Tell grandma we are a happy nation,
But 19 crore* are without education."

A crore is 10,000,000.

Of the 269 millions in India today but 22 million know an alphabet. The huge profits, the great taxation, the usury is returned in no form whatever to the masses of India.

If the conditions of the ryots (peasants) are bad, they are infinitely above those of the factory workers. In 1926 there were 1,500,000 factory workers of whom 250 were women and 70,000 are children below 15 years of age. (These figures are a factory population of 2,650,000 with the percentage of women and children doubtless holding their own if not actually gaining.)

Textile is the chief industry in India. Nowhere has King Cotton been a benevolent monarch; his history is one of blood, particularly of women and children whether in England in 1844, in Gastonia or in India from 1919 on.

Read the section of Marx's Capital dealing with conditions in the spinning mills darken the picture and an idea is gleaned of the conditions of the mill cities of India today.

There is a total of 374,380 workers in the cotton industry of India of whom 70,000 are women and over 15 thousand are children.

Wages in the Cotton Industry by Days

	Adults		
	Rupee	Anna	Pies*
Abmedabad	1	5	0
Bombay	1	5	6
Sholapur		15	11
Other Centers	1	1	8
Big Lads and Children			
Ahmedabad		11	4
Bombay		11	1
Sholapur		9	1
Other Centers		8	11

*A rupee is about 32.4 cents. An anna is one-sixteenth of a rupee or 2 cents and a pies is one-twelfth of an anna or about one-sixth of a cent.

These wages allow the workers a diet on par with that of a Bombay criminal prisoner, a chawl (tenement room) each chawl containing on the average 4 persons.

It is said that conditions in the mills owned by native capitalists are worse than in those owned by the Britishers. (Although this comes from reliable sources it

Communist Youth and the Left Opposition

Of the organizations in the Communist International, none have suffered and continue to suffer such mangling as the Young Communist International. With a splendid background—the struggle of the Youth against the war in unison and under the political guidance of the Bolsheviks, the Russian Revolution, and the splendid leadership of comrades Lenin and Trotsky during the early days of the organization of the Communist International—the Y. C. I. was destined to enjoy a healthy growth and activity.

Education and participation in mass activity—these were the watchwords of the Youth Leagues. Progress was inevitable. The Leagues everywhere enjoyed considerable growth. They embodied a revolutionary enthusiasm and energy that gave rise to splendid activity. The education in Communism and the participation in the class struggles prepared hundreds and thousands of young revolutionaries for future leadership in the ranks of the Party.

This ascent however, in the ranks of the Young Communist International was halted abruptly. In preparation of the struggle against the Russian Opposition under the leadership of comrades Trotsky, Rakovsky, etc., the Stalinist bureaucracy aimed heavy fire against the Youth International. The Youth International was made a mere appendage to the Right-Center bloc. Made to think that the youth alone were the leaders in the struggle for correct political lines in the ranks of the revolutionary movement, the theory of "vanguardism" once again made its way in the Youth International. From this theory grew a negative attitude toward the education of the Youth and their participation in mass activity. In place of a training for the future, the international leagues entered a stage of heated participation in "high politics" and into an unprecedented period of factionalism. There developed in the ranks of the youth cynicism for the elementary tasks of organization.

Beginning with the period of 1923-24 a state of passivity, opportunism and stagnation set in. Bureaucratic direction displaced the education of the Youth. Mass activity was shunted for an accelerated condition of factionalism. The scandalous maltreatment of the Young Communist International left horrible gaps in its ranks. The Russian League alone withstood the heavy decline of its organization.

In Germany the social democratic and Reformist youth gained heavily at the expense of the Young Communist League. In France the League lost 12,000 members and has today a membership of only 3,000. The opportunist policy of the Right-Centrist leadership was not without its effect on the British League. There with the splendid situation caused through the split in the Guild of Youth (Social Democratic) and the General Strike, the League numbers only a few hundred (even Bulky Bill Rust cannot count more). In Sweden the Right wing split carried more than half of the

seems hardly likely—the conditions in the British-owned mills challenge worsening.

In the jute mills of Calcutta and Bengal, where most of the jute in the world is produced the average wage for children is 9 pence per day. In 319,000 workers in 76 jute mills investigated 50,000 were women and 29,000 children.

And so it is in the entire country. On the plantations of Assam hundreds of thousands of farm laborers, entire families including babes toil for a few pence per day. Fabled spices of India!

Women and children even dig coal in India, bringing coal to the surface in baskets—human beings are cheaper than holsting machinery. Of the 250,000 miners, 9 thousand are women and a similar number children.

As for social legislation for children and youth, the little that has been forced through is flagrantly disregarded. Twelve years is the minimum age at which children are permitted to work in factories employing more than 10 workers and using motive power. Between the age of 12 and 15 half time is allowed or 30 hours per week.

A far different side of the story is the profits of 200 and 300%. It was a bad year when only 125% was secured on capital investment. —C. CURTISS

Youth membership into its ranks. The young workers of Austria remain under social democratic influence while the Communist influence is almost nil. The American League continues to remain at a static membership of between 1,000 and 1,500 members. Here the fruits of the Lovestone leadership and the present incompetent, pretentious and impotent leadership of Steuben, Green and Harvey have made matters only worse. (Of the American League more will be said in other articles.) And so on ad infinitum.

The invention of the spurious "third period" theory and the rise of adventurism in political policy has only made matters worse. It has added greatly to the already achieved sectarianism and isolation. The present policies of the Y. C. I. and its Leagues only promise to perfect this condition.

This situation in the Youth movement is but a reflection of the situation in the Communist International. The past seven years history of the Comintern is mirrored in the Leagues, though at times even more grotesque and more accentuated. The solution of the present crisis in the International Youth movement can come about only through a solution of the problems facing the Communist International. The struggle of the Opposition against the present revisionism, adventurism and opportunism alone will solve this crisis. A resurgence and reeducation is necessary—on the basis of a correct political program. That program is the platform of the Opposition. Participation in the ranks of the Opposition and common struggle together with the Party comrades is an imperative task of the Youth. The bureaucratic Stalinist leadership cannot bring about a revitalizing of the International Youth movement. That task belongs to the Opposition. In the solution of the present crisis in the Communist movement the Youth will play no little role. —ALBERT GLOTZER

Lovestone's «Americanism»

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the Opposition held by all its adherents from Russia to America. That the danger of the Thermidor is being augmented in the persecution, exiling and shooting of Oppositionists, in the breaking of the alliance between the workers and peasants because of adventurist policies in industrialization and collectivization; in the growing of the power of the Kulak and the Nepmen due to Stalin's zigzag policies; in the ominous growth of the Thermidorian bureaucracy in the Party and the government—only a Herberg can deny while he shuts his eyes and shouts "don't talk to us about Socialism in one country, we want to hear about American questions."

Covering Lovestone's Misdeeds

The most interesting part of the meeting was Herberg's answer to the question of Lovestone's use of underworld tactics in the fight against the Left Opposition and the challenge to debate with us on fundamental questions. Complacently Herberg repudiated the violence perpetrated against the Opposition by the Lovestone group with the naive remark "at that time we were under Stalinist influence". Even if any weight could be attached to this remark, Lovestone will have to explain away their burglary of the Party office and his own tacit silence while Blumkin was shot and thousands of Oppositionists are criminally persecuted and exiled to Siberia. We are still waiting for Lovestone to raise a voice against the exiling of L. D. Trotsky.

Not less demagogic and cowardly was Herberg's reply to the challenge of a debate on fundamental issues. No! Herberg won't debate with us because, 1st, we are too small; secondly because the questions we want to debate about don't interest the American workers. The great Lovestone, the overwhelming "majority" of the American Party refuses to debate with us because we are too insignificant. Only yesterday Lovestone strained every muscle to prove to a recalcitrant minority that "Trotskyism" was the main danger in the American Party. Not quite so distant as that Lovestone shouted to the wide world that the ideas of "Trotskyism" has captured the C.L. We would suggest to Herberg to

BIGGER AND BETTER WARS

Thursday, May 24, a Rochester audience seated themselves in a vaudeville house to be treated to an unexpected view of the latest scientific marvel, television—the combination of radio and vision.

One mile away, in the laboratories of the General Electric Company, artists sang and spoke, a director led the orchestra which was in the theatre, all clearly visible on the screen.

The next morning every thinking person was deeply thrilled as he read the account. This feeling, however, turned into one of abhorrence when he or she read the statement of the developer of the television, Mr. W. E. Alexandersson.

Mr. Alexandersson spoke of the latest discovery as being "inspiring". Of the uses to which this new invention could be put, he said:

"Or what will this mean in the future when a staff officer can see the enemy through the television eyes of his scouting plane or when they can send a bombing plane without a man on board which can see the target and be steered by radio up to the moment it hits?"

You question, Mr. Alexandersson, what it means. Let us tell you:

It means that the next war (in the offing in spite of, or more truthfully, because of, your master class's "peace" and "disarmament" conferences) will make of the last war child's play; that where young workers and farmers were killed singly now they will be slaughtered by the droves for the bosses' greater profits. It means that all your vaunting of scientific progress is a terrible taunt; it means that capitalism is rapidly approaching its doom—either barbarism or Communism: either capitalism will scientifically poison, gas, drown, tear and otherwise efficiently kill the toilers and drag society back into the abyss of barbarism or the proletariat will seize power and society will advance into the next stage, Communism, where man's wisdom will not be used to discover more "rationalized" methods of killing each other, but to provide more leisure, more of the better things of life to the masses. That is what it means!

Capitalism is here shown in its stark, hideous reality. Its path of glory leads but to its grave. And that path is rapidly nearing its end. Every such new discovery but adds velocity to this journey.

Mr. Alexandersson is the guest of the U. S. Navy on the airplane carrier, Saratoga, bound for Panama, to experiment with the pilotless plane.

recall these trifles before he terms us insignificant to debate with.

Evading Questions of Principle

But just like the whole Lovestone crew, no sooner does Herberg say this than he starts to retract it. Well, the reason they didn't want to debate, according to Herberg is because the questions we raise (Socialism in One Country, Chinese Revolution Anglo-Russian Committee, etc.) "hold no interest for the American workers". When Lovestone was in good graces with Stalin, when he ran the *Daily Worker*, when we had no press, before we could print any of the suppressed literature, then it was time to scatter scandal, lies and calumnies about us. Now, when we are in a position to reply to his lies and expose his opportunism, Lovestone hides himself in a dark corner and fearfully cries out, "The American workers are not interested in the Chinese Revolution". Whom does this remind us of? Haven't we heard somewhere before this same alibi about the American workers not being interested in fundamental problems but in more immediate and more pressing questions. Doesn't the S. P. carefully avoid the questions of internationalism, the Proletarian Dictatorship, etc. with just such platitudes?

But the Opposition is not afraid to debate with Lovestone on American questions; not afraid to show Lovestone, Herberg and Co. how the question of socialism in one country once helped Lovestone get control of the American party and reduce it to 7,000 and how this question has brought the Party to its disastrous state today and how it will help bring worse results even with Lovestone's kind in power in the future to the American Party. —GEORGE CLARKE