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CUBANS STRIKE

Defy Machado Rule - Demand Unemployment Relief

Growing out of the acute unemployment situation prevalent throughout Cuba and which has thrown 200,000 out of jobs, Cuban workers struck on March 20 in protest against unemployment and against the suppression of the labor unions and other organizations of the workers by the Machado government. The strike, called by the National Federation of Labor of Cuba, was widely supported, despite the intimidation and terror of Machado's spies, police and troops. It indicates the readiness of the masses to struggle against their severe exploitation by native and American capitalists. The strike, among others, brought out the workers of the streetcars, omnibuses, breweries, cigar factories, cafe employees, bakeries printshops, longshoremen, etc.

Delegates representing the Workers' Association called upon President Machado, the Dictator of Cuba, and among other demands called for: Recognition of the right to organize and strike; an end to police intervention in the unions and labor struggles; free speech and press; a seven hour day; payment of wages to the unemployed by the employers and the State; no eviction of unemployed from their homes for non-payment of rent; free transportation for the unemployed and their families while seeking work and free night restaurants and shelter for the unemployed.

The Bloody Rule of Machado

Under President Machado, the willing hickspittle of Wall street, the labor and revolutionary movement in Cuba has been viciously suppressed. The bloody Machado has been responsible for the murder, imprisonment and deportation of thousands of Cuban labor leaders and revolutionaries, among them, Julio Mella, the Cuban Communist, who was murdered in Mexico after his exile by Machado from his native country.

Now the acute conditions of misery and starvation of the Cuban masses is bringing forth their resistance despite every terror of the Wall Street-controlled government.

American capital has invaded entire Cuba and has particularly gained control of the sugar plantations and refineries and has subjugated the workers to long hours of toil at low wages. The acute economic conditions give the background to the strike. Sugar forms the main base for the prosperity of the American investors and the starvation and degradation of the Cuban masses. The price of raw sugar is now 1.59 cents a pound, compared with 2.40 cents in 1928 and 2.82 in 1927.

Semi-starvation and destitution prevail.
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A LECTURE

on

Communism and Syndicalism

by

JAMES P. CANNON

Saturday, March 29, 1930 at 8 P. M.

LABOR TEMPLE

242 EAST FOURTEENTH STREET

Auspices: New York Branch
Communist League of America (Opposition)

Admission 15 cents

Mass Unemployment Continues

Reports from throughout the country give the lie to the propaganda of the bosses and the government that unemployment is on the decrease. The employment service of the U. S. Department of Labor itself is forced to acknowledge, in its report for the month of February, that "industry made no substantial gains" during the month, while "in some industries a slight recession was noted." Yet but a few days prior President Hoover had declared that the "recovery" from industrial depression had been the most rapid in American history!

Before the Senate Committee, Senator Wagner of New York declared that the unemployment situation is the worst that has ever existed in the United States. Investigations and statistical reports from all sections of the country confirm the fact of mass unemployment. For the millions of working men and women it has brought the most dire need and acute misery. There is nothing to indicate any substantial improvement in the economic situation in the near future. Every city and hamlet in the country counts its toll of unemployed and misery. To mention any is to describe all. Distress from unemployment in Chicago, states Professor B. M. Squires of the University of Chicago and who is also director of the Illinois State employment agency, "has been the most acute in ten years."

Iron and Steel Production Slow

The steel industry, the barometer of industry in general, remains low, according to iron and steel publications which report that no definite upturn is yet apparent, and that this situation prevails also in the foreign markets. The Iron Trade Review comments that "Continental and British iron and steel markets generally are dull, some British plants having gone on short time as a result. World trade in iron and steel is low, and restricted inquiry forecasts continuation of this condition." In virtually all trades, manufactures, industry and agriculture fields there is described a condition of wide-spread unemployment. Hoover and the employing class continue to hand out hokum for consumption by the jobless, but they themselves know the reality and find no capitalist remedy for the situation. Any other kind of solution is of course to them unthinkable.

As never before, public and charitable institutions have been utilized as a sop, but the breadlines grow longer and increase in number. The U. S. government has declined to do anything directly to provide work or compensation for the unemployed, but instead continues to talk of industrial revival, while jobs become scarcer each day. All sorts of proposals have been forthcoming from capitalist politicians for public works, etc., but all remain on paper.

Bosses Cutting Wages

The bosses have naturally ignored Hoovers "request" at the conference consisting of Hoover, the employers and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, not to reduce wages. Henry Ford, the "high wage" boss and "philanthropist" has been outstanding in speeding men out of work and then cutting wages still further on one pretext or another. On the other hand, Wm. Green, the labor faker and agent of the bosses in the ranks of labor, continues to advise the workers not to resist the attacks of the bosses through strikes, etc.—all in the name of

the "national welfare", that is, for the bosses. Not all workers who still have jobs take this "advice". By a vote of four to one, to the surprise of the reactionary officials of the United Textile Workers Union, the company-union workers employed in the notorious Amoskeag Manufacturing firm of Manchester, N. H. in the manufacture of printcloth refused to accept a 10 per cent reduction in wages. Here and there (Pitts-
(Continued on Page 3)

Φ

TROTSKY SERIOUSLY ILL

The Militant is informed of the serious illness of comrade L. D. Trotsky, the leader of the International Opposition of the Left Bolsheviks. Exiled to Constantinople by Stalin, Trotsky has suffered from many maladies, engendered during his years of service to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the international revolutionary movement. Now his condition is exceptionally aggravated by heart trouble, following recent illnesses. Trotsky has made efforts to be permitted to go to one of the West European countries for medical attention and treatment. But the imperialist nations have apparently accepted wholeheartedly the desire of Stalin that Trotsky shall remain isolated in Constantinople where lack of proper medical attention can easily result in his death. Stalin and the imperialists are as one in their enmity of Trotsky, the organizer and leader of the Red Army and the co-worker and comrade of Lenin.

We have spoken before of the illness of comrade Trotsky. In the past months, an unfavorable change has set in. He and his wife and son are located on Prinkipo Island in the Sea of Marmora. The climate there is unsatisfactory for one of his condition and a different climate is needed in addition to special treatment that is not available there nor in the country at large.

The arch-bureaucrat Stalin is to be held fully responsible for the exile of comrade Trotsky from the Soviet Union and for his connivance with the bourgeois government to prevent Trotsky from obtaining access to a West European country. The proletariat of the Soviet Union and the whole world will yet deal with Stalin, who persecutes, imprisons, exiles and even shoots Bolsheviks and undermines the cause of Communism.

Φ

KANSAS CITY BUILDING TRADES WIN FIVE-DAY WEEK

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—(FP)—Building trades of Kansas City have won the 5-day week and an increase as a result of a 3-week strike which tied up construction activity. The struggle was a bitter one for a time, but the backbone of the Builders' Assn. opposition was broken when several independent employers signed the new agreement and resumed work.

According to the peace pact, the 44-hour week will continue until July 1, when the 5-day week becomes effective, supplemented by wage increases ranging from 22 1-2 to 50 cents a day. On Jan. 1, 1931, another wage boost, a flat 50 cents a day, is ordered. The agreement expires March 1, 1932.

HAITI STRUGGLES

Demands Independence From Wall Street Rule

The killing of five Haitians on December 7 by a detachment of United States marines, forced into the open the serious nature of the protest of the Haitian masses against United States occupation, and also against its puppet president, Borno. Since then the movement for Haitian independence, although curtailed and misguided by a bourgeois and liberal leadership, showed the increased temper of the mass of Haitian peasants, whose protests were set forth under such slogans as, "Long live Independent Haiti!", "Down with the Council of State". They culminated during the past number of weeks in a demand for an end to the occupation of Haiti by the United States marines and the National City Bank of New York.

The past history of the occupation of Haiti by the United States, is a record of bloody extermination of the peasant masses. From a period of the occupation in July, 1915, the "peaceful guardianship" by the marines has resulted in the slaughter of over 3,000 Haitians, who dared to protest against the military dictatorship and exploitation of United States capitalism. The state of affairs brought about by American occupation finds the Haitian masses in a virtual state of peonage. The old Haitian laws against the ownership of land by foreigners resulted, since 1915, in the dispossession of the peasantry and allowed for large holdings by the United States and other foreign imperialists. Dr. Dalencour, head of the Haitian Medical Journal, characterizes the situation in the following manner: The Haitian peasant sees his future endangered by the entry of American capitalism. This necessarily results from the creation of large estates which would cause the subjugation of the peasants into a servile peon class." The peasantry of Haiti are actually in such a state today, which accounts for the vigorous struggle they are making for an "independent republic of Haiti".

(Continued on Page 2)

Φ

St. Louis Bus Drivers on Strike For Union

ST. LOUIS—(FP)—Five days after their first meeting to unionize and 48 hours after their demand for union recognition had been tossed in the wastebasket by the traction monopoly, organized bus drivers and conductors of St. Louis walked out in a spontaneous unexpected strike. Bus operation has been completely tied up.

The company, with an ugly anti-union background, was taken completely unawares. The meeting, held at 2 a. m., authorized the strike by unanimous vote and the next morning not a bus rolled out of the big barns.

These raw recruits to unionism are picketing the garages like seasoned veterans and intended strikebreakers have been enrolled in the union about as rapidly as the company has been able to hire them. Not even the skeleton of a crew has been recruited. The strikers belong to the street carmen's union and the fight bears the endorsement of the St. Louis central body and the Missouri Federation of Labor. A sympathetic strike by 5,000 union street car men is not considered unlikely.

The National Textile Union

Sectarian Policy Hindering Organization

At the present time with the exception of New Bedford, where several thousand workers are members, the National Textile Workers Union is almost completely isolated from the textile workers. In the South the N. T. W. has continued to lose ground since the end of the Gastonia strike so that now it has practically no organized base to speak of. The N. T. W. leadership and the official Communist Party are responsible for this situation. After the end of the strike almost all of the union organizers were withdrawn from the South and no serious attempt made to bring the workers into the union. To cover its lack of real organizational activities the Party is now preparing to publish a weekly paper in the South. By itself, unless part of a campaign to unionize the workers, it is only a gesture for the records. Bombastic action and statements can never be substituted for the daily struggle and as soon as the Stalinists realize it, the better it will be for the future of the N. T. W.

Several weeks ago the Daily Worker was full of proclamations asserting that a strike of the Paterson silk workers would be called within several weeks. In fact, the International Labor Defense in its appeals for funds at that time included the coming Paterson strike as among the situations for which funds would be needed.

In the March 8 issue of the Militant we pointed out that to call a strike in Paterson at the present time without adequate preparations, would result in the strike being still-born. We urged that careful plans be made so that when the strike is called it can have a chance of being successful.

As typical centrists without any set policy, the Stalinist leadership of the Party and union have not only suddenly stopped all talk about the strike but have decided to end all organizational activities indefinitely. Thus we see a good example of what kind of "leadership" the union is giving the workers in the industries under the direction of such apparatus men as Clarence Miller, who is now the national secretary of the N. T. W.

Role of the Reactionaries

At first they were ready to call a strike without any preparations whatsoever: practically no mass meetings and almost no distribution of leaflets or other preparations. Suddenly a change is made: all "preparations" cease and the idea of a strike is entirely forgotten. It is this kind of misleadership that plays into the hands of such organizations as the Associated Silk Workers and the United Textile Workers Union.

In fact, while the N. T. W. union is standing still and not participating in the struggle to organize the workers, the United Textile Workers Union is making progress in its campaign of organization which, of course, in the long run will mean the betrayal of the workers. In the South, U. T. W. and American Federation of Labor organizers are touring the textile centers and making contacts with the workers who are ready to fight against the low wages, long hours and speed-up conditions. In almost every textile district of the South the U. T. W. and A. F. of L. have now a clear ground for their policy of betrayal due to the abandonment of the field by the N. T. W.

In New Bedford where the N. T. W. has its only organized base, it is slowly losing influence due to the sectarian policy of the Party and its selection of incompetent Stalinist apparatus men as union leaders. Although about 18,000 out of the 30,000 textile workers of the city are jobless, less than 3,000 workers attended the March 6 unemployment demonstration in that city. When one considers that more than 3,000 workers are members of the union in New Bedford, it is easy to see

what a failure the demonstration was.

Need of Systematic Work in the Mills

At a time like this, when the workers should be flocking to the banner of the N. T. W., they are conspicuous by their absence. The reason is not difficult to find. Few parts of the country have been more plagued with Stalinist politics in the Union than New Bedford. Four union organizers within several months has resulted in many of the workers becoming disgusted. Then again, since the Party decided to completely forget about the united front tactics, the U. T. W. has succeeded in winning many workers through the Labor Party they organized in that city. After the 1928 sell-out by the U. T. W., the mass of the workers turned to the N. T. W. for leadership, but the actions of the Left wing union since then, (that is, in the "third period") has resulted in the influence of the union becoming weakened to such an extent that it is in danger to lose its last organized base to the Right wing organization.

Another example of lack of activity on the part of the N. T. W. is the present textile strike in Philadelphia, which is under U. T. W. leadership. While the Left wing organization is doing virtually nothing, the U. T. W. poses as the leaders of the workers, and undoubtedly will sell them out as the U. T. W. has done scores of times in the past.

The N. T. W. nationally is in a critical period of its existence. The next period will decide whether it will exist as a fighting, living force in the American labor movement or will become a rubber stamp for Stalinist politics, without any influence in the class struggle. The policy of choosing union organizers on their loyalty to Stalinism must end. (Russak, New Bedford; Kushinsky in Paterson; Miller as national secretary, etc.) Militant workers who accept the program of the N. T. W. and sincerely want to participate in the struggle must be given work in the organization. Less talk and more day by day work in the mills is necessary. Only on such a basis can the union be saved and become a factor in the labor movement.

—FRANK BROMLEY

Φ

Dynamite in «Dynamic» Detroit

DETROIT—(FM)—While city and county officials are trying to still the protests of the hungry jobless information indicates that in actual fact the number of unemployed is increasing.

The Briggs Mfg. Co., for example, advertised but a few weeks ago for 8,000 workers. The local press immediately seized the advantage to blazon to a hungry world "the return of prosperity". Prosperity returned—for three weeks. 5,000 men were hired. Three weeks later, 9,000 workers were laid off!

The office staff of the Cadillac Motor Car Co. has been severely reduced and further layoffs there are expected. Layoffs in the Packard office force are imminent. A salary slash has already gone into effect. Of the working force 30% were laid off several months ago. It is significant that when the layoff instructions were issued it was ordered that women be retained insofar as possible. They can do the work ever so much cheaper.

A local plant fired its whole force several weeks ago. Recently it opened up—and rehired its workers at 15 cents less per hour. In another concern the wages of the electricians have been cut three times within the last 60 days. "Were it only the unemployment problem we had to face it would not be so bad—but employers use the unemployed as a club wherewith to beat down the wages of the employed", commented our informant.

Hoover's Prosperity Racket Fades in Middle West

CHICAGO—(FP)—Politicians from Herbert Hoover—now dubbed the Great Stationary Engineer—down to the smallest me-too country editor may shout prosperity and recovery all they like but each section of the country has its impressive array of facts and seasoned judgements that give the shouting the lie. In the middle west a few symptoms may be set down to match those marshalled in other regions.

1. Bankruptcies of established banks, trust companies, real estate organizations and staple industries no longer excite attention. They are too common. Decision by corporations not to pay the regular dividends the next quarter scarcely rank as financial news.

2. On the labor side unions report unexampled unemployment. Chicago Typographical Local 16, one of the most steady-going in the country, states that there are at least 1,500 printers out of work in town.

3. In the farm belt similar conditions prevail. Speaking not to the public at large but to his own trade following the expert of the Produce Review, leading butter and egg trade weekly takes an undigested rap at the Hoover prosperity patter, writing: "speculation as to future industrial conditions gives us nothing definite to tie to, but we do know that present conditions are not favorable AND WE SHOULD NOT BE MIELED BY POSITIVE STATEMENTS EMANATING FROM HIGH PLACES IN WASHINGTON that the near future will see unemployment passing. In many larger cities today there is much unemployment and our agricultural population is in many important states not prospering. We face such uncertainty that we feel sure conservatism will increase as reserves of storage eggs accumulate."

4. Railroads are laying off shop and maintenance men at a time when they should be taking on extras. Where layoffs are considered bad for public consumption they are disguised by 5-day week device that mean reduced weekly earnings per worker or by transfer of work from contract to railroad shops as has happened respectively with the Northwestern and the Baltimore & Ohio in this region.

5. Help Wanted ads are greatly reduced in number while the rush of applicants for positions open is unexampled since 1922. An ad for a \$15 a week stenographer, hours 9 to 5 in a new downtown office building, brought 200 girls to the spot, stampeding the overwhelmed office manager.

Φ

ANTHRACITE MINERS HIT BY UNEMPLOYMENT

ASHLAND, Pa.—Reports to the United Mine Workers convention in Indianapolis by Sec. Thomas Kennedy that the anthracite is in a "healthy" condition is causing wide discussion in local unions of hard coal diggers. In Schuylkill valley, 35,000 miners have been rendered idle by the Reading Coal Co., in Lansford the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co. has thrown 5,000 out of jobs; in the Lehigh valley a steadily mounting number are joining the army of the jobless.

Prospects indicate an extraordinarily slack summer.

Φ

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—The Freemont Typesetting Co. of Terre Haute has been signed 100% by the typos.

ALBERT M. GLOTZER

Will Speak On

The Youth Movement

Saturday, April 5, 1930 at 8 P. M.

at the

LABOR TEMPLE

.... 242 East Fourteenth Street

Auspices: New York Branch

Communist League of America (Opposition)

Admission, 15 cents

HAITI STRUGGLES

(Continued from page 1)

The occupation of Haiti by the United States took place with its rapid expansion into the arena of the leading world imperialists. Haiti's favorable geographical location in the Caribbean Sea, as a naval base, and its strategic importance as an aid to the defense of the Panama Canal, along with its offensive possibilities against Great Britain, led to America's military and financial invasion and resultant control. This condition came about through the intense exploitation and persecution of the Haitian masses.

The present movement for Haitian independence is undoubtedly an expression of the current feelings of the masses. At present it is still weak in its outlook. With a bourgeois and liberal leadership the movement is so far led into channels of subservience to American dictates. The open revolt against the puppet president, Borno, and the intensity of the struggle of the masses, caused Hoover to form a commission with the object of "studying" the conditions. Realizing the revolutionary temper of the Haitians, the commission made a proposal for election of a temporary president to replace Borno, as if the removal of Borno would solve the problem of Haitian independence.

The newly elected president, Eugene Roy, a broker by profession, was elected under the supervision of both the leadership of the opposition and the United States in collaboration with Borno. However, Roy does not take office until May 15, when Borno's term expires. When Roy takes office, he is to continue as temporary president until next fall. Then legislative elections are held, and a new president seated by the deputies and senators. The further proposals of the commission for "gradual" removal of marines as a basis of permitting a slow solution to independence testify to the fact that Haitian independence, under the "good will" of the American capitalists, is just a guise with which to nullify the movement of the Haitian masses.

Election of Roy—A Sham

The election of Roy, as the temporary president, is the biggest farce in the commission's program. Roy, just as all his predecessors, will continue to serve the interests of the National City Bank of New York. Being a broker himself, this will not be a difficult task. The "eventual independence" of Haiti, given freely by the United States, is an illusion, handed down in order to quiet the discontent. It is easy to understand, in view of this, why the removal of the marines will be only a "gradual" process. The marines will be kept in Haiti in order to act as the sword of American capitalism. They will be there to protect the continued exploitation of the Haitian masses.

The present "solution" can only be a temporary one. American capitalism has only removed one puppet and replaced him by another. But this temporary "solution" while it may for the moment soften the discontent of the masses, can in the end only add fuel to the existing state of revolt in Haiti. The leadership of the masses have succeeded in misdirecting the movement into accepting the further dominance of "dollar diplomacy". Roy's election, and the maintenance of the marines, along with continued domination of U. S. capitalism will only bring further persecution and exploitation. The military dictatorship of the United States will lend fuel to the further growth of the revolutionary movement of the Haitian masses.

The struggle for independence must be accompanied with a decisive fight against American imperialism. It must be accompanied with a struggle against the military dictatorship by United States marines. This end however is not alone the struggle of the Haitian masses, but is likewise a task of the American working class who must join in the fight for Haitian independence, against the domination of Wall Street and the military occupation. —A.G.

The Shooting of Blumkin

STALIN'S STORY IN PROCESS OF PREPARATION

The protests and indignation of Communists and the masses of workers over the murder of Blumkin at the behest of Stalin will not down, despite evasions, lies and slanders by the Stalinist apparatus-men everywhere. Finally, after a period of silence, as we foresaw, the official Communist press found itself compelled to speak. The *Daily Worker* and the *Communist* in the United States became literally hysterical in their attempts to evade the issue of the murder of Bolsheviks by the Stalinist regime. Now the official Communist press in other countries also finds it necessary to "answer" to the questions and demands of the Communist Opposition. The conspiracy of silence is being broken.

Among those who have entered the lists in an endeavor to cover or lie about Stalin's dastardly act is the *Rote Fahne* of Vienna, which engages in controversy with the social-democratic press concerning Blumkin. It goes without saying that the social democracy could not let slip so exceptional an opportunity for refurbishing somewhat its tarnished reputation. The international party of Noske which is responsible for the death of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg eagerly seizes hold of the assassination of an irreproachable revolutionist by the Stalinists. It is not this side of the affair which interests us at this moment.

Independently of the threats, the intrigues and the slander of the social democracy the question poses itself in this fashion to each revolutionary: Is it true that Stalin had comrade Blumkin shot because he visited Trotsky at Constantinople and attempted to turn over a letter to some fighting comrades in Moscow? If this is true, what must we call him who debauches Communism by such acts? This is the question of importance. One cannot help seeing for a single instance what a blow such a bloody crime can strike at the revolutionary prestige of the Soviet power—not among the thousands of bourgeois, "or sympathetic intellectuals", or lawyers, or newspaper men, or writers who so nobly visit the fringes of the Soviets for the celebrations and take in its harbors—but among the genuine revolutionary workers. This is why the question of Blumkin must be completely cleared up.

Running Away from the Facts

What has the *Rote Fahne* to say about the actuality of the facts? It brands the information concerning the murder of Blumkin as "an absolute fabrication which any fool could shatter". This looks like a categorical denial and we would be entirely ready to congratulate ourselves on the firm and categorical tone of the *Rote Fahne*; indeed, the fact in itself appears so horrifying that the first reaction of every revolutionary is to refuse to believe it, to deny it and brand it as slander.

Unfortunately the denial, like the hysteria, slander and evasions of the *Daily Worker* becomes far less categorical further on. And this is not accidental. The *Rote Fahne* has reacted only on the 19th of February, that is, about six weeks after the news had penetrated not only the bourgeois and social democratic press but had been posed as a direct question in the press of the Communist Opposition. Nevertheless, after so categorical an introduction, the *Rote Fahne* imperceptibly replaces this in the following lines with a statement that the falsehood would consist in that Blumkin had been shot "only for having been a Trotskyist, that mythical Blumkin". This stealthy shift of emphasis would look like a journalistic precaution which divests its denial of its whole moral value. The Vienna Stalinist newspaper leaves two doors open: for the categorical denial of the fact itself concerning the murder of Blumkin by Stalin, or for an admission of the fact itself concerning the murder of Blumkin by Stalin, or for an admission of the fact but literally on a day that has not yet been decided upon.

Why has the *Rote Fahne* referred to Blumkin as "mythical", like the *Daily Worker's* "Who is Blumkin?" and what is the meaning of this shamefully cynical shift? Is it because the *Rote*

Fahne raises doubts concerning the existence of Blumkin (that is, concerning his past existence)? Is it because the *Rote Fahne* raises doubts about Blumkin having been an irreproachable revolutionist who on many occasions showed an exceptional courage and heroic devotion to the proletariat? Or do its doubts concern only the execution because of Trotsky's letter? This does not follow clearly from the article. This lack of clearness is entirely deliberate. The *Rote Fahne* is simply waiting for the version which Stalin will choose to give as the final one.

Stalin Prepares His Story

Between times, the latter has long since prepared his version. The rumor has been circulated in several Soviet papers that "Trotskyites" in Siberia have sabotaged the transport of troops against Chiang Kai-Shek, and have derailed locomotives, etc. This is now Stalin's third attempt to connect the Opposition with counter-revolutionists. The first two were knocked to pieces, to their shame; the third will also be knocked to pieces. And if Stalin is still determined to renew his invisible miserable effort, it is only because he needs some story to cover up the assassination of comrade Blumkin.

The *Rote Fahne* ends its article with a panegyric on Stalin as the chosen disciple of Lenin. We know that similar panegyrics in all Parties are now the *sine qua non* conditions for maintaining one's position: of editor, secretary, people's commissar, or of president of the Comintern. But even so we find that the editor of the *Rote Fahne* links up quite imprudently the question of Blumkin with Stalin's character and his relations with Lenin.

It is a fact that Lenin was hostile to the nomination of Stalin as secretary. He expressed his fear that "this cook will serve us a peppery dish". Naturally, in 1921 Lenin could not yet foresee such well-

seasoned dishes as the murder of Blumkin. It is also a fact that in Lenin's Testament to the Party, Lenin pointed out Stalin's disloyalty, his tendency to abuse power, and recommended that Stalin be retired from his important post. Another fact is that immediately after the Testament—March 6th, 1923—Lenin in a letter broke all personal relations with Stalin for his disloyalty and crimes.

The Dictatorship of Stalin and its Consequences

This was the state of affairs seven years ago, when the position of secretary of the Communist Party had a strictly subordinate importance and when all power rested in the Political Bureau directed by Lenin. Now the situation is radically changed. The domination of the apparatus has become a personal dictatorship of Stalin. The role of the public opinion of the Party is one hundred-times less. Stalin's disloyalty has revealed itself armed with unheard of practices and directed against its own Party. The Blumkin affair uncovers this new position with frightful force.

Yes, the assassination of Blumkin will be utilized by the class enemies and above all by the Socialists. But who is to blame? Those who have engendered this odious affair, that is, the murder of Blumkin. The Stalinists could not have failed to understand what are the consequences of such a crime. They could not have failed to understand that the Opposition would not keep silent. Because to keep silent would mean to unchain the Stalinist bureaucracy and to prepare tens and hundreds of affairs similar to the Blumkin case.

That is why we declare to the official editors, to the secretaries and functionaries—the Posters, Minors, Bedachts and even the small Browders: "We shall not permit you to evade a reply by covering yourselves with a polemic on the bourgeois journalists and social democrats and popes. We shall compel you to render an accounting before the workers of what has happened. We shall compel you to answer the question: "Do you take the responsibility for the murder of the Bolshevik Blumkin? Yes or No?"

Mass Unemployment Continues

(Continued from Page 1)

burg Cabmen's strike, Aberle Mill strike in Philadelphia, etc) are to be noted the defensive but militant struggles by the rank and file of the workers against the bosses.

In view of the acuteness of the industrial situation generally and mass unemployment particularly and the rising distress and discontent among the masses, bourgeois politicians, and now also the socialists and the A. F. of L. fakers, in New York, have been forced to take note of the situation and to propose "remedies". Theirs is the role of lightning rods to divert the discontent of the masses into harmless (to the bosses and to the reformist and labor fakers) channels. These socialists and fakers have access to and contact with the bosses and governmental agencies, which permit them to gain publicity for their proposals. Without direct pressure from the Left wing and the Communists, they feel free to betray the interests of the workers. The Emergency Conference on Unemployment, representing the Socialists and the A. F. of L. unions in New York has proposed, as one of its "solutions" to unemployment, that the Police Department (!) shall conduct a census as to the number of persons out of work. This is indeed touching, if it were not tragic and disgusting.

Socialists Propose Unemployment Census by Police

The reformists and labor fakers are willing to turn over the unemployed into the gentle hands of the soft-spoken Whalen. This same Police Department, under Whalen's direction and O. K'd by Mayor James Walker, beats the unemployed, provokes riots at unemployed demonstrations, acknowledges the use of spies among labor organizations and use of the blacklist to deprive workers of their livelihood, is to be "the census-taker of the unemployed! In brief, by the approval of the socialists and labor fakers, the Police Department is to be permitted to bully and spy and lie about

the unemployed situation and then to report to the bosses what they are told to say.

To divert attention from the situation of mass unemployment, the repressive measures against the Left wing and Communists are continued and intensified. In New York parents of children who attended the March 6th unemployment demonstration were sentenced to a day in jail for permitting their children to solidarize with the unemployed. A Young Pioneer has been given the vicious sentence of five years in the reformatory. Communist leaders of the unemployed in New York appear for trial on April 11th on charges of felonious assault and provoking an unlawful assembly on March 6th. A jury trial, which the defendants requested, was not granted. The United States Department of Labor has approved the method of spying, blacklisting and brutality against the workers.

Repressive Acts Against Workers Don't Solve Unemployment Crisis

But these repressive measures cannot do away with the fact that American capitalism is unable to solve the unemployment problem, and that more and more numbers of workers are beginning to question the "benefits" of capitalist society. The only possible solution of unemployment and capitalism's other ills lies in the struggle for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a government of the workers. This is the important lesson that is being taught by the Communists in the unemployed situation. At the same time, the Communists propose as the only workable immediate measures to relieve the acute condition of unemployment: Work or Compensation to be provided for by the bosses and the government; a decrease in working hours to allow for more men to be employed; elimination of the speed-up system that breeds unemployment, etc.

The official Communist Party, unfortunately, still continues a policy that iso-

SUFFERING AMONG JOBLESS GROWS

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Suffering from unemployment among factory workers in New York state has grown rapidly worse, so that in the past six weeks there has been a 200% increase in the number of families who have been given outdoor relief by organized charities, Miss Frances Perkins, state industrial commissioner, told the Senate committee on commerce, March 21.

The families thus driven to ask aid from organized charity, the commissioner explained, were those normally supported by the wages of their own members. A survey of one-third of the factory workers in the state she said, showed that 9% reduction in jobs had taken place since Oct. 4 last. This would make a total of 135,000 factory workers in this one state join the army of the unemployed since the beginning of October. In the building trades the suffering was even worse, while the "white collar" workers, including the clerical and sales people were likewise suffering acutely. Employment conditions are worse today, she declared, than at any time since 1914.

What makes the general economic situation for the workers more serious, Miss Perkins told the committee, is that those who are employed are by no means all working full time. Hence the totals for the unemployed do not tell the whole story of suffering.

Couzens and Hiram Johnson asked her view of unemployment insurance. The commissioner replied that her staff was engaged in a study of the matter. Government insurance against unemployment, compulsory on the employers, she said, is strongly opposed by many employers "and taxpayers"

John B. Andrews of the American Association for Labor Legislation recited the history of Congress' failure to act on planned unemployment relief since 1914. He testified that unemployment conditions in the region of New York City are the worst since 1914.

lates it more and more from genuine mass contact. It has failed to date to make proposals for a united front of all labor organizations on the issue of unemployment, and thereby plays into the hands of the socialists and labor fakers who are now stepping into the situation with their false and betraying proposals.

The Communist party has substituted a policy of mass meetings and demonstrations, coupled with gross exaggeration and self-praise of its achievements, very much like in the days of Lovestone, for a policy of systematic education and organization of the unemployed, linked with the employed and the organized and unorganized. It is this policy which makes of the March 29th National Unemployment conference in New York only a caricature of what it should and could be. Preparations are indeed "rushed" as the *Daily Worker* reports; but preparations which could have made the gathering a really representative one of delegates from various labor organizations and all sections of labor have not been made. Thereby the March 29th conference dooms itself to a talkfest.

It is still necessary that the Communist Party shall change its course if there is to be a mobilization of the widest possible number of workers and organizations for the relief of the unemployed. We have stated this before and shall continue to do so until the sectarianism of the present party leadership is rooted out and done away with. The opportunity is yet here for a broad united front movement for the unemployed.

The Communist Party is letting golden opportunities slip by to reach and hold large numbers of workers with the Communist message on unemployment and for the cause of Communism, the only true salvation for the working masses. We urge again: for the interests of the unemployed; for the adequate defense of the arrested workers; for the struggle against capitalism; for Communism—the Party must change its course and unite, first of all, all Communist forces as a preliminary basis for a broad struggle against unemployment and capitalism. —M. A.

An Open Letter to All Members of the Leninbund

Esteemed Comrades:

by L. D. TROTSKY

It is perfectly clear from the circular dated January 29, 1930 published by the Leninbund, that the conference of the Leninbund scheduled for February 23 has for its task the formal sanctioning of the conflict, by the exclusion of the Marxist Opposition. The bureau of the Leninbund itself defined the task in this manner.

I leave aside completely all personalities and all disputes and recriminations relative to the organization itself. These, naturally, are of certain significance in the life of the organization. Nevertheless, they cannot decide the question of unity or splitting of the party; this question must be solved by the interaction of differences in principle, theoretical and political. It is not always, nor under all circumstances, that unity within the organization must remain inviolate. In cases where the differences assume a fundamental character, a split at times appears to be the only solution possible. But care must be taken that this be a genuine split, i. e., that it should not depart from the line of differences in principle and that this line is brought clean-cut before the eyes of all the members of the organization.

Leaving this angle, it is necessary to say that the circular letter of the bureau of the Leninbund of the 20th and 29th of January cannot but better prepare the ground for a split through proceeding in the most dangerous and pernicious manner to place in the foreground the question of disagreement, while distorting the sense of the differences in principle by means of false information. This I shall attempt to prove.

Has the Urbahns Faction Any Adherents?

The point of departure in the present differences is that of the class character of the Soviet Union. This question is not national but international. No revolutionary organization exists or can exist which has not reached a conclusion for itself on this question, and which has not drawn the necessary "internal" conclusions therefrom. It is impossible to have a correct national policy without a solution of this international question.

The bureau of the Leninbund claims in its circular that Urbahns' point of view on "the class character of the Soviet Union" is adhered to by the following organizations: "the majority of the Belgian opposition, the Treint group and 'Centre le Courant' in France, the Czech group, and to a large extent by the American opposition."

This false allegation, counting on the lack of information among the membership of the Leninbund, is made with the intention of leading them into a serious error. Any local organization of the Leninbund can easily obtain the proper information by merely writing to the above-named groups.

The bureau of the Belgian opposition has published several erroneous articles on the subject of the Chinese-Eastern Railway. It has, nevertheless, determinedly broken with the bureau of the Leninbund on everything relating to the class character of the Soviet Union. This makes it quite proper for us to look upon the error of the Brussels comrades as of an individual and episodic character. Similar errors are inevitable in the course of carrying on work. To break because of these individual errors would be absolutely criminal. But a break becomes inevitable when the deviations give rise to an orientation false in principle. An irreconcilable difference exists between the bureau of the Leninbund and that of the Belgian opposition on the question of the class character of the Soviet Union. Communicate with Brussels, comrades, and be convinced.

As far as fundamental questions are concerned, two French groups—Treint and "Centre Le Courant"—ranged themselves from the very beginning, at least formally, on the side of the Russian Opposition. I

know of no document which would lead one to believe that they were ever at one with Urbahns on the question of the class character of the Soviet Union. Is it possible that they have changed their opinions of late? I do not know. In any case, you would render a great service not only to yourselves but also to the Treint and Paz groups by asking for their attitude towards the class character of the Soviet Union at the present time, February, 1930.

By the term "Czech group", the circular plainly refers to a small group of Prague students having, as I understand, no connection with the working-class movement. This group does not maintain a publication. Judging from its physiognomy, I would say that this group does, in truth, share Urbahns' point of view.

But what is unquestionably pure invention, is the assertion in the circular concerning the American Opposition. From the evidence of the *Militant*, the group's weekly paper and one of the best among the organs of the Communist press, the Communist League of America has nothing in common with Urbahns' point of view.

Hence, as far as the question of basic differences is concerned—aside from the small group of Prague students—the bureau of the Leninbund is completely isolated. And why be surprised? Urbahns, in developing and aggravating his error in his recent articles, gives us a new theory of the state which, in general, has nothing in common with the Marxian theory and which is distinguished from social-democratic theory only by its phraseology.

Do Not Forget the International Opposition

The two circulars attempt to define the attitude of the Opposition in the following manner: "Whoever does not share comrade Trotsky's opinions is not opposed to Leninism." They are driven to this infamous subterfuge as a means of alleviating the isolation of the Leninbund bureau. And why does Urbahns speak of "Comrade Trotsky's opinions"? The Russian Opposition has a platform established through the direct participation of hundreds of comrades. For defending this platform, thousands of comrades have been subjected to expulsion, to arrest, to deportation, and even to being shot. So to speak here of the personal opinions of comrade Trotsky is proof of a revolting disregard and disrespect toward the Russian Opposition.

The Leninbund Bureau persistently fails to take note of the Verite group in France, which maintains a political weekly and a monthly theoretical journal, *La Lutte des Classes*. He is blind who does not understand that this group is today the pivot around which is united the Communist Opposition in France.

The Communist League of America represents one of the best sections of the Opposition and is growing daily. The Leninbund bureau does not seem to realize this. Regarding the Belgian Opposition, there is no doubt that despite the disputes that have arisen in its midst, it will not hesitate for an instant in choosing between the International Opposition and the Urbahns group. The Leninbund bureau shuts its eyes to facts and lulls itself, as well as others, with vain hopes.

The Czech Left Opposition (comrade Leonorovitch's group) which carries on activity among the workers, and is about to start editing its journal, shares the point of view of the International Opposition on all fundamental questions.

The Chinese Opposition is no less irreconcilable with the opinions of Urbahns.

Lastly, the Leninbund bureau has no reason to expect any support whatever from the Opposition in Italy, Spain, Hungary, etc.

Even if the Leninbund bureau could hope to derive support from any foreign groups, it is only—and then only to a certain extent—from the groups represent-

ed by Treint and Paz. And yet, have they achieved an agreement in principle on any question whatever? Let them tell us openly.

The Urbahns Bloc Treint and Paz

Urbahns is the adherent of an independent party. This is his dominant idea. Treint and Paz up till now have been against this. Have they arrived at an agreement at the present time? And on precisely what point?

Urbahns has again put up his "independent" candidates in the municipal elections against the candidates of the Communist Party. With what result?—the continued weakening of the Leninbund. With Urbahns this suicidal policy is motivated by the idea of creating a second party. Are Treint and Paz of the same mind? Let them declare themselves. Or perhaps these internationalists are not interested in German affairs.

And how does this bear on the unions? Paz is for autonomy in the unions, but—differing from Monatte—does not deny the need for a Communist Party. This is an old Jauresist attitude, diplomatic and opportunist to the core; an attitude which Marxists have never stopped attacking and which they will always continue to attack mercilessly in the future. Does Urbahns ally himself with the party of trade union autonomy, in this Jauresist sense? Or does he think that French affairs do not concern him?

Will Treint and Paz work with Urbahns and with the Brandler bloc formed in the midst of the trade unions, against the Communist Party? or perhaps Treint and Paz believe that they are not interested in affairs at Hamburg?

In what light does Urbahns look at Paz's touching romance with the national "communists" of Alsace? Or does Urbahns consider it not worth his while to be interested in Alsace since its cession to France?

Let us see, then—what is the particular point on which these three groups could manage to agree? It is only on the point of the struggle against the Russian Opposition. All three have censured Rakovsky's declaration. Indeed, they are too revolutionary for such "compromises". There are good grounds for thinking so. They recognize the policy of a united front with the social democracy, with the reformist trade unions, with the Brandlerites, with the Alsatian nationalists—but they consider inadmissible the united front tactic with the official Communist Parties. The fact is that if we examine, not from a fanciful or demagogic, but from a political point of view, Rakovsky's declaration, it is seen to represent nothing but the Opposition's policy of a united front toward the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Urbahns' attitude in this question is again explained by his orientation on a second party. But how are we to explain the attitude of Treint and Paz? There is no explanation—except the confusion and complete absence of principles in their thinking.

In a word, their thoughts, without exception, consist only of reticences, diplomacy, ambiguities and quibbling. The new allies do not dare to approach any question seriously and in earnest, fearing that the structure of this newly-concluded amalgamation, built on sand, will start tottering. This is adventurism in ideas. It has never been successful—and never will be.

It is Indispensable to Obtain Unity of the Opposition

Several months ago, the bureau of the Leninbund expelled comrades Grylevitch and Joko—defenders of the opinions of the International Opposition. This gesture alone is enough to show that the Urbahns group has no desire to work hand in hand with the International Opposition. It is unmistakably clear that we cannot admit

two sets of opinions: one of them for our own particular use, and the other—for the world. This duality is and always has been the characteristic trait of opportunists, especially of the Brandlerites. Their "internationalism" is, as everyone knows, nothing but the arithmetical sum of national oppositions added together. With this we have nothing in common. Our international orientation and our national policy are bound together by unbreakable ties.

From its first steps, the Opposition must clearly declare itself as an international fraction—as did the Communist parties in the period of the publication of the Communist Manifesto or of the First International, or of the Left Zimmerwald at the beginning of the war. In all these cases the groups were mostly small numerically, or even isolated individuals: all, nevertheless, conducted themselves as though representing an entire international organization. In the epoch of imperialism, a similar attitude imposes itself a hundred times more categorically than in the time of Marx.

Whoever imagines that the International Left will at a given time be reduced to the simple expression of the national groups added together, and that for this reason the formation of its international unity can be delayed until the national groups feel themselves "strengthened"—attributes only a secondary importance to the international factor and, by this very means, lands on the road of national opportunism.

It is undeniable that each country has its characteristic traits which may be very important in themselves; but in our epoch their true value cannot be estimated nor can they be made useful to the revolutionary cause except when looked at from an international point of view. But only international organization can represent international ideology.

Can anyone seriously believe it possible that these isolated opposition groups, abandoned and left to their own efforts, should find the right road? No. Their road will be one that will lead them direct to degeneracy, sectarianism, in short, to their doom. In order to attain its aims, the International Opposition must surmount enormous difficulties. It is only by being indissolubly bound together, by working out together the answers to the questions of the hour, by creating an international platform, by imposing on ourselves the reciprocal verification of each step; in a word, it is only by uniting in a single international entity, that the national opposition groups can carry through to the end their historic task.

This applies to all groups without exception, and above all to the Russian Opposition. The year which has just passed is a year of capitulations, large sections of the Russian Opposition have been infected by this epidemic, and this happened only because of their isolation from other opposition groups in foreign countries; because they were not present at and did not know the life of the Communist International; in general because they had not reflected well on the problems before it. It is because of this that they allowed themselves to be made ridiculous by the Stalinist left zig-zags on internal question in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

True and False Internationalism

The Left Opposition has already lost enough time. The disastrous development of the Leninbund, the errors of certain national groups, the marking time of others, have been due to the powerful, even decisive, role played by the national isolation of the groups and their simplistic methods of political activity. If the Communist Left Opposition does not wish an inglorious end, its reduction to zero, it must cast away from itself these tendencies of expectation and consolidate its international ranks.

The Brandlerites pride themselves on not having connections with any Russian groups. What does this mean? A revolutionary organization which is not in agree-

Continued on Page 5

Throughout the World of Labor

Conditions of the German Workers and the Communists

Berlin

The past few weeks have evidenced new surges in the unemployment wave. Each month adds at least 40,000 new recruits to the army of the jobless. But the work is still in the stage of ascent and has not at all reached its high point as yet. No one has any illusions about this. Quite the contrary:

The statistical publication of the *Institut für Konjunkturforschung* reckons with an enormous growth of unemployment in the spring, due to the matriculation and introduction into industry of about half a million young workers, apprentices. This is aside from the regular conjunctural increases (seasonal, etc.). It adds: that in order to keep unemployment from becoming menacingly critical, Germany would have to increase its exports at the present rate of 100 million Reichsmarks per month. Which looks quite impossible at present.

Another issue of the same periodical reports a semi-monthly decrease of .1% in the consumption of nourishing foods among the working class population. When we keep in mind the recent fall of prices in eggs, milk, butter, meat, "colonial wares" (cocoa, etc.) and in food products in general, we can realize the importance of even such a "harmless" figure to its full extent.

Unemployment, and the reduction of maintenance for the unemployed (Hilferding only prepared the ground for a steady procedure towards the liquidation of the maintenance) in direct proportion to each other and—inversely with food consumption. Three million unemployed—with their families this means: nine million beings on starvation rations. This means the most gruesome misery for one-seventh of the population, a fate that awaits millions more in the period to come.

Bourgeoisie on the Offensive

So entrenched has the ruling class become with the aid of their reformist lackeys, that it has resolved to discard them completely from their employ in politics and to subjugate them completely in their service as trade union agents. The bourgeoisie are out for the whole booty. In a recent number of its official organ, the *Arbeitsgeber*, it demands of the A.D.G.B. leaders, half in threat, half in entreaty, full subordination. It demands that the reformist bureaucracy surrender the "American" theory that high wages bring prosperity; it demands of them (who have shown such concern for the "recuperation" of "German" industry, for the promotion of the "national" export trade, etc.) a promise not to ask for a wage increase when most of the wage-agreements in the metal and textile industries terminate (in the spring and fall of this year). Because, they entreat: all the benefits that you and we, in our concentrated efforts to "unburden industry" by recoiling from all mention of industrial increases, by stuffing the "broad" shoulders of the proletariat—because, all this noble work which we have accomplished for the "national weal"—will be spoiled by such a demand.

Social Democrats Continue to Sell Out Workers

And they hold up the shining example of sacrifice that Bill Green and the other darlings of the American bourgeoisie made for the "common good", when these A. F. of L. fakers, in the now famous conference with Hoover and the bosses, promised not to "annoy" the latter with similar demands in "the period of national crisis".

The reformists will capitulate here too—according to precedent. For the ultimate good of their economic philosophy is the accumulation of capital for the promotion of the export trade and the capitalist import. No sacrifice, no working class sacrifice, is too great for these reptiles

who still have the audacity to call themselves representatives of the workers. (In their zeal for betrayal they are far to the Right of even some bourgeois liberals, like the well-known economist, Prof. Bernhard, who sees a solution to the capitalists' troubles in price sinking in the domestic market, in place of what he calls wasteful dumping on the foreign market.) The main things for them are the government posts and their salaries. For the sake of these, everything else will be surrendered. Amsterdam and the A. D. G. B. have moved so far in the direction of Mathew Woll, that it becomes really difficult to find the least distinction between them. Each delivers the goods to the national bosses. Each according to the local needs.

The Attacks on the Workers' Organizations

Naturally, the economic offensive of the bosses is only the axis of an offensive all along the line. While the unemployed are being robbed of their last support, the bourgeoisie are feverishly arming the soldiers of civil war, the police. The state budget "cannot" meet its slightest obligations to the starving, but it can and does proportion enormous sums for the equipment of churches and for every other means of strangling the working class. But the hungry masses can't and won't let themselves be intimidated by the black-jacks of the police, by lead balls, or by horses' hoofs. There is a limit to silent suffering.

The bosses and their social-democratic police sergeants think that by slandering the Soviet Union, that by jailing the editors of the militant labor press, that by dissolving the proletarian defense organizations and by driving the leader of the working class, the Communist Party, underground, they will stifle the angry protest of the hungry nine millions. They will be sadly disappointed.

The party, overpowered and made impotent by its hazardous course of empty phrases, is struggling to disentangle itself from the self-imposed shackles. It is having a very hard time. It has lost many positions in the trade unions; a rebellion has spread among its own functionaries.

The Opportunism of the Brandlerites

Now that the militant spirit of solidarity has really impregnated a broad layer of workers and unemployed, with and without the aid of the Party, the Brandlerites are very reticent with "positive proposals" for action, of which they usually have their mouths full. The 6th of March they don't consider worth noticing. Instead of making any move for a united front (desired or not) with the Party, to exploit the favorable situation for immediate action, the programists, the apostles of "mass work", are concentrating all their attention to win the trade union rebels of the Party for their factional platform. Their "emergency program" is an opportunist piece of work. It appeals for a broad proletarian defensive struggle, for immediate demands for relief and unburdening of the masses. Very good. But it does not point out a single guiding principle, by which the social democratic, Catholic workers can find their way after the experiences of the impending struggles, into the red front of the proletarian revolution, into the ranks of the Communists.

The Need For a Clear Left Communist Opposition

The Communist Party is in agony. The leaders are helpless. They have shown themselves as pitifully incompetent as theoreticians and, consequently, as organizers. A strong left opposition, clear in principles, homogeneous in its own ranks, equipped with a real bolshevik platform and an unequivocal attitude toward the role of the Party, could fill a burning need in Germany at present. The masses are ready to begin the struggle, which is to mold them into a solid phalanx against the tottering capitalist order.

March 2nd.

S. GORDON

The Labor Movement In South Africa

(The following excerpts of a letter take up questions that are yet in the process of discussion and decision in the Communist League of America. No doubt its contents will prove of interest to our readers, besides giving further evidence that the Opposition is making its way into every section of the world.—Ed.)

Johannesburg

The Militant

I was indeed glad to get your letter of the 18th. January, and more particularly the copies of the *Militant*.

It will also interest you to know that I was a member of the Communist Party (South African section of the Communist International) of which I was a foundation member. The section was formed in 1921, and for many years prior to that I was an active member and official of the Industrial Socialist League which afterwards became the Cape Town branch of the Communist Party. In the Communist Party I held at various times the respective positions of Treasurer, Assistant Secretary and Acting Editor of the party organ, whilst for several years in succession I was a member of the Central Executive. In addition I was for many years secretary of a large trade union (Witwatersrand Tailors' Association) and treasurer and executive member of the South African Trade Union Congress (an exclusively European body, excluding native workers from membership) which posts I relinquished over two years ago.

The cause which led to the severance of my connection with the Communist Party was the newly-adopted policy of "An Independent Native Republic, with autonomy for national minorities" (meaning the whites mainly) was one to which I was unable to subscribe. In the circumstances it seemed to me to be a gross departure from the principles of Marxism and Leninism. Let me give you a brief outline of the position in South Africa.

The Working Class in South Africa

Our working class is divided on racial lines—Europeans and non-Europeans. The hostility of each of these sections towards the other has been born of their relative positions of superiority and inferiority in every sphere. This hostility has been aggravated by discriminatory laws and more particularly by the action of the Europeans in maintaining a rigid "color bar". Most of the natives are disenfranchised, they are made to carry "passes" (licenses to be abroad), are subjected to gross ill-treatment and brutality. The native who attains high educational standards is no less contemptuously treated on that account. Europeans refuse to work with natives on certain (skilled or semi-skilled) jobs and they debar them from entering their trade unions (the natives have now commenced organising their own trade unions).

The white population of the Union of South Africa is approximately 1 3-4 millions; the native approximately 6 millions. The majority of the native workers are agricultural laborers, whilst those whom the development of industry has driven to the towns are engaged in unskilled occupations. The key positions in industry, commerce and communications are held by white workers. On the average natives' wages are about one quarter of what the whites earn. Needless to remark, the comparatively high wages of the whites in the town are possible because of the very low wage-standards of the native workers—a parallel position with that of British and Indian workers before the war. Capitalism uses the bribe of high wages to retain the loyalty of the whites who can in the circumstances be relied upon to police the mass of discontented under-paid natives.

The artificial color-bar raised by the

whites has for some time shown signs of relaxing. It has been found that measures such as these do not stem the advancing tide of the cheap native worker. Europeans' wage standards were definitely endangered when by a court decision, the color-bar in the gold-mining industry, which debarred natives from skilled occupations, was declared *ultra vires* the constitution and upset. The European workers then lent readier ear to the message of the Communist Party, bidding them assist, if for no higher motive than self-interest, the native to secure higher wages and thus eliminate competition based on differing wage-standards. The legal color-bar having gone by the board it was natural that the rest should follow. The Communist slogan: "Workers of all lands, Unite!" found a more ready response among the whites. Some trade unions went the length of admitting non-Europeans to membership.

The Comintern Policy

Then came the Comintern's new slogan for South Africa: "An Independent Native Republic, with autonomy for racial minorities". The Europeans naturally asked: "Why a Native republic? Why not a Workers' and Peasants' Republic?—why is the white working class (a not insignificant part of the proletariat) contemptuously left out of the programme and relegated to a definite position of inferiority?" To these plain questions there has been no answer forthcoming. Within the C. P. these have been the effects of the new policy:

1. Racial animosity on the part of the native members towards the European members has grown and is developing to an almost incredible degree, the native members logically interpreting the slogan as implying superiority for themselves over the hated oppressor (white Communists are included here) and

2. Wholesale desertion of the white proletarian members who would not subscribe to the abandonment of the Marxist slogan "Workers of all lands, unite!" and its substitution by a black (native) chauvinism. Comrade S. P. Bunting, who attended the last world congress in Moscow was contemptuously dubbed a "Social Democrat" when he said that the white workers in South Africa must be taken into account in the framing of the programme. (These same comrades, Bunting and E. R. Roux, voted for Trotsky's expulsion from the Comintern against their own convictions on the matter.)

The above have been the effects within the Party of the new policy. Translate this to the wider field of the whole working class movement and it will be seen that the Party is now completely isolated from the white section of the proletariat—the most advanced, the most intelligent, the most class conscious, whilst the old racial antagonism has revived in active form. Many native workers have been won by the new policy, but at the price of the relinquishment of Marxism and the adoption of petty bourgeois slogans.

It seems to me that the Marxist-Leninist structure of the Comintern has been dangerously undermined, its fundamental principles thrown overboard. For freedom of discussion in the Party ranks has been substituted a so-called discipline which requires as the only virtues in a Communist ability to speak heatedly of the "errors of Trotskyism" and preparedness to sacrifice good comrades to the fetish of the "third period". Healthy inner-Party criticism is dead (Shades of Lenin!). Loyalty to Stalin and Co. is the supremem virtue.

There are adherents of the Opposition in this country. But we are all scattered. We are, nevertheless, much interested in what is going on in other countries and I welcome the receipt of your paper and will be glad to hear from you from time to time.

With comradely good wishes,

Fraternally yours,

C. FRANK GLASS

The Labor Party and the Tasks of the Communists

By ARNE SWABECK

With ever increasing signs of deep-going changes facing the American workers, which are partly already beginning, it is of the utmost importance to recognize the present actual level of development to be able to prepare correctly for the next steps. Proceeding from that point it becomes clear that the movement toward a conscious class position will of necessity first pass some stages of rather elementary expression. Will the reformist labor party stage be one, and if so what should be the attitude of revolutionists?

The practically complete allegiance of the workers, in so far as they give any political expression, to the capitalist parties has almost become proverbial in the United States. There is no reason further to elaborate on this, except to add that particularly here parliamentary elections can only be a partial indication of working class sentiments. But in the field of economic organization there is no less backwardness shown by the vast number of workers in the manufacturing and basic industries. They are almost entirely unorganized. The Handbook of American Trade Unions claims a total membership today in all unions of 4, 331, 251. It was never higher at the peak figures in 1920 than 5, 110, 800, thus clearly informing us that the great majority of the working class have not had experience in any kind of unionism. Here we must also record the fact that within these unions there is today practically no organized left wing in existence.

Status of the New Unions

Would it be correct to say that these unorganized workers are ready for organization but have been denied the opportunity because of the reactionary and craft ideology of the present unions? Undoubtedly that is so in the case of a good many thousands; but one must not lose sight of realities. Nowhere have the workers as yet begun in the unorganized industries to move toward elementary forms of shop organizations.

How does the case then stand with the new industrial unions sponsored by the Trade Union Unity League? Healthy growth here would naturally be a very strong indication of rapid ideological advancement of the working class. Unfortunately that is not so. These unions have remained at a very small membership and although the future holds good possibilities if correct policies are formulated for their function, the fact remains that a swing toward mass support for the new unions cannot yet be recorded.

There are other means of gauging working class development, for instance, through its press. However, compared to the capitalist dailies mounting into many millions of issues per day throughout the country the press representing labor is limited indeed. Its revolutionary section reaches only some thousands of readers. Many former labor papers of a somewhat progressive tinge have disappeared, sold out or exist as a shadow of their former strength.

The Labor Struggles in Recent Years

Perhaps, despite all these facts, the field of actual working class struggle by way of strikes, organized or unorganized, gives a different impression of the level of development. As yet, that cannot be said to be the case. While latest figures are not available it remains a well known fact that since 1922 the number of actual strikes and workers participating in them has shown a steady decline. Only, and that is important as a trend of recent events, there has been a healthy sign of militancy displayed in such strikes, as among the textile workers in Passaic, New Bedford, Gastonia and Marion; in the ill-fated Illinois miner's strike; in the New Orleans street carmen's strike and at present in the Pittsburgh taxicab strike and the Philadelphia Aberle mill strike.

This is how matters stand just now with the working class, the actual level from which changes will proceed; and they are not the conditions of pre-war America, but of today, under a highly developed capitalist imperialism. On the other hand, we note the extremely important begin-

nings of militancy—indicative for the future.

Nevertheless, all factors considered, the most elementary steps toward a class movement of the American workers are yet to be taken. The response given in several instances to the unemployment demonstrations on March 6th, led by Communists, although not yet signifying a conscious class basis, is however, one of the definite indications of the accelerating speed of developments in this present epoch.

But proceeding from the actual level of the working class organizationally, politically and ideologically, it is hardly possible that the political reformist stage can be avoided as a definite part of future developments. In the main European industrial countries this stage has assumed its definite place, embracing almost the entire working class and is in most instances yet at its height. The forces which will initiate and furnish leadership to it in this country can already be discerned.

Perspectives in the A. F. of L.

From the upper hierarchy of the A.F. of L. the mildest labor reformist movement has met decided opposition in the past. Its political policy is a natural reflex of its own position as part of the employers' industrial staff. This is important because of the strategic role of the organized section, even if relatively small in numbers, in the course of labor developments. But with a continued radicalization of the workers in general, the very pressure will be furnished from below which may easily strike a response among certain strata of the lower union officialdom and impel them forward to give leadership to a breakaway from the traditional two party system toward a labor party. More surely is this so since it will simultaneously afford the opportunity to ward off the masses, at least for a period, from any inclination toward the revolutionary movement, and to steer it into the safer channels of political reformism. Thus, such breakaways may become closely associated with a revolt against the policies and class collaboration practices of the A. F. of L. hierarchy. The miners' insurgent convention in Springfield, Ill., held March 10th, may be one classical illustration of just such revolts. Although not yet a breakaway, still through the working class forces it sets into motion, it can become rich in potentialities. The radicalization already manifest, the beginning of a stir within the trade unions, all speeded on by the general critical conditions, present a seeming paradox:—defensive struggles, containing explosive material, with mass demonstrations and possibly open violent outbursts, yet politically only the reformist stage of a labor party approaches. Upon closer investigation, however, it will be seen that this seeming paradox is but an exact reflex of the dialectical process.

Some Labor Party History

It would hardly be an exaggeration to state that no issue has manifested so much confusion within the revolutionary movement during the last few years as has the labor party issue. In 1922, after a sharp struggle within the Workers Party, the correct conception of the possible growth of a labor party as an elementary expression of political development of the American workers and the duty of the Communists to function as a revolutionary factor in these developments, was adopted. But soon, digressions into adventurism and opportunism took the upper hand, making a caricature of a correct conception. The Communists, regardless of forces available and of the tempo of development, embarked upon the building of a labor party. It had its beginning in the August thesis, whose author was John Pepper. This thesis visualized each group within the labor movement—the Socialist party, the trade union group and the Communists with its own labor party. Two classes in one party, the farmer-labor party, became the accepted thing and from there it was just a short step to the formation of the Federated Farmer Labor party. As it never

became a party in reality, the tide rapidly turned toward the fiction of the La Follette alliance. This fallacy became decisively exposed only after the direct intervention of comrade Trotsky, then not yet exiled from the Comintern.

But with the intensified Centrist struggle against the Russian Communist Opposition, headed by Trotsky, the rapidly Stalinized Comintern became intoxicated with these entirely false farmer-labor practices of the American Communists. This was best expressed in the report of the Comintern political secretary, comrade Kolaroff, to the Fifth Congress, running in part as follows:

"The small farmers in the United States have organized a farmer-labor party, which becomes constantly more and more radicalized, comes closer to the Communists and is saturated with the idea of the establishment of a farmer-labor government in the United States." (?) (*Pravda*, July 6, 1924). Nothing more and nothing less.

The Sectarian Party Policy

With the American party leadership the zig-zag still continued at dizzying speed. At the Cleveland T. U. U. L. convention last summer a most ridiculous resolution was adopted providing for the establishment of a labor party which would be against the left social democrats, the Muskettes, etc., where "no reformist elements could sneak into its ranks" (!!!). Finally the party leadership has adopted a standpoint rejecting any labor party perspective, while the Sixth Comintern Congress still adheres to one organized from below. But then, changes to the exact opposite are simple matters today under the Stalin leadership.

Of late, the labor party question has been discussed in the party press. Joseph Zack in articles in the December and January *Communist*, takes the position that reformism has already run its course in the United States through the period of the labor aristocracy organized in the A.F. of L., although not appearing here in the European clothes of a social-democratic or a labor party. He seems further to contend that while labor parties were possible in this country in the pre-monopolistic era, now, under monopoly capitalism, they are out of the question because of the sharpened class struggle. Of course, Zack has always shown aptitude in building up a series of arguments based upon seemingly perfect logic but entirely forgetting the dialectical process from which working class developments are not immune or separated.

It is somewhat different with the article of Max Bedacht in the December issue. He appears to recognize the correctness of the Party position arrived at in 1922 and subsequently approved at the Fourth Comintern congress. Remembering his sinful past as an important cog in the Lovestone-Pepper Right wing faction, and not underestimating the weakness of the flesh, he rushes in ahead of Zack and proclaims: "Me for the 'left' too". He discovers that now in the "third period" matters stand differently than way back in 1922. The "social fascist" Socialist party, the petty bourgeois liberals and the sections of the labor aristocracy bribed by imperialism, will be in the labor party too and hence he concludes:

"Under the present conditions, when the reality of the labor party does no longer represent independent political action of the working class (so!) but represents open imperialist policies under cover of an anti-imperialist firm, propaganda for a labor party can no longer represent propaganda for independent political action but becomes propaganda for an under cover instrument of imperialism.... My conclusion therefore is that it is impossible at this moment to use the labor party slogan and the labor party movement unqualifiedly in the campaign for the development of independent political action of the workers."

Role of Labor Fakery and Socialists

But was not already in 1922 the role of the Socialist party, petty bourgeois liberals, etc., not only indicated but appearing in all its maturity; if not here, then at least elsewhere? Was it not then clearly recognized that, although Socialist party leaders, labor fakery and labor party leaders will cunningly and violently betray the workers when the latter can no longer be fooled by reformist illusions, nevertheless the separation from the bondage of the capitalist parties would mean an important step forward for the workers? Was it not recognized that in that process the Communists must move with the masses and always endeavor to extend its revolutionary influence? Of course it was, although the "third period" had not yet been invented. But despite all this well-known history, Bedacht, by theoretical magic, constructs a jumping-off board designed to make the leap over the political reformist stage in one easy jump. That is to be the "political united front". An elegant expression, whatever it may mean. He solves it very simply by basing it upon the Communist nuclei in the factories. Unfortunately, this leap will most likely never get beyond the stage of their theoretical dreams and the penalty for such false conclusions spells further party isolation from the masses.

The conclusions and formulations of the Stalin bureaucracy would be more nearly correct if we were in an immediately revolutionary period. That is just the little thing which is yet missing.

The Labor Party—A Perspective

The correct way to put the question is that all indications and historical experiences indicate that the labor political reformist stage is quite unavoidable also in the United States, with possibilities of some form of a labor party; and that such must be our perspective. It will surely produce leaders as reactionary as those produced in any other country who will betray, and help imperialism butcher the workers, as well as endeavor to use the labor party for that very purpose. But despite these leaders, it will also help to set the masses into motion against their class enemy. The worker will suffer bitter disappointments and experience severe struggles both of a political and industrial character in the process. But with the present rapid developments, the reformist illusions will possibly be of a very short duration. Hence our conclusion is: The Communists must remain in the most intimate contact possible with the working masses in all their experiences and struggles in order to help draw the proper lessons and lead the fight against the reactionaries; to proudly unfurl the revolutionary banner of Communism through the labor reformist stage and through the labor party, from within and without; utilize all means most speedily to help elevate the American working class to its final revolutionary position.

- CHICAGO -

PARIS COMMUNE COMMEMORATION

Saturday, March 29th, 8 p. m.

at Fleiner's Hall, 1638 N. Halsted St.

Banquet—Recitations—Entertainment

Short talk on the Lessons of the Paris Commune by John Mihelic

Auspices: Chicago Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

Admission 50c

MILWAUKEE COMMUNISTS APPEAL WORKHOUSE SENTENCES

MILWAUKEE—(FP)—Appealing from prison sentences for alleged rioting, 37 unemployed and their Communist leaders are demanding jury trials. The riot occurred March 6th when a Hearst reporter started a counter demonstration for the sake of a sensational story. Mounted Milwaukee police rode into the crowd in the best manner of veteran Pennsylvania Cossacks.

Unifying the Left Opposition

The *Militant*, in the issue of February 15th raised the question of the unification of the Left Opposition. In an article by Martin Abern entitled, "For an International Conference of the Left—the Need for Organizing the World Opposition", a number of concrete proposals were set forth to make possible such an international conference and unification. Simultaneously, *La Verite*, organ of the French Opposition, brought forward a number of proposals with a similar objective. The *Russian Bulletin of the Opposition*, official organ of the Russian Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) responded to the initiative of *La Verite*. The *Militant* is in accord with these propositions which sets the Left Opposition on the path of international organization and unification on a common principle basis. We reprint below the reply of the *Russian Bulletin of the Opposition* to *La Verite*.

The French Left Opposition which is grouped around *La Verite* has at the insistence of a number of organizations in other countries, taken the first step towards the international unification of the Left Communist Opposition.

The proposals stated in issue 24 can be summarized as follows:

1. It is necessary seriously to begin to prepare an international conference of the Left Opposition.
2. With that end in view, it is primarily necessary to create an international information bulletin.
3. The editorship of this bulletin must rest in a secretariat, especially created for this purpose.

Such a program may appear as too modest and prudent. We can certainly start by the creation of an international liaison bureau, to which would be joined the secretariat which edits the bulletin. We do not believe this question to be decisive. Of primary importance is—to start.

An International Organ

We can start with the secretariat and the bulletin for the purpose of creating, in conformity with the reactions of the different national organizations, a regular bureau for preparing for the conference. For this reason we support the proposal of *La Verite*, inasmuch as there can be no difference of opinion on the first step.

The editorial board of the *Russian Bulletin*, which is in permanent connection with the comrades in struggle in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, do not doubt for an instant that the more energetic and decisive is the initiative of the French comrades in this question, the warmer will be the support of the Russian Opposition.

The preparation of the conference is not purely an organizational step: it is primarily a political and theoretical task which may require several months.

It is not a question of a mechanical gathering of groups, even of small divergent groups, but of the unification of the international fraction whose inner homogeneity is verified in theory as well as in practice.

La Verite is right in stating that the pages of the Bulletin must be, within the frame of material and technical possibilities, open to all groups who adhere to the Left Communist Opposition. The Bulletin is an instrument (one of the instruments) in preparing for the conference. For its unification, the Opposition must proceed on a democratic course. This means that every Oppositionist must have the opportunity to be informed and to learn, with the aid of the Bulletin, about the ideas and actions of the other Left Opposition groups in order conscientiously and firmly to decide to whom he can rally. In other words, the Bulletin must serve as an instrument for unification on a clearcut principal basis.

Unity upon Principle Agreement

The German experiences of the last year are of exceptional importance to us in determining the course and perspective for the international unification of the Opposition. The policies of the Urbahns fractions have led to a split with the comrades who solidarize with the views of the Russian Opposition, *La Verite*, The *Militant*

etc. This split took place before the eyes of the international Opposition as an outgrowth of a close ideological struggle which assumed, to a certain extent, an international character. The magnitude of the differences was confirmed by experience, and the two parties have drawn the necessary consequences for themselves. It is clear that an international conference which wishes to slight similar matters in the name of "unity" will be still-born.

The political Marxist "in one country" is as impossible as the construction of a socialist society "in one country". Any group which attempts to develop a political line confined to national questions is inevitably doomed to sectarian degeneracy. That is why we do not doubt that none of the truly revolutionary groups will remain aloof, but will adopt a clearcut position on all the controversial questions and will sustain the initiative of *La Verite* in the preparations of an International Conference.

It is extremely desirable that the first number of the Bulletin, whose publication can perhaps be assigned to *La Verite*, until the secretariat is formed, appear as soon as possible and that it contain the opinions of all the European Opposition groups, at least on the question of the conference. The replies from America, Asia, etc., can be published in the following number of the international Bulletin. That would be an important beginning.

—The Editorial Board of the *Russian Bulletin of the Opposition* (Bolshevik-Leninists)

CUBANS STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)
vail among the sugar plantation workers. Formerly assured six months' work, they are now lucky to get in three or four months. During the busy season, however, there is plenty of hard work—12 hours a day worked six hours on and six hours off. For this Cuban sugar plantation workers now get 40 cents a day, contrasted with 60 cents in 1928 and a figure of \$4.00 in 1919. Sixty percent of the American capital of \$1,250,000,000 invested is in sugar. American sugar companies intensify the chronic unemployment on the island by importing Negro laborers—under slave terms—from Haiti and San Domingo. These are kept in semi-slavery compounds, guarded by troops and denied every civil liberty. The sugar workers' union was broken by Machado through force of arms in 1925. The president of the union, Enrique Varona was assassinated, as well as other union officials. The union has since functioned underground, and there have been several spontaneous strikes.

Wall Street Continues Cuban Penetration

In addition to the National City Bank of New York which has dominated Machado, the Chase National Bank of New York and the Cuban government has been negotiating for a loan of \$80,000,000 to the latter at interest for a term of years. \$40,000,000 of the amount would be used by the bank to liquidate bonds which it already has on hand from contractors, Warren Brothers of Boston and the Cuban Construction company for work already completed on the central highway. The other \$40,000,000 was expected to be used to increase activities in a program of public works. It is not yet reported whether this contract which gives American capitalism another stranglehold on Cuba, has been signed, though it was expected to be done sometime in February.

The Government at Washington has not yet directly entered into the situation arising out of the severe economic depression in Cuba and now culminating in the one day general strike. Naturally, it is satisfied with Machado who carries out their policy of economic and political enslavement of the Cuban masses. The workers and peasants of Cuba, however, evidence that they are ready to struggle militantly against the oppression of Wall Street and their Cuban puppets.

INJUNCTION JUDGE HALTS UNION TAXI SERVICE

PITTSBURG—(FP)—Union taxi service has been halted on Pittsburg streets by Judge Josiah Cohn, defender of judicial tyranny during the 1919 steel strike. Although the service, initiated by the striking cab drivers, was on a voluntary contribution basis, the judge ruled it contravened state public service commission rules and granted a temporary injunction.

Back of the court order is Parmalee Transportation Co., which according to the state public service commission, has monopoly privileges for operating Pittsburg taxi service. The firm is making another effort to operate a small fleet of cabs on downtown streets. Loud prophecies by the scab firm that its old drivers would return in flocks to operate the scab cabs have been given the lie. Not a single unionist has been discovered operating Parmalee taxis.

Φ

PITTSBURG—Forty percent of Pittsburg's building trades workers are unemployed according to Chairman E. G. Rust of the Building Trades Council.

Φ

Attention, Boston!

THE STRUGGLE IN THE I. W. C.

A mass meeting on the subject, "The Struggle in the I. W. C.", will be held on Tuesday, April 1st, 1930, 7:30 P. M. at the Hebrew Institute Center, 140 Shirley Ave., Revere, Mass. Among the speakers are: Antoinette F. Konikow, L. Schlosberg, J. Dubin. Admission is free. The meeting is arranged by the Boston Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

Φ

BUILDING TRADES DROP IN MASS.

BOSTON—Employment of Massachusetts building trades workers dropped 8% between January and February, according to the state labor department. Employment is 85 of the 1928 level.

Φ

BUFFALO CHARITY OUTLAY CLIMBS STEADILY

BUFFALO, N. Y.—(FP)—The Department of Social Welfare in presenting its annual report to the city council, states that "a scrutiny of comparative statements contained in this report will show that that department has been called on to provide the necessities of life to a much greater number of families than in previous years." The report continues: "One of the principal causes for unemployment of both skilled and unskilled workers, is due to the increased use of machinery in place of hand labor.

"In 1927, in 28 cities of the United States representing a population of 22,000,000, 100,000 families or approximately 500,000 people applied to private charitable organizations for relief, i. e., food, payment of rent, clothing, etc. And conditions are much worse in Buffalo now than in 1927."

Φ

SHOPMEN WORK FIVE DAYS TO AVERT LAYOFFS

CLINTON, Ia.—(FP)—To prevent partial layoffs the shopmen at the Northwestern Comanche Ave. Clinton shops have voted to take a 5-day week for everybody. The railroad is mum on the reason for the present slackness, evidently fearing to put a pin in Hoover's prosperity balloon.

Φ

Due to technical mishaps, an article on the coal mining situation does not appear in this issue, but will appear in a subsequent number.

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we believe, has fulfilled a vital role in the best interests of the working class and Communist movement in the United States. It gives a true picture of the situation in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

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prints the original and incomparable writings of Leon Trotsky, the leader of the Left Bolshevik Opposition, now exiled in Turkey by the Stalin bureaucracy. In so doing, it makes clear to all intelligent and honest revolutionary workers, the revisionist policies of the present leadership of the International Communist movement as directed, since Lenin's death, by Stalin and Bucharin and their Centrist and Right wing supporters in the various countries.

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has printed and will continue to print material on the events and issues in the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International, the writings of L. D. Trotsky, Christian Rakovsky and other leaders of the Russian Revolution, that are found in no other English publication.

The MILITANT

fights for the rebuilding of the revolutionary movement on the foundations laid by Marx and Lenin and against the Stalin-Bucharin revisionists, and thereby best serves the cause of international Communism.

We call upon our readers to help maintain the *Militant* by giving financial support to ensure its continued existence as a fighting weekly for the cause of Bolshevism.

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SPORTWEAR WORKERS WIN STRIKE

NEW YORK—(FP)—Workers of the Vanity Sportwear knitting mill in New York have won a strike against the discharge of three leading unionists, members of the Natl. Textile Workers Union. After one days picketing, the strikers won the reinstatement of their fellow workers and a wage increase for two crafts. Previously a Negro porter had his hours reduced from 54 to 44 a week, due to N.T.W. efforts.

Independent Workmen's Circle Confronted by a Split

About 23 years ago the Independent Workmen's Circle was organized as a fraternal organization in opposition to the Workmen's Circle. The Forward and the W. C. are controlled by the same machine. Naturally the Forward all the time bitterly attacked or ignored the I. W. C. Their action made the rank and file of the I.W.C. condemn the Forward and the W. C.

When the Left wing split away from the Socialist party in 1919, the branches of the Independent Workmen's Circle began to sympathize with the Left wing. The branches supported the Communist party morally and financially.

Practically at every convention of the I. W. C., Left wing resolutions were accepted. At the Philadelphia convention held in 1927 the Left wing resolutions were accepted. At that convention a resolution was also accepted to raise \$18,000 to colonize 50 Jewish families in Soviet Russia. The membership of the I. W. C. is not at all as Zaltsman and Olgin describe them in the Freiheit.

From the Philadelphia convention till the Chicago convention which was held at the end of May, 1929, \$23,000 was raised for the Left wing movement. This money went through the general office, except that branches sent their donations directly to the Left wing movement.

At the Chicago Convention

With the above mentioned facts you can see that it was not necessary for the Party to come to the Chicago convention and make a pogrom there. What happened in Chicago? The Party forced the delegates to accept resolutions which would be suitable only to a Party convention. The leaders forgot that the I. W. C. is not the Communist Party.

This impractical action brought an absolute defeat for the Party. The resolution that the industrial unions organized by the Party were the only bona-fide unions could surely not be accepted. The Party should know that members of the I. W. C. also belong to the A. F. of L. and declined therefore to be stamped as scabs, etc. Also the resolution to recognize the Freiheit and Daily Worker as the only revolutionary press is likewise incorrect.

After the Party's defeat they started with their old method of slander and discrimination against every one who does not agree with them. Zaltsman is trying to tell us that this a Right wingers' fight against the Left wingers, but there is as much truth in it as their yellow slander that comrade Trotsky is for a Tsar (!) in the Soviet Union. The Freiheit daily attacks the leaders of the I. W. C. and tries to discredit them where only yesterday they were praised by the Freiheit. The membership has learned better than to believe the Freiheit. After the Freiheit mobilized all its champions, they went all over the country and brought chaos in the I. W. C.

The "Left Wing" Branches

With slanders every day in the Freiheit, the Party could not succeed to bring more than 45 delegates to the Boston convention and the most of these were fake delegates. The "impartial" delegates or "loyal" branches were represented with fifty two delegates. Zaltsman tries to call his delegates "class conscious". Let us look over his "class conscious" delegates. Branch 50 as a Communist branch (?) passed a resolution that was printed in October, 1929 in Das Naye Wort (official organ of the I. W. C.). Here is the resolution: "At our meeting which was held September 12, 1929, it has been decided to condemn the Freiheit for her anti-semitic acts that it used toward the Palestine program; it was also unanimously decided to tax every member a dollar for the Jews in Palestine." And this is a Communist branch according to Zaltsman's interpretation.

Branch 3 of Brockton is also a real Bolshevik branch. Branch 3 bought a building for an I. W. C. lyceum. A banquet was arranged and among the honorable guests

there were the capitalist city mayor, the police marshal, and the alderman of that ward. Also the delegate of Branch 29, Berg, elected as a Right winger and who had instructions to vote with the "impartial" delegates voted with the Left, to Zaltsman's jubilation. Berg apologizes now for his action and also condemns the Left wing.

At the Chicago convention the resolution on the industrial unions was the main one. Looking over the referendum results which were printed in the January issue of Das Naye Wort, one can see Zaltsman's artificial "45 delegates". Here is the result of the referendum vote in a few of Zaltsman's branches:

No. of Branch	For industrial union resolution	Against
3	15	20
19	13	14
50	20	47
103	10	14
124	14	16
131	0	43

After the Boston convention, held January 12, 1930, a new national executive was

An Open Letter to Leninbund Members

(Continued from Page 4)

ment with any of the existing Russian groups, is by this very fact obligated to create a new Russian group which will lay down a correct political line in the Soviet Union. Otherwise, there would remain nothing for this group except to declare its neutrality towards the October Revolution. The same can be said in connection with any country. Communism must be international or it is not Communism.

But the bureau of the Leninbund? What is its stand on this question? Is it in agreement with any Russian group? Of course it is not a question here of mechanical homogeneity but of agreement on fundamental questions. Of this we know nothing. Obviously, as far as Urbahns is concerned, this is a secondary question, as are all questions relating to the international movement.

The Urbahns faction, in expelling from its ranks the adherents of the International Opposition, is prepared at the same time to ally itself on the international arena with any "left" group on condition that it is not prevented from pursuing its national policy.

Foreseeing their "national" bankruptcy in their struggle against La Verite, the allies of Urbahns—Treint and Paz—dream of creating a united international which will be open to everybody:—those who are for Chiang Kai-Shek; those who are for the Soviet Republic; those who are endeavoring to save the autonomy of the industrial unions; those who struggle for the influence of Communism in the trade unions; those who are for a united front with the Right against the official party, and those who call for a united front with the official party against the Right wing groups. The program of this motley crew is put forward under the slogan of "party democracy". Of all things, can one imagine a more bitter irony directed against party democracy?

We must say openly that, under the guise of struggling against the bureaucracy of the Third International, strenuous efforts are made to slip in tendencies and actions suited to the Second International. And yet, the bureau of the Communist International did not fall from the sky: it arose from certain definite class causes. It is the fact that the Communist International finds itself completely dependent on a state power which in turn depends on the international class struggle. Theoretically, this finds expression in the contradiction which exists between the theory of socialism in one country and the elementary bases for the existence of the Communist International.

There are some national Communists who believe themselves to be Left Communists, who attribute to the Russian Opposi-

tion the characteristic traits of governmental centrism, at the same time appearing to say, "We want nothing from these, or those".

—In other words, they exchange the ideological criterion, the class criterion, for a national criterion. This most often hides the petty ambitions of a small circle of intellectuals who defend their precious "autonomy" from the dangers which threaten it on the part of the Russian Opposition. It is not seldom that to this is simply added chauvinist cowardice. It is thus that within our ranks ideas and tendencies of the Second International are introduced. It is clear that we can but fight implacably against such smuggling.

It seems that the united front is a mere phrase of the Party.

Did the Party tell the members the consequences of such a policy? It seems that the new order will not work, because the membership of the I. W. C. and also the new members will not follow any more their splitting policy. The Party's action breaks again the Left wing movement in the I. W. C. and it also reacts badly on the movement in general.

—L. SCHLOSBERG

election and everything seemed to be O. K. Again A Split Policy

But the Party could not get control of the I. W. C., so something had to be done. Suddenly a new order was given to the Stalinist supporters to take the new executive committee into court. So Zaltsman & Co., believe in the injunction! The order was obeyed and the Freiheit started a new publicity, attacking the I. W. C. from one side, and from the other side it called for a conference for March 30, with the aim to split and organize a new fraternal organization.

NAVAL PARLEY SINKING

"The life of the Naval conference has not yet been pronounced officially extinct, but it is already beyond the power of human aid. Only a miracle can save it. All that optimists confidently predicted for it has come to nothing, and even more reasonable hopes of those who had weighed carefully the difficulties against the opportunities are vanishing into thin air." In this manner the London Times bemoans the collapse of the conference. It is only a question of time now, when the closing chapters on this peace farce will be written.

The delegates spend the week-ends in jaunts to the countryside, playing golf, attending tea parties, and making merry of their trip. All of them await officially the announcement of the close. Attempts at a five-power treaty are already abandoned. Now the direction is toward the signing of a three-power agreement between the United States, Great Britain and Japan. The impossibility to arrive at an agreement between France and Italy, the refusal of Britain, Japan and the United States to agree to the French demand of a 725,000 tonnage ration, and their insistence upon a reduction of the proposals of Italy and France, spelled the death of the negotiations some weeks ago.

Possibilities for Continuation Slim

As matters stand now France will neither agree to reduction nor parity with Italy. Italy insists on parity with France. The other three continue to demand a decrease in the ratios of France and Italy. The official French delegates have returned to France, and only representatives remain so that it cannot be said that "France remained absent from the conference."

A three-power arrangement, too, will meet the same difficulties as the conference proper. This is already indicated in the position of Japan, who states that in the event of a three-power treaty the question of parity ratios would have to be reopened, since their temporary discussions with England and the United States were on the basis of a five-power treaty. Such a reconsideration means that Japan will stand by her original position of a 70 percent ration of the United States and England. But a three-power treaty will result in only increasing the unsolvable contradictions of the imperialists. It will only intensify the differences.

McDonald finds himself in a sorry mess. It must be recalled that one of the main planks of his administration was precisely on the question of disarmament. With his cabinet already in a bad way over their complete failure to solve any of the problems of the British working class, and his further difficulties with the opposition parties, the failure of the conference will have a disastrous effect on him politically. He is making desperate gestures to save the conference and all of them have fallen to the ground.

Pre-Conference Situation Remains

The conference has brought into the open the tremendous contradictions of the powers. The complete failure of the negotiations while disappointing the pacifists, is illuminating in that it gives an excellent picture to the mass of workers as to the real intent of such conferences. Behind the mask of "peaceful intentions" the wolves howl and snarl at one another. They threaten and demand. The situation however remains as before. The burden of armaments continues on the shoulder of the working masses of the entire world. It is increasing every day. Its solution is in the hands of the proletariat.

A Choice Must Be Made

We do not defend the idea of democracy in general, but that of centralized democracy; that is just the reason why we rank national leadership above local leadership, international leadership above national leadership. The revolutionary party has nothing in common with discussion clubs, where everyone comes as though to a cafe (this is Souvarine's big idea). The Party is an organization for action. The unity of Party ideas is assured through democratic channels; however, the line of demarcation defining the limits, enclosing the frameworks of the Party concepts, should be traced quite distinctly. All the more so since it is a fractional question only. It must not be forgotten that we are not a Party, but a fraction—that is to say, that we are the elite of adherents animated by the same idea which binds us together strongly, and which causes us always to keep our ranks unbroken in order to be able to influence the Party and other working class organizations. It would be monstrous and quite foolish to demand from the Opposition that it become a melting pot for the ensemble of national groups and small groups composed of all sorts of the dissatisfied, the offended and the kickers who do not know their own desires.

No, we represent a current of ideas, we raise our structures on ground made of certain principles and certain well-established traditions. If, under these conditions, the adherents of the International Opposition cannot find a place in the Leninbund, it is akin to the Leninbund's declaration that it itself does not desire a place in the ranks of the international opposition. A clear-cut accounting must be made.

You see, comrades, that these questions are incomparably more important than the trifles and nonsense on which Urbahns is at the moment basing his prosecutions. The question involves the fate of your or-

ganization. Each member of the Leninbund should understand that as soon as the split of the Leninbund becomes a fact, the Leninbund will immediately be transformed into an Urbahnsbund, i. e., will immediately be transformed into a small national sect, of no importance, without a future, without any prospects.

This means: a choice must be made. But for a true revolutionary, it is not difficult to choose.

With Communist Greetings,
L. D. TROTSKY
Constantinople, February 6th, 1930.