

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Policy of the Communist Party

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

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

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

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

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

The Tasks of the Communist Left

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

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

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

October 14, 1929.

Φ

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

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

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

Φ

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

The National Revolt in Haiti

Continued from Page 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GREETINGS SENT TO THE WEEKLY

FROM CHICAGO

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

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

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

FROM MINNEAPOLIS

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

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

Vincent R. Dunne.

FROM KANSAS CITY

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

A. A. Buehler.

FROM BOSTON

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

Antoinette Kondkow.

The Militant
A Subscription to the Weekly for One Year
L. D. Trotsky
Booklet on the Program of the Comintern

**Both:
\$2.00**

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

The Militant
25 Third Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Name

Address

City State

I am enclosing \$2.00 to cover the subscription and the book