

THE MILITANT

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Illinois Miners Out on Strike

The Illinois district of the National Miners Union has issued a call for a district-wide strike to begin on Monday, December 9. Among the demands are included the six-hour day and five-day week; 15 minutes rest in every hour and employment of larger crews on mechanical loaders or conveyors; no check-off; \$35.00 a week social insurance for unemployed miners to be paid for by the operators or the state, etc., etc.

The Illinois miners are experiencing one of the worst periods of recent times. Unemployment is rife, and is only increased by the introduction of mechanical methods of mining. The old unions, the U. M. W. A., is being torn to pieces between two sets of corruptionists, Lewis and Fishwick-Farrington, who have quite successfully exposed each other's thievery and betrayal. The miners are ready for a fight against the growing arrogance of the coal operators who are "rationalizing" the industry solely at the expense of the workers, and against both sets of misleaders—the Indianapolis and the Springfield gang—who pretend to speak in their name.

The excellent opportunities for a successful battle against the miners' enemies which lie mainly in the militancy of the workers themselves, offer a broad field for progress to the National Miners Union. Unfortunately a great deal of the energy of the official leadership of the N. M. U. has been directed in recent times towards internal factional maneuvering to kick out any one not in one hundred percent agreement with the present heads of the Communist Party and narrowing down the basis of the union to Communists and their closest sympathizers. The recent attack on John J. Watts, removed as president of the union mainly for the crime of disagreement with the Party bureaucrats, has not resulted in any consolidation of the union, but, on the contrary, in creating a spirit of antagonism among the militants in the N. M. U.

An additional weakness of the leadership of the Union has been the neglect to make sufficient preparations for the strike. It would be ridiculous to overlook the hard job that the miners have before them. The entire state machinery, the coal operators, both the Fishwick-Farrington and the Lewis machines will be mobilized in a solid unit to smash the efforts of the N. M. U. to organize the miners, conduct the strike and win its demands. It is clear that the N. M. U. was not made ready to the necessary extent to cope properly with the needs of the situation, and to prepare and arouse the workers, mine by mine. The demands of the union are, furthermore, mainly of a character suitable for a national strike for which the immediate prospects are lacking.

Nevertheless every miner must not only give tacit support to the Illinois strike but join actively and militantly in the fight. The conditions for a victory are favorable, in spite of the irresponsible errors that have been made by the Party leaders.

The greatest spirit of sacrifice and struggle is necessary. A victory for the N. M. U. in Illinois may mean a radical change in the conditions of the miners throughout the country and have a profound effect on the whole labor movement.

Line up in a solid battlefront! Smash the Lewis-Fishwick-operator-government machine!

All readers are requested to notice that the telephone number of The Militant is:

DRY DOCK 1636

Bill Green's Pledge to Hoover

The real meaning for the American workers of the servile pledge given by William Green and Co., for the American Federation of Labor, to Herbert Hoover, is inadvertently indicated by the monthly economic news letter of the Labor Bureau, Inc.

"If the industrial depression goes in any marked degree beyond what is at present expected, it is foolish for labor to hope that employers will not do everything in their power to reduce wage rates, for their promises do not bind them in such a contingency

"On the other hand, labor (that is, William Judas Green) has given up its right to seek higher wages. There may be businesses and industries that will not suffer, even if there is a general slump, but it may be difficult for labor to convince employers, arbitrators and the general public that it is entitled to take notice of such exceptions."

The bosses pledged nothing. They are wise enough to know that every chance they get to cut wages and lengthen the working day will be taken. But the belly-crawling "leaders" of the A. F. of L. are always ready at a moment's notice to put the workers under their control on the auction block. The workers will be able to resist wage cuts and general attacks on their standard of living only by unloading Green, Woll and their fellow-fakers.

Five New Cruisers by 1933

Right in the face of all the deceptive talk of "peace," "disarmament," and the Kellogg Pact, Secretary of the Navy Adams has just announced that the present plans of the government call for the completion by June 1933 of all of the first 5 of the 15 cruisers authorized in February. Construction of 2 of the cruisers is already under way, while Hoover's budget calls for appropriations to continue preliminary work on the other three war machines to be built in government navy yards. Despite the "assurances" that the keels of the latter 3 vessels will not be laid until after the London "disarmament" conference, the preparation of plans for the vessels and the construction of their armament and machinery are to be pushed immediately. The first of these modern cruisers is being built by one of the companies involved in the Shearer scandal. Business is business!

And we—we were told that the Kellogg Pact was going to abolish war and that Hoover and MacDonald would disarm!

Accorsi Trial Opens

Salvatore Accorsi, prisoner in the Allegheny County Jail (Pittsburgh) went on trial early this week before the coal and iron courts of Pennsylvania with his life at stake. He was arrested some time ago in Staten Island and extradited to Pennsylvania. A protest meeting had taken place there on August 22, 1927 against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. In the midst of the peaceful meeting, a troop of drunken state police charged the assembled workers, men, women and children, clubbing them down, firing gas bombs and trampling them with horses' hoofs. In the disturbance that followed, one of the uniformed thugs, Downey, was killed. Although no one knows the man responsible for Downey's death, a victim had to be found and consequently, Salvatore Accorsi, a former Cheswick coal miner, chosen for the sacrifice, has been framed up. His life is in danger. The courts of Pennsylvania are notoriously venomous against workers who come before them. Unless a mighty movement of protest is aroused, Accorsi will meet the same fate as his brothers Sacco and Vanzetti. The shabby attempts by various groups to make factional capital out of the case must be stopped. Unity, a solid fighting front is needed right away to snatch Accorsi from the clutches of the capitalist vultures!

Haiti in Revolt!

5 Killed, 20 Wounded by U. S. Marines in First Encounter

Despite the strict censorship on all "seditious messages" from Haiti, the news arrives as this issue goes to press that five Haitians were massacred by American Marines who also wounded a score of others in machine gun fire against a protesting mass of peasants at Aux Cayes. Rumors are afoot of American airplane bombings, and ambushes by Marines in which other Haitian peasants—who are unarmed for the most part—were slaughtered. The past record of American imperialist brutality in Haiti, where over 3,000 natives have been killed by Marines since the U. S. intervened in the affairs of the little island, is sufficient indication that no blood will be spared to strangle any anti-imperialist protest movement. Hoover will not be deterred by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Haitians are opposed to American control and to the puppet president, Borno, who is a paid agent of the National City Bank of New York.

Haiti, where the massacre has just taken place, is under the control of the State Department of the U. S., the secretary of which, Henry L. Stimson, recently sent a note to the Soviet Union demanding that it "make peace with China!"

Forty-eight hours after Hoover smugly announced to Congress his intention to send an "investigating" committee to Haiti with the aim of withdrawing the Marines from the island as soon as possible, five hundred Marines sailed from Norfolk to reinforce the 70 marines that make up the brigade and officers of the American controlled National Guard in Haiti.

The dispatch of additional troops arose out of the declaration of martial law by Colonel Richard Cutts, brigade commander of the U. S. Marine Corps in Haiti, following upon a strike of students who were soon joined by numerous government employees and Customs House Clerks.

Hoover the Peace Lover

The lack of even a moment's hesitation to send the Marines to Haiti to shoot down the oppressed people there, gives the lie direct to all the "pacific" intentions and claims made for themselves by Hoover and his secretary of State, Stimson, with the Kellogg Pact thrown in.

The American Marines are being sent to Haiti for the protection of the financial and military interests of the American bankers and business and not to "improve" the country and establish "order" Hoover and Stimson are as much the office boys of the American imperialists as all the presidents and secretaries of state since the days of the notorious Philander Knox.

The record of American imperialist intervention in Haiti, committed under guise of the usual lofty sentiments of Yankee hypocrisy, is one of the blackest in the books. For over a century, from 1804 to 1915, when the U. S. forced it to sign a treaty enslaving itself to Wall Street, Haiti was an independent republic. Its internal disturbances were never of a kind to be

mentioned in the same breath as a gang riot in New York or Chicago.

In 1847, and again in 1891, the United States attempted to negotiate for control of the harbors of Samana Bay and Mole St. Nicholas, for the declared purpose of using them for naval bases. Both times, the U. S. was unsuccessful.

Enter: the Nat'l City Bank

Under state secretary Knox in 1911 and under the "pacifist" Bryan a few years later, arrangements were made for American banks to take over the French shares in the National Bank of the Haitian Republic, and in 1917, the National City Bank turned the trick, and took possession of the financial heart of the republic.

Numerous times during 1914 and 1915, the State Department, acting for Wall Street, proposed to take over the customs control of Haiti. Towards Christmas 1914, a contingent of American Marines landed in Port au Prince, and in broad daylight broke into the vaults of the National Bank, seized \$500,000 and carried it off forcibly to New York for deposit with the National City Bank! All the protests against this high-handed piracy were unavailing; the State Department did not even deign to give an explanation. A few years later, Roger L. Farnham, vice-president of the National City Bank, later testified before a Senate Committee, that the Marine raid was arranged jointly between the State Department and the National City Bank!

In July 1915, while the U. S. was trying to ram its domination down the throat of Haiti, a revolution broke out. Without any justification, an American warship landed Marines who immediately took control. Admiral Caperton installed himself as the ac-

(Continued on Page 5)

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S COLLAPSE

With the miserable debacle of his anti-Soviet policy in seizing the Chinese Eastern Railway, the collapse of the Chiang Kai-Shek regime in China appears to be a matter of days. The empty promises to "unify the country" have all come to naught in the boiling kettle of foreign imperialist conflicts. Five big areas throughout the country are in open revolt against Chiang's rule in Nanking. With generals just as reactionary and corrupt as Chiang Kai-Shek, attacking armies are moving in upon the latter from all sides. The butcher of the Canton Soviet, Chang Fa-Kwei is only a few miles from Canton. Hankow is virtually in the hands of General Tang Seng-chi. The chairman of the Hunan province, Ho Chien has come out for the anti-Chiang forces. The shrewd Feng Yu-hsiang is in outspoken revolt and is only waiting the most favorable moment to take hold of the situation to his own advantage. Shanghai, Ichang, Canghai, Wuhu and other centers have either fallen to the rebels or else their capture is just a matter of days, or hours.

The attempt made by American imperialism, through the Stimson note to Russia, to save the prestige of Chiang Kai-Shek, suffered a deservedly miserable fate. It was laughed out of court by the representatives of the Soviet Union. It did not succeed in its aim of spiking the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese

for the return of the Chinese Eastern Railway to joint control. It even met with a cool reception by many of the other imperialist powers, notably Japan.

Out of the complicated mess that is usually formed by Chinese reactionary politics, it appears clear that the fall of Chang Kai-Shek will be a blow to American imperialism in China. Should Feng Yu-hsiang succeed in gaining mastery of the situation, there will very likely be a comeback by Wang Chin Wei, erstwhile leader of the "Left" wing of the Kuo Min Tang. In any case, no improvement of the atrocious conditions of the Chinese workers and peasants is to be expected. Chiang Kai-Shek, the first darling of Stalin and Bucharin, built his throne on the skulls of thousands of the finest fighters of China's young proletariat and the peasantry. The second white hope of Stalin and Bucharin, Wang Chin Wei and the Hankow government of 1927, proved equally illusory. Wang betrayed the Chinese workers and peasants to the imperialists with the same readiness as Chiang.

The U. S. however, has not said its last word on the situation. Previous "victories" by Japan and England in China have also faded away before the blows of American imperialism. The worker who watches the developments in China will have his eye directed to the possible scene for the next imperialist war.

Schlesinger's Bright Ideas

He «Abolishes» the Class Struggle; the Stalinists Are Still Deciding «the Line»

The Cleveland convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has approved, as a matter of form, the decision to call a strike of dressmakers in New York at the beginning of next year. The Right wing union further plans to call strikes in half a dozen other cities in order to clinch its control of the industry. All the plans are being made for this unique New York strike and the only thing lacking is the exact date of the call.

We have already commented on the character of this strike which follows the pattern of the last cloakmakers' walkout led by Schlesinger and Company. The latter-day socialist messiahs of the I. L. G. W. U. are going to lead the needle trades workers out of the abyss of the class war and onto the bright highroad of peace and cooperation with the bosses, all through the intermediary of the capitalist state.

SCHLESINGER PRAISES TAMMANY

At the convention, the "socialist idealist" of the New Leader, Benjamin Schlesinger, the union president, "dwelt at length" according to the New York Times (12-3-29) "upon the 'public-spirited and friendly attitude' of Governor Roosevelt and Lieutenant Governor Lehmann in the work of restoring order out of chaos in the New York district. Following his address, the convention ordered that telegrams of appreciation be sent to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Lehmann for their cooperation. A similar telegram was sent to Mayor Walker."

This nauseating "socialist" bootlickery, this currying of favor with the corruptest elements in American capitalist politics, the white-haired boys of Tammany Hall, is a commentary on the miles upon miles that separate Schlesinger, Dubinsky, Antonini and their socialist party friends from the class interests of the workers.

Why the strike call in the face of this belly-crawling before the capitalist class? The organ of the bosses, the New York Times, explains this "contradiction" editorially:

"It should be recalled that a strike nowadays is fast ceasing to be an unfriendly act. It is rather a brief suspension of domestic activities as part of the process of thoroughly cleaning house. Such was the very short and perfunctory strike early this year in the cloak and suit trade resulting in the establishment of representative government in the industry, plus a 'police' system for rooting out the sweat-shop system. The same aim is now sought in the dress trade and by the same means. The forthcoming strike has the support of the most responsible employers in the dress industry (!). Wages and hours are mentioned in the strike resolution, but there will be no prolonged hostilities on that score (so!) if the main objectives of a stabilized industry and improved working conditions are attained."

A STRIKE—BUT NOT FOR WAGES

The strike is therefore no attack on the arrogant bosses. Schlesinger and the bosses, the Times and Governor Roosevelt, acknowledge that. It is not called for the purpose of improving the conditions of the workers, firstly, because that cannot be done without an attack upon the bosses' profits—which is out of the question by the very avowed nature of the strike—and secondly, because while "wages and hours are mentioned" (yes, merely "mentioned"), "there will be no prolonged hostilities on that score"! In other words, Schlesinger will not make a "fighting point" over wages and hours, i. e., the corner stone for improved working conditions in the trade.

The real purpose of the strike is to chain the workers to the efficiency millstone of the bosses without the presence of a Left wing to hammer away at the chains. The Times reports further (12-5-1929): "The employers said they would cooperate with the union provided the union showed in the strike that it was really in control of a majority of the workers and was able to exert effective pressure on unorganized shops."

By unorganized shops are largely meant shops under control of the Left wing union.

What the strike will be therefore, so far as Schlesinger and the bosses are concerned, is a dress parade of the workers to show that Schlesinger has them in his union, under his control, prepared to accept any scurvy resolution that leaves the workers with the same bad conditions they have suffered under for the last period.

For the bosses, it means the legalization by a union of the conditions that now

obtain in the trade. For Tammany Hall and its officials, it means political capital to be used in election times for the labor vote, as was done in the last election to Norman Thomas' discomfiture. For Schlesinger, it means a big union, steady per capita—which has been sadly lacking for the boys for a long time now—and a measure of power.

The significant thing is, however, that the bulk of the workers involved see the coming strike as a step forward. For them it is a struggle against the bosses, regardless of all that the Daily Worker can say. That this is a bitter and disappointing fact does not mean that it is not a fact to be reckoned with. From that arises again the question of what attitude should be taken by the Left wing.

At first the Left wing union, under the direction of the Stalinists, formally decided at its meeting to stay at work. We pointed out how absolutely untenable such a position was under the circumstances, how ruinous and discrediting it would be for the Left wing and Communist movement. It would mean that while the workers following the Right wing union strike call—and they will unfortunately be the majority of the workers involved—are picketing, the Left wing workers, following the Party's policy, would walk into the shop and work at the machines. Nothing can change the fact that the Left wing workers would be under charge of scabbing. They will never be able to explain away their actions to the Right wing workers who must be won to the Left wing if the Schlesingers, the bosses and Tammany Hall are ever to be defeated.

THE LEFT WING "CHANGES" FRONT

Under the pressure of our criticism, the Left wing made a peculiar "change" of policy, a thoroughly confused and meaningless one. There is not today a single Left

wing worker who can draw a clear conclusion from the "new" policy. Not one of them knows whether the policy is to stay at work while the Right wing is striking, or to go down on strike, or any other alternative.

The only way in which the Left wing can put a spoke into the plan of Schlesinger and the dress bosses, is to prevent the former from getting control of the workers on strike. That can be done only if the Left wing workers are shoulder to shoulder with the Right wing workers in the strike, pointing out to them the concrete lessons of the struggle, fighting alongside of them, explaining the truth of the situation, winning them for a militant policy, carrying on such an agitation in the very heart of the strike that the Right wing workers will begin to press their "leaders" for a settlement in their own interests and not in the interests of their exploiters, something Schlesinger will not accede.

To stay away from the struggle—the present confused policy of the Party is tantamount to that—means to leave Schlesinger a free road along which to drive the workers to the bosses's millstone. It means to deliver a heavy blow to the name and cause of Communism and the Left wing, already badly discredited by the zigzags of the Stalinists.

AN IMPERATIVE QUESTION

The strike is only a few weeks off. Much time has already been lost by the vacillating tactics of the Left wing. There is still time, though, for a turn in the right direction. We demand of the Party leaders a clear answer to the questions raised by Schlesinger's strike plans, an answer without loopholes and double meanings, an answer that the workers will understand:

What is your policy? What do you propose to do? If the Right wing calls its strike will you require the Left wing workers to stay on the job or join in the struggle to win the dressmakers away from Schlesinger?

If the Party leaders do not answer, the Left wing workers must answer themselves!

«The Freest Country in the World»

Investigation of the brutality of the Los Angeles "Red Squad" in the case of Frank Spector, local secretary of the International Labor Defense, is being pushed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Spector was speaking on a "free speech corner" on the outskirts of the city when he was arrested and taken to the police station. He said that while being fingerprinted, he was suddenly set upon and beaten by two uniformed policemen. Two plain clothes men and a jail physician stood by without interfering.

Φ

Seven Communists have been arrested and lodged in San Bernardino prison, California, charged with "speaking without a police permit, participating in unlawful assembly, and failure to disperse upon lawful command." Bail has been fixed at \$2,000 each.

Φ

Because he tried to confer as an attorney with a Negro poet who had been arrested by the Los Angeles "Red Squad" Leo Gallagher, attorney for the A. C. L. U., was arrested and jailed for "interfering with an officer." Gallagher was attending a meeting celebrating the 12th anniversary of the Russian revolution, when he was told that someone had been arrested. He went outside, and there found John Owens, Negro poet, in the custody of William Hynes of the "Red Squad." When Gallagher attempted to tell Owen that he would defend him, Hynes swore at him and said "I'll bust you in the face!" Gallagher followed Hynes and Owens to the police station to see that there was no beating, and then returned to the hall. A policeman approached him and told him Owens wanted to see him at the police station. On his arrival there, Gallagher was told he was under arrest and finger-printed. He was jailed until almost midnight, when he was released by Judge Reed. Owens said that he was waiting to read some of his poems when he was arrested and told he was wanted for "criminal syndicalism."

Φ

Expelled from Nicaragua because they objected to the American marines and to the government's toleration of foreign troops, eight Nicaraguans have been refused admittance to the U. S. and are being held on Angel Island, California, for deportation. Nicaragua is not under any

quota restriction, but under plenty of Wall Street restriction.

The last legal door for escape from serving 5 years in prison for "sedition" was closed for Peter Muselin, Tom Zima and Milan Resetar when the United States Supreme Court refused to consider their appeal from a decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The three workers had been convicted of sedition following their arrest in 1926 at Woodlawn, Pa. The convictions were for spreading sedition by word of mouth, for organizing a seditious group, and for distributing seditious literature.

WILSON'S SIBERIAN ADVENTURE ENDS

The bodies of 75 American soldiers arrived in New York last week on board the President Roosevelt. The corpses were brought from the snows of Archangel, Russian Siberia, where they were interred for ten years.

No reception committees were on hand to meet them. No president came to speak over the coffins, no one from the Senate or the House, no generals, no crowds. Their coming was hardly noticed and barely announced. Not all of them are even known, 29 of the coffins were marked with the words "Unknown United States soldier."

Who were they? What brought them to Russia?

They are victims of Woodrow Wilson's brutal, reactionary campaign against the Russian Workers' Republic. When millions throughout the world were celebrating the armistice on November 11, 1918, it was hardly known that President Wilson was maintaining a force of American troops in Siberia which worked hand in hand with the Russian counter-revolution in its attempt to crush the Workers' Republic. No declaration of war was ever made against the Soviets; it was Wilson's unofficial war, his private war carried out at the behest of America's bankers and business men. While Wilson was babbling his hypocritical pledges of world peace, his troops were working to re-establish reaction in Russia. While he spoke of fraternity and equality, American soldiers were engaged in fighting for the restoration of capitalist exploitation and class rule in the land of the Soviets.

The Textile Union

The Party Chops Off Another Head

The Stalinists have executed a new "revolution" in a Left wing union with their customary reckless disregard for consequences. Eli Keller, national secretary of the National Textile Workers union, has just been kicked out of his post, and by the time this appears will probably be officially expelled from the Party as well. Keller is suspected of being a follower of the Lovestone faction. When the new secretary is appointed he will be the third one in the brief period of a few months, Weisbord, the first secretary, having been removed a while ago, and now being on the list for expulsion from the Party, too. In Keller's place, temporarily, has been put an "office committee" with Reid, Rusak, Siskind and Schmees in charge, so that the preliminary preparations for the coming union convention will be in "safe" hands, which will see to it that the Party keeps control and the Lovestoneites, who have a measure of strength in the apparatus, are eliminated.

We are not in the least concerned Keller and his Right wing colleagues, over none of whom have any reason or ground for protesting this recent action. Under Lovestone's regime he and his consorts practised the same ruinous factional policy against all those who disagreed with his line. He had Voyzey removed in the National Miners Union for his temporary "heresy"; he drove Communist Opposition comrades out of the T. U. E. L. etc., etc. Even after his expulsion, Lovestone remained silent on the scandalous action taken against Watt and similar stunts throughout the country. Keller himself was the one who engineered the faction-controlled New York Gastonia conference so as to prevent our comrades from getting the floor in this "united front" body.

In spite of all this, we reiterate what we have said in the past: These arbitrary, mechanical methods of influencing the organizations dominated by the Party will end in ruining them completely. It marks a total disregard and contempt for the masses of non-Party workers. It ends in narrowing down these movements to the slimmest possible basis. It is not the way to carry on the struggle against the Right wing and its influence on non-Party organizations; it is precisely the way to strengthen it. First the T. U. E. L. Then the miners union. Now the textile. Soon the needle trades union. We ask: What will be done with Hyman, the president of the latter? Will he be removed also? Will the Party continue to pursue its destructive policy of running out of the mass organizations every individual who does not at one time or another agree with some insane—or even some correct—policy that it advocates?

The Stalinists will yet make one palace revolution too many.

Thousands of Russian workers and peasants, poorly armed, ragged, hungry and tired, but inspired with devotion to their cause and faith in their strength, fought on the Siberian fronts in 1918-19 to drive back the White Guards and the imperialist troops of the world—French, British, Japanese, Czechoslovak—and Americans. Hundreds of them fell in the snowy wastes, with words of freedom and the new day on their lips, and foreign bullets in their hearts. Scores of American workers, recruited largely in Michigan regiments, also paid the cost of American imperialist intervention.

The American press rarely speaks of the heroic campaign of the Russian workers and peasants. It passes over in silence the fact that the American troops mutilated in some cases rather than shoot down the Russians with whom they did not have and could not have any quarrel. It does not speak of the black crime of Woodrow Wilson and the American capitalist class. It would like to have the American workers forget.

Over the graves of the Russian workers who fell in Siberia should be inscribed a stone reading:

**HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION
Died Defending the Socialist Fatherland
Against Reaction**

Over the graves of the American soldiers brought back from Siberia should be erected a stone inscribed with this legend:

**VICTIMS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM
Murdered by the Hand of Woodrow Wilson
and Wall Street**

Those are the only fitting epitaphs.

Throughout the World of Labor

The Real Victor in the German Elections

On November 17, municipal elections were held in Prussia and Saxony. They were the first important elections since the social democracy came to the head of the government, and in Berlin, they were the first elections since the massacre on May First.

The Communist Party of Germany entered the election struggle by affirming that Germany is in a stage of violent revolutionary outbursts, that the masses are recovering from their reformist illusions and are turning to the C. P. of Germany.

A comparison of the Reichstag elections in 1928 with those of November 17 throws light on the situation. On May 20, 1928, the C. P. C. received 611,317 votes in Berlin for the Reichstag elections. The social democratic party, 816,196. On November 17, after the May Day massacre, after a year of the social democratic coalition government, after the Sklarek (Berlin administration) scandal, this figure sinks to 451,735. But the benefit of it does not go to the C. P. G., for it did not succeed in maintaining the figure of 1928 which fell from 611,317 to 565,595.

It is true that on November 17 there were 180,000 fewer voters in Berlin than in the 1928 elections. Nevertheless, the parties of the bourgeois center (with the exception of the Democrats whom the Sklarek affair compromised the most) maintained the number of votes received in 1928.

Contrariwise, the fascist bloc, that is, the National Socialists and the Fascists, united among themselves (Hugenberg-Hitler), succeeded in spite of the small number of voters, in increasing the number of their votes from 475,184 (in 1928) to 536,787, and the benefit fell wholly to the National Socialist Party. It can, then by no means be said that the result of the Berlin elections was an "overwhelming victory" for the Communist Party of Germany. The Party, following its false and adventurist policy, has been unable to reinforce its base in the last eighteen months. The losses of the Social Democratic party benefited the fascists.

In the whole of Prussia, the results differ from those in Berlin. In the province, the increase of the socialist party, already quite obvious in 1928, was not halted, contrary to Berlin. In the industrial center of Central Germany (Halle-Merseburg) the Social Democratic Party gained twenty percent in its vote. The C. P. of G. lost as much in this former stronghold. The fascist bloc has no gain at all to register in this country, but rather a diminution of strength. In Wasserkante, Schleswig-Holstein and in the West, the social democrats increased everywhere. In part, they obtained substantial results in Upper-Silesia (Breslau, Beuthen) but great losses in favor of the fascists. Nowhere in these regions did the C. P. of G. succeed in retaining its positions, especially in Saxony. After having suffered losses in the Landtag elections (in May), it now loses in this industrial region from twenty to thirty percent more of the votes (Dresden, Leipzig, Plauen). The hopes of the Brandlerites in Saxony, which is their stronghold, to influence a sufficiently large part of the workers, were lamentably disappointed.

The elections have brought about no decisive change. They show that it was correct to estimate the regrouping of the masses by saying that they will not yet go towards Communism. The process of evolution of the masses towards bourgeois reformism still lasts. That is what stands out even more clearly than in the Landtag elections a few months ago. At the decisive points (industrial regions, Saxony, Berlin) this process has ceased. But that development does not benefit the C. P. of G., because of its ominous policy, but in part the fascist bloc which will organize on December 22, in the referendum on the Young Plan, a new mobilization of the masses for the fascist dictatorship. Tens of thousands of workers who followed the reformists a year ago are falling into indifference.

Without according an exaggerated importance to these elections and to elections in general, it may be said that they give quite a revealing picture of the process of fermentation and regrouping of the masses. Unfortunately, it cannot be said, as does the Rote Fahne on November 13: "The election figures show the magnificent progress of the C. P." Favorable the objective circumstances for a

rapid advance of Communism in Germany are, the party, under the leadership of Thaelman and Remmele, shows itself incapable of profiting by the opportunity and of grouping the majority of the working class around the banner of Communism.

KURT LANDAU

Berlin, November 18, 1929.

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A Letter from Stalinist Exile

A LETTER TO THE BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

A condition of extraordinary isolation prevails at the present moment in exile. In the course of the last few months the courier blockade has been further reinforced. Especially does it rigorously hem in Christian Rakovsky, who is now at Barnaul, as you know, where he was sent from Saratov. The initiative for addressing a declaration came from the group of deportees at Saratov, which had Rakovsky at its head. No sensible person could expect any practical immediate result from this declaration. No, the declaration is a new mobilization of the deportees, of whom a part had given way under a certain wind of panic during the summer, caused by complete isolation and the lack of any information: in addition, these comrades had nothing else to read for many months than Pravda. In this sense, the declaration has completely performed its mission. The Saratov group has been dissolved as a punishment for this mobilization of the deportees around the declaration and around the theses of Rakovsky, in which the fundamental questions are presented with all the necessary clarity. *

You know that a pretty substantial group of deportees has been carried off by a wave of illusions. Isolation and uncertainty, as I have already said, have played a big role here. But it is nevertheless astonishing that there were people capable of taking Centrism for Communism, when a rich experience tells us one thing: Centrism is capable of making tremendous vacillations towards the Left and still remain Centrism. It is no longer Radek who is tracing the line of demarcation in the Opposition (that's an old story) but I. N. Smirnov. I am informed that he has addressed the third ** text of his declaration which differs in nothing but style from the text of the trinity (Radek-Preobrazhensky-Smilga).

Despite the departures that have resulted, the colonies of the deportees are increasing, being supplemented by more homogeneous and firmer elements. Thus, when I wrote you my first letter, we were four; now we are fourteen.

The situation in the country, from what I gather in the press, presents itself thus, in my opinion: on the order of the day—without setting an exact date—is written the inevitable explosion of a civil war, with the possibility of foreign intervention. The Party and the working class must be orientated along this perspective. The most dangerous policy is that of the ostrich. The leaders of the party continue either to feed the party with "official" pictures of prosperity or with unexpected sensational events in the domain of internal and foreign relations, without attempting to analyze them seriously, or—what is worst of all—to direct the attention of the party on to deliberately false roads, as was the case, for example, with the loathsome articles of Yaroslavsky on the letter of Solznev. (A propos of this letter, assuming that it is authentic, it is indubitable that it represents the product of a temporary confusion and is in no way characteristic of the exile and not at all—it is hardly

* In Populaire (the French socialist paper) a certain Rosenfeld regards the declaration as a result of faint-heartedness, of capitulation and of a course towards well-rewarded posts. It would be needless to dwell upon this zealous and mercenary servitor of the social democracy, one of the parties of power of capital, if he did not find imitators among the ultra-Left phrasemongers and bunglers who utter the same ideas in essence, but only in a meaner form. Which shows us once more that the ultra-Leftists are in accord with the estimates of the social democracy not only in the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway, but also in that of evaluating the declaration of the Russian Opposition.

** The first two texts, being found insufficient by the Central Committee, were not accepted.

necessary to say so—of the comrades who are in Russia.

The tension of the situation obliges the Party itself to seek new ways under the aegis of the apparatus. Thence, the ever new fermentations and groupings, the birth of a new Left wing within the party (Schatzkin, Sten, etc). Whatever its leaders may be *** the birth of a Left wing and the necessity for a new campaign against the "semi-Trotskyists" are the symptoms of healthy and very important tendencies, which attest the fact that we cannot be cut off from the party.

We have been informed by the party journal in Kharkov of the policy of the Urbahns group. We have refuted dozens of times before the masses the ideas that the Stalinists impute to us. Now the Stalinists utilize the articles of Urbahns to reinforce their accusations against us and to compromise the Opposition. Is there any hope of correcting the line of Urbahns? We can absolutely not bear the responsibility for such positions. Not to be able to find his place in the struggle between international imperialism and the revolution—that's shocking.

The point of view of the Left Opposition on the First of August is not clear to us. There is no doubt at all that Molotov's interpretation of Bucharin's "Third Period" is the preparation of the basis for international adventures of the Cantonese type. Nevertheless, the question remains always posed whether we must abandon our "right" to the street. It is in the same way that the question of the First of May is posed.

Warm greetings and best wishes,

A. B.

Φ

Tardieu, the Man of the Hour

Tardieu is master of the situation. His appetite for power can be satisfied. And through him, the bourgeoisie will also be able to handle systematically the great ventures that world competition now imposes upon it.

Tardieu has succeeded in making himself appear as the candidate of the country and no longer only as the candidate of a majority of the deputies. There has been renewed for him the "mystery of confidence" with which Poincare was surrounded in his day. The press, big industry, the whole bourgeoisie proclaims him: Tardieu is the man of the situation.

Back in 1926, Poincare, the honest and ferocious accountant of the bourgeoisie, was the man of the situation. Since then he stabilized the franc. He balanced the budget, he realized the important budgetary surpluses. Now capitalism wants a builder and a spender man who knows how to undertake work, to invest capital, to develop and to coordinate—in a word, to rationalize. There he is: Tardieu! The press is burning incense, the economic groups caress him: he is their figure-head. The situation now demands a directing crew that attends actively to the business of capitalism. The Hague Conference, the Young Plan have changed international positions. The ever smaller field of markets necessitates an ever more violent struggle to conquer them. But the foreign markets are already so disputed that the home market must be arranged for the greatest absorptive capacity. The whole policy of the Tardieu cabinet, as far as it is defined in his declaration, is orientated in this spirit.

Here is the situation. Tardieu and his crew are not the only ones who would have to come through. It must be made clear that a Paul Boncour would have been unable to do otherwise. He would have imitated his colleague Snowden. The illusions of the petty bourgeoisie, of the "people" in power, through the Daladiers or the Blums, have vanished forever. The governments of French imperialism can only carry out one policy, that of big capital, of production, of finance capital. It is dictatorial policy that Tardieu will carry on and which Boncour would have carried on. Only the revolutionary policy of the proletariat can be set against it.

The declaration of the Tardieu government is addressed to the "country", over the heads of the deputies. It puts the government under the control of the country, that is, of the capitalists. It promises "prosperity" to the country and considers

*** Schatzkin and others, according to a recent Daily Worker dispatch, have confessed their sins to Stalin since this was written.

itself responsible for it to the whole nation. Tardieu denotes, timidly enough as yet, his contempt for parties and parliamentary formations. He addresses himself to the producers, to the manufacturers, to the tradesmen, to the peasants. He brings them his program of endowments and reductions. He announces without a smile the lowest decreases in taxes on the transportation of manure or on pharmaceutical products. He makes it clear that all the communes in France will know how much the government will give to the country for technical education to give them an appetite, for tourists, to entice the dollars—three billions in all.

But the cynical demagogue does not speak of the tens of billions which are the share of the War and Naval departments!

There is the program that the situation requires. It upsets the "democratic" prerogative. It passes over the representatives of the people; it addresses itself to the country, but speaks only for the bourgeoisie, for the pillars of capitalism. Produce, trade; the State, which is your instrument, will help you; we will free it from the petty bourgeois obstructors, from the pusillanimous defenders of the artisans, etc.

For the working class, the program of Tardieu is the muzzle and the police, because it is the very program of the employers. The government cannot have or allow towards the working class any other policy than that of the capitalists. The declaration promises but one thing to the workers, the application of the law of social insurance. Insurance being carried out on the backs of the workers and by a withholding of their wages; Tardieu can do nothing but have it applied. But as to the rest, his declaration does not speak of a "social program", as the bourgeois parties "of the Left" know so well to do, as Poincare himself knew so well to do. And after all why should he speak of a social program. His social program springs clearly from his economic program. The economic program is that of the big employers and consequently, his "social program" is also that of the big employers: rationalization, squeezing of wages, repression of the labor movement and tormenting the revolutionary organizations.

The employers, encouraged by the State, will have all the latitude to reinforce its exploitation. "Order," to whose rebirth Tardieu has already contributed, will be still more consolidated.

Under such conditions, the Communist party would have to revise its attitude. On the contrary, however, it continues to be rent asunder by persisting in all its errors. The day of the opening of the Chamber, Cachin delivered a wholly insipid speech from the tribune in which he limited himself to saying that Tardieu was not qualified to lead the "honest" working people. Wherein is Tardieu's past more scandalous for a Communist than that of most of the bourgeois "statesmen"? Aren't they all accustomed to carry on their own business at the same time as that of the State? Aren't they all in the service of economic groups of interests? It is evidence that when one speaks of a "dishonest" bourgeois statesman, he assumes that there are others who are honest; but this opposition does not exist. Honesty or dishonesty have a class meaning. Capitalist honesty is to despoil of the workers, to dispute over imperialist booty, to fatten at the same time as the State. Tardieu has not abstained from acting as in the past.

Precisely one of the myths of bourgeois democracy is to have the people believe in the "integrity" of their representatives, in their independence and their personal probity. But this myth must be unmasked by the Communists who show that these people are the beneficiaries of capitalist profit, on account of which they dupe the workers.

The honest Cachin is taking the wrong road in clinging to the dishonesty of Tardieu. He should, on the contrary have declared that Tardieu was the worthy representative of capitalist democracy, the proper executor of imperialist prides.

Cachin also limited himself to saying the program of the Tardieu government is translated for the working class by a redoubling of the repression. It is true. But this repression arises at a time when the working class is disunited, when the Communist party gives it an example of confusion and corruption.

Tardieu governs all the surer for the revolutionary movement being misled and its perspectives wrong. The leadership of (Continued on Page 8)

Communism and Syndicalism -- by L. Trotsky

The trade union question is a most important one for the labor movement and, consequently, for the Opposition. Without an exact position in the trade union question, the Opposition will be unable to have a real influence upon the working class. That is why I believe it necessary to submit here, in the discussion a few considerations on the trade union question.

The Party and the Trade Unions

1. The Communist Party is the fundamental arm of revolutionary action of the proletariat, the combat organization of its vanguard that must raise itself to the role of guide of the working class in all the spheres of its struggle and consequently in the trade union field.

2. Those who, in principle, oppose trade union autonomy to the leadership of the Communist Party, oppose thereby—whether they want to or not—the most backward proletarian section to the vanguard of the working class, the struggle for immediate demands to the struggle for the complete liberation of the workers, reformism to Communism, opportunism to revolutionary Marxism.

Revolutionary Syndicalism and Communism

3. Pre-war syndicalism, at the enthusiastic epoch of its expansion, by fighting for trade union autonomy, actually fought for its deliverance from the bourgeois government and its parties, among them the parliamentary socialist party. It was the struggle against opportunism—for revolutionary methods. Moreover, revolutionary syndicalism did not make a fetish of the autonomy of the mass organizations. On the contrary, it understood and preached the leading role of the revolutionary minority in the mass organizations, which reflect the working class with all its contradictions, its weaknesses, its backward point of view.

4. The theory of the active minority was, in reality, an uncompleted theory of a proletarian party. In all its practice, revolutionary syndicalism was an embryo of a revolutionary party, contrary to opportunism which was nothing but a caricature of revolutionary Communism.

5. The weakness of anarcho-syndicalism, even in its classic period, was the absence of a theoretical basis and, as a result, a poor understanding of the nature of the government and its role in the class struggle; an incomplete and, consequently, a wrong conception of the role of the revolutionary minority, for example, the Party. Thence the mistake in tactics, such as the fetishism of the general strike, the incomprehension of the necessary connection between the insurrection and the seizure of power, etc.

6. After the war, French syndicalism found not only its criticism but also its development and its completion in Communism. To try to revive revolutionary syndicalism would be to try to make history go backwards. For the labor movement these attempts can only have a reactionary significance.

The False Disciples of Syndicalism

7. The false disciples of syndicalism transform (in words) the independence of the trade union organizations from the bourgeoisie and the reformist socialists into independence in general, into absolute independence from all the parties, the Communist Party included.

If, in its period of expansion, syndicalism considered itself a vanguard, and fought for the leadership of the vanguard minority among the backward masses, the false disciples of syndicalism fight at present against the identical wishes of the Communist vanguard, attempting, though without success, to base themselves upon the lack of development and the prejudices of the most backward sections of the working class.

8. Liberation from the influence of the bourgeoisie cannot be a passive state. It can express itself only by political acts, for example by the struggle against the bourgeoisie. This struggle must be inspired by a distinct program which requires organization and tactics for its execution. It is the union of program, organization and tactics that makes the Party. In this way, the real independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois government cannot be realized unless the proletariat conducts its struggle under the direction of a revolutionary and not an opportunist Party.

9. The false disciples of syndicalism would have one believe that the trade unions are sufficient to themselves. Theoretically, this means nothing, but in practice it means the dissolving of the revolutionary vanguard into the backward masses, as is shown by trade unionism. *

It is by embracing large masses that the trade unions best fulfill their mission. A proletarian Party merits its name only if it is ideologically homogeneous, bound by unity of action and organization. To represent the trade unions as able to suffice to themselves, as though the proletariat had already attained its "majority", is to deceive the proletariat, is to picture it other than it is and can be under capitalism, which keeps enormous masses of workers in a retarded state of ignorance, leaving only the vanguard of the proletariat the possibility of carrying out a passage through all the difficulties, up to the clear comprehension of the tasks of the whole class.

The Real Autonomy of the Trade Unions Is Not Assailed by Party Leadership

10. The real, practical and not metaphysical autonomy of trade union organization is not disturbed in the slightest degree and it not diminished by the struggle for influence of the Communist Party. Every member of the trade union has the right to vote as he thinks necessary and to elect the one who seems to him most worthy. Communists possess this right in the same way as others.

The conquest of the majority by the Communists in the directing organs takes place quite in accordance with the principles of autonomy, for example, the self-administration of the trade unions. On the other hand, no trade union statute can prevent or prohibit the Party from calling the general secretary of the Confederation of Labor to its central committee, for here we are entirely in the domain of the autonomy of the Party.

11. In the trade unions, the Communists, of course, submit to the discipline of the Party, no matter what posts they occupy. This does not exclude but supposes their submission to trade union discipline. In other words, the Party does not impose upon them any line of conduct that contradicts the state of mind or the opinions of the majority of the members of the trade unions. In entirely exceptional cases, when the Party considers impossible the submission of its members to some reactionary decision of the trade union, it points out openly to its members the consequences that flow from it—when it is a matter, for instance, of measures enacted against the Communist concerning trade union posts, expulsions and so forth.

With juridical formulae in these questions—and autonomy is a purely juridical formula—one can come to naught. The question must be posed at bottom in the concrete reality of trade union policy. A correct policy must be opposed to a wrong policy.

The Character of the Party's Direction Depends Upon Specific Conditions

12. The character of the Party's direction, its methods and its forms, can differ profoundly in accordance with the general conditions of a given country or with the period of its development.

In capitalist countries, where the Communist Party does not possess any means of coercion, it obviously can gain the leadership only by the Communists being in the trade unions as rank and file members or functionaries.

The number of Communists in leading posts of the trade unions is only one of the means of measuring the influence of the Party in the trade unions. The most important factor in evaluation is the percentage of rank and file Communists in relation to the whole unionized mass. But the principal criterion is the general influence of the Party on the working class which is measured by the circulation of the Communist press, the attendance at meetings of the Party, the number of votes at elections and, what is especially important, the number of workmen and women who respond actively to the Party's appeals to struggle.

13. It is clear that the influence of the Communist Party in general, and in the trade unions in particular, will grow the more revolutionary the situation becomes.

These conditions permit an appreciation of the degree and the form of the true real and not metaphysical autonomy of the trade unions. In times of "peace", when the most militant forms of trade union action are isolated group strikes, the direct part of the Party in trade union action falls back to second place. As a general rule, the Party does not make a decision on every isolated strike. It helps the trade union to

unions). French is usually different from the classic English and American type by the fact that the former are organized by industry and the latter, usually, by trade or craft.—Ed.

decide the question of knowing if the strike is opportune and well engaged, by means of its political and economic information and by its advice. It serves the strike with its agitation, etc. First place in the strike belongs, naturally, to the trade union.

The situation changes radically when the movement rises to the general strike and still more to the direct struggle for power. In these conditions, the leading role of the Party becomes entirely direct and immediate. The trade unions—naturally, not those that pass to the other side of the barricade—become the apparatus of organization of the Party which, in the presence of the whole class, stands forth as the guide of the revolution, assuming the whole responsibility.

In the field extending between the isolated group strike and the revolutionary insurrection of the class are divided all the possible forms of reciprocal relations between the Party and the trade unions, the various degrees of direct and immediate leadership, etc.

But under all conditions the Party tends to win general leadership, by relying upon the real autonomy of the trade unions which, as organizations, it goes without saying, are not "submitted" to it.

The Political Independence of the Trade Unions Is a Myth

14. Facts show that politically "independent" trade unions exist nowhere. There have never been any. Experience and theory say that there never will be any. In the United States, the trade unions are directly bound by their apparatus to the general staffs of industry and the bourgeois parties. In England, the trade unions which, in times past, mainly supported the liberals, at present constitute the material basis of the Labor Party. In Germany, the trade unions march under the banner of the social democracy. In the Soviet Republic, their direction belongs to the Bolsheviks. In France, one of the trade union organizations follows the socialists, the other the Communists. In Finland, the trade unions were divided only a little while ago to go one towards the social democracy, the other towards Communism. That is how it is everywhere.

The theoreticians of "the independence" of the trade union movement have not taken the trouble up to now to think of this question: why their slogan not only does not approach its realization in practice, anywhere but why on the contrary, the independence of the trade unions to the leadership of a party becomes everywhere, without exception, more and more evident and open? Yet, this corresponds entirely to the character of the imperialist epoch, which bares all class relations and which even within the proletariat, accentuates the contradictions between its aristocracy and its most exploited sections.

The Syndicalist League, Embryo of a Party

15. The most recent expression of the today outstripped syndicalism is the Syndicalist League (*Ligue Syndicaliste*). By all its traits, it comes forward as a political organization which seeks to subordinate the trade union movement to its influence. In fact, the League recruits its members not in accordance with the trade union principle, but in accordance with the principle of political groupings: it has its platform, if not its program, and it defends it in its publications; it has its own internal discipline within the trade union movement. In the Confederal congresses, its partisans act as a political fraction in the same way as the Communist fraction. If we are not to be lost in words, the tendency of the Syndicalist League comes to the struggle to liberate the two Confederations from the leadership of the socialists and Communists and to unite them under the direction of the Monatte group.

The League does not act openly in the name of the right and the necessity, for the vanguard minority, to fight to extend its influence over the most backward masses; it presents itself masked by what it calls trade union "autonomy." From this point of view, the League approaches the socialist party which also realizes its leadership under cover of the words: "independence of the trade union movement." The Communist Party, on the contrary, says openly to the working class: here is my program, my tactics and my policy, which I propose to the trade unions.

The proletariat must never believe anything blindly. It must judge every party and every organization by their work. But the workers should have a double and treble distrust towards those pretenders to leadership who act incognito, under a mask, who make the proletariat believe that it has no need of leadership in general.

The Proletariat Does Not Demand the "Autonomy" of the Trade Unions but a Correct Leadership

16. The right of a political party to fight to win the trade unions to its influence must not be denied, but this question must be posed: in the name of what program and what tactics is this organization fighting? From this point of view, the Syndicalist League does not give the necessary guarantees. Its program is extremely vague, as are its tactics. In its political estimations, it acts only according to circumstances. Acknowledging the proletarian revolution and even the dictatorship of the proletariat, it ignores the party and fights against Communist leadership without which the proletarian revolution would greatly risk remaining a phrase devoid of sense.

17. The ideology of trade union independence has nothing in common with the ideas and sentiments of the proletariat as a class. If the party, by its direction, is capable of assuring a correct, clear-sighted and firm policy in the trade unions, not a single worker will have the idea of rebelling against the leadership of the Party. The historical experience of the Bolsheviks has proved that.

This also holds for France, where the Communists received 1,200,000 votes in the elections while the C. G. T. U. has only a fourth or a third of this number. It is clear that the abstract slogan of autonomy cannot permit one to touch the masses. Quite another thing is trade union bureaucracy. It not only sees professional competition in the Party bureaucracy, but it even tends to make itself independent of control by the vanguard of the proletariat. The slogan of independence is, by its very basis, a bureaucratic and not a class slogan.

The Fetish of Trade Union Unity

18. After the fetish of "independence," the Syndicalist League transforms the question of trade union unity into a fetish also.

It goes without saying that the maintenance of the unity of the trade union organizations has enormous advantages, as much from the point of view of the daily tasks of the proletariat as from the point of view of the struggle of the Communist Party to extend its influence over the masses. But the facts prove that since the first successes of the revolutionary wing in the trade unions, the opportunists have set themselves deliberately on the road of scission. Pacific relations with the bourgeoisie are dearer to them than the unity of the proletariat. That is the sure result of the post-war experience.

We Communists are interested in every way to prove to the workers that the responsibility for the split of the trade union organizations falls back upon the social democracy. But it does not at all follow that the empty formula of unity is more important for us than the revolutionary tasks of the working class.

19. Eight years have passed since the trade union split in France. During this time, the two organizations have fought each other violently like two mortally hostile political parties. In these conditions to think of being able to unify the trade union movement by the simple preaching of unity would be to nurture illusions. To declare that without the preliminary unification of the two trade union organizations not only the proletarian revolution, but even a sufficiently serious class struggle is impossible, means to make the future of the revolution depend upon the corrupted clique of trade union reformists.

In fact, the future of the revolution depends not upon the fusion of the two trade union apparatuses, but the unification of the majority of the working class around revolutionary slogans and revolutionary methods of struggle.

At present, the unification of the working class is only possible by fighting against the agents of class collaboration who are found not only in political parties but also in the trade unions.

20. The real road leading to the unity of the proletariat is found in the development, the redressing, the enlargement, the consolidation of the revolutionary C. G. T. and in the weakening of the reformist C. G. T.

It is not excluded but, on the contrary, very likely that at the time of its revolution, the French proletariat will enter into struggle with two Confederations: behind one will be found the masses and behind the other the aristocracy of labor and the bureaucracy.

The Character of the Trade Union Opposition

21. The new trade union opposition obviously does not want to enter u

* A distinction is made here between trade unions and trade unionism and "syndicates" (the French word for labor

road of syndicalism. At the same time, it breaks with the Party,—not with a certain policy nor with a certain leadership, but with the party in general. This means quite simply that ideologically it definitely disarms itself and falls back to the positions of guildism or trade unionism.

22. The trade union opposition appears to be satisfied with its variety. But it is characterized by common traits which do not bring it closer to the Communist Opposition of the Left, but on the contrary alienate it and oppose it.

The trade union opposition does not fight against the thoughtless acts and wrong methods of the Communist leadership, but against the influence of Communism over the working class.

The trade union opposition does not fight against the ultra-Leftist evaluation of a given situation and the rhythm of its development but acts, in reality, counter to revolutionary perspectives in general.

The trade union opposition does not fight against caricature-like methods of anti-militarism but puts forward a pacifist orientation. In other words, the trade union opposition is manifestly developing in the reformist spirit.

23. Altogether wrong are the affirmations that during these last years—contrary to what happened in Germany, Czechoslovakia and other countries—there has not been formed in France a Right grouping in the revolutionary camp. The main point is that, forsaking the revolutionary policy of Communism, the Right opposition in France, conforming to the traditions of the French labor movement, has assumed a trade union character concealing in this way its political physiognomy. At bottom, the majority of the trade union opposition represents the Right wing just as the Brandier group in Germany, the Czech trade unionists who, after the split, have taken a clearly reformist position, etc.

The Policy of the Communist Party

24. One may seek to object that all the preceding considerations could be correct only on condition that the party has a correct Communist policy. But this objection is unfounded. The question of the relations between the Party, which represents the proletariat as it should be, and the trade unions, which represent the proletariat as it should be, and the trade unions, which represent the proletariat as it is, is the most fundamental question of revolutionary Marxism. It would be veritable suicide to spurn the only possible reply to this question solely because the Communist Party, for objective and subjective reasons of which we have spoken more than once, is now conducting a false policy towards the trade unions, as well as in other fields. A correct policy must be opposed to a wrong policy. Towards this end, the Left Opposition has been constituted as a faction. If it is considered that the French Communist Party in its entirety is in a state where there is no longer any remedy or hope—which we absolutely do not think—another Party must be opposed to it. But the question of the position of the Party towards the class does not change one iota by this fact.

The Communist Opposition considers that: to influence the trade union movement, to help it find its correct orientation, to strengthen it by correct slogans, is impossible except by means of the Communist Party (or of a faction for the moment) which, besides its other attributes, is the central laboratory of the ideology of the working class.

25. The correctly understood task of the Communist Party does not consist solely in gaining influence over the trade unions, such as they are, but in winning, through the trade unions, an influence over the majority of the working class. This is possible only if the methods employed by the Party in the trade unions correspond to the nature and the tasks of the latter. The struggle for influence of the Party in the trade unions finds its objective verification in the fact they do or do not thrive, and in the fact that the number of their members increases, as well as in their relations with the greatest masses. If the Party buys its influence in the trade unions only at the price of a diminution and a factionalizing of the latter—transforming them into auxiliaries of the Party for momentary aims and preventing them from becoming genuine organizations of the masses—the relations between the party and the class are wrong. It is not necessary for us to dwell here on the causes of such a situation. We have already done it more than once and we will always do it. The changeableness of the official Communist policy reflect its adventurist tendency to make itself master of the working class with the briefest delay, by means of stage, play, camouflage, superficial agitation, etc.

The means of issuing from this situation does not, however, lie in the opposition of the trade unions to the party (or to the faction), but in the relentless struggle

for changing the whole policy of the Party as well as that of the trade unions.

The Tasks of the Communist Left

26. The Left Opposition must place the questions of the trade union movement in indissoluble connection with the questions of the political struggle of the proletariat. It must give a concrete analysis of the present stage of development of the French labor movement. It must give an evaluation, in quantity as well as quality, of the present strike movement and its perspectives in relation to the perspectives of the economic development of France. It is needless to say that it completely rejects the perspective of capitalist stabilization and pacifism even for a period of ten years. It proceeds from an estimation of our epoch as being a revolutionary epoch. It springs from the necessity of a timely preparation of the vanguard proletariat in face of the brusque turns which are not only probable but inevitable. The firmer and more implacable is its action against the supposedly revolutionary rantings of the Centrist bureaucracy, against political hysteria which does not take conditions into account, which confuses today with yesterday or with tomorrow, the more firmly and resolutely must it set itself against the elements of the Right that take up its criticism and conceal themselves under it in order to introduce their tendencies into revolutionary Marxism.

27. New fixing of boundaries? New polemics? New splits? That will be the lament the good-natured but tired souls, who would like to transform the Opposition into a calm retreat where one can tranquilly rest himself from the great tasks, while retaining intact the name of revolutionary "of the Left". No! we say to them, to these tired souls: we will certainly not follow the same road. Truth has never yet been a sum of errors. Revolutionary organization has never yet been composed of small conservative groups, seeking primarily to distinguish themselves from each other. There are epochs when the revolutionary tendency is reduced to a small minority in the labor movement. But those epochs do not demand arrangements between the small groups which mutually hide their errors, but on the contrary, a doubly implacable struggle for a correct perspective and an education of the cadres in the spirit of genuine Marxism. Victory is possible only in this way.

28. So far as the author of these lines is personally concerned, he must admit that the notion he had of the Monatte group when he was deported from the Soviet Union proved to be too optimistic and, by that fact, false. For many years the author did not have the possibility of following the activity of this group. He judged it from old memories. The divergences showed themselves in fact profounder and more acute than one might have supposed. The events of these recent times have proved beyond a doubt that without a clear and precise ideological delimitation from the line of syndicalism, the Communist Opposition in France will not go forward. The theses proposed represent by themselves the first step on the road of this delimitation which is the prelude for the victorious struggle against the revolutionary jabberings and the opportunist essence of Cachin, Monmousseau and Company.

October 14, 1929.

Φ

TO BE SURE! TO BE SURE! BUT THAT WAS IN THE SECOND PERIOD!

"We must recollect how the differences of opinion arose at the end of 1924, when the Leningrad organization moved that Trotsky be expelled from the Party. The majority of the Central Committee declared themselves opposed to this, and confined themselves to superseding Trotsky from his position as war commissar; the majority of the C. C. were of the opinion that this motion, as also the proposal moved by Zinoviev and Kamenev for the expulsion of Trotsky from the Political Bureau involved grave dangers for the Party; expulsions are infections and can go too far" (Applause).

—From the speech of Stalin at the 14th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, December 1925.

Φ

Three Communists in St. Clairsville, Ohio, were convicted on charges of criminal syndicalism for distributing leaflets attacking Congress and the Kellogg Pact. The three workers, who took part in the August 1st anti-war demonstration, were first held on sedition charges but these were later changed to the criminal syndicalism charges on which they were convicted. Maximum penalties under the Ohio law are 10 years in prison and a fine of \$5,000. The three workers, two men and a woman, are out on \$2,000 bail pending their appeal.

The National Revolt in Haiti

Continued from Page 1

tual head of the government until a Wall Street tool, Dartiguenave, was foisted upon the country as president at the point of Marine bayonets, even as President Bor-no is today.

The resistance of Haiti was nevertheless not eliminated. The U. S. then seized the ten main ports of Haiti and their customs houses, collected all customs dues, and established what amounted to a military dictatorship over the country. A treaty was finally jammed through which robbed Haiti of the faintest semblance of sovereignty. Still under the apostle of brotherhood and peace, President Wilson, an agreement was arranged naming the National City Bank as the financial overseer of the country.

The military subjection of Haiti then began in full force. The barbaric corvée, or forced road work, was revived, and virtual slave raids conducted by the Marines to help "improve the country". Marine atrocities, rivalling the alleged ones of the "Huns" during the war, became the order of the day. In a few years of its domination, James Weldon Johnson reports, more than 3,000 unarmed Haitians were done to death by the American Marines. And the Haitian population is only 3,000,000.

Since that time there is hardly a phase of financial, political, military or industrial life of the country that has not been put into a water-tight compartment with an American watch-dog at the door, The U.

S. does not propose, under any circumstances, to forsake its control voluntarily. The naval bases of Haiti are of immense strategic importance for the control of the Panama Canal—as a weapon against Great Britain. This is particularly true since the latter has declared only as late as November 25, through the First Lord of the Admiralty, A. V. Alexander, that there has been "no decision to close the minor naval base at Bermuda and Jamaica and there is no intention of taking such a decision." A glance at the map shows that, Jamaica lies in an almost direct line between American-controlled Cuba and Haiti, and the Panama Canal.

The dispatch of a new force of Marines to put down the strikes and the resentment—which is country-wide—of the Haitians, gives the measure of the essence of Hoover's Quaker brotherly love and strivings for peace. It indicates the deliberate fraudulence of the claims of the Kellogg "peace" pact to halt war, because it is a murderous war that American imperialism is carrying on against the Haitian people.

A protest against the military intervention by every workers organization will encourage the Haitian workers, peasants and students to continue and sharpen their battle to rid the country of the Wall Street oppression. Make the Marines get out of Haiti! Help to bear the iron heel of the National City Bank, and its political agent Hoover off the neck of Haiti.

GREETINGS SENT TO THE WEEKLY

FROM CHICAGO

The Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opp.) sends heartiest greetings to our fighting organ of Marxism-Leninism, the MILITANT. The intensification of class struggle here and internationally, and along with it the continued vile distortions of the basic principles of the movement by the Party (employing the methods of Stalinism) demand more than ever the building of a solid basis for the MILITANT, insuring its issuance as a weekly, penetrating all sections of the movement with its sharp and uncompromising defense of Marxism.

We pledge ourselves to work to the limit toward this end. Our proof will be in our work. This is a challenge to the other branches.

For the Unity of the Communist forces!
For the victory of Marxism-Leninism!
All power to the Militant!

FROM MINNEAPOLIS

Forward, comrades! The Militant a Weekly. Wonderful, noble work. Your labor and sacrifices lead the way and indicate the path for the future, fitting us at the same time for still more important and difficult tasks. The comrades through-

out the country and in the different sections understand and will redouble their efforts in order that full advantage may be taken of this new weapon.

Vincent R. Dunne.

FROM KANSAS CITY

We here in K. C. feel confident that the Weekly Militant, once started, will not only pay its own way financially but will be the means of building up the Communist League (Opposition) in the U. S. A. Speed the Weekly Militant! K. C. will be with you one hundred percent.

A. A. Buehler.

FROM BOSTON

Congratulations from the Boston group! Last year we were a few isolated groups—this year we are strong enough to publish a Weekly! The Weekly is an absolute necessity. The official Stalinist press is the minds of the comrades with lies and misrepresentations and what is worse, the attitude of the Stalinists towards all important events is so infantile that the comrades in the Party are all befuddled. We must supply them with information and revive their knowledge of Leninism and Marxism. We will do our best to help you financially.

Antoinette Konikow.

The Militant

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Booklet on the Program of the Comintern

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THE MILITANT is making a special offer. A one year subscription (52 issues) to the Militant is two dollars. A copy of L. D. Trotsky's brilliant criticism of the draft program of the Communist International (150 pages) is thirty-five cents. Under the terms of the special offer, both the yearly subscription and the booklet can be obtained for only two dollars (\$2.00). The blank is for your convenience. Fill it out immediately and send it in.

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«Hoover Brings You Peace and Plenty»

The nursemaid to American capitalism, has delivered his message to Congress and sounded a militant note for the class that put him into office.

Hoover's message was delivered in the face of three outstanding facts: First, the sharpening of the competition between the United States and England for their respective shares of the world market, a struggle which is leading headlong towards war, however thinly the flight is concealed by "disarmament" negotiations. Second, the resounding crash on the stock market which made hundreds of thousands, if not millions, dubious about the fable of perpetual prosperity in the United States, and caused a panic in political and economic circles of the bourgeoisie. Third, Hoover's reputation for being an "efficiency man", one can so well regulate the balance wheels of national economy that all classes are able to live in an idyllic state of peace and well-being.

What Price Kellogg Pact?

The first thing that Hoover's message does is to disabuse the minds of those credulous souls who put two cents worth of faith in the Kellogg Pact cure-all. Since its promulgation, there is no more "peace on earth" than there was before it. Hoover does not place any brighter prospects before us. He brushes aside all the Sunday School sermons of Kellogg and his flock on the new era of peace that was to ensue after that "historic meeting in Paris". He does not even tip his hat politely to the conversations with MacDonald that were to inaugurate an epoch of pacific relations between the Anglo-Saxon powers. His message opens up no vistas of peace, but plenty for a coming war.

In other words, he proposes for the next year's appropriations (fiscal year of 1931) not only a larger budget in general than that of the previous year (an increase of more than \$4,000,000), and not only a maintenance of expenditures for national "defense" (read: imperialist aggression), but a substantial increase for past and future wars. Out of every dollar spent by the government for the coming year, 72 cents will go to cover past and future wars! "National defense" appropriations are increased from the trifling sum of \$692,399,804 to the sum of \$719,089,388. It must further be borne in mind that the appropriations requested by the president are always lower than what is actually expended; sums are always added later on by supplemental appropriations.

U. S. Naval Progress

It is no wonder that this increase, following the Kellogg Pact, the MacDonald conversations, and the proposal for the London Naval Conference next month, have aroused caustic comment in Europe. The French imperialist press positively sneers. The British press, with that tone of injured indignation in which a poorer shopkeeper criticizes the extravagances of a richer neighbor, makes bold enough to point out that the United States is going too far for the British to keep up the pace. The British Navy, for instance, in 1913, had 2,200,000 tons, representing about 32% of the world's total tonnage. Today it has about 1,379,000 tons, representing about 25 per cent of the total world tonnage. The United States navy, on the contrary, had 844,000 tons in 1913, making about 12 per cent of the total. Today it has 1,261,000 tons representing 24.6 per cent of the whole. That is, the United States has increased its war fleet to about the same extent as it has been decreased by Great Britain.

The United States is spending, for "defense" purposes, about 75 percent of the total (\$1,100,000,000) spent by all countries on the European continent, except the Soviet Union; and the population of Europe is some 300,000,000, almost three times that of the United States. Furthermore: England's expenditures on military and associated purposes this year will run to some \$580,000,000, that is, less than 50 percent of America's proposed expenditure.

It is no wonder that the bold hussy of American chauvinism, Liberty, remarks cynically: "A little examination into history reveals that what Mr Hoover would like the British to give up is the power and glory of their empire" Just that and no more!

As for Uriah Heep Hoover's solicitousness over American imperialist troops in Nicaragua, Haiti, China and elsewhere, and his pledges to withdraw them "as soon as possible" not even an idiot can be deceived by them in view of the action he took 2 days after his speech in the Haitian situation. Hoover will withdraw the bayonet from the throat of Wall Street's colonies on the very day when some enormous natural catastrophe sinks them all to the bowels of

By Max Shachtman

the earth. His figures speak louder than his oaths: Appropriations requested for the "administration of territories and dependencies" rise from \$872,785 to \$1,918,693, an increase of more than 100 percent. A tighter and not a looser stranglehold on America's subject peoples is Hoover's program. Imperialist aggression and not retreat is Hoover's program. War, and not peace.

For the Workers at Home

The proposed budget offers nothing better to the working class at home, which faces a bad period presaged by the stock market collapse, the growing unemployment and a severe wage-cutting campaign all along the line.

Compare the planned appropriation of \$2,733,213,283 for wars—past and future—with the magnanimous appropriation for public health: \$20,804,072, a decrease of more than a million dollars since last year. Or for education: \$14,491,938. Compare the appropriation for conserving national resources so that they may be better exploited to the profit of Hoover's class: \$47,798,767, with the appropriation for "aids to labor" (whatever that means) of \$6,510,170! Or the latter figure with that for "aids to industry and trade" (how to get more profit for the capitalist class) \$14,922,044. Or the refunds on taxes, customs, etc., which Hoover presents to the starving coupon clippers amounting to \$162,528,500, ten millions more than last year. These figures bespeak the class character of Hoover's government as well or better than a mountain of abstract argumentation.

What does Hoover propose for the amelioration of the position of the American workers? Just so much tripe! With an admirable coolness he sees nothing "basically wrong."

The consequences of the stock market crash are to be overcome with ease. Growing unemployment is nothing to worry

about. What miraculous measures does Hoover propose to cope with unemployment? What are his pearls of wisdom? Listen, and then wonder at the ease with which windbags acquire a reputation for wisdom and efficiency: "The cure for such storms is action; the cure for unemployment is to find jobs."! That is Hoover's literal contribution to the problem made at the business men's conference in Washington. (New York Times, 12-6-1929). Even the most ignorant worker will now know that the cure for his being without a job is to . . . get a job.

Build! But How?

How? Through the magic formula: Public works, public construction, public building. But the government itself does not plan any additional public building and works. The new budget calls for an appropriation of \$246,012,061 on public works, about a quarter of a million dollars more than last year's appropriation. That is, there will be a continuation of employment, perhaps, but no increase.

But there is Secretary of Commerce Lamont's announcement to the business men's conference of plans to set into motion a volume of well over \$2,250,000,000 for public works, with more than 600,000 men employed. But where will the capital come from? From those industries where it is now unprofitable, or less profitable than public works. A withdrawal from those industries means lessened employment there. But capital will not be so easily attracted by the prospect of the long turnover offered by public construction in the United States. It will languish for the swifter returns—and more magnificent one—contained in foreign investments. That is where the trend of "unemployed capital" will be, as the well-informed Dr. Max Winkler has recently pointed out in his statement estimating steady increases in foreign investments as well as in foreign corporate purchases by American capitalists. Even assuming the fantastic figures of Lamont (which are universally re-

garded, in the polite terms of the capitalist press, as "experimental") it still remains true that 600,000 by no means covers the mass of unemployed workers in the country which is constantly on the increase.

Other industries, besides public works, offer very dark prospects. The steel industry is wobbly and has been declining for months. Ingot production is about 70 percent of capacity; scrap is having a very dull period; Fabricated steel plate orders for October were 39 percent of capacity as compared with 67.6 percent for last year. The mining industry is notoriously rotten, particularly from the viewpoint of the miners whose wages are scarcer than they've been in years. Copper is hard hit, and it is no "seasonal" depression, either. Production is being cut down radically; one company has announced a 25 percent cut in output; a cut in price is soon expected, to start out with as much as 2 cents. The building trades have been weak for months, and a steady decline is obvious. A survey of the auto industry; conducted by Business Week, calls the three major problems of the industry; a curtailment of production to relieve the flooded market, need for better "relations" with dealers, and continued expansion of foreign sales. The end of this year and the beginning of the next will see lower auto production than the record "lows" of recent months.

Hoover Offers No Solution

This does not yet point to a crisis, but it indicates a growing depression. And Hoover offers no way out for the workers for the simple reason that he cannot solve the multiplying contradictions of capitalism, American capitalism included.

Hoover tries to jolly his hearers into believing that the wage standards will be maintained. But to make this contention is to fly in the face of facts. Commodity prices are becoming generally lower. Lamont warned the business men's conference that the general level of commodity prices was between 4 to 5 points lower than last year. Dun's general index of consumer's commodities shows an average of 188.969 for December 1, 1929 as compared with 193.543 for a year ago. Bradstreet's index showing the decrease in money form, points out that the average for December 1, 1929 was \$12.2367 as compared with \$13.1479 on December 1, 1928. The decrease in the cost of commodities, a process hastened by the rationalization of industry, is inevitably accompanied by a decrease in wages. What the American workers have as a prospect to look forward to is an intense wage cutting campaign in every important industry—Hoover or no Hoover.

But this will only bring about a further narrowing of the diminishing home market, which will do anything but help to increase the output of American industry. The soothsayer of American capitalism has a "solution" for this problem also. He proposes the increase of American exports. "In stimulating our exports we should be mainly interested in development work abroad. . . for we gain in prosperity by a prosperous world, not by displacing others." "Displace others?" Perish the thought! But it is only by "displacing others" that capital and manufactured products exports can be "stimulated," and it is to make sure that the "others" can be "displaced" that Hoover is spending so much money upon military, naval and aerial "defense."

The Struggle For Markets

Where will "we" export? To whom? Is there some Atlantis, some hidden continent or land on the face of the earth that is not already being disputed by the various imperialist buccaneers? An increase of American exports can be accompanied only by cutting into the share of other big powers. American can "overcome" its own depression—and possible crisis—only by feeding on the waning reserves of the European nations. But none of the European countries is as yet so exhausted and feeble that it will lie unresistingly while the American ogre continues to gobble up its markets, its sources of trade—and imperialist life. Hoover was a good chap when he "fed" Europe after the war; he is not so good when he feeds on it.

This rounds out the picture. The mounting resistance of Europe to America's attempts to escape the consequences of its internal difficulties at the Old World's expense, involves an ever more aggressive policy on the part of both contestants. Hoover is not the most stupid representative of Wall Street (after all there have been Coolidges and Hardings in office). He is no seventh son of a seventh son, but he can look into the very near future and see the gathering clouds. He is organizing his master's machinery to meet the situation. His Congressional message indicates that he knows what he is about.

The American workers don't know. They must learn. The bitter battles that surely coming will help to teach the

Why We Publish The Militant

The Militant is little more than a year old, and although it began as a semi-monthly, it is now in its third issue as a weekly. The delays occasioned by technical difficulties have been largely overcome and there is every assurance that we will now appear regularly every week as a revolutionary organ of the class struggle.

There are many papers published in this country which lay claim to the title of labor and revolutionary. Why in that case is there a need for another paper? Do not the others suffice? No. It is because we feel the imperative need of The Militant that we have decided to bend all efforts to maintain it and develop its strength. The reasons for our existence as a special paper cannot be better stated than the way in which they were put in a recent letter sent to our French brother organ, La Verite, by comrade Trotsky.

A Rallying Point

"Rejecting the spirit of a literary coterie with its shabby interests and ambitions, Verite must rally around it all the live and genuinely revolutionary elements of the Communist Opposition. It is as necessary for the vanguard of the workers as daily bread.

"The relations of the workers' press with its readers furnish the clearest verification of its political line. The reformists lie deliberately to the reader in the interests of preserving the bourgeois regime. The Centrists cover their hesitation, their lack of assurance, their capitulations and their adventures with their deceit. They have no confidence in themselves, that is why they lack confidence in their readers. They believe that the workers can be won only with their eyes blindfolded. It is this spirit that now imbues the press of the Communist International. It has no confidence in the workers. It takes them under its care like little children. It tells them fantastic stories. When they ask embarrassing questions it shakes its finger at them. That is why apathy is established in the ranks of the Party and the void enlarges around it.

"The mass of workers is not composed of sucklings. It is made up of men having hard experiences. It does not tolerate bureaucratic rule whose severity generally equals its foolishness. The worker does not ask for orders, but for help in his political orientation. For that, we must above all tell him what is what. Not to distort, nor to select tendenciously, not to gloss over, not

to sweeten, but to say honestly what is what.

The policy of Communism can only gain by presenting the truth in all its clarity. Falsehood can serve to save false authority but not to educate the masses. It is truth that the workers need as an instrument of revolutionary action.

"Your weekly calls itself Verite (Truth). This word has been abused a good deal, like so many others. Nevertheless, it is a fine and honest name. Truth is always revolutionary. To present the truth about their situation to the oppressed is to open the road of the revolution to them. To tell the truth about the leaders is to fatally undermine the bases of their power. To tell the truth about the reformist bureaucracy is to ruin them in the minds of the workers. To tell the truth about the Centrists is to help the workers assure a correct leadership in the Communist International.

"There is the task of your weekly. All the forms and manifestations of the labor movement must be loyally clarified. The attentive reader will have to be persuaded that in order to know the truth about the movements of the proletariat in France and the world, he must look for it in Verite.

"And in this way he will accept your point of view because it will present itself to him in the light of facts and figures. Only this current which, together with the workers and at their head, honestly seeks the right orientation, will win to itself conscientious and devoted partisans who will know neither disenchantment nor discouragement."

With the aid of its fellow-fighters in the ranks, this is the course that The Militant will pursue. It is for the reasons so succinctly put by comrade Trotsky that The Militant will continue to appear.

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Party Defeated in I. W. C.

Stalinist Policy in Independent Workmen's Circle Ends in Bad Retreat

BOSTON

The logical outcome of the Communist Party's desperate policy in the Independent Workmen's Circle has now been reached. The dispute between the Right wing and the Left, hanging fire in the capitalist courts for weeks, has been temporarily settled by an agreement reached between representatives of the National Executive Committee (controlled by the Stalinists) and the Board of Appeals (composed of Right wingers). The agreement, signed by both sides, is an unmistakable defeat for the Party's whole line in the Jewish fraternal labor orders and marks a retreat far beyond positions which the left wing, led by the Party, had long ago won in the organization.

The magnitude of the defeat marked by the agreement can only be visualized by the recent "strategy" of the Stalinists is briefly outlined.

Progress in the Past

For years the Party and the Left wing has been making substantial and steady progress in the Workmen's Circle, containing some 70,000 members, the majority of whom are workers. At times, the struggle for influence between the Left wing and the Right wing became so violent that the Right sought to drive out the Left with the basest provocations which were so successfully resisted and overcome by the Left that it succeeded in remaining on the inside and consolidating its position.

At the same time, the Left wing made great strides forward in the Independent Workmen's Circle, a smaller organization of some five to seven thousand members with a membership concentrated largely in the New England and Eastern states. In fact, the progress of the Left wing in the I. W. C. had gone so far that by and large the I. W. C. was considered a "Left" organization in the contradistinction to the W. C., controlled as the latter was—and is—by the most reactionary elements of the socialist party, (Baskin, Weinberg, and the rest of the Forward gang.) The I. W. C., and particularly its branches, supported all Left wing institutions and campaigns pretty systematically. It was an excellent recruiting ground for the Communist movement and the Party was steadily becoming the dominant factor—ideologically as well as organizationally—in the order.

All this was before the advent of the "new line" and the "third period" which are the tattered banners under which every idiocy marches. Not satisfied with its "slow" progress in both organizations, the Party conceived the grandiose "maneuver" whereby it was to kill at least two birds with a single shot. The entire line of attack by the Party generals was conceived after the expulsion of the Communist Opposition in October 1928, and jointly approved, as we now learn from an article by M. J. Olgin in recent issue of the Morning Freiheit, by both the Lovestone and the Foster factions in the Political Committee. The plan of campaign was as follows:

The Punitive Expedition!

First trench: Capture the Chicago convention of the I. W. C. at all costs.

This was done in typical Stalinist style by flooding the convention with delegates from small, recently formed branches, all out of proportion to their strength or representation in the membership. "One hundred percent Communist" resolutions were mechanically and arbitrarily foisted upon the convention. A water-tight, Party-dominated national executive committee elected. The Party, its unions and its official organs were all endorsed, and the order officially "bolshhevized."

Second trench: Withdraw the Left wing from the Workmen's Circle at all costs and affiliate them to the now Party-controlled I. W. C., thereby having a fraternal order of a larger size with a stronger Party control and no Right wing, no Baskin, and

Weinbergs to fight against for influence.

But here, as we pointed out in our last issue, a couple of stumbling blocks were encountered. Firstly, the Left wing masses in the W. C. did not understand this "brilliant" maneuver, which came virtually like a bolt from the blue. The result was that an insignificant few thousand Party members and very closest sympathizers followed the Party's call to leave the W. C. Secondly, the Right wing, of which the Party thought itself rid when it quit the W. C., bobbed up in the most "unexpected" place—in the I. W. C. and began to put obstacles in the way of the Stalinists' "cunning" strategy. So ruthlessly did the Party carry through its "bolshhevization" of the I. W. C. that the Right wing, which has never had much influence or say in the councils of the organization, suddenly took shape and formidable proportions, and taking advantage of the situation created by the Party, opened an attack upon it.

The Latest Agreement

The details of the struggle were published by us in our last issues. It is sufficient to say here that the Party was unable to mobilize the membership of the order to its banner. All the claims to the contrary fade into pitiful bombast in face of the agreement which has now been made. The agreement provides that:

All members (who left the Workmen's Circle at the Party's call to affiliate with the I. W. C.) who have taken their medical examination and those to take it in the next few weeks, are to be accepted into the I. W. C. But not a single one of these is permitted to vote in the coming elections for the emergency convention of the order to be held in Boston on January 12, or in the referendum on convention decisions to follow.

The convention is to consider only two points: 1 Whether the order shall endorse any political party, any labor union (Left or Right) or any official organ. The Right wing naturally opposes such endorsements now, and there is every indication that their viewpoint will carry in the convention as well as in the subsequent referendum. That is the extent to which the Party has alienated the sympathies of hundreds of members! Should this point carry, it can be reversed in the future only by a vote of seven-eighths of the membership. 2. A new

national executive committee and a board of appeals are to be elected at the emergency convention. Here too, there is every indication that the Party will lose control of the order—again due to its martinnet methods and its brutal disregard for proper relations of a revolutionary party to the non-partisan organizations of the masses.

The previous agreement made between the national executive committee (Party-controlled) and the national committee of the Left wing W. C. branches (also Party-controlled) is nullified—and so is the Party's third period strategy.

The net result of the Party's series of coup d'Etats is a big setback for Communism and the Left wing movement and a great impetus to the Right wing. The Party called upon the workers to quit the W. C. on the basis of its having become "social fascist"—i. e., controlled by the Right wing. What will the Party do now if the same stripe of Right wingers gain control of the emergency convention, for which there is every likelihood? Will the Party proceed to form a brand-new organization? That is the logic of its present position.

Where are now the brave, the notoriously brave words of M. J. Olgin, who recently poured wormwood and gall upon our heads for opposing the Party's insane policy? Where are now his mouthy claims of the great victories for the Party's policy in I. W. C. and W. C.? In the face of the dark realities, of the humility of the Stalinists now, all the frothings and rantings of these people who only discredit the cause of Communism in the eyes of the masses are revealed in all their political and intellectual poverty.

Against Fake "Impartiality"

Nevertheless, it is precisely in this difficult period that it must be made clear that the Right Wing in the W. C. is playing a reactionary game. Its proposals against endorsements of any political parties mean in real life, a free hand for the Socialist Party and its capitalist allies, just as the cry of "No politics in the unions!" on the lips of the labor fakers has always meant "No politics in the unions except capitalist politics!" The present Stalinist machine is destroying the name and cause of Communism. The members of the I. W. C., however, must not fall victims to the plan of the Right wing and reject Communism and the Communist movement. Not a fight against Communism and a Communist Party is required, but a relentless struggle against the false and ruinous policies of Stalinism and a total rejection of the Right wing. The conscious militants in the I. W. C. will pursue this course at all times.

The Party Cliques Are Still Busy

The situation in the Communist Party, pointed out in The Militant a few issues ago, has not been improved; it has become worse. The two features of its internal organization, which reflect its political line and in turn react upon it, remain the sharpening of the clique struggle which does not even pretend to principles, and the financial crisis. The latter has become extremely severe. The suspension of Labor Unity for a few weeks is only one sign of it. Another is the fantastic money-collecting campaign for the Daily Worker.

Add to all this the general disgust of the Party membership, the fact that they have been mulcted until their bones are dry in order to maintain an enormously top-heavy bureaucratic apparatus, the failure of the present conglomeration that calls itself the Party leadership to inspire any confidence, and a faint idea of the financial straits of the Party may be had. The radical remedy for the situation—the drastic slicing down of the Party and auxiliary apparatus—is not even thought of; all the apparatus men are in a cohesive faction on that point.

We hope soon to complete a survey, which we are now conducting, of the actual number of Party and auxiliary paid functionaries, to be printed in detail in a coming issue of The Militant. Preliminary figures already indicate that there is practically one paid functionary out of every five members in the Party! For the moment, it will suffice to say that the Russian Party, which runs a State, trade unions, cooperatives, industry, etc., etc., has a lower proportion of paid functionaries and Party members employed outside of industry than the American Party! Party financial crises are inevitably permanent under such conditions.

As for the factional situation in the Party, it has not been eliminated, except in the records for public consumption. The cliques are in existence and striving for power, jockeying for position, carrying on a whispered agitation. Not a single comrade of the Party can be

maintain that the Party situation is anywhere near to what it should be. Complaints, dissatisfaction, grumbling, plans over the coffee cup, schemes for clique control—these are the order of the day in the Party. Mass work is just a pretense, kept up to satisfy the demands of the E. C. C. I. and what is left of the membership.

New Shift of Functionaries

Only a few weeks ago we recorded a big shift of district organizers, with each clique (Bedacht-Stachel; Browder-Johnstone, etc., etc.), aiming to insert its functionaries into strategic positions in the event of the coming convention, for which, by the way, no one of the cliques is yet prepared. In the brief period that has intervened, a new shift of functionaries has taken place—unannounced in the Party press, moving in on their respective districts like wraiths in the night only to disappear in a few weeks and leave the masses leaderless! Through Bedacht's maneuvers, his old crony Amter has been made D. O. in New York, taking the place of Weinstein who made such a splendid showing in the New York elections and the Party organization.

To strengthen Amter, Benjamin has been yanked out of Philadelphia and made organizational secretary, in place of Pasternak who, alas! is off to "represent" the American Communist movement in the Comintern organization department. To counterbalance the two Bedacht men, one of the old Foster wheel-horses, George Siskind, has been moved in as industrial organizer. The trio watch each other like one-eyed men.

In Benjamin's place as District Organizer of Philadelphia, Bedacht succeeded in shifting one of the professional Party wreckers, Emil Gardos, who recently bolshewized the California district into a quivering wreck. His place, in turn, is being taken by William Simons, erstwhile head of the erstwhile All-America Anti-Imperial League, who now goes to sun himself in the land of fruits and nuts.

Boston is to be blessed with Roy Stephens of Kansas City, who replaces Carl Hacker. Hacker made such a noble mess of things in Boston that he has been sent to cool his heels again in his native habitat of Cleveland. (In passing, a tip to any clique that wants it: Stephens' support can be won by a promise of a trip to Moscow. It is his life's ambition.) Stephens place in K. C. has been taken by the noted master of arts (Lenin School degree), Dave Gorman, who was run out of the anthracite district by Lovestone's hatchet men. (How these Stalin school boys vanish from the scene!) In turn, Gorman's place has been taken in the anthracite by the inveterate, incurable letter-writer, Phil Frankfeld.

To cap the list is the appointment of the Great Bimba (not to be confused with the Great Gabbo) as district organizer in Cleveland. As Bimba looks back from the days of his former splendor as spokesman for the Bolshevik leadership of Lovestone and company to his present golgotha he must surely reflect that there really is no god. Well, what Amter didn't finish off in Cleveland, Bimba will. But the district will be made safe for Bedacht—or so he hopes.

Foster has taken the opportunity to skip off to the Profintern for a while, so that his hands are washed of any bungling or collapses in his absence. He may be expected back with a "new" trade union line. And while the cat is away, Browder builds his fences from his seat in the national office, where he acts as watchdog over Bedacht and vice-versa. Browder is bending efforts to "put a political basis" under the coming open fight by finding differences which should not be a difficult task for Browder, with Bedacht, Minor and their crew of dejected, if reformed Lovestoneites. A new shift has put Minor into a controlling position in the Daily Worker, and those who would give much more than a fig to replace him, fume and fret at the lifeless, stupid, blundering sheet he gets out. But fuming and lamentation never moved even a heap of mud.

And the Party as a whole? It is steadily crumbling. The members are imbued with the greatest passivity and disillusionment. But they have not yet found the way out. The clique struggle most certainly offers them none.

◆

A Report on the Russian Situation by the Moscow Correspondent of the Daily Worker

"Moscow, November 26.—The recantation of their 'Right heresy' by Rykoff, Tomski and Budharin, its three leading exponents, has great political importance at the present juncture. Although no one has questioned the trio's good faith or personal devotion to the Bolshevik cause, their apostasy, as *Isvestia* and *Pravda* editorials today make abundantly clear, was more than a mere divergence of opinion, but, in the final instance, an expression right in the heart of the Communist Party itself of bourgeois anti-Communist sentiment aroused by the administration's sternly socializing policy in town and country.... It is this fact which explains the immense, and it often seems to outsiders, unnecessary stress laid by Joseph Stalin and the party majority on the danger of the 'Right heresy'... Their recantation, the sincerity of which, be it noted, neither *Pravda* nor *Isvestia* questions as it questioned similar declarations by Trotsky and his followers, is therefore infinitely more important than a victory of the opinions of the majority over the minority." Etc., etc.

—Dispatch from Moscow to the New York Times by comrade Walter Duranty, unofficial member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

◆

PROSPERITY AS USUAL

A report from Chattanooga, Tennessee, informs us that 1,000 children in the city are so raggedly dressed that they can no longer attend school. A drive has been opened—among the workers, of course—to raise sufficient funds to clothe these children. Mr. Hoover's Tennessee disciples conveniently forget that it is precisely because the workers in the city are in bitter straits that their children are without decent clothing. Additional signs of Hooverian prosperity in this city are the discharge of 1,500 out of the total of 3,000 workers employed in the large marble plant. The small business man has been bit between the eyes also. Numerous two-by-four shops and stores are shutting down.

CHICAGO!

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LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

3rd PERIOD HITS DAILY WORKER

New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

The third period has hit the *Daily Worker*. In line with the Stalinist ukase on the Bolshevization of the Party apparatus, A. B. Magill and S. Pollack were removed from the staff over a month ago, and Harrison George and General Paul Crouch shoehorned into their places. Shortly before that happened, Sender Garlin obtained a leave of absence which has since become permanent; he is now in Pittsburgh, ostensibly as editor of the *Coal Digger*.

More recently the new leadership decided that the hour for taking over the last stronghold of non-Fosterism had struck, and consequently Whittaker Chambers who despite taints of Lovestonitis has handled the copy desk for five months, Miller and young Jacob Burke, the cartoonist, who has been doing the make-up, were notified early this week that the axe had fallen.

They go tomorrow to make room for Harry Gannes, Nat Kaplan and Bill Dunne. The first named is to be the *Daily's* financial "expert"; Kaplan replaces Chambers on the desk.

The stout-hearted Harry Wicks is no longer with us; he has been gone for several weeks and since his departure most of the editorial boiler plate has been pounded out by the granite monument to brilliance, with an occasional bull thrown in by Minor or the Polcom or Cohen himself. Once the springs of editorial inspiration ran so dry, what with Minor gadding about blatherskiting with the new illuminati, that old Vern Smith was pressed into service to write a chapter of the Stalin gospel.

Those who remain on the staff are Smith, the indispensable (national labor news); Barbara Rand, a former Graphic sob-sister, at present out in the Illinois mine fields writing up—gawdelpus!—the struggle of the miners (now we know who is leading the *Daily's* struggle against Watt and the Trotskyists!—Ed.); Martin Moriarty, a young comrade; and N. Honig, warner-correspondence editor and handy man around the office. Crouch? He has been entrusted with what is called national political news. For a while he was hanging between the devil and the deep blue sea—the League wanted to ease him out and the Party had no place available for one of his astounding parts. The General fought like sixty to retain his hold on his League connections, but in the end they put the skids under him and, quite naturally, he landed in the *Daily* chancel with a dull and sickening thump.

The *Daily*? Ask any rank and file worker what he thinks of it, especially in its present Bolshevized, Fosterized, politicalized form. Did you know that the central organ now actually goes to press without benefit of United Press ticker service, or even the capitalist newspapers? The ticker was shut off a week ago because of failure to foot the bill, and a few days later the newsdealer stopped leaving the papers for the same reason. But then, the *Daily* always did manufacture its news out of the thin air, so where is the difficulty?

The Active Press is in sad straits, and it is bruited about that the *Daily* itself may go under at any moment; if that happens, it will probably reappear as a weekly. One more fruit of the new line.

Yours in comradeship,

K. WILKES

Φ

MOVING AHEAD IN MINNEAPOLIS

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Comrades:

The League in Minneapolis is carrying on real good work, which will bring in many new members from among the American workers. We are about to start a campaign to organize the general drivers into unions. We have very good connections in this particular industry. We are also carrying on work among the cab drivers with good results. A Left wing has been developed in the Amalgamated which meets regularly and has excellent connections.

The defense movement is going on fairly good with prospects of more mass support in the future.

Two classes have been organized by the League—one in the A. B. C. of Communism and the other on American labor history.

The Party is back in its underground days and is issuing manifestos and leaflets like then, only this time they are not numbered. The last one was about us "splitting" the labor defense when we tried to work with them and were expelled. I am called traitor, renegade and accused of making alliances with S. P., City Hall prosecutors, and A. F. of L. labor fakers. These

leaflets are doing the Communist movement untold harm and the workers class the members of the Party as a bunch of crazy people. It will take years to live down these blunders.

Yours for Communism,
CARL SKOGLUND

Φ

A DAILY WORKER EXPERT

Buenos Aires, Argentine,

Dear Comrades:

Who is this Albert Moreau who writes in the *Daily Worker*? His articles are terrible for lies, exaggeration and ignorance. In the *Daily Worker* of September 12, he says: "Radowitski... within the four walls of Ushahala prison, Buenos Aires." Now, Ushahala is a convict settlement in Tierra del Fuego, more than 2,000 kilometers from Buenos Aires. It's like saying "Manila prison in the State of New York."

Then again "Workers... are demanding in huge demonstrations the release of Radowitski". Is a meeting of about 400 persons "a huge demonstration" for a city of over two million population? For Sacco and Vanzetti we had some big meetings—50,000 at the lowest estimate—but never for Radowitski. Besides the affair of Radowitski is claimed entirely by the anarchists, and Communists have very little to say in it. As for "The Communists... are the leading elements in this almost general upheaval"—that's so much rot. Neither the Op-

position nor the official Communist Party is leading anywhere in South America. We do our best, of course, but that's all. Lenin taught that the truth is the best way to win the masses, but nowadays all the press that's inspired by Stalin and the C. I. is nothing but words, words, a tissue of misrepresentations and hot air.

Comradely yours,

R. G.

Φ

THE SPORTS MOVEMENT IN CANADA

Toronto, Canada.

Dear Comrades:

The Toronto group is now getting into shape for action. I am quite hopeful that the new year will bring stability back into our ranks. We plan a couple of public meetings with comrade Spector, beginning with January.

The whole workers' sport movement looks as though it has slipped out of the hands of Stalinists. Following the complete bankruptcy of the Canadian Stalinists in the organization, a number of Finnish worker sportsmen are now trying to reorganize the national executive.

In an open letter to the Labor Sports Union of America, the secretary of the Workers Sports Alliance (Canada) condemned the factional splitting methods of the Young Communist League which has brought chaos into the organization. The C. E. C. has already appointed a committee

to investigate the fake charges that were made against us after we were expelled, and promise to publish an open statement on the truth of our expulsion both to the membership and in the labor press.

The C. P. continues to slip downhill to complete bankruptcy. Mass expulsions are again taking place and more and more to come; after years of compromise with the Right wing leaders of the Finnish organizations. The whole conflict was continually suppressed from the rank and file. The membership is unable to figure out what it's all about. What confidence can the rank and file have in a leadership that was steamrollered to the top, with less than 2% of the membership supporting them.

The Ukrainian membership are next to be expelled. After that there will remain the 100% Bolshevik leadership and a handful of faithfuls if they too don't get the royal toe. The former father of the Stalinist line on the trade union field, Salzberg, has also been given the boot after he had come to the conclusion that the Canadian Industrial Needle Trade Union was bankrupt. At the last trade union meeting they told the stupefied rank and file that Salzberg was a traitor, social democrat, etc. Due to the backward ideological level and lack of Bolshevik understanding of the Third Period, the proceedings became quite hot for a while. Not all the workers gulped in the hot air.

MAURICE QUARTER

Φ

Tardieu

(Continued from Page 3)

the party thinks that the strengthening of repression is a reply to the broadening of labor struggles. But on the contrary, the less violent these struggles are and the more the party separates itself from the masses, the more the government hastens to ransack the revolutionary organizations, to corrupt and weaken them.

The most pressing need of the Communist party is to find normal relations with the working class again, so as to be able to establish a front against the governmental attack. But it is clear that the party of Cachin or Semard, bound to its international bureaucracy and entirely corrupted in its cadres, is incapable of it. The pressure of the conscious workers is needed, devotion and patient work are needed to create cadres anew, nuclei with clear ideas,—in a word, to recreate a Communist party.

P. NAVILLE

Paris, November 15, 1929.

Φ

Where to Buy The Militant

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

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.: McDonald's Book Shop, 65 Sixth Street.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop, 805 Tenth St. N. W.

CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W. Madison St.; and on various newsstands.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. Wesley St.

BOSTON, MASS.: Shapiro's Book Store, 7 Beach St., near Washington.

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

DETROIT, MICH.: Aldas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.

KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.

ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.: On various newsstands.

SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.

CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.

NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand Bookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.

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

Workingmen and women who wish to get in touch with Branches of the Communist League of America (Opposition) or to obtain The Militant are requested to write THE MILITANT, 25 THIRD AVENUE, Room 4, New York, N. Y.

Constitution of the Communist League

ARTICLE I: NAME

SEC. 1. The name of this organization shall be the THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION).

ARTICLE II: PURPOSE

SEC. 1. The purpose of the organization is to organize the Communists in the United States and Canada, inside and outside the official Communist Parties, for the struggle to preserve the fundamental teachings of Marx and Lenin in the Communist movement and to apply them in the daily activities of the workers in the class struggle and to reunite the Communist International on that basis.

ARTICLE III: MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 1. Every one who subscribes to the principles and tactics laid down in the first four Congresses of the Communist International, who accepts the platform of the Communist League and who agrees to abide by its discipline and engage actively in its work shall be eligible to membership in the Communist League.

SEC. 2. Every member must join a duly constituted branch of the League in the locality where he resides. Groups of members shall be organized in places of employment under the supervision of the Branch. Where no branch exists applicants shall be admitted as members-at-large.

SEC. 3. Pending formation of a separate national organization of the Canadian Communists adhering to the Platform and principles of the Communist League of America, branches in Canada shall be affiliated directly with full rights.

ARTICLE IV: ORGANIZATION

SEC. 1. The highest governing body of Communist League shall be the branch made up of not less than five members. When the branch attains a membership of 75, it shall be subdivided into two branches.

SEC. 2. Wherever two or more branches exist in the same locality, a Local Executive Committee shall be formed by delegates from the respective branches elected on the basis of proportional representation.

ARTICLE V: ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 1. The highest governing body of the Communist League is the National Conference.

SEC. 2. Between National Conferences this authority is vested in the National Committee elected by the National Conference.

SEC. 3. The National Committee consists of seven members. The National Conference also elects five alternates who become members of the National Committee in case of vacancies in the order of their vote.

SEC. 4. The National Committee directs all the work of the national organization, decides questions of policy and elects the national secretary, editor and other necessary officers.

SEC. 5. The local governing body of the League is the Local Executive Committee consisting of delegates from the branches elected on the basis of proportional representation. Where only one branch exists this authority is vested in the branch.

SEC. 6. The branch executive committee is elected by the membership meeting of the branch and is subordinate to it.

ARTICLE VI: DUES & INITIATION

SEC. 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National Committee. The entire initiation fee goes to the National Committee.

SEC. 2. Each member shall pay fifty cents per month dues which shall be receipted for by dues stamps furnished by the National Committee. Of this amount 35 cents is remitted to the National Committee and 15 cents remains in the branch or local treasury.

SEC. 3. Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment or strikes shall, upon application to the branch secretary, be furnished exempt stamps.

SEC. 4. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members in good standing. Members six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls.

ARTICLE VII: DISCIPLINE

SEC. 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the League are binding upon the members and subordinate units of the organization.

SEC. 2. Any member or organization violating the decisions of the League or any of its authoritative bodies shall be subject to disciplinary action up to expulsion by the organization having jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Charges against any member shall be made in writing. Charges filed before branches shall be considered by the branch executive committee at a meeting to which the accused member is invited. The recommendation of the Branch Executive Committee is acted on by the membership of the branch. Charges considered by higher units of the organization are also acted on by them.

SEC. 4. Any member subjected to disciplinary action has the right of appeal to the next higher body, up to and including the National Conference. Pending action on the appeal the decision of the party organization having jurisdiction remains in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VIII: CONFERENCES

SEC. 1. The National Conference of the League is held once a year. Special Conferences shall be called by the National Committee upon the demand of branches or local executive committees representing one-half of the membership.

SEC. 2. The Call for the Conference together with an agenda shall be issued at least sixty days before for the discussion of the Local organizations and in the official organ.

SEC. 3. Representation to the Conference shall be based upon the dues-paying membership in good standing for a period of three months prior to the issuance of the Call.

SEC. 4. The manner in which the cost of the Conference shall be defrayed shall be by the National Committee in the Conference.