

NEW PARTY FORCES FOR LEFT OPPOSITION

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 24

Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday June 21, 1930

PRICE 5 CENTS

Unemployment and Communist Tactics

The fresh breaks on the stock market June 12 and 16, the most devastating since last November, burst another bubble in the medicine-man tactics of Hoover, the vaunted engineering genius whose election slogan was "Business Administration." Cotton has slumped. Steel production has declined. The index for automobile production dropped June 14, 36.8 per cent below that of last year.

But the obviously well-fed Secretary of Agriculture Hyde maintains his poise. The nation, he declares in a statement, "is back at work." We have suffered from little more than seasonal unemployment... there was relatively little distress... If you are of a credulous nature you can take his word for it. On the other hand there are the very conservative figures of the official Bureau of Labor Statistics which reports a further decline of 1.6 per cent in employment and 2.4 per cent in payroll totals in the manufacturing industries in April of this year as compared with April 1929.

It may be added that there are indeed "unemployed" who have "suffered relatively little distress." These are the horde of dividend receivers whose nurtured fingers neither toil nor spin but can and do clip coupons. Recorded dividend and interest payments in May of this year were actually \$570,000,000 compared with \$490,000,000 a year ago.

The signs accumulate that the capitalist class will seek a way out of this crisis by a campaign for the "deflation" of the workers' wages. In close collaboration with the social democratic bureaucracy of the General Labor Federation the German industrialists have initiated a movement for a ten per cent wage cut to challenge coal and steel markets of Great Britain and the United States. The capitalists of the United States will not lag far behind. It will be a dastardly betrayal of the interests of the German workers by their "leadership" but nothing that the bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor cannot emulate.

Government reports indicate that per capita earnings in manufacturing industries in April of this year had dropped 4.5 per cent from the levels of 1929. The textile capitalists, bituminous coal and steel industries, where unemployment is on the increase are beginning to talk openly of wage cuts. The open shop organizations are becoming increasingly active.

The situation requires a thorough overhauling of the present course of the Communist Party. The theology of the "third period" must give place to a Marxist appraisal. The workers of the United States are on the eve not of offensive revolutionary struggles but of defensive struggles to resist the capitalist onslaught. If the Party does not give leadership to the masses, if it fails to develop a concrete program of action, if it refuses to organize a broad united front of the masses, if it blindly adheres to its impotent and blind agitation against "social fascism", the social democrats and the labor bureaucrats will be the gainers; the masses and the Party will be the losers.

The Communist movement has suffered heavily from the present factional regime and its false theories. Thousands of workers have been alienated from its influence. But there is still time to retrace the steps of the Party to a line of revolutionary realism. The great tasks before the Party demand a concentration of Communist forces on the basis of Party democracy.

Defeat the Capitalist Offensive!

Organize United Front Against Unemployment and Wage Cuts!

Equipped with thousands of dollars for preliminary expenses, the Senate has launched its star-chamber "investigation" into Communist "plotting" in the United States. The Hoover government, the National Civic Federation, and the American Federation of Labor are a single united front. With the ghost of the infamous Palmer presiding, cabinet officials, labor fakers, stool-pigeons, hungry politicians and the remainder of the unsavory crew burdening society, will testify to the existence of a "Red Conspiracy".

The Crisis of American Capitalism

Outside, in every city of the United States, members of an army of six million unemployed form in bread line. In the shops, relentlessly driven by the speed-up, workers face the menace of wage-cuts. Master-incited Southern mobs burn and lynch poor Negroes. Militant labor organizers of the unorganized and the unemployed in Gastonia, Georgia, California and New York are imprisoned, sent to the chain gangs, or threatened with the electric chair. But parasitical coupon clippers garner the biggest dividends in years. Congress stamps approval on a Tariff to assure the corporations still vaster monopoly profits. Military expenditures for the next imperialist struggle reach the highest peak in history.

The tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition sat in judgement over bourgeois protestantism. The Czarist autocracy sat in judgement over Russian revolutionaries. The United States Senate "investigates Communism". The past is replete with judgements of the dying over the living, of the forces of reaction over those of revolution. But when have such investigations and judgements permanently halted the advance of history or the development of the class struggle? The spectre of Communism which Marx marked as haunting the European bourgeoisie of 1848 has materialized in the Soviet power of today. Nor could any Holy Alliance, Romanoff Ochran, massacre of Communards or strategy of Bismarck prevent it.

The Open Conspiracy of Communism

It needs no investigation to establish that international Communism is a greater danger to world capitalism than ever before. Communism is an open conspiracy. "The Communists have always disdained to conceal their aims". We openly conspire to organize the workers for immediate improvements in their living conditions. We openly conspire to avail ourselves of every strike, every lockout, every demonstration to sharpen the edge of the class struggle, to lay bare the process of capitalist exploitation and government suppression.

We openly conspire to rouse the workers to resist the mobilization plans for the next war by a revolutionary struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union. We openly conspire to separate the masses in the American Federation of Labor from their treacherous and bureaucratic misleadership of the William Greens and the Mathew Wolls. We openly conspire to organize the toilers of the United States for the proletarian revolution to overthrow the capitalist system and replace the business dictatorship by a revolutionary Workers' Government.

But as a matter of fact the capitalist class has no illusions about the nature of the Communist conspiracy. The investigation is a cover for something else. The ruling class aims to master the deepening economic crisis and improve its position for a sharper attack on the world market and by an offensive for wage reductions. The employers are fully aware that as a result of the mass unemployment and the wage-cutting offensive, tens of thousands of workers hitherto faithful to the traditions of capitalist politics and the craft prejudices of the A.F. of L. will be radicalized by their experience of misery. They are further conscious that the leaven in the working class is the Communist movement, that the Communists understand the laws of capitalist economy and the fraud of bourgeois democracy. To suppress the Communists, to terrorize these proletarian leaders who croon no pacifist and liberal lullabies, becomes the entering wedge of the capitalist offensive against the whole working class.

The Tasks of the Communist Party

In this situation very heavy responsibilities rest upon the leadership of the Communist Party. Sectarianism in these circumstances would be tantamount to political crime against the interests of the proletariat. The possibilities for the advance of the revolutionary movement are great. But to avail ourselves of this historic opportunity, the Party must give leadership to a UNITED FRONT movement against the capitalist offensive. The Party will not be able to do so until it breaks with its present course of blind factionalism and adventurism. The situation must be soberly analyzed for what it is. There is no immediate "acute revolutionary crisis". There are yet no "offensive revolutionary struggles" on the horizon. The masses have not yet deserted the labor bureaucrats and the social reformists. The capitalist class of this country has not yet lost its confidence and its power to rule. But the defensive struggles of the workers can with correct leadership become the starting point for revolutionary struggles in the future. The Party must weed out the verbiage of the "third period" or the Party will be wrecked for years.

For Communist Unity!

The Left Communists (Communist League of America) are profoundly opposed to the present Party regime and its revisionist theories on an international scale. But in the interests of the promotion of the workers' United Front, we are prepared to support every step that the Party undertakes for a concrete program of action against the capitalist offensive. Once started in this direction, we are confident that the momentum of the class struggle will vindicate to the Party membership the full justice not only of the strategy we advocate for the every-day struggle but the historical validity of the revolutionary Leninist principles which motivate our tactics.

—MAURICE SPECTOR

HUGO OEHLER JOINS OPPOSITION

Through the adhesion of Hugo Oehler to the platform of the Communist League of America (Opposition), the Left Opposition recruits one of the best types of organizers that the American Communist movement has yet developed. Comrade Oehler was the representative of the National Textile Workers Union in its organizing campaign in the South during the Gastonia struggle and thereafter. He was everywhere hailed as a courageous and clearheaded fighter and leader.

Hugo Oehler has held numerous posts in the Communist Party. He was organizer of the Kansas District of the Communist Party, and during the Colorado coal miners strike directed the Party's work in the field. He is well known to all militants, class conscious workers and revolutionists in the West and South, as well as to the Party organization generally. Oehler has presented the statement in the current issue of the Militant to the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and to the District Committee in Chicago where he is at present working.

The pre-convention discussion of the Communist Party, the Thesis to the convention and the Comintern organization letter list the greatest number of shortcomings the Party has ever had presented to any of its conventions. A review of these documents will convince one at once that they are not shortcomings in the nature of a progressing party that is at a higher level but at a lower level in comparison with the past, especially in relation to the increasingly favorable objective situation.

Bankruptcy of the Centrist Party Regime

The Central Committee is presenting to the 7th convention a unanimous thesis and resolutions that have been printed in booklet form (after Bedacht's trip) which means it is approved by our parent body in the International Office. This procedure, following the Comintern organization letter to the convention and the admitted mass of blunders, mistakes and shortcomings means (1.) That our present leadership is not capable of drawing up an analysis of the present situation. (2.) That our international leadership does not trust this task to our American leadership. (3.) That the delegates to the 7th Convention are not trusted with this task.

A leadership not capable of drawing up its own analysis is not capable of leading the revolutionary party. A convention that does not protest this action is a strait-jacket convention and not a unity convention. Leadership of the masses cannot be appointed from the International

office—it can only be obtained and held by actual leadership in theoretical and practical problems facing the working class. Leadership in the Marxian sense cannot sprout from the top like the Peppers, Love-stones and the present incompetents. The thesis presented dealing with the shortcomings does not and cannot deal with their fundamental causes.

The Menace of Revisionism

The Manifesto of the Communist Opposition to the rank and file and the 7th Convention is a document that clears the way for the membership to a correct understanding. The Manifesto points out the roots of the present Party crisis, not only facing us in this country but facing our comrades in the other parties of our International. The revision of Marxism by the Stalin-Bucharin leadership has derailed the movement in the swamp of the non-Marxist, eclectic, utopian, reactionary theory of the "Building of Socialism in one country", the colonial revolutionary policy and the tactics of the "third period". Activity and more activity will not replace correct Marxist theory and these problems first brought up by the Russian Opposition, seemingly remote and of no concern to the class struggle in America are the determining causes of the present chaotic condition in an otherwise objectively favorable situation.

The Communist Party is the instrument of the working class used as the leader and

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The Hawley-Smoot Tariff and American Imperialism

By MAURICE SPECTOR

Amid the gathering uproar of protest at home and threats of reprisals from abroad, the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill has received legislative enactment and presidential sanction. It cannot be passed over as of no concern to the workers. Its implications for the development of the class struggle in the United States and the struggle of the imperialists for the world market are far too significant.

The Hawley-Smoot Tariff increases the direct taxes on imports to \$630,000,000 a year or about 20 per cent above the present rate. This is a direct gift by the imperialist government of the United States to the monopolies. The masses will bear the burden of these direct taxes on food, clothing, housing and other necessities of life.

Class Legislation

The tariff which is held up as a national policy was always one of the most obvious and flagrant instances of "class legislation". The manufacturers appealed for the support of the workers on the ground that protectionism would fill their dinner pails and the relatively higher wages were pointed to in substantiation. But the wage levels of the workers in this country were due not to the tariff protection but to a combination of circumstances, the great natural resources, the higher productivity of labor and its greater intensity due to superior technical equipment, the inflow of capital, etc. The powerful protection for the United States Steel Corporation has never benefited its industrial slaves. The very people who fiercely resisted trade unionism and proposals for social insurance on the ground that these were class legislation and an interference with "economic laws" of supply and demand, were the interests who continually used their political power to interfere with economic laws of the international division of labor and to secure ever-mounting subsidies from the government treasury. And this was as it should be. The "democratic" state is the political representation of the interests of private property and not of the working class. The fact alone that the British workers enjoyed a relatively higher standard of living than the rest of the European continent during the Victorian period of industrial free trade is enough to prove that the tariff was not responsible for the higher living standards in the United States.

The Economic Crisis

The Hawley-Smoot Tariff is the product of a deepening economic crisis, which coincided with the advent of the "engineering genius" and "Business Administration" of Herbert Hoover. Its sponsors advance the stock argument that it will assure the return of prosperity and keep discreetly silent on the reasons for the loss of prosperity in the first place. That this argument is fraudulent demagoguery should be patent to every worker.

Prosperity had come to be regarded as a special divine dispensation to the United States, an eternal institution. Publicists and professors wrote treatises to prove the "bankruptcy of Marxism" in the light of American experience of the wide diffusion of wealth making bloated stock owners of the workers. Pilgrims from the European social democracy journeyed over to marvel at the wonders of Fordism and the "economy of high wages".

The bubble burst. The stock market began its dizzy dance of calamity. The army of unemployed swelled to five millions. Grain prices fell. Cotton slumped. Commodity prices declined. Output decreased. Exports fell off. American capitalism reveals all the frailties of anarctic production for profit. To propose higher tariffs as the solution for this crisis is sheer demagoguery.

The essence of the economic crisis is the cleavage between the power of production and the capacity for consumption ("effective demand") on the basis, of course, of the relations of distribution that obtain in capitalist society. The masses cannot buy back the amount that is produced. The anarchy of capitalist production for profit manifests itself in the recurrent disproportionality between the various branches of production and the "ineffective demand"

the poverty and inability of the masses in society to buy back—is one of the most important elements in this crisis of disproportion. Goods accumulate in the factories but they cannot find the monetary form for their release. The industrial crisis of over production results. Its storm signals have been manifest in the economic situation of the United States for a considerable period. But it was restrained from full expression by the great credit structure built up on easy rates of interest and the brokers' loans, the bull market, that kept the manufacturing and construction industries and the installment plan going.

The Workers' Position

But more concretely, "technological unemployment"—the industrial reserve army—was increasing. The workers paid for the higher organic composition of capital—technical progress—with the penalty of rationalization and displacement by the machine. In 1929 production was 42 per cent greater than in 1919 but the number of workers actually decreased in that interval by 585,000. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated the minimum health and decency budget of a working class family of five to be an annual income of \$2,262. The average yearly earnings of a worker's family of this kind was \$1,280. Five millions of such families lived below this minimum standard, millions barely reached it. The masses were heavily exploited. Prosperity was only for the labor aristocracy.

This is the situation which the capitalist class of the United States faces today. The aim of capitalist production is the realization of profit. Capital accumulates but the rate of profit at home declines. The domestic market alone becomes too narrow a base for the productive powers of American capitalism. Plant facilities are already in huge excess of domestic requirements. Finished manufactured goods amount to one half of the entire foreign sales. Between 1919 and 1928 American exports totalled 53 billion furnishing a surplus over imports of 14 billion dollars.

American capitalism must gird for a grand offensive on the workers and the

world market. This is the significance of the tariff.

The number of mergers and consolidations increased until the United States was dominated by gigantic industrial corporations. The policy of these gigantic consolidations is to maintain a complete monopoly of the home market and to bid for the world dominion in the foreign market.

The crisis will accelerate the ruin of the small businessman and small manufacturer. The wages of the American workers will be deflated. The cost of living will increase.

Attack on the World Market

The European competitors of American capitalism profess to be deeply shocked by the cynicism of this tariff, a declaration of economic warfare if ever there was one, coming on the very heels of the London Naval Disarmament Conference. Undoubtedly the economic policy implicit in the tariff is the reality behind the illusions intended to be fostered by the Disarmament Conference. The war that resulted from the economic rivalries of Great Britain and Germany will be a mere sketch compared to the forces of death and destruction that will be released in consequence of the decision of American imperialism to put Europe on a decreasing ration and to throttle her. Protected by the monopolist tariff in the home market, United States mass production will resort to the policy of large-scale dumping campaigns in South America, Asia, and elsewhere.

That the other capitalist powers will counter-attack is plain. Up to the present American imperialism has been able to divide them by demanding the favored nation clause for itself. It has wielded its tremendous financial power to force concessions. Europe barred from access to the great American market will not passively accept its fate without a struggle. The German industrialists have announced a new drive on the world market to release the heavy stocks accumulating in the Ruhr and the drive will open with a ten per cent wage cut for hundreds of thousands of German workers. To meet this challenge the British and American capitalists must in turn bring the pressure of international

competition to bear on the workers in the form of wide-spread wage reductions. The general crisis of capitalism will be intensified.

The plans of American imperialism are titanic in their consequences and must finally crash on the rock of their inner contradictions.

Financial Yoke

While seeking to throttle Europe industrially in the world market, American imperialism simultaneously tightens the financial noose. The foreign loans of the United States now total some \$26,000,000,000. Capitalist Europe is one of her heaviest debtors. How will Europe liquidate her debts while her markets are conquered by American imperialism? How will she be able to expand while being drained both ways? American imperialism lands in the net of this quandary. Capitalist Europe must either sell goods or default. It is warfare in either case. The record of the United States for armed intervention to collect debts is a very active one.

The pressure on the workers of Europe must become unbearable and create new revolutionary crises. The American section of the German annuities plan, \$88,250,000 was recently floated quickly by eleven of the most powerful financial houses in the country headed by J.P. Morgan and Company. These bonds are an integral part of the Young Plan and an unconditional obligation of the German Government. The American experts congratulate themselves on having thus taken the reparations question "out of politics". But they reckon without their host—the German proletariat. Do the American capitalists believe that the German masses will recognize as their obligation the payment of the two billion marks annually for 58 years? As little as the October revolution recognized the French loans to the Czar for the suppression of the 1905 revolution!

The tariff is another step on the road that American imperialism has mapped out for itself to unqualified world power. First, through neutrality and then intervention in the World War, through abstention from the chaos of the Versailles Conference, through the "stabilizing" intervention of the Dawes Plan in 1924 and more recently, the Young Plan.

Towards Proletarian Revolution

La Liberté, a Parisian bourgeois paper asks: "Is the capitalistic world doomed to die through excess of production—simply because those who direct it are incapable of organizing it right?" The Communists' answer is directly in the affirmative.

The basic tendencies of world economy are for international unification. The economic crisis, the imperialist wars, the revolutionary struggles are fundamentally expressions of the fact that the productive forces cannot be contained within the frontiers of the national state nor the fetters of private property. Basically European economy cries out for the abolition of tariff barriers, the whole world for the international division of labor, and the free movement of goods. But the resolutions of the World Economic Conference, the Bankers Manifesto of a few years ago, the International Chamber of Commerce, the various proposals for a customs union can have but little effect. So far from the capitalists being prepared to unify world economy, and utilize its technical resources for international cooperation, the Hawley-Smoot tariff demonstrates yet again, that imperialist monopolies based on the exploitation of labor and motivated by the realization of capital, can only increase the antagonisms, the misery of the workers, and bring greater military conflicts.

Only the revolutionary action of the proletariat for the socialization of production can cut the Gordian knot and free the forces of production for a unified world economy and socialist freedom of trade.

The European bourgeoisie is helpless to stem the tide of the American imperialist advance; it can only prepare for war. Despite the talk of reprisals the American tariff will only provisionally here and there bring common action among the European states. In the end the struggle for markets will intensify their mutual hostilities.

The action of American imperialism will accelerate the development of the proletarian revolution.

Do Your Share!

The Communist League (Opposition) is beginning to take roots in the labor and trade union movement, and is making marked advances in the organization of its fractions to carry through its policies in the Left wing and working masses generally. Through the Weekly Militant we can better voice our views and present concrete programs of activity as a guide to the workers.

New Forces from Party and the Youth

In the official Communist Party and the Young Communist League of the United States there is a growing resentment and distrust in the ranks, even though largely suppressed by the bureaucracy, with the policy of the official Communist movement. A number of them have however openly voiced their protest and declared their adherence with the views of the Left Opposition. The Weekly Militant makes it possible to work more actively than ever to win the worker-Communists to the program of the Left Opposition.

The Militant and the Economic Crisis

The fate of the Militant as a WEEKLY still hangs in the balance. The League and supporters of the Communist League of America (Opposition) are beginning to rally around the Militant. Two issues of the Weekly Militant have appeared since our appeal. But a greater response is still needed if the Militant is to continue as a Weekly, and particularly to survive during the difficult summer period. This is the critical time. We are confident that if the supporters of the Left Opposition will contribute financially to pass through the "dog days", the future will bring ripe fruit to the Opposition.

The Militant as a Pivot for Communist Growth

The possibilities for the growth of Communism, of the Left Opposition in the United States are good. The Militant is the pivot around which the activities of our movement revolve. On the assumption of the continued existence of the Militant as a Weekly, the Communist League (Opposition) has laid plans for increased activity among the workers. At present, Max Shachtman of the National Committee is touring nationally for the Communist League. Other organizational and propaganda tours are planned for the fall period by other members of the Communist League.

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

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

Aftermath of Needle Trades Convention

1. Questions of a Left Wing Program

By James P. Cannon

The convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union met at a critical period in the Left wing labor movement. Great and complicated questions of the struggle for a class union, directly affecting the welfare of the sweated and oppressed workers in the industry and bearing on the course of Left wing unionism in general, pressed insistently upon this convention for an answer. They pressed in vain. A false answer was given there to the basic questions of external policy as well as to those relating to the internal life of the union.

Errors which have accumulated into a system and brought about a crisis in the organization, weakening it in the face of its great tasks and responsibilities and supplying a corresponding strength to its enemies, were formally ratified and laid down as a guiding line for the future. The Stalin faction of the Communist Party, which held the convention in the steel vise of mechanical control, gave another demonstration there of its bankruptcy on the trade union question. Repercussions from the convention decisions will be sure and swift; they will fall upon the union, and consequently upon the workers whose fate is bound up with it, like heavy blows over the head.

Party Factionalism Dominates

The convention was a field day for Party factionalism. It was consecrated primarily to a pogrom against the adherents of Lovestone—a disgusting exhibition of mob spirit, full of menace for the future of a union. Howls and boos and the caucus steam-roller—these were the answers to all criticisms and proposals, regardless of their merit, which did not emanate from the Party steering committee. Not even blows were spared in the "ideological" struggle. The Lovestoneites, who were the first to employ these methods in the Communist and Left wing movement, got a double dose of their own medicine at the Needle Trades Workers conventions. But it was not they who will be the losers by it. The Stalinists, who imagined that their mob and hoodigan tactics were contributing to the struggle against Lovestoneism, were only demonstrating how well they have acquired some of its most abominable features. The Left wing movement and the Communist Party will pay a heavy price for every "victory" gained by these means.

Factional exclusion from the leading bodies of the union did not stop at the Lovestoneites, the "excluders" of yesterday. Members of the Party who have ventured to exercise a mild "self-criticism" against the ruling bureaucrats were also eliminated from all positions. Everything was cut and dried in advance to the last detail. The "democracy" was simply window-dressing for the gullible. Johnstone, the Party representative, bossed the convention like an arrogant drill sergeant, the veritable symbol of triumphant ignorance! The leadership of the union, which had already been whittled down to Party members, was still further narrowed to members of the Stalin faction of the Party. Thus the Stalinists strengthen their position in the apparatus by weakening the base of the union among the masses. On the side of internal policy the union is worse off than before.

False Attitude on Left Wing

In the most important and decisive questions of external policy the convention also gave the wrong answers. By declaring formally against the organization of a Left wing in the reactionary unions in the industry the convention chopped away the bridge to the workers in these unions, and they are the overwhelming majority of the organized workers in the industry. This decision, and the theory which motivates it—that the right wing unions are "company unions"—are both wrong and are bound to bring catastrophic results.

There may be some who go so far as to think that this decision has sealed the doom of the new union of the Left wing. But in our judgement such an opinion is not well founded. The danger that the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union will degenerate into an impotent sect no doubt exists, and this danger has been increased by the unwise decisions of the convention. But there is yet time to correct the course. It is to this

task that the militants of the Left Opposition, who are assembling in the union, must devote themselves. The first prerequisite for success in this struggle for the salvation of the union is clarity in their own ranks on the question of a program for the union. This is the decisive question. The present relation of forces means little; it will be shattered by the impact of events, and soon enough. The correct program is the basis on which the Opposition Communists, triumphant forces of tomorrow, will secure their victory—and the victory of the Left wing workers.

The Relation of Forces

Our policy must proceed from an analysis of the actual situation and the present relation of forces in the industry. Facts and not wishes are important here. The situation is approximately as follows: In the industry as a whole there are over 500,000 workers.

The Right wing unions have between 150,000 and 200,000 members.

The Left wing union has at most 6,000 members—less in good standing.

Consider these figures for a moment. The Right wing unions contain about 40% of the workers in the entire industry; the Left wing union has about 1%. A further concretization shows that the membership of the Left wing union has the bulk of its organized strength in the dress making shops. Its hold on the cloak makers and

furriers is very weak organizationally at the present time. In the men's clothing field, the field dominated by the Amalgamated, the strongest union in the industry, it has nothing. In the millinery section it has little. These figures are very important as a point of departure, but they do not tell the whole story. There are other important factors more favorable to the Left union.

The figures cited above are not a true representation of the actual strength of the rival organizations. The membership of the Right wing unions, and particularly of the International Ladies Garment Workers, is based on shop control, agreements with the bosses and job compulsion. Thanks to the partnership of the union officials with the bosses, a partnership sealed by the capitalist state power, the workers are compelled to belong to the Right wing union in order to get work in the shops affected. Terrorism, hunger and the demoralization of the Left wing forces were the whips with which the workers were driven into the Right wing ranks.

Vitality of Lefts

Sympathy for the Left wing is very strong among large sections of these registered workers. All informed workers in the trade testify to this. "My heart is with you but I must make a living," is a common answer of the registered workers to the appeals of the Left wing. There is no doubt that the Left wing influence has declined in the past two years but it re-

Delegations to U.S.S.R. and the Opposition

The International Committee of the Federation of Friends of the Soviet Union has launched an appeal to the workers and labor organizations of Germany, England, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Canada concerning the invitations of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union to send Workers Delegations in June and July.

In the course of its struggle with the official leadership of the Comintern and its centre, the Stalin faction, the International Left Opposition with the Russian Opposition at its head has despite all slander and distortion of its position continually manifested its solidarity with the Communist workers and their Party, its unreserved devotion to the Russian workers' state. In its struggle with the self-satisfied officialdom, the Left Opposition has never for a moment forgotten the magnitude of the revolutionary achievements, despite the innumerable mistakes of the leadership. On the contrary, to extend this gigantic labor and to fortify it was the sum and substance of the activity of the Opposition. Hence we warmly welcome the appeal of the Friends of the Soviet Union. The workers delegations to the Soviet Union have always occupied a foremost place in the defence of the Soviet Union against the wild campaigns of the capitalist press and particularly in the exposure of the contemptible slanders of the social democratic leadership. The workers' delegations issuing out of the oppressive atmosphere of the citadels of Imperialism breathe in a new atmosphere of proletarian freedom and learn to know with their own eyes the gigantic achievements of their class.

The call for the election of delegates comes at a time which is characterized by a retrogression of the Communist movement in sharpest contradiction to the favorable objective situation. The ebb of the masses from Communism has unfortunately also weakened their active interest in the Soviet Union. All the more energetically is it necessary that the masses participate in the campaign for the election and dispatch of workers' delegations. But the huge pressure exercised by the Party apparatus atus now as before hamstringing the initiative and mobility of the working class element. Nothing could more effectively undermine the value and purpose of the delegations than the artificial undemocratic methods in their composition, bureaucratic tricks and machinations. The Opposition must fight shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers that the delegations be the result of an active and interested movement of the workers

But this doesn't exhaust the obligations of the Opposition. The delegations this year assume in connection with the prevailing situation a particular significance and can fulfil a particular mission. Can they not be of great service to the working class by bringing light on the general political significance of the struggle of the Russian Left Opposition, the import and meaning of which is systematically distorted by the official leadership? Can they throw some light on the "organizational" side of this struggle—and particularly the most recent phase of the campaign of repression against the Russian Opposition?

Since the shooting of the revolutionary Party member, Blumkin, a considerable space of time has passed. But up to the very present not a word by way of self-justification has passed the lips of those who were responsible for the murder. There is nothing strange in this. There would not have been found a single revolutionary worker in the world who would have approved the enormity of assassinating an Opposition Communist for his views. The assassins maintain silence. We must press for an explanation.

The shot which on Stalin's order killed Blumkin was the prelude to a hitherto unparalleled campaign of persecution of Oppositionists for their views in prisons, in solitary confinement, in the wastes of Siberia.

In these circumstances it behooves the workers elected by their class to investigate the life of our proletarian fatherland, to demand on the ground an explanation and an accounting for the suppression of the Opposition Communists. This demand was not refused the socialist leaders of Western Europe, the betrayers of the proletariat, when they asked to examine the conditions of the imprisoned Mensheviks and social revolutionaries at the time of the heaviest struggles of the Russian Workers State. So much the less can the request for an inquiry be legitimately refused to revolutionary workers who proved to be the staunchest fighters for the October Revolution.

The Left Opposition, robbed by the bureaucratic regime of the possibility to make its demands within the framework of the Party, will have representatives through these delegations. The delegates will be charged with energetically ascertaining the facts regarding the fate of Blumkin and the other comrades who have been shot, of investigating the situation of the imprisoned and exiled Communists. It is the duty of all revolutionary workers to see to it that the delegates elected are those with the necessary courage and vigor to take a stand for the persecuted Communist revolutionaries. **IAN FRANKEL**

maintains a powerful force in the masses. And the leadership of the Communist Party in the Left wing movement is indisputable. There is no other important power.

These facts are a remarkable testimony to the vitality of the Left wing movement among the needle trades workers and to their deep-seated hatred for the Socialist betrayers. Not all the compulsion and terrorism of the bosses, the reactionary labor leaders and the police, and—what is equally noteworthy—not all the blunders of the Party and Left union leadership, have been able to change fundamentally the sentiments of the workers. The real strength of the Left wing union is much stronger in the sympathy of the masses than its organization, as that of the Right wing unions is weaker.

The five or six thousand members of the Left wing union are, for the most part, the battle-ried militants, the dynamic force in the industry. They constitute, and will constitute, the core of the future fighting movement which will smash the present alignment. A Communist policy for the next stages of the struggle must be based on them, as in the past. There is the reserve power which is not shown by the membership figures of the rival unions.

The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is not an artificial creation. It was formed as the result of an unavoidable split forced by the traitorous leaders of the I.L.G.W.U. and the Furriers' Union. It had masses of workers behind it. The Left union has a real base in sections of the industry and, as such, has every claim to support. The first point in Communist policy must be: to organize the unorganized and build the new union.

But this is only part of the proper program, not the whole of it as the convention proclaimed. In next week's article we will undertake to explain the necessity of organizing a broad Left wing in the reactionary unions of the industry, the methods and slogans with which this task can be accomplished, and the falsity of the theory of "Company Unionism" which has been invented to justify a suicidal policy.

The Militant invites Left wing needle trades workers to write for its columns on the situation in the union and to give their views on the problems of their movement. Articles written in any language will be translated into English and printed. The Daily Worker is the closed organ of the cynical bureaucrats—the Militant aims to become the voice of the militant rank and file.

Trade Union Policy

A correct policy on the trade union question and its consistent execution by a sound Communist leadership are decisive for the expansion of the Party as the leaders of the struggling masses. Moreover, the tactics of the Left wing, led by the Party, a dynamic force of gigantic importance, will be one of the most vital determining factors in the future course and development of the trade union movement.

The narrowing base of the A. F. of L. and the increasingly reactionary conduct and policy of its leadership raise before the Party and the Left wing the problem of organizing the unorganized workers in the basic industries, primarily the unskilled and half-skilled, who are becoming radicalized and ready for struggle. It is the task of the Party and Left wing to lead in the work of organizing these masses into new industrial unions. The center of gravity in our trade union work belongs to this sphere. This has been indicated by the whole situation for some time and the long delay of the Party in shaping its course in this direction due to the resistance of the leadership, has already had extremely harmful consequences.

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

"MY LIFE"

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

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

A SQUEAK IN THE APPARATUS (A POPULAR EXPLANATION) OF RIGHTS AND LEFTS

By L. D. TROTSKY

In the March 30th *Pravda* there is an article by Yaroslavsky entitled "From Left to Right". The article is devoted to the "passage" of the Left Opposition... over into the camp of social democracy. How people, who for over two years have been jailed and exiled for "counter-revolutionary" activity, and even for "the preparation of an armed struggle against the Soviet government" (the official motivation for Trotsky's exile)—how these old time "counter-revolutionaries" can only now begin to "pass" into the camp of social democracy remains a puzzle. But what is clear is that Yaroslavsky still has to sweat at the task of finding a "scientific" explanation for Article 58 of the Criminal Code on the basis of which the Opposition has been persecuted. This search of an explanation takes on a particularly noisy character now, because there is a squeak in the apparatus, and it must be drowned.

It is no accident that it is Yaroslavsky who was let loose against the Opposition, even though there are more literate and wiser people in the Party. But at present, the more literate, the wiser, the more conscientious either do not want to be Yaroslavsky's yes-men, but still cannot, partly dare not speak their mind aloud, or else are simply confused. The Yaroslavskys are not confused, for there is nothing in them to be confused. This is why the defence of the Stalinist policy from the Opposition is taken on by Yaroslavsky, and he gives, let us note in passing, a remarkable example of the rot the Party is now fed on.

If in a way of exception we will this time stop at Yaroslavsky's article, it is because with all its insignificance it is symptomatic, and shows very well in what place, according to the German expression, Stalin's boot pinches.

The Tempo of Industrialization

Several months ago we wrote to the comrades in the U. S. S. R. that the signs indicating the too great speed of industrialization are multiplying. Quoting our Bulletin, Yaroslavsky writes that this evaluation "is absolutely in no way different from what the Mensheviks write". Absolutely in no way!

Yaroslavsky does not surmise that the question of correct or incorrect realistic or unrealistic tempos exists in itself independently of what the Mensheviks say about it and is decided in connection with material and organizational factors, and not newspaper quotations, all the more when these are falsified.

In the period when we Oppositionists fought for higher tempos of industrialization (1923-29), the bourgeois press of the whole world together with the social democratic, followed in the foot-steps of Stalin, repeating the accusation that the Oppositionists were "romanticists" "fanatics" and "super-industrialists".

In 1923-25 we proved that even after the exhaustion of all the pre-revolutionary means of production, Soviet industry will be able to have a 20% yearly growth. We supported this contention on economic considerations which we will not cite here (see "Whither Russia—Towards Capitalism or Towards Socialism", pp. 45-46, Russian edition). A year after that a five year plan was worked out in the womb of the Gosplan (State Planning Commission). According to this plan the development of industry was to proceed at the diminishing rate of speed, from 9% to 4% a year. The Opposition condemned this plan mercilessly. It was accused of "demagoguery". Another year later the Politbureau approved a new five year project with a 9% yearly growth. The Fifteenth Party Congress approved the correctness of this rate and condemned the Opposition for "...non-belief" and "skepticism". This did not stop the Opposition from irreconcilably condemning the new five year plan. Another year and a half later the Gosplan finally worked out a third five year plan with a yearly increase of 29%. This growth coincided—much closer than it could be expected—with the hypothetical prognosis of the Opposition in 1925, and fully refuted all the preceding clamor about industrial romanticism and demagoguery. Such is the brief pre-history of the question.

The actual growth of industry in the first year of the five year plan (1928-29), exceeded the plan, however, by fully 10%. The leadership immediately decided, basing itself on this success, to complete the five year plan in four years. Against this the

Opposition raised a voice of warning, this time from the "Right". What were our considerations?

a) It is impossible that there are no disproportions in the project of the five year plan. With the fulfilment of the plan they will accumulate, and may manifest themselves sharply, if not in the first year then in the second or third year of the plan which would result in the arrest of growth. Before industry takes on additional speed, we must, speaking in military terms, carefully examine all abutments or junctions, where all branches of industry interlap each other.

b) The noticeable depreciation of the quality of the products, which is extremely low as it is, is a great danger not only for the consumer but for industry as well, because industry itself is the chief consumer of products. Low quality must inevitably result in a drastic decline in the quantity of production.

c) The question of the tempos of industrial development must not be separated from the question of the living standards of the working masses, because the proletariat is the main producing force, and only the sufficient rise of the material and cultural standards of the proletariat can guarantee the future high tempos of industrialization. We consider this question of supreme importance.

These are the three chief considerations which prompted the Opposition to raise its warning cry against the reckless pursuit of tempos which replaced the economic lag of the preceding period. If in 1923-28 the Political Bureau of the Party, not understanding the tremendous possibilities inherent in nationalized industry and planned methods of production were ready to make peace with the idea of four or nine per cent of growth—then now, not understanding the material limits of industrialization it makes a light-minded jump from twenty to thirty per cent, adventurously attempting to transform each partial and temporary achievement into an absolute rule, and completely overlooking the interdependency of different phases of the industrial process.

When we call for the abandonment of the formal pursuit of quantity and for an actual improvement of quality—does this mean that we call for retreat from actually achieved successes? When we demand the utilization of a part of the accumulation for the actual needs of the workers—does this mean that we endanger the industrialization? When we demand that before the 30 per cent annual growth is turned into an iron law, we should examine the interrelation between the different branches of industry and national economy as a whole from the point of view of the productivity of labor, the production costs—does this mean that we call for a retreat to the Stalin position of yesterday?

If the question is really decided so simply then why should we stop at thirty per cent? Fifty per cent is still more. Whoever does not wish to pull "back" must inscribe on his banner at least seventy-five per cent. Or perhaps thirty percent is destined to be the rule? Destined by whom? Destined how? The unfortunate leaders simply arrived at this rule by running into it blindly in the first stages of carrying out the twenty per cent plan, which they themselves fought against tooth and nail for several years. Now it appears that only thirty per cent is Leninism. Whoever says to the frightened opportunists: do not lose your heads, do not push industry into a severe crisis—is, don't you see, "absolutely in no way different from the social democracy" absolutely, in no way!

Aren't these people jesters?

Collectivization

Matters fare still worse if possible with the peasant policy. For a number of years the Politbureau built its agrarian policy on the idolization of the mighty middle peasant and the individual peasant economy generally. The Kulak they simply did not notice or declared insignificant until he concentrated in his hands forty per cent of the marketable bread and acquired the leadership over the middle peasant in addition. Having created his own economic connections and channels the Kulak refused bread to the government industry.

After this (to be exact, after February 15, 1928) the belated and frightened leadership struck the Kulak with a hail of administrative repressions which immediately clogged the circulation of peasant commodities, practically liquidated the NEP and chased the middle peasant up into a blind alley.

When we say that this blind alley was the starting point of the new chapter in the collectivization we do not discover or invent anything new. We simply repeat what the official Soviet press has admitted many times. If Yaroslavsky wails that "not one reactionary has come to think of such an abominable explanation" it merely shows that being absorbed by the perusal of Oppositionist correspondence, the poor man does not read the economic articles in the Soviet press. Yaroslavsky is particularly agitated when we say that the middle peasants have been wavering between collectivization and civil war. He calls this remark "complete renegacy". (The vocabulary of this eavesdropper is not very rich.) But the whole Soviet press is full of information that the peasants, i. e., the middle peasants rapaciously exterminate and dispose of their live stock inventories. All the leaders call this situation "threatening". The newspapers explain this matter, by the influence of the Kulak. They certainly do not mean "ideological" influence but economic ties between the Kulak and the middle peasant, a certain interdependence of the whole peasant economy, market as well as of commodities and finances. In the wholesale selling of cattle as a mass phenomenon we have nothing else but a quiet sabotaging form of civil war. On the other hand, the movement of the farm Collectives (Kolkhoz) has a mass character also. Isn't it clear that the double nature of the middle peasant who combines within himself a toiler and a merchant has reached in the present stage the most contradictory expression? The middle peasant wavers between collectivization and civil war and to a certain degree combines one with the other. This is where the acuteness of the situation and its danger lies. It will increase ten fold if we do not understand it in time.

The Opposition Platform

In the years when three quarters of the Politbureau and 90 per cent of the government apparatus had their orientation on the "mighty peasant"—that is on the Kulak—the Opposition demanded energetic measures for agricultural collectivization. Let us recall that in the Platform of the Opposition these demands found the following expression

"To the growing 'farmer' tendencies of the village we must oppose a faster pace of collectivization. It is necessary to make systematic, year-in-and-year-out allowances to aid the poor peasants organized in collectives."

—(Platform of the Russian Opposition, page 24).

And further:

"We must invest greater means in the Sovkhoz and Kolkhoz (Soviet and collective farms). We must afford the maximum privileges to newly organized Kolkhozes and other forms of collectivization. No person deprived of electoral rights can be a member of a Kolkhoz. All the work of cooperation must be penetrated with the task of transferring small production into large-scale collectivized production. It is necessary to carry through a strictly class line in the supply of machinery particularly through a struggle with fraudulent machine-owning groups."

—(Platform of Russian Opposition, page 26.)

We did not pre-determine the tempo of collectivization because it was for us (it still remains so) a derivative proposition in relation to the tempo of industrialization and a series of other economic and cultural factors.

The Politbureau plan two years later outlined the collectivization of one fifth of the peasants during the Five Year Plan. We suppose this figure did not simply come to Kryzhanovsky in a dream but was based on technical and economic considerations. Was it so or not? Nevertheless during the first year and a half three-fifths of the peasantry were collectivized. Even if we should

assume that this swing of collectivization is a complete triumph of socialism we must simultaneously state the fact of the complete bankruptcy of the leadership because planned economy pre-supposes that the leadership foresees to a certain extent the basic economic processes.

Nevertheless there is not even a suggestion of that. Bucharin the new, the reconstructed, completely collectivized and industrialized Bucharin admits in the *Pravda* that the new stage of collectivization grew out of administrative measures in the struggle for bread and that this stage was not foreseen by the leadership "in all its concreteness". This is put not too badly. The mistakes of tempo they made in the considerations of planning amount all in all to one thousand percent. And in what sphere? Not in the production of thimbles but in the question of the socialist transformation of the whole of agriculture. It is clear that some of this "concreteness" Stalin and Yaroslavsky really did not foresee. Bucharin is right here.

As is well known we never suspected the present leadership of an over-abundance of penetrating ability. But it could never make this kind of mistake if collectivization would in reality have grown out of our conquering the conviction of the peasants by experience of the advantages of large scale collective economy over individual.

Collectivization and Adventurism

Of course we do not for a moment doubt the deeply progressive and creative significance of collectivization. We are ready conditionally to assume that in its scope it approximately corresponds to the sweep of the Five Year Plan. But where did the one thousand per cent additional success grow out of? That must be explained! Let us assume that the work of the Kolkhozes during the preceding twelve years was so successful that it could convince the whole peasantry, not only of the advantages but of the feasibility of general collectivization. It is clear that this kind of conviction could only be developed by means of Kolkhozes based on tractors and other machinery. It may be assumed that the overwhelming majority of the middle peasants actually recognizes today the advantages of working the land by the tractor. But from this, complete "tractorization" does not yet follow because we need not only the conviction of its advantages but the tractor itself. Did the authorities warn the peasants of the actual situation in the sphere of technical material possibilities generally? No! Instead of restraining a panicky collectivization, they extended it by their mad pressure. It is true that now in order to defend the mistake of the one thousand per cent tempo a new theory has been created making the question of technical resources one of tenth rate importance and claiming that socialist agriculture ("the manufacturing kind") can be created by catechism irrespective of the means of production. We are however, determined to reject this mystical theory. We do not believe in such a conception of socialism. Moreover we declare a merciless war against this mythology because the unavoidable disappointment of the peasants threatens to create severe reaction against socialism in general and this reaction may also embrace considerable circles of workers.

Stalin started his last retreat—the inevitability of which he foresaw on the eve of it just as little as he foresaw complete collectivization half a year earlier when he was busy with his trivial "theorizing" about the untimeliness of a socialist regime for the peasant poultry. The latest dispatches announce that Stalin has succeeded in marching a considerable distance—not forward (oh, wise Yaroslavsky!) but backward. From sixty percent collectivization to forty per cent. We do not in the least doubt that he will still have to retreat a considerable percentage more—always at the tail end of the actual process. Foreseeing this several months ago—that is in the very heat of the collectivization push—we warned against the consequences of bureaucratic adventurism. If the Party had read our warnings as they truly were and not in the belated distortions of Yaroslavsky many mistakes would have been, if not avoided, at least greatly modified.

(Continued on Page 6)

In Germany

Comintern Loses Fresh Opportunity

The Wedding convention of the Communist Party of Germany basing itself on the so-called "third period" invented by the Sixth World Congress proclaimed the presence of "an acute revolutionary situation" in the country. The permanent phrasemonger, Thaelmann, strove to demonstrate this incessantly in his rhetorical reports. The official Party press daily devoted to this discovery long winded articles. The talk was of "mass struggles", of "direct assaults" that would smash the capitalist state. Because we of the Left Opposition characterized this appraisal of the situation as unMarxian and mechanical we were designated as pessimists who had "lost their belief in the revolution". The principal slogan of the Party for this "period" invented by the Party officialdom was: "Proletarians fight for a Soviet Germany". On the basis of such an estimation it was no longer necessary to approach the working masses exploited by the bourgeoisie with the help of the social democracy, on the every day questions.

"The Acute Revolutionary Crisis"

It was clear to every Marxist that this noise of the "acute revolutionary situation" was a criminal piece of rhetoric that had nothing in common with the Marxist reality. The Comintern leadership which since 1924 has brought tremendous defeats to the Communist Parties and the proletariat through its false policies (1923 in Germany; 1925-27 in China; 1926 in England, Russia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Poland) and which since 1928 has carried out an ultra-Left zig-zag, would not take the real situation into consideration.

Let us return to the realities of the German situation. What do the figures say regarding the struggles and temper of the working class?

Facts and Figures

In 1928 the number of strike days in Germany was 10.4 millions and in 1929 this number sinks to 4.4 millions; in 1928, 780,000 workers went on strike whereas in 1929, 233,000 went on strike. Whoever will not take these figures into account cannot understand that strikes are a barometer of the militancy of the working class. These figures mean that the militancy of the workers had declined.

The results on the Provincial (Landtag) elections and the municipal (communal) elections both show everywhere a marked decline in the votes of the Communist Party of Germany. On the other hand the social democracy has either held its own or even made gains. The National Socialists (Fascists) have registered very considerable successes. In Red Thuringia the Communist fraction in the Provincial Legislature is composed of six comrades as against the seven representatives of the Fascists.

The Party itself has not only not increased its membership but has lost members. The Party membership can at most be estimated at 70,000.

Party Influence Sinks

In all proletarian organizations and particularly in the trade unions the influence of the Party has almost completely disappeared. The "tremendous" successes of the Party in the factory committee elections with the help of the "red shop committee slates" were in the first instance only the result of the dissatisfaction of the workers, a protest against capitalist repression and its henchmen the reformists. They did not at all represent any readiness immediately to smash the capitalist state. The best proof of the justice of this estimate are the results in the Leuna Works, in the Opel Automobile Works and the Hamburg Docks which record a huge decline in the votes of the Communist slate.

Percentage of Total Votes in

	Leuna Works		Berlin V.A.G.	
	1929	1930	1929	1930
Red List	51.3	34.7	52.4	28
"Free Trade Unions"	32.7	37	29	28
Christian Union	3.2	5.3	7.3	8.6
Patriotic Unions	9.6	16		
Nationalists			9	7.2
Fascist				6

The workers who gave their votes to the Communist Party in the preceding year turned their backs on the policies of the Party because they showed no way out against the capitalist offensive.

And what are the facts concerning the most recent proof of the "acute revolution-

ary situation" in Germany—i. e., the demonstrations! The calendar-like campaigns of the Party have been successively weaker. With three and a half million unemployed the Party succeeded in bringing out to the streets from 5 to 7 per cent only. The last demonstrations of February and March ended in a great fiasco.

Nevertheless the situation in Germany has been favorable for the separation of great sections of the working class from the social democratic party and the crystallization of a Communist mass party in Germany.

Social Democracy Betrays

The social democracy has entered into a new coalition with the finance capitalist bourgeoisie. In contrast to its former coalition policy, the situation of the S.D.P. was incomparably more difficult. Why? In former years of its coalition, the social democracy could still present the workers with some minimum reforms. The bourgeoisie could not so quickly forget the revolution. They still felt the temper of the October atmosphere of 1923. The bourgeoisie was, moreover, not strong enough economically nor politically to force across its will against the resistance of the workers. The economic and political organs of bourgeois authority had not yet been extensively enough developed. The bourgeoisie had still to make concessions to the workers.

But the coalition policy of Hilferding-Mueller in 1928 was that of the direct betrayal of the every day interests of the working class. The social democrats worked not only for the extension of the power of the capitalist state (cruisers, police, Defence of the Republic Act) not only supported the further offensive of the banks and trusts (concentration, rationalization, etc.) but betrayed everything the workers had conquered from the capitalists in the period of the revolutionary wave. Through their Minister of Labor Wissell, the social democrats agreed to the wage reduction. They voted for the reduction of the unemployed benefits. They began the reduction of the Sick Benefit pensions. With their support of the Concordat agreement, the social democrats helped to re-establish the clerical reaction. They helped to impose further indirect taxes on the masses. And all this in the period of the greatest unemployment in Germany. The social dem-

ocracy has not only not given the workers any new reforms but is actively aiding the bourgeoisie to deprive the workers of those concessions they had already secured by the road of struggle.

Looking at the situation from this viewpoint everything was favorable for an advance of Communism. Had the Communist Party linked its slogans and platform with the every day needs and problems of the workers, it could have broken the tie between the social democratic workers and their leaders and have assured the triumph of Communism.

But all our Communist Party leaders could do was to shower the social democracy with abuse.

The False Approach of the Stalinists

To this end the formula of "social fascism" was invented. The agitation against "social fascism" took on a hysterical scope. Not only was the Berlin Police President Zoerglebel characterized as a "social fascist" but every worker in the social democracy was likewise denounced as a "social fascist". The slogans became "Out with the social fascists from the factories". "Out with the social fascist children from the schools."

The tactics of Remmelle and Thaelmann gave the social democratic leaders their opportunity to cover up their betrayal of the interests of the workers and aided them to pass over from a defensive to an offensive position. The slogan of "social fascism" played into the hands of the social democratic demagogues: "To the extent that the Comintern identifies the democratic domestic of capitalism with its fascist bodyguard, it does the social democracy the very best service... In those countries where fascism represents a power, Italy first, then Austria and Germany, the social democrats have no difficulty proving to the masses not only the differences but even the hostility between themselves and fascism. To this extent the social democrats are relieved of the necessity of disproving that they are the democratic servants of capital. The whole political struggle is shifted to an artificial plane which is exceptionally favorable to the social democrats." (L. Trotsky—Open Letter)

The very favorable situation could have been utilized had a different policy been applied—not the "social fascism" slogan nor the Brandlerist conception of a united

In France

Opposition Defends Indo-Chinese Rebels

The International Left Communist Opposition has extended its struggle to one more sector. This is in connection with the revolutionary movement in Indo-China against the sanguinary acts of repression of French Imperialism.

The official Communist Party in France is non-existent so far as Indo-China is concerned where the proletariat is being ferociously exploited and where imperialism maintains its police dictatorship over the native proletarian population by fire and sword, torture and death. This atrocious misery has already evoked movements of spontaneous revolt that the young native bourgeoisie more or less independent of French capital, has sought to direct to its own ends. In consequence of the revolts of Yen Bay, of Vinh, etc., 39 Indo-Chinese revolutionaries have been sentenced to death and four of these have already been executed. The Criminal Commission of Phu Tho is about to condemn ten other revolutionaries to death, one to life long imprisonment, twenty-six to hard labor for the rest of their lives, thirty-eight to deportation, etc.

The Indo-Chinese workers in France and the French proletarians have under the leadership of the Communist League of France (Opposition) embarked on an energetic protest action to prevent these sentences from being carried out any further and this campaign must strike an echo in the hearts of the workers of all countries.

In front of the Elysee in Paris a strong demonstration took place on the call of the Communist League following which several comrades were imprisoned. Despite all the attention this demonstration stirred up in the bourgeois press, despite

the fury of the attack of the government against the Left Opposition, the leadership of the French Communist Party and the Humanite have MAINTAINED COMPLETE SILENCE because our Indo-Chinese comrades fought under the flag of the Communist League (Opposition). It was only after direct protests and by way of leaflets and public notices that the Humanite finally made up its mind to defend our Indo-Chinese comrades.

But the opportunist leadership of the Party and the Humanite even while defending our comrades, betrayed them. In the articles of the Humanite they were represented as being the adherents of the official policies of the Communist Party and the Stalinist policy in the colonies for "the right of self-determination for their complete independence" (Humanite, May 28th, 1930). Nothing could be more false.

The Indo-Chinese comrades have condemned the Stalinist colonial policy applied by the Comintern regime throughout the world and particularly in Asia. The Indo-Chinese comrades are an integral part of the International Opposition.

Together with the Left Opposition, the Indo-Chinese comrades are not satisfied to fight for "self-determination up to complete independence" after the fashion of Chiang Kai-Shek but call for the formation of an independent revolutionary party of the working class to wage the struggle for the social revolution against both French imperialism and native bourgeois exploitation equally and in closest contact with the French working class. "Proletarians of all countries, unite" must become more than a mere slogan. It must be carried into life.

—P. NAVILLE

front which is always the tail-end of the social democracy—but the Leninist tactics of the united front would have unmasked the Left as well as the Right wing leaders of the social democracy. Not "Red Factory slates" at any price, not the abandonment of work in the trade unions but tireless work in all the mass organizations was the need.

It was evident to us all that the social democracy would be thrown out of office as soon as the bourgeoisie could afford to dispense with its services. But the centrist leadership of the Communist Party missed the real point of the situation. The result has been the isolation of the Communist Party inside the working class and the consolidation of the social democracy despite its betrayals. The S.P.D. even parades now as an "Opposition" Party. The subjective factor in history—the Communist Party—has again failed.

—ROMAN WELL

In Mexico

Diego Rivera Retires from Political Life

The leadership of the official Communist Party in Mexico have been making incessant attacks on the expelled Mexican Communist artist, Diego Rivera, who for a period of time after his expulsion was a member of the Left Opposition group. The position and work of this talented artist is such that a good regime in the International drew him ever closer to Communism—a bad regime repulses him. As a "fellow traveller" his services to the Communist movement have been and can continue to be in the future very considerable. So long as the Stalin faction regarded him as a useful intellectual lackey—a la Enrbusse in France and Michael Gold in the United States—he was held in high esteem by them. When Rivera began to revolt against the poisonous atmosphere created in the Comintern by the bureaucracy—he was discovered to be a "counter-revolutionary"

Owing to his conflict with the authorities Rivera lost his painting assignment in the National Palace and was expelled together with all his followers, teachers and students from the "National Autonomous University" of Mexico for the radical course of studies he introduced into the School of Fine Arts. In his fight against the reactionaries the slogan of Rivera's group of students was "Against the bourgeois university, for a University of the Workers and Peasants." The more heroic sacrifices of the embattled Barbusses and Golds are unknown to us. We do know this: that the flaming proletarian litterateur and editor of the New Masses, Michael Gold, never recoiled in horror from the idea of having the "proletarian" banker, Otto H. Kahn finance his productions.

In his desire to take the wind out of the sails of Stalinist demagoguery, Rivera has sent us the following statement for publication:

"I declare that neither the Communist Party nor the bourgeoisie can hold the Communist Opposition responsible for my actions for which I assume full responsibility, not having had since the deportation of comrade Negrete any contact with the Opposition. The special character of my professional work—that of a mural painter—obliges me to maintain certain economic contacts with those who pay for this work—which has always been used in the interests of the revolution—as my paintings can prove. For this reason however I am continually utilized by the Stalinist party and by the bourgeoisie as an arm against my own comrades, in consequence of which, I declare that I cannot amputate from my personality that which is my life itself, that is to say, my art; and being unwilling to hinder the activities of the Opposition by my presence in its ranks, and considering it my duty, I retire definitely from all political activity."

Rivera further declares that his sympathy continues as formerly with the Opposition program as against the opportunism and adventurism of the official leadership.

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Towards a Concrete Program of Action

Social Insurance

The problem of social insurance in a program of Unemployed Demands is treated by the present Party leaders as an illegitimate child. This despite the spasmodic proddings of the Comintern and the R. I.L.U. upon the Party on different occasions to evince a little greater activity and sincerity in this field.

The demands for Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pensions, Sickness Insurance and the like are treated by the Browder-Bedacht pontiffs as evidence of secret "social-fascist" cravings. They apparently envisage the demand for social insurance as purely parliamentary maneuvering and not a by-product of the class struggle like all other reforms and concessions "granted" to the workers by capitalist legislatures. Social insurance does not fit in with the rantings of the "third period."

Social Insurance as a By-Product of Struggle

But for the revolutionary party to surrender the representation of these demands of the socialist party, the Muste group or the other petty-bourgeois reformers would be a great blunder. If the Party does that it does not seriously have regard to the possibilities of a revolutionary utilization of parliamentary action. In fact the Communist Party is being misled by the adventurist leadership at its head into the frame of mind and tactics of the bourgeois "boycottists" in the history of the Russian social democracy. It will become so "pure" that it will end in sterility.

The presence of social insurance in Great Britain and Germany on the statute books for many decades has not prevented the development of the class struggle, and can not so long as the basic contradictions of capitalism dominate the social structure. The British workers have continued to organize great strikes and to move steadily to the left. Bismarck's legislation to "steal the thunder" of the socialists has not prevented the rise of a Communist mass party and the development of revolutionary crises that under revolutionary leadership could have resulted in a German Soviet Power.

Capitalist Responsibility for Unemployment

Will anyone revolutionary seriously argue that the Salvation Army, private soup kitchens, the net-work of social-service and charitable institutions maintained by the business interests are preferable to State insurance in the sense that they make the workers more class conscious or "pauperize" them less? The bourgeoisie in Great Britain is constantly seeking ways and means for cutting down the "dole". W. I. King, the well known American statistician attacks the dole on the ground that it is the real reason preventing an industrial revival. He wants a free market in the commodity of labor power, governed by "supply and demand". He blames the trade unions and the "dole" for preventing the "deflation" of wages. And he warns the American capitalists that they are running the

same risks if they permit the enactment of unemployment insurance in the United States.

W. I. King and his associate bourgeois economists make a deep mystery of the recurrence of the "business-cycle". They find every explanation of it under the sun, but the real one of the anarchic character of capitalist production for profit. The capitalist system is responsible for the "business-cycles" and for the standing and recurrent mass unemployment. The Capitalist State must be compelled by the organization and struggle of the masses to shoulder the charges of unemployment.

Credits for the Soviet Union

Not the least of the derelictions of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party has been its failure to rally the unemployed around the demand for credits for the Soviet Union. Unremittingly and windily the *Daily Worker* "sloganeers" for the "Defence of the Soviet Union", but when the whole international economic crisis favors the crystallization of one of the widest mass movements yet for the real and substantial Defence of the Soviet Union, the Stalinist regime and its American agents, Browder-Bedacht-Foster do nothing but hamper the Party from measuring up to its great opportunity. The reason for this attitude of the Party leaders flows not from any malice but inevitably from their false theory of "national socialism"—Stalin's Russian "exceptionalism".

Economics and Military Defence

The Defence of the Soviet Union is not as the *Daily Worker* would like to impress its readers, a purely military question, a matter of preventing imperialist interven-

tion. In this age military strength itself depends on industrial power. In the case of the Soviet Union it depends not only on industrial power but on the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and socialism. But socialism cannot be built up in the Soviet Union entirely out of its own inner resources and separated from the world market by a Chinese wall. The difficulties that the great Five Year Plan and collectivization are experiencing today in the U.S.S.R. demonstrates this exactly.

To hold anything else is a flagrant rupture with Marxist analysis and proletarian internationalism.

International Solidarity

The demand for credits for the Soviet Union at once reveals the inner link between the interests of the American working class and the workers of the Soviet Union. Millions are idle in the United States. But the socialist plans of the Soviet Union cry out for machinery and other industrial equipment. Employment here and collaboration with the Five Year Plan in the U.S.S.R. would be the consequences of large scale credits. Thousands of American workers would receive practical lessons in the implications of internationalism in the fundamental struggle between capitalism and socialism and the meaning of Communism. Thousands could be mobilized for the U. S. S. R. and against the capitalist government of the United States.

The slogan of credits to the Soviet Union is one that the labor bureaucracy and the international social democratic leaders will resist. They would sense in it the possibilities of a united front that would draw the rank and file away from them and towards the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Communists. They are right. "Credits for the Soviet Union", is one of the most forceful focal points for a united front movement. —M.S.P.

A SQUEAK IN THE APPARATUS

(Continued from Page 4)

Our Slogan of Collaboration with the Soviet Union

The approaching crisis of Soviet economy coincides with the growing world capitalist crisis. This coincidence has in the final analysis common reasons. World capitalism has outlived itself but the undertaker is not yet ready for his work. The crisis of Soviet economy, if we leave aside the mistakes of the leadership, is the economic consequence of the isolated condition of the U. S. S. R. That is the very fact that the world proletariat has not yet swept away capitalism. The problem of the proletarian revolution is the problem of the organization of socialist economy on a world scale. For Europe whose capitalism is most overripe and sickly, the proletarian revolution means first of all the economic unification of the continent. The only way we can and must prepare the European workers for the seizure of power is by revealing to them the immeasurable advantages of a correctly planned all-European and later on a World organization of socialist economy. The slogan of the Soviet United States of Europe which is imperative now more than it ever was is inadequate however, in its abstract political form. This slogan must be filled with concrete economic content. The economic experience of the Soviet Union is fully sufficient to create an exemplary variant of the plan based on the collaboration of the U. S. S. R. with the industrial countries of Europe. In the final historical analysis this is the only way out for the U.S.S.R. from the growing internal contradictions. Neither has Europe any other way out of the crisis (unemployment, the growing oppression of America and the perspective of wars). The problem of collaboration in its full dimensions can be decided only through a proletarian revolution and through the creation of the Soviet United States of Europe which through the medium of the Soviet Union will also be tied up with liberated Asia.

The European workers must be led by this perspective. They must be presented with a clear and broad plan of economic collaboration based on the exceptionally high coefficients of growth accomplished even in backward isolated Russia. This is the immeasurable revolutionary significance of the slogan of economic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. if it is advanced

correctly—that is in a revolutionary manner.

Under the present circumstances this slogan is above all one of the most valuable weapons for the mobilization of the unemployed and the workers in general in connection with unemployment. This is not merely a matter of the possible delivery of commodities to the Soviet Union as important as this question is in itself. It is a question of getting out of the historical impasse, of altogether new economic possibilities of a United European economy. With this kind of concrete "supra-national" plan based on experience in our hands, the worker-Communists can and must approach the social democratic worker. Under the conditions of the crisis this is the most important approach to the problem of the socialist reconstruction of Europe. With the correct application of the united front policy the slogan of collaboration with the U.S. S.R. and the economic transformation of Europe can be made the wedge that would break off large circles of social democratic workers from the present leaders.

But for that we must first of all liquidate, reject and condemn, the theory of socialism in one country. We must make clear to the world proletariat that the Russians are not constructing a separate socialist home for themselves, and that such a structure on a national scale is generally impossible. They are constructing a national wall for the European and later on also for the world socialist home. The further they get the harder it will be to raise this wall, because it may crash without the timely construction of the other walls. About building the roof over the national wall there cannot even be any talk. We must get started with the simultaneous work in other countries according to a common plan. This plan must be worked out by the government of the Soviet Union, at any rate, its basic features, as a plan of mighty material and spiritual growth of the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

This is what the slogan of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union means in its developed form, under the present historical circumstances. But such a policy presupposes a radical revision of the theory and practice of the Soviet leadership. The Yaroslavskys are very little fit for such a policy.

(To Be Continued)

Comrade Raymond Spector, an active member of the Communist Party and who has been Chairman of the Control Commission in Section Brownsville, New York spoke before his nucleus on June 17th on the policy of the Comintern in China and endorsed the line of the Left Opposition. His expulsion followed immediately. Such is the freedom of the pre-convention discussion.

A statement of the views of Comrade Raymond Spector, together with that of other Party and Young Communist League members will appear in the next issue of the *Militant*.

Hugo Oehler Joins Left Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

organizer of the revolution for the overthrow of capitalism. The first duty of every Communist is the success of the revolution and so long as the Party has a program based on Marxism there is an unbroken chain between the class, the Party and the success of the revolution. Just as soon as the leading individuals or groups in the Party revise Marxism and Leninism a danger of the elimination of the Party as the leader and organizer of the class is at hand unless we are capable of defeating the revisionists. But if the revisionists are able to dominate, it spells ruin unless the membership liquidates such a leadership. The Struggle of the Left Opposition

This was the case with the Second International when the revisionists dominated and eliminated it as the leader and organizer of the revolution. We saw the transformation of the Second International from an instrument for liberation to an instrument of suppression of the workers and peasants. The same process is at work in our International. Fortunately, however, for the proletariat we are living in a different historical period; this process is only in the beginning stage in our International; and lastly we have an International Opposition led by L.D. Trotsky that exposes the revision, explains the determining causes of the crisis and mobilizes the forces to win the International for the Marxian-Leninist path again.

We members of the Communist Party ask for an answer to this manifesto and for the readmittance of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition into the Party. We do not ask for a religious campaign of "Loyalty to the C.I." to take the place of objective consideration of these proposals. If the policies of the leadership is Marxian then there is no conflict between loyalty to the C.I. and loyalty to Marxism but when the present leadership revise Marxism and present theories that are non-Marxian-Leninist the membership must choose between loyalty to that leadership and loyalty to Marxism. We stand or fall by Marxism and Dialectic Materialism and by now life itself has proven the correctness of the Left Opposition group as Marxism fighting revisionism. The readmittance of the Opposition to the International, regardless of how painful it is to some "leaders" is a necessary step to prepare the Party as the leader and organizer of the big class struggles we can expect in the present period in order that pressure of world capitalist economy can be relieved from the U.S.S.R. and the extension of the dictatorship of the proletariat over greater sections of the earth can be accomplished.

Our demands are:

1. The readmittance of the Communist Opposition and the adoption of the Marxian program of the Opposition.
2. Replace the present isolation tactics with Leninist United Front tactics in trade union work and all other activity.
3. Eliminate mechanical control of auxiliary organizations and replace with control through Marxian policy.
4. Reject VERBAL transformation of defensive struggles and demonstrations into revolutionary upheavals.
5. Reject slogan of "Social Fascism" that renders aid to the reformists.
6. Reject "Third Period" chaotic zig-zag course and replace with dialectic analysis and tactics.
7. Correct 7th Convention thesis on above points and other minor points flowing from these root causes.

—HUGO OELER

THE PARTY AND THE UNORGANIZED MASSES

The main reservoir of labor militancy is the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the unorganized, basic industries. The full horror of the capitalist rationalization falls directly upon them, and the attacks of the capitalists in the present depression and coming crises strike them first and hardest. The Party must turn its face to these unorganized masses, put itself at the head of their struggles and lead the work of organizing them into new industrial unions. This historic task must be accomplished in the fire of struggle against the capitalists and their state power as well as against their agents in the labor movement, the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party and allied groups of social-reformist elements. In this protracted struggle on all fronts, extending over a period of years the decisive break of the workers with the ideology of capitalism will be effected and the genuine class movement of the workers be built.

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

In India

The C. I. and Two-Class Parties

The sharpening of the class struggle in India finds the proletariat of that country in the absence of a conscious vanguard, a Communist Party, unable to take the leadership in the rising movement against British Imperialism. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalists are able to get control of the movement, lead it into "safe" channels and ultimately betray it. The attempts of sections of the nationalist movement, i. e., the All-Indian Youth League, the workers and peasants of Peshawar, the railroad workers, the textile workers of Bombay, etc., to break away from this leadership have met with only partial success.

Why is there no Communist Party in India today? This question which confronts every Communist and class-conscious worker must receive a definite answer.

"The Two-Class Party" Policy

The Comintern under the leadership of Stalin and Bukharin (1924-28) basing itself on an incorrect estimation of the degree of stabilization of world capitalism and the relation of class forces, separated the question of bourgeois democratic revolution in the colonial countries from that of the proletarian dictatorship and consequently based its activities in these countries on dual composition class parties. (In China, the bloc of the four classes in the Kuomintang and later the "Left" Kuomintang, in Japan, "the Workers and Peasants Party", in Mexico, "Workers and Peasants' Bloc"—in India, "Workers and Peasants Parties").

Every once in a while one reads a declaration of the "Communist Party of India" or representatives of such a "Party" would appear at Congresses, Plenums, etc. In reality there are only a handful of individual Communists, according to a leading member of the Anti-Imperialist League, about 75 scattered throughout the country, having no central organization and no collective activity. Most of them, under instructions from the E. C. C. I., worked in hand with petty bourgeois elements in building "Workers' and Peasants' parties".

But, a combination of events forced a "change". This was the joint pressure of the Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky the change in the correlation of class forces in the Soviet Union, the crushing defeat of the Chinese proletariat due in great measure to the criminal subordination of the C.P. of China first to the Kuomintang and later the "Left" Kuomintang, etc. The occasion for this "change" was the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (August-September, 1928).

At this time the Comintern leadership was compelled to admit that it was responsible for the "Workers' and Peasants' parties in India" and officially to repudiate such tactics. Sikandar Sur, the reporter on the Indian question, in his summary, stated:

"The Workers' and Peasants' Parties exist owing to the wrong tactics and instructions of the Comintern. The last report of the Annual conference of the Bengal Peasants' and Workers' parties show that the party is falling into the hands of philanthropic petty bourgeoisie. Our comrades do not hold office there. Comrade Shubin (Soviet Union—J.C.) is absolutely wrong when he talks of the inadvisability of forming a Communist Party on account of objective difficulties. But should we surrender to obstacles or should we overcome them?" (Inprecorr—Vol. 8, No. 78 p. 1473). Even here, we have no real repudiation of dual composition class parties, but such parties in which "our comrades do not hold any offices."

The official colonial theses of the Congress had this to say in reference to the question at hand. "Special 'Workers' and Peasants' Parties' whatever revolutionary character they may possess, can too easily at particular periods, be converted into ordinary petty bourgeois parties, and accordingly, Communists are not recommended to organize such parties." (Inprecorr, Vol. 8, No. 88 — P. 1670). Communists are not recommended, not advised to build workers' and peasants' parties! Since when does the Comintern hand out mere advice and recommendations to Communists? It is obvious that this "literary change" in policy is meant primarily for the record. It also leaves the door open for a repetition

of Stalin's sophistry on the Kuomintang. That is the argument that the Communists did not "organize" the party but came into it in order to get to the masses.

It should be also noted that the phrase "at particular periods (can) be converted into ordinary petty bourgeois parties" is an underhanded attempt to excuse the Comintern's policy of building such parties "at particular times".

After the Sixth Congress

Not only was a Communist Party not formed after the Sixth Congress, but the official Comintern press continued to speak of the "Workers' and Peasants' Parties" as a legal expression of the Communists in India. For example, the erstwhile Comintern specialist on India, M.N. Roy, writing on the municipal elections in Bombay stated: "Owing to the doubtful position of the Communist Party (!) and the general antagonism to Communism that characterizes the present bourgeois political atmosphere of the country, the election was contested (by the Communists—J.C.) in the name of the Workers' and Peasants' party"—and later adds "By contesting the election the Communists gave another sign of their political independence (sic!). Most resolute fighters for national freedom, they will defend the interest of the working class not only against foreign imperialism, but also native capitalism. By these tactics of the revolutionary class struggle the Communists will mobilize and lead the proletariat as the driving force of the national revolution." (Inprecorr—Vol. 9, No. 12—March 1st, 1929). What could be plainer? Roy and his political allies, Lovestone and Brandler, demagogically criticize the Stalinists today for not having built a Communist Party in India! These individuals who share the responsibility with the Stalinists and Kuusinsens for the past Kuomintang tactic now call for the building of a Communist Party side by side with a "national revolutionary party". But what will be the role of the Communist Party? The objective logic of their policy means the subordination of the C. P. to the "national revolutionary party", the duplicating of the events of 1925-26-27 in China.

Again, after the Sixth Congress, the hitherto scattered and unconnected Workers' and Peasants' parties, for the first time organized a national party, the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of India". What was the attitude of the Comintern towards this conference?

The "Workers' and Peasants' Party"

Discussing the Conference of the Work-

Flaunt Royal Courts

Helston, Cornwall

Editors, the Militant:—

We know that ghastly destitution prevails in your country as in ours; and that in your city streets, and upon the high roads affluence and misery are often sharply contrasted when the motor car of the millionaire scatters dust or mud on the unemployed worker tramping hopelessly on the search of a job which does not exist. But these contrasts are the result of chance encounters; the rich man is out on his daily business or possibly he is bent on pleasure. In no case does he organize hundreds of his wealthy friends to display themselves in gorgeous attire at a given time, as a provocative and shameful contrast to the wretchedness of thousands of the surrounding population.

But this is the spectacle we can see in London whenever a Royal Court is held and we have had four of them this spring. The women have worn gowns of silk and lace with trains encrusted with jewels, and had ornaments of precious stones. Some have even worn shoes with jewelled heels. And all this perfectly unnecessary display has been made in a wealthy capital city which can show the most appalling depth of poverty among its hosts of slum dwellers.

While the company at the palace at a recent court were partaking of the customary refreshments, served on gold plate, a fleet of motor cars could speedily have conveyed the whole of the guests to houses where (after supping in a very different fashion) adults of both sexes and child-

ers' and Peasants' Party Roy wrote:

"Meeting in this atmosphere of revolutionary development from all sides, the Workers' and Peasants' Party, whose driving forces are the Communists, was objectively the most important event of the moment. The Workers' and Peasants' Party is not the Communist Party (sic!), although the Communists play in it the leading and dominating role. Several years ago it appeared on the scene as the first sign of radicalization of the nationalist masses. As such the Communists supported it and aided its growth. Practically all the great strikes of the last two years were led under the banner of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. The object of the Communists was to make this new party the rallying ground for all the nationalist revolutionary elements, to develop it into a revolutionary mass party which is a crying need of the moment." (Inprecorr, Vol. 9—No. 6—February 1, 1929). The above is a precise summary of the tactics of the Comintern in India for the past few years.

Roy however criticized the Conference for not having made provisions for united front action with the "League for Indian Independence" (the organization of the petty bourgeois intellectuals which Roy wished the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and the Communists to unite with to form his Indian "nationalist mass party").

Immediately Roy was rebuked. The Conference, a Comintern representative wrote, did make provision for united front action with the "League for Indian Independence." Roy is wrong, says the writer, Communists must not try and build "a mass nationalist party", but must build a Communist Party. But how about the Workers' and Peasants' Party? The writer states that confusion exists in the party; although it is showing signs of a "decided improvement"; its confusion is due to its character, in its "composition of two classes, which is bound to result in rendering vague the proletarian line itself." (!) The implications of the writer P. Sch. are clear. The line of the Workers' and Peasants' Party must be a class (!) policy; the Communists must organize themselves in a C.P. but at the same time struggle for a class line in the W. and P. party. (Inprecorr, Vol. 91, No. 16, March 29, 1929.) Nowhere in his article does P. Sch attempt to repudiate Roy's above quoted characterization of the role of the Communists in India. The Comintern, through P. Sch offers the conception of a "Left" Kuomintang as against a "whole" Kuomintang.

In April 1929, that is only a few months after the National Conference of the "Workers' and Peasants' Party of India", the British and Indian governments started a general offensive against strike leaders, revolutionary workers and Communists. Thirty one were arrested for carrying out

the orders of the Comintern in India and being in favor of the violent overthrow of the government. The Workers' and Peasants' Party broke down under the offensive. In a few months there was no Party. (Clemens Dutt, Labour Monthly—July 29, 1929) This again compelled the official Comintern press to speak about the necessity of a Communist Party in India.

Safarov's Apologetics for Stalin

In a recent issue of the Communist International (Vol. VII. No. 5, English Edition) G. Safarov, a former Oppositionist with an even more flexible spine than his fellow-capitalists, discusses the situation in India. After condemning Roy's position on India he writes: "Of the same worth are the accusations of another careerist (!), a Max Shachtman, in the Militant, who accuses the Communist International of resisting the formation of a Communist Party in India." (Militant, Feb. 8). Both the Right and the 'Left' renegades ignore the real facts, for the birth of the revolutionary working class in India in 1928-29 is an indisputable fact... That did not and could not take place until the development of the class struggle had aroused the masses, until the slogans of the Comintern had turned into class reality. They could only be embodied in the real life of India thanks to the self-development of the working class, in the process of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism." (P. 48). Safarov undertakes a task never before attempted in the Party press—to explain why no C.P. was built in India.

First, he does not deny the accusation of comrade Shachtman that the Comintern resisted the formation of a C.P. in India. Secondly, who denies the existence of a revolutionary working class in India in 1928-29? Certainly not the Left! Third, if one is to make sense of this quotation one must interpret Safarov as saying: There was no revolutionary working class in India until 1928-29, because the development of the class struggle had not aroused the masses; therefore a Communist Party could not be built. Let us dissolve the Communist Party of the United States because there is no revolutionary working class in this country!

It is the Communist Party which must help intensify the class struggle. Fourth, a C.P. could not be built in India "until the slogans of the Comintern had been turned into class reality" (Page 48). Who was to propagate the slogans of the Comintern? The Workers' and Peasants' Parties, individual Communists? What slogans had to be turned into class reality? The "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" or perhaps (and we are not very far from the truth) the realization of a "powerful mass Workers' and Peasants' party"?

The official press once again carries reports of leaflets issued by the Workers' and Peasants' Party without comment of its own. The Stalinist press gives little information as to what the Comintern is actually doing in India today.

The Daily Worker from time to time speaks of the formation in India of the "near future" of an All-Indian Communist Party. In one of its issues, (Wednesday, May 21, 1930), it carries on its front page photostatic copies of two issues of the "Workers' Weekly". The story underneath it runs: "The first Marxist-Leninist paper published in India, is shown above in the headings of two issues. The 'Workers' Weekly' began publication in Bombay on January 26, and is acting as the ideological leader and organization center for the forces of the working class in the Indian Revolution".

The April 30 issue of Inprecorr available at least one month before the Daily Worker story, carries an article by V. Chattopadhyaya (one of the secretaries of the World Anti-Imperialist League and the latest of the Stalinist writers on India) with the following: "The Workers' Weekly, the new organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, points out in its last issue that the movement has gone far beyond Gandhi and the Congress, and calls for a general strike throughout India." (The Revolutionary Situation in India—V. Chattopadhyaya Vol. 10 No. 21).

How are we to explain this? Is the Comintern at present building a "Left" Kuomintang in India or doing nothing at all? What efforts are being made to build a Communist Party? What has happened to the All-Indian Communist Party that was to be formed in the near future? What is this "revolutionary Marxian Workers' Party"? These questions must be answered.

—JOSEPH CARTER

—M. SHOOTER

at British Workers

ren in numbers, were seeking such rest as can be found under conditions of overcrowding. In one case, (officially reported about the time of the holding of one of the recent courts) seven people—adults and children were found to be sleeping in one bed!

In no country except England can such senseless and provocative displays as these Royal Courts of ours be found at the present time. That they are still popular among the wealthy English bourgeoisie, (whose female offspring make their social debut at such ceremonies) is proof of the inherent snobbishness of the English character; and also of an incapacity to think seriously and in detail even on a most pressing subject. The present situation in England is this: the fertile soil, which would feed millions under intensive cultivation is held up in the hands of the big landlords. Industrial unemployment is increasing and no political party—Conservative, Liberal or Labor, can find a cure for worklessness, for not one of them is prepared to get rid of the landlords who hold all the basic materials—minerals as well as the surface soil in their grip. Misery is daily increasing among the poor, coupled with a bitter resentment, and before long we may see the wealthier members of society displaying their heels—jewelled or otherwise—in real earnest before the onrush of starving and furious mobs.

But where is the leadership which will give us revolution while preserving us from anarchy? Not in the discredited Communist Party under Stalinist leadership.

One Year of Labor Government

Ramsay MacDonald, the "big shot" of the Second International has been reviewing the accomplishments of one year of labor government in office. His review is significant for what he did not rather than what he did say.

Measured by the expectations it aroused in the minds of its rank and file followers the second "Labor Government" has turned out to be as great and calamitous a failure as ever the Labor Government of 1924 was. Conspicuously it has proven its utter bankruptcy in every basic problem it faced. The failure of the Labor Government is a striking demonstration of the bankruptcy of the policies of social democracy throughout the world.

Take domestic policy as a first instance. Since the MacDonald Government came into office on June 10, 1929 the number of unemployed has actually increased by 600,000, making a grand total of the unemployed army in Britain of 1,739,000 the biggest since 1921-22.

Not a finger has been raised by the MacDonald cabinet to repeal the reactionary anti-trade union bill passed by the Tory government after the general strike.

Take India as another touchstone of socialist practice. In 1924 the "Labor Government" decreed the Bengal Criminal Ordinance to provide for the arrest without trial of all opposing British authority. Hundreds of Indian revolutionaries have been rotting in jail for years under this ordinance. The second Labor Government came into office. Not a finger has been moved to release these prisoners.

MacDonald in India carries on in the best traditions of Bloody Balfour's suppression of Ireland. In Peshawar, in Sholapur, in Bombay, the Indian masses are prodded with British bayonets, shot down, imprisoned. The responsibility falls directly on Ramsay MacDonald and his Labor Government. The responsibility rests on the Second International which is an accomplice in all the crimes of the Labor Government as of the social democracy in Germany.

The New York Nation feels a little embarrassed for its statesman-like contributing editor MacDonald. It seeks for an explanation, and with the superficial aim of liberalism finds it in "the taming effect of office-holding on the radical." This explanation is false down to the ground. The taming effect of office-holding for whom? MacDonald acts as he does because he holds office for the capitalist class. The social democratic policy must breed the MacDonalds because it is class-collaborationist, nationalist, petty bourgeois and anti-revolutionary. A British reformist cannot support an Indian revolution. He can stifle the masses and try to arrange a compromise with the native bourgeoisie.

A comic touch to the tragedy is the truly entertaining argument of the friends of the Labor Government that MacDonald "has not had a chance". He had to take over all these knotty problems of India, Egypt, unemployment, etc. from the Tories. That wasn't fair. MacDonald would be well on the way to introducing socialism—if the capitalists had been gracious enough to introduce it for him. But all they care about is to trip him up and make things harder for him.

Meanwhile to this day Hillquit, the leader of the American socialist party has not breathed a syllable of protest against the misdeeds of his British confrere—and when a resolution was introduced at the convention of the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania to demand the freedom of India from British Imperialism, it was violently attacked by the leaders and finally altered.

New York Open Air Meetings

The New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition) is holding large and successful street meetings every Saturday night at the corner of 126th St. and 5th Avenue. The workers have been addressed on numerous issues of importance by comrades Maurice Spector, Martin Abern, Albert Giotzer, Max Rose, George Clarke, Charles Curtiss, Russell Blackwell and other members of the Branch. The Branch reports that the interest shown by the workers this year is greatly increased. A good amount of literature, Militants, etc. is regularly sold. The Branch intends to hold an additional meeting a week at another corner. Other members of the Branch assist in the work of organizing the meetings.

Our National Tour Shachtman's Tour Is Extended

The tour of Max Shachtman on behalf of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is meeting with marked success. In Hamilton, Ont., Canada, despite difficulties and few forces, a meeting was held, and a growth of the Opposition is looked for as a result of comrade Shachtman's lectures and report upon the program of the Left Opposition, his visit to L. D. Trotsky at Constantinople, and the preliminary International Conference of the Left Opposition at Berlin. At Detroit a formal meeting was not organized; scattered elements gathered to hear Shachtman.

Chicago, Minneapolis Hold Good Meetings
In Chicago comrade Shachtman spoke for the Communist League before a good crowd at the I.W.W. hall. Unemployment in Chicago is acute and a large number of workers were of course admitted free and listened with keen interest to the report and to the policy of the Left Opposition on a number of current issues. A Workers Guard was at hand to protect the meeting from any disturbance; none occurred. Literature sales were good. The Chicago comrades are pepped up now more than ever.

In Minneapolis, a stronghold of the Communist League (Opposition) a very fine meeting was held from every viewpoint. After the lecture, questions were put by members of the audience, including one member of the S.L.P., and were answered in full by the speaker. The Minneapolis and St.

Paul comrades prepared extensively for the lectures. As we go to press, we do not yet have reports on the meetings in St. Paul, Duluth and Superior.

The tour now takes comrade Shachtman into the West and Southwest—into Kansas City and St. Louis, Mo. and then to Springfield, Illinois, after which the turn is again toward the East, into Cleveland, Pittsburg and Youngstown. The comrades in all these cities are on the job to put over large meetings.

Return Engagements in Montreal and Toronto

The branches of the Communist League (Opposition) in Montreal and Toronto, Canada have asked the National Office to extend Shachtman's tour to include return engagements there. Their request has been complied with, and comrade Shachtman goes to Montreal once more on July 3rd and 4th and to Toronto on July 5th and 6th. Both cities pledge big turnouts.

In Toronto, where the leaders, so-called of the official Communist Party of Canada picketed Shachtman's lecture (evidently the rank and file could not stomach the yellow policy of the officialdom and would not try to prevent the meeting of the Left Opposition), both an excellent meeting and a banquet were held. In Toronto, Shachtman will lecture on another subject which will be announced in the next issue of the Militant.

The balance of the schedule follows:

Watch This Schedule for Your City

KANSAS CITY, Mo.

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

KANSAS CITY, MO.

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

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Sunday, June 22, 8 p.m. Mass Meeting at Odeon Theatre Bldg., Grand and Finney.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Monday, June 23, Branch Meeting

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

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

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Wednesday June 25, Mass Meeting at

PAINTERS HALL 2030 Euclid.

Thursday, June 26 Membership Meeting.

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

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

PITTSBURG, PA.

Saturday, June 28, 8 p. m. Mass Meeting at Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St.

PITTSBURG, PA.

Sunday, June 29, Branch Meeting

MONTREAL, CANADA

July 3-4th (Place to be announced later.)

TORONTO, CANADA

July 5-6 (Place to be announced later.)

Capitalist "Disarmament"

Hail to the Kellogg Peace Pact! God bless Disarmament and those noblemen Hoover and MacDonald. The League of Nations has just issued its armament year book for 1929-30 and the upshot of its figures is that in 1928 when the Kellogg Peace Pact became effective there were 50 per cent more cruisers than in 1913 and that there were three times more in process of construction than in 1913.

Italy, which had no cruisers building in 1913, not only led the world in this respect in 1929, but, with 71,000 tons under construction, was building more than the total of 68,300 tons the whole world was building in 1913. Japan stood second in 1929, with 40,000 tons building; the United States third with 30,000 tons; Spain fourth, with 20,000 tons, and France fifth, with 10,000 tons.

Submarines formed 1 per cent of the world fleet tonnage in 1913; 3 per cent when the war ended, and 6 per cent when the Kellogg Treaty went into force.

The world's total naval tonnage, which in 1913 was 6,891,000 tons, stood at 5,312,000 tons in 1929, the difference being due to the sinking of the German fleet and the limitation of battleships in 1922. The figure for 1929, however marked an increase of 21,000 tons over 1928.

There will be disarmament until the workers are strong enough to disarm the capitalists. Military disarmament will follow on the economic expropriation of private property. Capitalism and universal disarmament are contradictions in terms.

WIN FIVE-DAY WEEK

NORWICH, Conn., June 14—Organized bricklayers secured the five-day week. Hod carriers and laborers are equally successful.

U.S. Imperialist Contradictions

Meanwhile, the internal contradictions of American imperialism, bound up with its world economic interdependence, are maturing a severe crisis which is foreshadowed by the current partial industrial depression. The present situation, which is only the harbinger of this coming crisis, has already brought to a high level the process of rationalization and attack upon the standards of the working class that is causing it to move progressively away from its previous inertia into a period of struggles. The realization of the crisis which will intensify the process of rationalization, unemployment, and lead to severer attacks on the living standards of the workers, will result in an even broader basis for the radicalization of the American workers and their entry into struggle. It is a process which must be analyzed not only in comparison with the Leftward movement of the European workers, but chiefly on comparison with the historical backwardness of the American working class. Upon this development is conditioned the coming period of struggles of the American workers and the necessity for the revolutionary Party to understand it and prepare itself properly for it.

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

MILITANT OUTING

Members of the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and sympathizers will have an outing Sunday, June 23, at Hunter Island. Hikers will meet at Pelham Bay Park Station at 10:30 a. m.

Bring lunch, bathing suits and sport equipment.

Red Army Men Urge Trotsky's Recall

With the deepest indignation we Russian Red Army men who under the leadership of Trotsky created the victorious Red Army and fought in its ranks on numerous fronts to triumph over the counter-revolution, now learn that Stalin threatens our work. For almost six years the Stalinist leadership, having usurped the helm of the Party has been menacing the achievements of the revolution.

That which millions of proletarians conquered under Lenin and Trotsky and thousands of Red Army fighters secured by their blood, is now endangered by the vacillating policies of the Stalinists, now leaning to social democracy now to anarchism. We will not permit our work to be destroyed.

We will not believe that Leon Trotsky organizer of the victory of the Russian and therewith the international working class has become untrue to our colors.

But we do see clearly that the Stalin regime which does not hesitate to shoot proletarian revolutionaries is by its policies preparing grave disasters for the U. S. S. R. and the international revolution.

The deportation of Leon Trotsky was a serious and shameful blow at the Soviet Union. The workers of the world will never understand nor approve this measure.

We call upon all who fought shoulder to shoulder with Trotsky in the Red Army to return to their posts of struggle. The former soldiers of the Red Army who are scattered throughout Europe must stand on guard.

Organize that the banner of the Red Army and the Soviet Union of the international revolution is once more raised on high as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

Comrades, rally to the ranks of the Left Opposition.

Demand the recall of Leon Trotsky to the Soviet Union, to the Party and the leadership of the Comintern.

Down with the disloyal Stalinists!

Long live the Left proletarian wing of Lenin!

Long live the world revolution!

—RED ARMY MEN OF SLOVAKIA

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.

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

WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's Book Shop 323 Tenth St. N. W.

PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 220 Federal St., N. S.

CHICAGO, ILL.: Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1633 W. Division St.; Walden Bookstore 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britske's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newsstands

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

BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St. near Washington; Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.

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

REVERE, MASS.: Trachtman's Store 37 Shirley Ave.

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

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

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newsstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. cor.; 5th and Market, S. W. cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. cor.; 40th & Girard Ave., S. E. cor.

NEWARK, N. J.: Alter's Stand; 58 Prince St

CAMDEN, N. J.: 326 Market St.

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

TACOMA, Wash.: Walsh, 1203 Pacific St.

TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.

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

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

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