

WORKERS
OF THE
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UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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After the British Elections Preparing the Road for Sharpened Future Struggles

"On the day when the English proletariat frees itself from the mental baseness of Fabianism, humanity, particularly in Europe, will increase its stature by at least a head." (Trotsky—"Whither England", page 91).

Unquestionably the most outstanding among the generally extra-ordinary results recorded by the British elections of Oct. 27 is the crushing blow dealt to Fabian reformism. In the immediate sense and by way of parliamentary representation, reaction gained overwhelmingly. But in its more fundamental aspect, these elections have compressed into one expression the fact that the British workers are becoming disillusioned with this insidious corrupting influence of reformism, but have not yet learned the revolutionary way out. In this respect the elections record one serious obstacle diminished.

The conservatives increased their vote from the 1929 elections by more than three millions; it gained more than 200 mandates now having 472 seats in the House of Commons out of a total of 615. In the same comparison, that is, with 1929, the Labor party lost over one and one half million votes. In the apportionment of seats in parliament they are now minus 214, having been reduced to a mere fraction of 50 members in the house. The Communist party polled a total of 74,824 votes, compared to its 50,000 votes in 25 electoral districts in 1929 and 53,000 votes in the 1924 elections.

The Labor Party Prepared for Present Situation

Undoubtedly the two years reign of the Labor government succeeded admirably in laying the foundation for what is happening now. It would be entirely inadequate to speak only of its treasonable role. In fact it performed the historical function of reformism which inevitably followed the road from a progressive position to that of reaction.

With the accelerating decline of British imperialism, altered also the position of the Labor party reformism. Thus, when the capitalist masters, in an effort to save the sinking pound, made their categorical demands for further drastic reductions in the working class standard, these people were faced with either complete submission or the revolutionary alternative. The latter, of course, his majesty's ministers would never accept, so MacDonald, Snowden and Jimmie Thomas went with the national government to "victory". The others attempted to stick to their Fabian reformism and were pretty well wiped out of parliament. This vote of Oct. 27, happening in a country with a decisive proletarian majority, represents first of all the despair caused by the miserable role of the Labor party. Only in that light can also be explained the small vote of the Communist Party. It failed to indicate the revolutionary way out.

Does Mac Donald See His Finish?

In his statement, thanking the voters for their "confidence", Mac Donald says: "The very emphasis of the response is embarrassing, but I appeal for forbearance as well as confidence. . . ." Perhaps he sees in this response already the forerunners of his being thrown away as a useless tool now that he can no more effectively serve to keep the workers under illusions. At any rate the conservatives will not be slow in taking full charge of affairs without being much hampered in parliament. Even the Lloyd George section of the liberals should not cause much more worry to its leader as it has been reduced to an extent of being pretty safe from any further splits.

One of the first issues which the conservatives can be expected to ride through rough shod will undoubtedly be their much cherished protective tariff. As a solution to a decadent industrial system operating in a country which has now become the classic example of imperialist decline, protective tariffs can at best, have a very questionable value. But it will be certain to add its part in the sharpening of imperialist antagonisms in the world market and especially

so with the United States, Great Britain's main competitor. However, the conservative majority can be expected to more than repeat its infamous record of the former tenure in office, of which the trades union act became the outstanding example.

New Relations and Labors' New Road

British capitalism finds itself today already reduced to a smaller nation in world economy. That it will fight more desperately for its diminishing ration is already indicated, but the most immediate front it will seek at home. The slashes in the working class standard which have so far taken place, can be considered only the preliminary skirmishes and a prelude to what is coming. For that the way has been well prepared by the two years reign of the "labor" government. The workers at this moment, perhaps more disorganized than ever, are undoubtedly looked upon as easy victims by the conservatives who will now continue the task of their predecessors and consider the election victory a license to go to the extreme limit.

While these elections merely reflect the deep going changes now taking place in the general structure of British imperialism, in its relations to other powers on the world market, and particularly in its internal class relations, they will also undoubtedly in more than one respect mark a serious turning point. The furious conflicts for the world economic rations and for division of the world can be expected to develop at an accelerated pace. But above all, the sharpened class relations within will compel a new constellation of forces. On a whole it can easily be assumed that what now looks like a body-blow to British labor may rather prove its rebirth on a higher plane. The role of the official parliamentary labor opposition can become only a very limited one. In reality it will register a body blow to the miserable Fabian reformism, which although

* * * » OPEN FORUM «

Friday, November 6, 1931

14 Years of the Russian Revolution

Lecture by
ARNE SWABECK
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

NEXT WEEK: Friday, Nov. 13:
THE HAYMARKET MARTYRS
Their Tradition and their Place
in History
Lecture by
James P. Cannon

not dead, in this new situation of sharpened class relations will be compelled to give place to a new and a revolutionary outlook. In this respect the elections can become a milestone on the road forward for British labor. To the degree to which it has become freed from the mental baseness of Fabianism, to that degree it will be able to commence its solution on the revolutionary path.

For the Communist party the future possibilities are that much more enhanced. If it can solve the very serious problems of correct policy, it has the opportunity of reviving the splendid traditions of the Chartist movement and a revival on a higher plane—the plane of the world proletarian revolution.

—A. S.

Hail 14 Years of Soviet Rule!

Fight to Preserve the Traditions of the Bolshevik October

The 14th anniversary of the Bolshevik Russian Revolution is at hand; and the proletariat of the entire world cheers the first working class to achieve power over the capitalist class. The heritage of the October Revolution, precious to the toiling millions everywhere, must be preserved.

In 1848 Marx and Engels, in the immortal **Communist Manifesto**, exultantly cried: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism". With the Russian Revolution of November 1917, this spectre became a reality of the modern world, the first death-thrust of the unshattered proletarian sword in the body of imperialism.

The Proletarian Dictatorship is Established

The major act of the Russian proletariat, in the program of revolution, was the seizure of political power as a class; it established State power; it set up the dictatorship of the proletariat which, as Marx proved in the **Criticism of the Gotha Program**, was the necessary transition measure employed by the working class in the long, hard road toward the establishment of a genuine Communist society—a society without the exploitation of man by man and thereby without classes. The Kautskys and the Mensheviks, et al, abandoning Marx's ideas, lost their base, and since then have stood upon the ground of revisionism and reformism.

When the Russian masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, of Lenin and Trotsky, assumed power, there began the first acts in carrying through the economic program of scientific socialism. The Russian Revolution proceeded with the social measures put forward by the early leaders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels. The

means of production and distribution were socialized and nationalized. For the first time in the modern imperialist epoch, by the act of the proletarian revolution, "Socialist production upon a pre-determined plan became henceforth possible" (Engels). Not through the lazy dreams of the Utopian socialists, but scientifically, following the basic plans of Marx and Engels, socialist construction began.

The Epoch of Wars and Revolutions

There began that experiment in humanity-building when ultimately, "The government of persons (the State) is replaced by the administration of things; and by the conduct of the processes of production." (Engels).

The Leninist estimation of the present imperialist epoch is that it is the "epoch of wars and revolutions." With the advent of the Bolshevik Revolution, the establishment of proletarian Soviet power, the two phases of the Leninist view were realized. The **World War**, that enormous but inevitable disaster of civilization, which forever damned capitalism in the eyes and minds of the thinking and revolutionary workers and peoples of all lands, was first given a deadly blow by the uprising of the misery-ridden workers and peasants and soldiers of Czarist Russia. The epoch of capitalist war had met its complement and master—the **Proletarian Revolution**. The Kerensky socialists and mensheviks—the protectors of the interests of the Russian bourgeoisie—who tried to hold back the realization of the demands of the workers and peasants met defeat. The Bolsheviks, penetrating the Soviets with the slogans of Bread, Peace and Land, won the masses to their slogans and received the mandate of the Russian people to carry through the Bolshevik program.

Carrying Out the Program of Communism

It became possible then to initiate the work of carrying out successfully the principles of Communism—a task which, as Lenin pointed out in his brochure, **The Soviets at Work**, would comprise the physical and intellectual efforts of the masses for decades. Its consummation would witness the complete transformation of the means of production and distribution and the outlook of man upon the world—a transvaluation of values that would raise mankind to a historical level never before conceived by man. Though begun in Soviet Russia, this objective could only be achieved on an international scale through the instruments of Communist Parties and a Communist International as guides and leaders of the working class. To this end the Communist International, with the leading spirits then of Lenin, Trotsky, Rakovsky, Zinoviev and Platten was formed in 1919.

During the fourteen years of the Russian Revolution there have been also six congresses of the Communist International. During these 14 years of proletarian power in Soviet Russia, there have been mighty achievements despite the many and persistent efforts of the Russian bourgeoisie, White Guardists and the world imperialists led by America, England and France, to smash the Soviet Power. Military intervention, civil war, sabotage, famine, etc. failed. The power of the Red Army, the fundamental acts of the socialization and nationalization of the means of production (to the fullest extent possible under the given conditions) the power above all, of the ideas and ideal of Communism, that penetrated the consciousness of the masses ever more and more, held the Soviet Power and the Communist Party firmly together through all struggles and vicissitudes.

Lenin Dies; Stalinism Rises

The death of Lenin, which came after four Congresses of the Communist International had guided the destinies

of the Soviet Union and the international proletarian movement, gave rise, under the aegis of Stalin and Bukharin, to new formulations, new ideas, false interpretations and revisionist theories of Marxism. The tremendous damage which the epigones of Lenin—the Stalinist-Bukharin school of thought—have committed to the immediate and historical interests of the Russian and also the world proletarian revolution, is here briefly outlined.

Property—land and the means of production—remain socialized in the Soviet Union. The monopoly of foreign trade, a mighty pillar for the maintenance of the proletarian dictatorship, exists. The years in which Lenin and Trotsky led the destinies of Soviet Russia, the best period of Communist leadership, have instilled millions of workers with the understanding and need of Communism. Despite the Stalinist perversions of Marxist-Leninist theories and practice and the disfiguration of Revolution, there remains tremendous ideological strength in large sections of the Communist party and the proletariat, largely unexpressed because of the suppressive methods of the Stalinist regime against the worker-Communists and Left Opposition.

Stalin and Menshevik Hopes

The revision of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin by the Stalinists has given aid and comfort to the theories of Menshevism. Menshevism insists that the zig-zags and revisions of Leninism by Stalin and Bukharin are historically inevitable, and that the present leadership of the Comintern is adapting itself accordingly. Menshevism denies that the assumption of power by the proletariat in a so-called backward country economically, as in Russia, can become the means whereby the proletariat can proceed to the introduction of socialist principles of production and distribution, and it maintains that if a working class attains political power under such conditions, the drift must be back to capitalism, in order not to "skip any stages" in the historical economic scale. But the years of the Russian Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky are a living refutation of the Mensheviks and made easier the defeat of the latter both in Soviet Russia and on a world scale. However, the official paraders of Communism, the Stalinist regime, have made simpler the tasks of the Menshevik standers. We cite here some factual material.

The Left Opposition has consistently discussed the issues dividing it from the Centrists and Right wing. In the 14th year of the Russian revolution, the Left Opposition finds that time has confirmed its criticism of the Stalinist Comintern and ratified the platform and perspectives of the Left Opposition both in regard to the situation in the Soviet Union and internationally.

In the year 1931 there took place the trials of the engineer specialists and Mensheviks on charges of sabotage and counter-revolutionary activity against the Soviet Government. The Opposition warned the Party against the Stalinist methods which made it so easy for Mensheviks and intellectuals of the old order to step into positions of significance, without any check, in the fields of economy and politics. The party and the Soviet Union paid the price of this "reconciliation" with window-jumping Besedovsky, the Agebekovs, the Ramzins, the "Mensheviks-Bolsheviks, and countless others.

The Opposition Platform Serves the Workers' Interests

Advances in socialist construction in the domain of industry and agriculture have been made-notable ones. The Left Opposition led the struggle, resisted for years by Stalin and Bukharin, for a vast increase in Soviet and collective farms and for a swifter industrialization policy. Under Opposition pressure the Stalinist "Left" swing began. We will not deal here with the caricature the Stalinists have made of a sound collectivization and industrialization program, but concern ourselves with the main outlines. The Five Year Plan, the first of many to come, was first advanced by the Left Opposition under Trotsky's leadership. In a fundamental, principle and programmatic sense, these and many other ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION BELONG TO THE LEFT OPPOSITION.

In respect to Soviet economy, the Left Opposition proposed the abandonment of the Stalinist policy of economic isolation, the theory of an isolated, self-sufficing Soviet economy able to build a "complete socialist society" (Stalin) with the existing economic perquisites of Russia. The Opposition insisted that the false theory of socialism in one country, the foundation of Stalin's "theories", be discarded. The Opposition proposed a foreign trade policy that would link the needs of the Russian Revolution with the requirements of the world's workers affected by the world economic crisis. The monopoly of foreign trade by the Soviet Union would be the lever for a controlled economic collaboration with the capitalist world. Concretely, further, Trotsky proposed to this end that the Comintern initiate

Manchurian Events and the Communists

SHANGHAI.—

The dominant event now in Far Eastern politics is the Manchurian occupation which startled the world like lightning from the blue. Japanese imperialism has carried out the wishes and plans, which it entertained for years, to subjugate Manchuria to its own territory. It chose the right moment to strike since the world economic depression has so seriously affected the United States of America and England, even as it chose the right moment during the World War to put up the famous twenty one demands upon China. The Japanese imperialists are always at work to keep China in a state of schism and discord, and to make the militarists fight each other in order to fish in the troubled waters.

After the suppression of the revolution, after the slaughter of tens of thousands of the revolutionary masses, the Nanking government is degenerating to the same fate as the former Peking government. It can offer no resistance against the aggression of foreign imperialists, except that it still uses many revolutionary phrases which are anachronistic reminiscences of the past revolution. In the face of a predatory war launched by Japan against China, the generals of the Chang Hsueh Liang group only retreated as the Japanese army advanced, and laid down arms to let the Japanese army have a free hand and complete control over the territory where they were the rulers. They look on helplessly at the Japanese bombardment, burning, pillaging and killing.

The Resistance of the Chinese Masses

The Nanking government, at the head of which stands Chiang Kai-Shek, is no better. Chiang Kai-Shek preaches "calmness" and "endurance" to the people just as the Manchurian generals practise non-resistance in delivering the people

to the claws of Japanese imperialism. A wave of indignation and fury is spreading throughout the whole of China, students are out in the streets haranguing the crowd, mass meetings are being held, anti-Japanese associations organized; the anti-Japanese boycott is to be strengthened, circulars, leaflets and placards distributed. But unfortunately the protests and resistance among the people up to now are chiefly words and sentimental phrases which are characteristic of the petty-bourgeois movement. The workers are not now participating actively in the anti-Japanese imperialism movement because they are not quite recovered from the wounds they suffered, and there are still rigorous restrictions against them.

What is to be done to beat off the foreign invasion? What will be the outcome of it? Many public and legal organizations are clamoring for a war against Japan. But a war against Japanese imperialism means a revolutionary war. It is impossible for the Kuo Min Tang government to conduct such a war because it fears the awakening of the broad masses. The only alternative for the Kuo Min Tang government is to appeal to the League of Nations and to America for interference in favor of China.

Kuo Min Tang's Shaky Position

Until now it only received a rebuff from the League of Nations. After all, the latter is quite in line with Japanese imperialism, expressing satisfaction over the sophistic Japanese explanation that the military invasion is not military occupation, etc. The only road open to the Nanking government is to negotiate directly with Japan, to put up with the loss of territory and to swallow the insult. But in the long run, will the people not be exasperated by the government's capitulation to the clattering of weapons and the unshathing of swords by Japan imperialism? The logic of events should lead to the serious shaking of the Kuo Min Tang rule and should open many possibilities for Communist agitation.

The Kuo Min Tang rule has experienced this year the most severe crisis since its advent to power in China in 1927; its inner deep antagonisms between the Chekiang and the Kwantung factions, the revolt of the Northern militarists, the peasant war in central China, the growing misery of the masses due to heavy taxation and high cost of living, the unprecedented flood disaster, and the Japanese occupation of Manchuria are bound to exert a revolutionary influence upon the masses. Here and there we hear always the bitter tone of enmity from the lowest strata of the masses against Chiang Kai Shek, Chang Hsueh Liang and the Kuo Min Tang because they advocate non-resistance to the Japanese aggression. But where is the Communist Party which can utilize successfully the hostility of the people against the Kuo Min Tang to overthrow its rule? In other words, where is the Communist Party, the only party existing in China, which is against all shades of the Kuo Min Tang?

We need to write the history of the Chinese Communist Party in the last

two years in order to understand the present situation of the Party. Between September 1930 and January 1931, there were two overturns in the Party which resulted in the complete elimination of the Li-Li-Sian group from leadership. It was sacrificed as a scape-goat to cover the adventurous sins of the Stalinist E. C. C. I.

Influence of the Past on Present Chinese C. P.

It is really amusing to read the Comintern's letter of last November to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, condemning the policy of the Li-Li-Sian group. The gist of the letter was that "the course of armed uprising is already decided, the significance of the establishment of the Soviet government lies in the fact that the Chinese Communist Party is on the road towards armed uprising in the big and biggest cities", but "comrade Li-Li-Sian saw the ripening of the revolutionary situation on a national scale," and "proposed to start an armed uprising in Hankow when the Chinese Communist Party has in that area only two hundred Party members and one hundred and fifty red trade union members."

But the executor Li-Li-Sian should have fully the right to ask the sages of the Comintern why they decided on the course of armed uprising in the big and biggest cities when they themselves, admitted in the same letter that "the rising tide of the labor movement, generally speaking, even in the decisive industrial cities (Hankow, Shanghai along Yangtse, not to mention Canton, Hongkong, Harbin, etc.) lags behind the peasant movement. Even in Shanghai and Hankow, the spontaneous strike struggle did not develop rapidly. In the May and August demonstrations of this

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Canadian Party Leaders on Trial

Since the arrest of the nine Party leaders in Canada last August, the main efforts of the Canadian Labor Defense League have been in forming a mass defense movement; this work has found expression as the Workers' Rights and Anti-Deportation Conference.

In all leading cities of Canada where a branch of the C. L. D. L. exists, conferences have been organized for the defense of the Communist Party. In Toronto, where the headquarters of the Party are located, and where the trial will take place, a conference was organized on September 28th, which was attended by 129 delegates representing 49 organizations, and consists of an effort to form a united front of various sections of the Labor movement, as evidenced by the nature of the organizations represented, reformist unions, Labor party, fraternal and cultural bodies, and organizations sympathetic to and under the ideological control of the Party. The composition of the conference has shown that if proper tactics are adopted united front can be attained. It seems that the Party leaders are learning a few lessons from the catastrophic policies of the last few years; that the present trial means

the legality or illegality of the Communist movement, and strangulation or bureaucratic control of the defense movement would have serious repercussions in harming the cause at a critical period.

The first meeting of the conference in Toronto adopted a resolution giving an analysis of the situation in Canada, of the various phases of capitalist breakdown leaving an army of 600,000 unemployed.

Instead of granting unemployment insurance to the hungry, capitalist economy "strengthens" itself by adding to its police forces, and using more outrageous methods of violence as instanced by the shooting of three striking miners in Estevan, Saskatchewan. Canada has also broken off all diplomatic and commercial relations with the U. S. S. R., and is now a leader in the Christian anti-Soviet blockade.

The conference accepted the Workers' Rights and Anti-Deportation Bill, and the following are its main clauses:

1. Freedom of speech and assembly for the working class
2. Protection of foreign-born and British

(Continued on page 2)

PRESERVE THE WEEKLY!

We are compelled to continue our public appeal for funds to SAVE THE WEEKLY MILITANT. Donations are beginning to reach us, but they are far too small as yet to ensure the continued existence of our paper on the present basis. A policy of the utmost economy is followed scrupulously to hold the cost of publication of **The Militant** to the absolute minimum. No other working class publication ever was conducted on such an economical basis as is the case with the organ of the Communist League (Opposition). For this reason, our readers can feel confident that whenever a public appeal is made for **The Militant**, urgent and immediate necessity for bare existence and maintenance of the paper makes it so. We ask our readers to SEND OUR APPEAL TODAY AND SEND IN DONATIONS AT ONCE.

On two occasions we have started the **Weekly Militant**. The first time was on November 30, 1929. After seven and a half months of existence, during which the **Weekly Militant** demonstrated its effectiveness on various issues before the working class—the textile and coal miners' struggles, information on world events, Communist policy, etc.—we were

compelled, because of lack of funds, to discontinue the **Weekly Militant**. This was a hard blow to the revolutionary movement. We were determined to recover and return again to a weekly paper at the first opportunity.

On July 4, 1931 we revived the **Weekly Militant** and for four months now we have again issued the paper. It has been hard, but we believe that the supporters and sympathizers of the Left Opposition want to maintain the **Weekly Militant** at all costs. Support from each subscriber and sympathizer to the cause of the Left Communists will assure the existence of the **Weekly** and help to develop it on stronger foundations.

From New York a total of \$150.00 has reached **The Militant** since our appeal. House to house collections are being undertaken, sympathizers and subscribers visited. Chicago states that supporters there will be reached immediately.

The Militant confidently awaits the response of its readers. DON'T DELAY! SEND IN YOUR DONATION TODAY TO: **THE MILITANT**

84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT

Work In I.L.D.

OPPOSITION ACTIVE DESPITE BUREAUCRATS

A Union Delegate on the Mooney Meets

On Oct. 15th, the night I intended to make the report to my local union on the Mooney United Front Conference called by the I. L. D., what did I find! A representative from the I. L. D. (a Kentucky miner) presented his credentials and asked for the floor, which was granted him. After dwelling at length on the "victorious" Mooney Conference and the great work they had done in defending the workers in the class struggle, he appealed for financial aid to the I. L. D. After him, the leader of the T. U. U. L. group (who had enjoyed my report on the Mooney Molders Conference—a conference for not seating the delegates of the I. L. D. and the Party) got up and made a motion that since I was a delegate to the Mooney Conference the local should hear my report first and then act upon the appeal in accordance with it.

Of course, this T. U. U. L. leader, either through laxity or inattentiveness, was blankly ignorant of what had taken place at that conference. He labored under the illusion that my report would be favorable and that the local union would automatically respond to the appeal.

Then came my report, which was about as follows: "Mr. Chairman and Brothers: This I. L. D.—Mooney Conference was a mere mass meeting. Its representation was 90 per cent bodies organized by the C. P., such as the I. W. A., the Working Housewives, the W. E. S. L. the R. F. Band, the L. of Struggle for N. R., C. W. L. branches of the I. L. D. and the T. U. U. L., etc. Local Union 2090, U. B. of C. & J. of A. was the only organization present which is affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The credentials committee was appointed before and outside of the conference. The resolution was presented in complete form, and no one could add a suggestion to it. Four delegates representing workers' organizations were not seated and were ousted from the hall.

The whole Mooney Defense campaign was turned into a general goulash. . . The I. L. D. acts now almost as if it were a strictly party defense organization, as is shown by the conduct of the Morgenstern-Goodman case in Philadelphia.

Therefore, I move that this local union withdraw its delegation and abstain from any further participation in these fake united front conferences, until the leadership of the I. L. D. changes its policy in united fronts.

My motion was seconded, whereupon the T. U. U. L. leader made an amendment that we defer action on the motion and invite another speaker from the I. L. D. to explain the action of the I. L. D. at this conference and also their general policy, and then act upon my motion.

'El Soviet' Out

The first issue of *El Soviet*, weekly organ of the Left Opposition in Spain, has made its appearance, and has been greeted with enthusiasm by the advanced workers and Communists in Spain. Among the contributors to the first number are L. D. Trotsky (Andres Nin, Henri Lacroix and other leaders of the Spanish Opposition and proletariat.

Part of the contents of *El Soviet* include articles on: The Duty of the Moment; the Constituent Assembly (Cortes); the Parliamentary Elections; the Telephone Strike and its Development; the Persecution of the Communist Press; Greetings from L. D. Trotsky, the International Secretariat, the National Conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition); Workers' Life; For a Genuine Universal Suffrage; Marking the Boundaries of the Communist Factions; the Agrarian Revolution; the Opposition Center at Madrid; Editorials and other articles.

The *Militant* sends its greetings to *El Soviet* and the Spanish Opposition on behalf of the revolutionary workers and Left wing in the United States. We are sure that *El Soviet* will prove a weapon in the clarification of policies in the Communist movement and in the struggle for the unification of the forces of Communism, and in the day to day battle for a Soviet Spain. The Spanish Opposition, in addition to *El Soviet*, also publishes a monthly theoretical organ, *Comunismo*, and have issued a number of pamphlets and books by Nicolai Lenin, L. D. Trotsky, Andres Nin and others.

Copies may be obtained through A. Gonzalez, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

◆ CHICAGO ◆
House Warming Party
Saturday Nov. 14, 1931

All aboard for a Real Good Time! To celebrate the opening of the Chicago Headquarters of the Communist League of America (Opposition) at

1435 Ne. Wabasha Ave.
DANCING — ENTERTAINMENT — Fun Galore!
Admission . 25 Cents
Auspices: Chicago Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Hacker Lies
On Oct. 29, Hacker, the I. L. D. district organizer, appeared on the floor of our local union. He spoke for 30 minutes, mentioning all the cases the I. L. D. had defended, and said that the I. L. D. was a political organization and all its present actions were based on past experiences. Then he came with an outright lie, and said that at this conference they were compelled to put the Trotsky elements and "agents of the capitalist class" out of the hall because they had disrupted every speaker at every third or fourth word, and that in all their activities they were confronted with these same elements, who find their way in there under assumed names. And so on.

I was then given the floor and of course I had to deny his statement that these delegates were guilty of any disruptive tactics. As a matter of fact, if they had been quietly seated, hardly anyone would have known that there were representatives from the C. L. of A. (Opposition) present—at least, no question of disruption could have been raised. I challenged any delegate present to refute what I said. I asked the speaker for what purpose the I. L. D. and the Party sent their delegates to the Mooney Molders' Conference, so long as they had officially denounced the committee in the *Daily Worker* and refused to go into conference with it. Was it for construction or disruption? To this Hacker failed to answer. I went on to point out to him that the reasons for not seating the delegates at the Mooney Molders' conference, and the reasons for not seating delegates at the I. L. D.'s conference were identical, and that just as Muste, Lefkowitz and company were afraid that the delegates to the I. L. D. might offer policies to the conference that would be accepted in preference to theirs, thereby throwing them out of the limelight, so were the bureaucrats of the I. L. D. afraid that the Trotskyists might do the same to them. The easiest way out for the time being was to declare them to be disrupters and counter-revolutionists and throw them out of the hall.

On the Morgenstern and Goodman case: since at our last meeting it was denied that the I. L. D. refused to defend these boys, I was compelled to write to the Morgenstern-Goodman Defense committee for the facts in the case. When I read them off before the local union, Hacker was obliged to admit that the I. L. D. has not defended them.

In conclusion: the local union did not act on my motion to withdraw, nor did it act on the appeal for financial aid. But the chairman let Hacker know that in the future, if we are invited to a united front conference, (by that we understand that all workers' organizations must be seated) that what took place at the I. L. D. Mooney Conference must not be repeated.

—W. H. H.
Delegate from L. U. 2090,
U. B. of C. & J. of A.

(We are of the position that it is incorrect for delegates from local unions, such as the above-mentioned, and other workers' organizations, to withdraw as delegates in protest against the narrow and incorrect policy of the I. L. D. Rather, we propose that such delegations should retain their representation and continue their appeal to the rank and file delegates to overrule the methods and policies of the bureaucrats of the Stalinized I. L. D.—Ed.)

Canadian Party Leaders on Trial

(Continued from page 1)
fish workers from deportation
3. Right of asylum for foreign-born refugees
4. Cessation of police terrorism
5. Freedom to form political association
6. Repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code, under which act the Communist leaders were arrested.

This Bill was unanimously adopted. It also resolved that the conference recognize the C. L. D. L. as the workers' defense organization in Canada, and also undertakes to reach every labor organization for the aid of the arrested. It accepted a quota of \$50,000.00 to be raised, and endorsed the collection of 100,000 signatures for the support of the Bill.

An executive of the conference was elected of seventeen delegates, which includes a member of the Toronto Branch of the Communist League (Opposition). Our Branch, under the specific prevailing conditions, decided, for tactical reasons, not to ask affiliation to the conference directly as an organization, but our comrades are active in the conference in the collection of money, signatures and the general defense work. The Branch is preparing a manifesto explaining our stand, and calling upon all workers and sympathetic elements to give full support to the Party in its fight for a legal existence.

The Regime of Police Terror
Mass Meetings have been called for October 28th, under the auspices of the United Front Conference, and also for November 2nd, the day the trial begins and a call to workers in the factories for a one day strike. Owing to the unmitigated police terror in Toronto it was impossible to hold a meeting within the city, and had to be held just outside the city limits. Free assemblage in halls, or in streets, is denied to the Party, the F. S. U. and all Left wing organizations. The ban now extends to the reformists, and even the Fellowship of Reconciliation is denied the rights of democracy. A few weeks ago at a gathering of soul-

In Sec. Two C.P. Amter Proscribes Opposition at Forum

NEW YORK.
A membership meeting of section two, Communist Party, New York district, was called for October 27, to hear a report by S. Perla on work among the unemployed. It is hardly possible to imagine anything more colorless and ineffective, deprived even of an iota of a revolutionary aspect. It was a tiresome repetition of well-known "failures"

"We miserably failed because we had nothing to offer to the unemployed." Therefore, "soon after the famous March 6th demonstration, the unemployed councils disappeared from the map." But how to remedy that small matter and to develop a clear-cut program of demands and action? Here is the prescription presented by the Centrists:

1. To build unemployed councils; 2. to demand the A. F. of L. unions with the demands for: (a) exempt stamps for unemployed; (b) unemployed fund drawn from the bosses; (c) rotating jobs; 3. Unity of employed and unemployed. All of this is to be achieved by the "united front from below". Which reminds one of the housewife who, being asked how to cook jelly from cherries, replied: "Buy two pounds of cherries, a pound of sugar and cook it."

A Rank and Filer Speaks Up
It was quite logical then that a comrade took the floor and said that he did not see the face of a revolutionary party in these demands, and that a united front from below alone is no united front at all. It is interesting to remark that it is a long time since one dared to state openly his opinions in the Communist Party. S. Perla in reply, said, "I shall not discuss with comrade L.—about the statement he made. He shall be called to another place and we shall discuss there." Thus, Perla, like a true petty bureaucrat of a low order of comprehension, spoke up.

This statement made by one of the "leaders" and not by a labor faker, called forth an indignant protest of a rank and filer who criticized Perla's remarks as terroristic and threatening against a comrade who expressed his views. One could feel the silent approval of the membership on the protest against Perla, and the latter evidently realized the effect of his unguarded revelations on the methods of the present party regime.

Perla then stated that comrade L.—is to be called to the section committee and he will be given a chance to explain his statement in front of the section membership. The question really is whether the party bureaucrats are courageous enough to confront and to reply to a Leninist definition of Communist tactics, of a real united front policy.

BOSTON LECTURE!

A lecture on the "Rise and Fall of the British Labor Government" will be given by comrade Arne Swabek, member of the National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) on Friday, November 27, 1931, at 8 P. M., at the Ambassador Gardens, corner of Berkeley and Warren Aves., under the auspices of the Boston Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The admission is 25 cents.

Subscribe to **YOUNG SPARTACUS** organ of the Communist Youth Opposition. Fifty Cents per year.

The party has for some time been conducting an open forum in New York on Sunday nights. Assuming that an open forum, conducted by the Communist Party, is the place for workers to clarify themselves on questions of fundamental revolutionary policy, Opposition comrades have been attending the forum, with the object of learning from and discussing with comrades of the official party, what the attitude of Communists toward such important problems as the united front tactic, the Negro question, unemployment, etc., should be. After all—as Amter himself perhaps unwittingly exclaimed—the determining factor under such favorable revolutionary conditions as exist at present, is the party. And for us, Oppositionists at least, the party means chiefly the representative of the ideology of the working class, the protagonist of Marxist ideas applied to all phases of proletarian activity.

As usual, our comrades took their places at the forum last Sunday, November 1st, when the redoubtable Israel Amter, top-sergeant of District Two, descended to instruct the advanced Communist workers of New York in the post-October history of the world revolutionary movement, on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the Soviet Union. After he had disposed very easily of such insignificant trifles as the N. E. P. the Anglo-Russian Committee and the emaciated Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 (in which the Chinese Communist Party—"cooperated"—with the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang) several of our comrades took the floor to comment on omissions and commissions in the speech and to attempt comradely discussion on vital questions with the comrades present.

Amter Proscribes Opposition
Immediately as our comrades took the floor, the grumblings of the corporals and subalterns of the official apparatus became audible. Isolated boings and threats against the "insolent" Trotskyites who dared to attempt discussion at what was apparently a workers' educational meeting, soon worked up a frenzy among the stampered party members, who at first showed themselves eager to listen to the words of the Oppositionists. But it remained for the dauntless top-sergeant himself to whip up the sentiment into a veritable lynching spirit, by such provoking shouts as: "Do you know what would be done with people like these in the Soviet Union?" To which obedient lackies of the apparatus readily responded: "Hang them!"

With that same fire with which he exports the exploited bank deposits to militant class action, the future Borough President of Manhattan held forth for more than fifteen minutes against the young Opposition comrades, with no

Litvinov In Turkey

A Moscow dispatch announces that Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, left for Turkey recently to repay a visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister last winter. The press comments that there is "no political significance" attached to the trip. Perhaps not in the ordinary run of things. What is of moment, however, to revolutionists and Communist workers is that a Soviet Commissar, functioning under the banner of Communism, finds it easy to converse with the persecutors of the Turkish Communists. Still, these friendly visits, of "no political significance", are understandable from the signer of the imperialist's Kellogg Pact, not to mention that "friendly understanding" between Stalin and Kemal Pasha who exiles Leon Trotsky, to a little island on Constantinople's outskirts.

May we just add the society column touch by informing our readers that Litvinov has not made a "friendly little call" upon comrade Trotsky. Yes, indeed, such a visit would have political significances.

MASS MEETINGS

ST. LOUIS.—A mass meeting to celebrate the 14th Anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution is scheduled for St. Louis, Mo., on Saturday, November 7th, 1931, at 8 P. M., at the Cruden Branch of the Public Library. The speakers will be Joseph Angelo of Springfield, Ill., John Roberts and Tom Stamm. Admission is free. The meeting is under the auspices of the St. Louis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

Mass Meeting at Staunton, Ill.
An anniversary meeting in celebration of the 14th year of the Russian Revolution will take place at Staunton, Ill. on Sunday, November 8th, 1931, at 2 P. M., at the Labor Temple, Lodge Hall. The speakers are Joseph Angelo and John Watt, representing the Miners' Educational League and Tom Stamm for the Communist League of America (Opposition).

A mass meeting to demand the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings will be held at Staunton, Ill. on Sunday, November 15, 1931 at 2 P. M., at the Labor Temple, Lodge Hall. The speakers will be Charles Bloom, representing the St. Louis, Mo. Metal Trades Council, and Tom Stamm for the Communist League of America (Opposition).

MILITANT DANCE

The Third Annual Militant Dance of the New York branch, Communist League of America (Opposition) will be held Saturday evening, November 21, 1931. The place is the Stuppesant Casino, 9th St., and Second Avenue. Come and give us an opportunity to get better acquainted

slander too vile and low but he was able to fish it up to cover his own incompetent and ignorant blabber that today takes the place of Marxist education in the Stalinized party. Finally, in the midst of the frenzy, he succeeded in putting through a motion depriving Oppositionists of the floor at the future forums.

We can be quite certain that the "victory" of this arrogant flunkey of the Stalinist regime will not stand to his credit. His reckless mismanagement of the party's affairs in Cleveland and more recently, in New York, by far efface it. Lynching tactics as a whole have no place in the revolutionary movement. They have their own logic, and we need only turn to Amter's former cronies, the self-same Lovestonites who first employed these tactics against the Left Opposition; the Left Opposition will wipe out this vilification of the movement together with the rest of the Stalinist scourges that at present petrify it. For the present, we will merely content ourselves with saying that not even a thousand Amters can succeed in separating the Opposition from the party ranks. Our faction is built on the sound core of living Marxist thought, and thereby alone its penetration into the vanguard of the revolutionary movement is inevitable. Means will yet be found!

The Party Discusses the Negro Problem

NEW YORK.
The Communist League (Opposition) continuing with its efforts for comradely discussion with Party members on various questions facing the revolutionary movement, again sent its representatives to the New York Party Forum on Sunday, October 25th. The subject was "The Developing Class Struggle in the South," with Tom Johnson as speaker.

Before the meeting began, comrades Morris and Rose distributed *The Militant* outside the Forum hall. The attack of the previous week upon us was repeated, the two comrades beaten and forced away. Israel Amter came around a short time after and was approached by comrade Ben Grossman, not a member of the Left Opposition. Comrade Grossman informed Amter of what had occurred and asked Amter if the Party approved yet of this hooliganism, such as physically attacking workers who held political views other than those of the official party. "The infuriated Amter answered point blank: 'Yes, this is the policy of the Communist Party!'"

Policy on the Negro Question
At the forum itself, comrade Johnson developed his subject in accordance with the official party policy of the "right to self-determination for the Negroes in the Black Belt, if they so desire." But Johnson went far beyond even this relatively mild phrasing. A few outstanding quotations from his speech will amply illustrate.

"There is a growing national consciousness arising among the Negroes, and the proof lies in the fact of the Garvey movement." "The revolutionary nationalist movement (!) of the negroes will pass through the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. We must therefore support this nationalist movement because it is a revolutionary movement; and we must develop the national consciousness of the Negro people." (!)
In those words are embodied the essence of Johnson's position. He advocates, not an approach to the Negro as a worker, a proletarian, but as a member of a "nation", which has foundation only in the head the speaker.

The Negro and the Class Viewpoint.
It took the floor and stated that as

Marxists and Communists, we approach the Negro from a class viewpoint. We aim to develop his class consciousness, not "national", which means here racial consciousness. I further quoted Lenin on the slogan of self-determination, the features which characterized a national minority; I homed this to the Negroes in the United States, maintaining that there was no basis for viewing the Negro as a national minority, either in theory or fact. I also, in concluding, and speaking as a member of the Left Opposition, called for the unity of the Communist movement, for the reinstatement of the Left Opposition into the Party. I asked for a comradely discussion of this and other principle questions in an effort to come to a common ideological viewpoint which would prepare us for united struggle against the capitalist system.

Comrade Lillian Bord then obtained the floor. She spoke on the Scottsboro case and the necessity for a genuine united front of the working class, led by the I. L. D., for the freedom of these boys, of Mooney and all class war prisoners.

Johnson then summed up. Holding his remarks on my discussion to the left, he proceeded to an outright demonstration of demagoguery of the worst sort imaginable. Johnson said: "The comrade from the Left Opposition came here and delivered a powerful argument against the slogan of the right of self-determination, and as a final smashing blow he tells us the Negroes have no music. (!)" "The comrade further quotes Lenin, but I do not believe Lenin ever said those things" (why not try reading Lenin, comrade Johnson?) "Didn't Lenin support the Timpanny movement in Ireland and they had no language of their own? Does the comrade want to foist a religion upon the Negroes because they have none? . . . The Negroes have a homeland, here, the United States—(Here we applauded, as did the whole audience, but)—"right here, in the Black Belt . . . and we must develop their national consciousness to make them aware of it" (!).

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

LETTER FROM GERMANY

The New Party Turn

The Menace of Fascism Increases

The dramatic and gigantic convulsions of world capitalism are at present unfolding over a far vaster scene than that of Germany. All attention is converging on England. However, from the point of view of the revolution, the German field must not be lost sight of for a single moment. For the economic reserves of British imperialism are incomparably greater than those of Germany, which have been dilapidated and wiped out by the war. Besides, and that is the main factor as proven by the everyday experiences, no Communist party exists in reality in England; while in Germany, despite all the mistakes, we have a Communist party that counts as a serious factor.

Nevertheless, the internal situation in Germany is not devoid in important events these last few weeks. Above all, there is the reappearance of the National Socialists on the political arena, as expressed on the one hand, by their return to parliament and, on the other, by extra-parliamentary actions. Thus, on the Jewish New Year the National Socialists organized a veritable little pogrom, similar to their attack on the shop fronts last year. The measure taken against them are of no account, the ring leaders were not even summoned to court. We see therefore, that in view of threatening weather, the bourgeoisie is once more forced to utilize the National Socialists after discarding them for six months, and despite the internal successes of the Bruening policy, it is obliged to consider once more seriously the prospect of Fascist arms.

Fascism Again Shows Its Fangs

At the time when the bourgeoisie withdrew the Fascists from parliament and the great strike struggles showed that the trade union bureaucracy was still quite sufficient to "pacify" the working class, we characterized this as an "honorable" retreat of the National Socialists, as a clever economy action of the bourgeoisie which only nourishes its bloodhounds to the degree to which it needs them—while several panic sowers raved about an approaching Fascist putsch. And in the same manner, while Thaelmann bragged about the "decomposition" of the Nazis we maintained that they would return, because neither the objective factors (the crisis, ruin of the petty bourgeoisie) nor the subjective factors (unsound policy of the C. P., the state of division and indecision of the proletariat) had disappeared. Experience has proved our contentions to be correct. In the meantime, fascism has gone through several transformations in its structure ("legalization") which makes its dependence on finance capital, if possible, even more apparent than before and which has made the road toward coalition still more accessible than was previously the case.

On the other hand, Bruening is constantly making attempts to extend his base, since his position is extremely precarious. The extra-parliamentary defeat at Geneva was this time quite complete. Despite this, German capitalism has as yet been reluctant to capitulate, it still hangs on to its program: equal rights, instead of subordination to the other capitalist robbers. This position is possible only due to the incessant and furious attack on the standard of living of the working class, due to the unlimited and unheard of support granted to the crippled private enterprises by the state. With this aim in view, the different provinces, Prussia and Saxony among others, have issued for their part, decrees that grant the reduction of salaries for the functionaries, layoffs, tariff increases, the suppression of the budget for cultural subsidies, layoffs of teachers, reduction of pensions, in short, all the measures that go under the name of national self-defense. Simultaneously, there has been a new, violent attack against the working class.

The Communist Party Changes Its Course

On the occasion of the mutiny of the British sailors, which produced great enthusiasm among the German workers, more than half of the Communist papers have again been proscribed. In addition, Bruening has ordered the creation of special tribunals. This is very significant among other preparations for the winter, since a great number of militant revolutionists have already been arrested. These events, the unadmitted defeat of the referendum and the directives of the E. C. have forced the party to change its course. This expressed itself also in a change in the personnel. Instead of Thaelmann, the notorious Heinz Neumann is now being played up. In any case, it is surprising (and after all the years of the "third period" it is even unbelievable) that offers of discussion are made to the socialist leaders at public mass meetings, which has not failed to produce an embarrassing effect on these people, who have taken recourse to the vilest sort of police tactics. In replying to the program of "National Self-defense" with concrete counter-proposals, with the program of the "Red Self-defense", we find a crying contradiction to the practice pursued up to the present by the party. In the same way, at the last congress of the Red Trade Union Opposition, there was no longer any talk of the creation of new trade unions, but rather the work in the Free Trade Unions was stressed. But what is unfortunate about all these healthy attempts,

is the fact, that for reasons of prestige the former policy cannot be liquidated and continues in existence altogether inorganically side by side with the latter and in contradiction to it.

Social Democrats Discussing Russo-German Relations

The social democracy has likewise been forced to take a much greater political initiative. And it cannot be denied that it employs a certain aptness in doing this. It is struggling persistently and even resorts to old articles by Engels to justify its theory of the "lesser evil".* It is particularly occupied with an intense discussion on Russo-German relations, for the present as well as after the revolution. It denies that Russian credits would have any effect in obtaining work for the German workers, bringing the most ridiculous arguments against them, which shows what a tremendous propaganda force Communism possesses and to what degree the Opposition was justified when it proposed, two years ago, the slogan (the slogan of large, long-term credits to the Soviet Union—Ed.), which the party characterized as "counter-revolutionary". Under that same angle, the socialist party is also carrying on its agitation, "Is a Soviet Germany Possible?", still "proving" in a dishonest and inept manner, that a Soviet Germany would not be able to get sufficient economic support from Soviet Russia.

All this in reality only proves in what an extraordinary dilemma the Socialist party already finds itself. It is unfortunate that even the leadership of the C. P. is forced to recognize the fact that its members in the factories are incapable of facing this question, simple as it actually is. This is the punishment for the education carried on in the Stalinist spirit and in the sermons on the development of the revolutions in the "national" framework during the last few years.

While we are writing these lines, a very important crisis is taking place in the Socialist party. The leadership of the party has put the alternative before the opposition to cease all practical activity or to face expulsion. This crass measure is undoubtedly explained by its fear of the winter. The leadership wants in advance to deprive all eventual rebellions of an organizing center. How can all this end up? The policy of the C. P. during the last few years prevents this opposition from turning toward the Communists. If it does not capitulate, it will be forced to create a new centrist party.

The Social-Democratic Opposition and the New Centrist Party

Such a party is historically outlived in Germany and the historic failure of the Two-and-a-Half International will also always serve as an enormous obstacle to such innovations. On the other hand, the tendency in favor of such a party is very strong.* This is due to the fact that many have forgotten or have not at all gone through the experience of the Independents, whereas the mistakes of the C. P. exist before the very eyes and in the memory of all. Such a centrist party will naturally lead to a great confusion and will be a great obstacle in the development of the German revolution.

In conclusion, I want to give another example that illustrates vividly the physical decline of the German working class under the crisis and under the yoke of the decrees. The German professors who used to now have been so proud that Germany outnumbered France in jobless and cannon fodder, are emitting cries of indignation and despair. For the first time, the percentage for the number of births in Germany has fallen below that for France. While in France there are 18.1 births per 1000 inhabitants, there are only 17.5 per 1000 in Berlin.

—E. BAUER.

* Referring to the support ("toleration") given the Bruening government in view of the "greater evil"—prospective fascist domination. —Ed.

* In the next issue of the Militant we will bring an article dealing with the developments of this tendency and with creation of the new centrist "Socialist Labor Party"—Ed.

In Great Britain

Developments in England and Ireland

Developments in England and Ireland In less than a week from now the General Election will be over; in the meantime all parties are as one in their efforts to veil the class issues that lie at the root of the recent events in Great Britain.

Mr. Snowden—two months ago the financial genius of the Labour Party—has described Labour's policy as "Bolshevism gone mad". Mr. MacDonald, now leading the Conservatives, explains that he is still a Socialist, Mr. Thomas endeavors to prove that the policy of the late 'National' Government saved the workers from increased unemployment. From the platform of the Labour Party, Mr. Henderson explains that he is not opposed to the idea of a national government, and spends most of his time trying to convince his followers that the Labour Government did not agree to 'cuts', or rather that they only agreed "provisionally". All the old catchwords, "tariffs", "free-trade", "currency reform", "nation before party" and so on, are being trundled forth a hundred times a day in newspapers, on posters, and from all platforms.

Sir Oswald Mosley's 'New Party' is now openly fascist; its programme is one of open dictatorship and around its candidates are grouped trained athletes for the defence of their meetings. But the workers have replied to this in no uncertain fashion. It is impossible for Mosley to hold a meeting without it ending in a pitched battle. At Birmingham 15,000 workers howled down the speakers and then, after dealing with the stewards, chased the speakers from the platform. In Glasgow an 'admission by ticket' meeting was stormed by thousands of workers and broken up.

There are twenty-five Communist candidates; already some eight or nine of them are in prison. The authorities are making every effort to cripple the Party. Candidates and their agents are jailed, the printer of the Daily Worker has been sentenced to nine months imprisonment and scores of local unemployed leaders are in prison. (This is an indication of what will happen after the election, for the employers will certainly begin a big wage-reduction offensive resistance will tempt to organize resistance will be met by all the forces at their command.)

Provided the party works along the right lines it should gain support and added influence: this throws great responsibilities upon comrades of the Left Opposition for the present leadership is incapable of doing other than blunder from left to right and add confusion to the already confused state of things existing.

The party's election campaign has been very badly organized and their policy has been one of confusion from start to finish. The insistence of the locals in putting up 'demonstrative' candidates has partly prevented the carrying out of the original plan of 'concentration' upon selected constituencies. But in London, acting under Party instructions, many party members are deserting their areas and keeping in places where a party candidate is going to the poll. So

that in many areas the workers are left leaderless as far as the party is concerned. The Election Manifesto of the party gives no lead for workers in constituencies where there are no Communist candidates; that is, no lead as to what should be done by workers on polling day. Since there are over 600 seats and only twenty-five Communist candidates it will be readily seen how the policy of 'concentration' will work.

More 'Self-Criticism'

At a recent meeting of London factory group and local Party Committee members, W. Rust opened a discussion on the party's policy in the crisis. He attacked opportunist tendencies within the party saying that the party had, during the past few weeks, been dragging along at the "tail" of the mass movement, that it had pursued a conciliatory line towards the Independent Labour Party and had committed numerous Right errors. This was true but Rust is as responsible for these mistakes as anybody in the party leadership. At a conference of London party members, held early in September, he ignored to answer questions on this point. He attacked the line of the Left comrades in the party and ignored the manifestations of the Right tendencies at the conference itself. And, as editor of the Daily Worker, Rust has helped more than anybody to add to the confusion existing in the party.

The fact that he is raising points of criticism shows that the leadership realizes its weak position and that we can expect, within the near future, a state of "self-criticism" within the party. The comrades of the Left Opposition should be prepared for it and win the membership to their point of view, not merely by criticising the present policy of the party but also by setting a policy of its own for the party to adopt.

The Irish Ferment

The new 'Coercion' laws of the Irish Free State Government have drawn attention to the tense situation existing in the Irish Free State. All of the militant working class organizations have been declared illegal, including the various Revolutionary Workers' Groups, the Friends of Soviet Russia and the 'Workers' Research Bureau. The insurrectionary republican groups have also been declared illegal, and flogging and the death sentence are to be the punishment for acts endangering the "Public Safety". Twelve people are already awaiting trial before the special Military Tribunals and there are signs that before long the threats of the Cosgrove Government will be translated into deeds. The party is extremely weak in Ireland, but apparently the insurrectionary section of the Republican movement was preparing for some form of action or other: this, coupled with the position of industry, has driven the Government to harsh repressive measures. I will send fuller details when things are a little clearer and more information is available. In the meantime an agitation is beginning here, and as far as possible openly in Ireland. —ANGLICUS. London, October 21, 1931

Manchurian Events and the Communists

(Continued from page 1) year (1931) . . . the participators were only the vanguard of the vanguard. The proletariat is very weakly organized." The defeat of the "red army" at Changsha in August 1930, and the subsequent regime of white terror made the E. C. C. I. shudder at the consequences of its own policy, and was the real reason for replacing the Li-Li-Sian leadership in order to save the face of the C. I. and to sidetrack the wrath of the Party ranks.

The letter blamed Li-Li-Sian for the failure "to organize and strengthen the revolutionary base, to unite the Soviet districts, to consolidate the conquests already made . . . to organize the retreat and draw in the reserves", and for the attempt to carry out "the tasks of the occupation of Changsha and the preparatory march on Hankow which the Red Army has not the strength to fulfill." Upon such feeble arguments the E. C. C. I. announced the line of Li-Li-Sian to be principally antagonistic and mutually exclusive from the line of the E. C. C. I. and to be anti-marxist and anti-Leninist". They adopted two formulas: to consolidate the revolutionary base" and "to struggle for the victory in one or several provinces".

The Protective Ambiguity of the Stalinist Formulas

The Stalinist directives are always double-meaning and therefore infallible. Since the sixth congress of the party (1928), the perspective of the party had been to "struggle for victory in one or several provinces." Whoever was doubtful of this perspective at the time of low tide of the revolution was called a liquidator and counter-revolutionary. But when the most loyal and most consistent Stalinist, Li-Li-Sian, seriously strove for this perspective (capture of Changsha and the preparatory march on Hankow), then he was all of a sudden found not to have consolidated the revolutionary base, he was branded as anti-Leninist and having principally nothing in common with the line of the E. C. C. I.

The letter of the E. C. C. I. was fatal to the party and opened a new page in its life or, rather, its degeneration. Politically it means the complete ideological disarming of the party, the loss of its perspective and orientation. Hitherto the whole party had been educated by the perspective, although a false one, of the immediate seizure of power "in one or several provinces" and "the armed uprising in the big and biggest cities", but with the downfall of Li-Li-Sian in the party, this perspective was scattered to the winds. This perspective is replaced by such empty slogans as "Defend the Red Army", "Defend the Soviet Government", "Defend the Soviet Union", "Down with the Kuo Min Tang", "Down with Imperialism", etc. In principle the party rejected the democratic slogans. The slogans of armed uprising and Soviets are not taken off the agenda. It is necessary to prepare. But either this perspective will not be taken seriously by the party ranks, or the party in the future will head into another catastrophe, the blame for which will be laid upon the executors. Such is the mechanism of the Stalinist leadership. Therefore, the letter of the E. C. C. I. swore that only those who have nothing in common with Bolshevism can interpret this line as a line of retreat. Just the contrary, this is a completely disordered retreat which sowed confusion among the ranks of the party and lessened their confidence in the party leadership.

The Weakening of the Party Apparatus Organizationally, the letter of the E. C. C. I. means the mechanical removal and the expulsion of responsible but not so meekly obedient party workers. Most of the old leading members and cadres were removed and replaced by inexperienced and theoretically poorly educated students returned from Moscow who enjoyed absolutely no confidence in the party and who are distinguished by their absolute obedience to the directives of the E. C. C. I. (its representative was Miff. Therefore, these students are also called Miff's-group). Some of the former leaders were relegated to local work. Others were expelled and formed a Right opposition which bears a prominent economist tendency. This opposition at first attracted many workers in Shanghai and North China and has its own centre and local organizations. Still other important workers, removed from positions, went over openly to the enemy, and organized skillfully the spy work which led to the arrest of tens of important party comrades (among them comrade Hsiang-Chu-Fa), to the disclosure of underground party organizations, and to the standstill of party work. The arrested comrades were shot immediately without any ceremony.

The party press often complains of the unprincipled and personal fights of the different groups. They become distrustful of each other and lack the spirit of comradeship. So long as the free discussion of the problems of the revolution is prohibited, and the leadership dominated by careerists, and the party demands obedience and lip-service from the members (members who fear to be expelled save themselves by formal recantations; those who are able and just severing are found outside the party); so long as these conditions exist, the party, as an organization which groups together men struggling for ideas, ceases to exist. The Chinese party is thus liquidated and destroyed by Stalin. He has completed what Chiang Kai-Shek has

left undone. All that remains is a faint shadow of the party.

Yet we read in an appeal to the Comintern, R. I. L. U., etc., by the E. C. C. of the Chinese C. P. that it spoke as "the Communist party of China with its 190,000 members and the millions of workers and peasants—!" (Inprecor, No. 38). And still the rabid reaction rages throughout China. In fact, in the Shanghai Eastern district—the biggest industrial district—there are party members only in one big factory, numbering about 20, but when meetings were called, those attending were not as many as five! The late Hsiang Chu-Fa, in his report to the fourth plenum of the party (January of this year) said: "The red trade union movement has sustained great loss and damage, the membership in the whole country greatly decreased. To take the example of Shanghai, the membership (in the red trade unions) has dwindled from 4,000 to about 1,000. In Shanghai, we have no connection with many workers' struggles, there are many strikes which we cannot lead."

In other industrial cities, the situation both of the party and the red trade union movement is only worse. There is not the least indication to prove that things have improved for the better. The aforementioned letter of the E. C. C. I. has set the central tasks of the day for the party as follows: (1) to select and consolidate immediately the real red army of workers and peasants. Even at the beginning it numbers only 40,000 to 50,000 strong. (2) to establish immediately a powerful and capable Soviet government with a majority of Communists and get the best non-party workers, peasants, and soldiers to join in it. (3) In the non-soviet districts to develop the economic and political mass struggle and in the process of struggles to organize the masses.

Actual Conditions in the "Soviet" Areas

Thus the chief attention of the Stalinist bureaucrats is paid to the Red Army and the Soviet government, and the slogans "Defend the Red Army", "Defend the Soviet government" are written as placards on all occasions whenever there is a big event taking place. The workers in the cities are induced not to believe in their own organizations and strength but to believe in the liberating role of some force outside them—the Red Army and the Soviet districts. But what are the real conditions in the Soviet districts and the Red Army?

First of all, it was Stalin who said at the 16th Congress of the C. P. S. U. that in China "it was said that there is formed a Soviet government." But later on the letter of the E. C. C. I. categorically denied this and said: "there is not yet a Soviet government in China; if there is, it exists only in the leaflets, on paper, and is not a realized power." A letter published by the party organ, Party Construction discloses the real conditions in the Soviet districts which entirely confirms the views expressed by the Left Opposition. Let us quote a part of it.

"Concerning the influence of the party among the masses," the letter from the Western Hunan and Hupeh Soviet district runs, "because the propaganda work was not done on a general scale and done badly, the masses . . . consider the Communist party is little better than the Kuo Min Tang, and in many places the masses adopt the attitude that since they are the subjects, it doesn't matter what party comes to rule them."

"Most party leaders in the Soviet districts are kept secret from the party ranks. The Communist members do not know what the Communist party is. At the time of the suppression of the Wang-Ching-Wei group (Kuo Min Tang Reorganizationists), they wept at home because they thought they had joined the reorganizationists. The responsible party workers forget the party. For three or four months, the party organizations and nuclei have not held meetings." In the mass organizations there are no party groups.

"The majority of the comrades of the red districts are corrupt, become bureaucrats and express a Right wing tendency. They think that since political power is already conquered, nothing more is to be done, they engage themselves for whole days in the hunt of women. . . ."

"The responsible comrades of the Soviet government do not give solutions to the general practical demands of the masses. At the same time the rich peasants occupy two thirds of the positions in it. The majority of the commissars are bureaucrats, so that the masses have no confidence in the Soviets and address the commissars as "sir"."

just as they addressed the former governors."

"Owing to the fact that the masses do not understand the Soviet, therefore in the red districts there are concealed many reactionary elements, and the Soviets are helpless toward them. . . ."

"Party Construction"

The editor of this organ pointed out that such things happen also in the Kiangsi Soviet districts. The party press and the letter of the E. C. C. I. complained that the rich peasants, and even the small landlords creep into the Soviets, into the Red Army and into the new organs of power. The land was divided in favor of the rich peasants; the poor peasants, the agricultural laborers and the coolies are not organized into unions. The Soviets are not elected but appointed, etc., etc. But the Chinese Stalinists, together with the E. C. C. I. attribute all this to the faulty line of Li-Li-Sian. Therefore they issue on paper such slogans as "Against corruptions", "Against bureaucracy", "Against the Right tendency"

They fail to understand that the causes lie deeper: in the nature of the peasantry, which is completely incapable of independent political action; that when the city proletariat remains passive, it is inevitable that the peasant guerrilla warfare degenerates.

The red peasants partisans have withstood three campaigns started by the Nanking government against them during the past year, even though troops, armed with modern munitions, often outnumbered them two or three times. Yet the red partisan army has defeated them successively, killing two divisions commanders. The weakness of the government army lies in the fact that dissensions exist among the generals and the soldiers are not quite willing to fight (they complain against their officers, underpay, bad treatment), while the red partisan army enjoys the support of the peasantry; this gives them a big advantage in conducting the war. If Chiang Kai-Shek is helpless even in the face of the red partisans in one province, Kiangsi, when in the cities, dark reaction governs, how can he cope with the upheaval of the entire nation?

The Kiangsi partisan warfare in a certain sense is a standing indictment of the crimes of Stalinist leadership in the second revolution, when it capitulated before the bourgeoisie. This time the Stalinist leadership capitulates before the peasantry, concentrates its whole work in the partisan warfare, dissolves the party into the peasant masses, giving up city work; makes the proletariat look up to the red partisan army as its savior just as it formerly made the proletariat believe in the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang as its savior. Let us entertain no illusions. The peasantry either follows the bourgeoisie or follows the proletariat.

It is just at this time, when the Manchurian events stir the whole nation, when the broad masses are indignant over the non-resistant policy of the Kuo Min Tang, when the mass movement flows over the dams of the Kuo Min Tang, when the students and the down-trodden masses come out spontaneously and write in handwritten placards against Japanese imperialism, just at this time, when the leadership of the Communist party is little better than the Kuo Min Tang, and in many places the masses adopt the attitude that since they are the subjects, it doesn't matter what party comes to rule them."

"What an irony of leadership if we are to remember the following part of the letter of E. C. C. I. which said: "The E. C. C. I. deems it not only feasible but necessary to maneuver with the imperialists—we must at the same time with all means weaken the alliance of imperialism with the Chinese counter-revolution, to avoid the decisive conflict with it till we consolidate ourselves, to postpone the decisive struggle with the imperialists."

The Manchurian event is a great warning to the revolutionary Communists in China when a national ferment is not

(Continued on page 4)

Third Annual MILITANT DANCE

To celebrate the third year of the appearance of THE MILITANT.

AT

Stuyvesant Casino

9th Street and Second Avenue

ON

Saturday Nov. 21, 1931 - at 8 P. M.

DANCING — GOOD TIME FOR ALL — BUFFET

Admission: 50 Cents

Auspices: New York Branch, (Communist League of America (Opp.))

EDITORIAL NOTES

AMTER WILL GET YOUR MONEY BACK?

The New York municipal election campaign of the Communist Party has not been without its funny side, even if the joke has been at the expense of Communism. This was to be expected with Israel Amter as the head of the ticket. Amter is the candidate for boro president of Manhattan. If he is not elected it will not be because he did not try; not because he stopped short of extravagant promises. The revolutionary Marxists have always regarded elections as an opportunity for revolutionary propaganda Amter has been demonstrating how they can also be utilized for the most vulgar reformist vote-catching. We are well enough acquainted with the typical American bourgeois politician, among whom the reformist socialists can be included, who promise the voters anything and everything. It is a strange role for Communists, however, and not an edifying one.

The Daily Worker of October 27th reports the appearance of our candidate at a meeting of depositors of the U. S. Bank who are still whistling for their money. It was evidently an enthusiastic gathering. "A great ovation was given Amter when he was introduced," says the report. And the jubilation of his hearers did not stop there. "Several times during his speech he was loudly applauding." If these cheers were for Communism one could only be glad. But this, unfortunately, was not the case. The depositors had something far more immediate in mind when they shouted for the standard-bearer of the revolutionary party. They were simply excited at the prospect of the recovery of their lost deposits, and were hailing the man who danght this prospect before them.

The report in the Daily Worker quotes Amter as saying: "The Communist Party pledges to you that if I be elected I'll use all my official power as boro president to organize all the 400,000 workers and small depositors for a militant fight to get their money back." Such are the campaign arguments of Stalinist Communism.

With all due respect to the intentions of the candidate, we do not think he could make good with this promise even if he is elected boro president. We go further and say such promises should not be made by a Communist in any case. It would be far better and certainly far more in keeping with the elementary conceptions of Communism to explain to the depositors that the expropriation of small owners by bank swindlers is just as much a part of the revolutionary overthrow of the regime and not in the promises of a city official to halt its normal processes and restore that which existed yesterday.

Communism is the doctrine of the socialization of property, including the banks. The small proprietor engrossed with his little store, his little farm or his little bank deposit is not a Communist. He can become one only insofar as he comprehends the hopelessness of the contest with centralized capital and adopts the property viewpoint of the proletariat. Communist propaganda among the members of these doomed classes should emphasize this idea all the time. Such events as the bank failure create favorable opportunities for its reception. Therein lies their chief value to the revolutionists.

The Stalinists, who stand everything on its head, have not made an exception of this question. In their frenzied endeavors to mobilize the petty-bourgeoisie for the election they do not stop at holding out to the small owner the illusion of security in his possessions. They even promise to restore that which has already been taken away. And this, mind you, under the existing capitalist regime in which the progressive expropriation of the small owners and the small producer proceeds by a law of the system itself. By such methods the petty-bourgeois masses will not be won over to Communism, but the Party itself will be dragged into the petty-bourgeois swamp.

THE OPPOSITION ON THE OFFENSIVE

The correspondence from the field in the recent issues of the Militant tell a convincing story of the increasing activity and aggressiveness of the members of the Communist League. The reports show beyond all doubt that the systematic educational work, upon which our faction is grounded, is being supplemented more and more by direct participation in the life of the Left wing labor movement. The Oppositionists are penetrating into the unions and non-party organizations. They appear at conferences, forums and other places where the radical workers come together and defend there the ideas of Marxism on concrete issues of the class struggle. And with a growing response. The Opposition comes out the gainer from every encounter.

Wherever we have forces they are on the offensive, and their confidence grows every time they pit the platform of the Marxist wing against Centrist empiricism, whether it be in a general discussion of principles or in the consideration of tactics in a single action. In this conflict of ideas which is at the bottom of the factional division in the Communist movement, even the youngest and most inexperienced representatives of the Opposition have an incalculable advantage. The appalling ideological poverty of the Centrist leaders is demonstrated on every occasion.

The whole district apparatus of the I. L. D. in New York had to be brought down upon a single branch to expel two young Oppositionists whose questions and arguments regarding the policy in the Mooney campaign they could not answer. The open forum conducted by the official Party in New York has been enlivened lately by the participation of "Trotskyites" who have gained ground in every discussion. It is true that the bureaucrats revenged themselves by setting hooligans upon the young Marxists to beat them up as they left the meeting last Sunday. But that is a poor recompense. The Communist workers will know how to pass judgement on this form of "debate". The political line is stronger than the hooligan's fist and will prevail over it.

What is needed to hasten this victory is an intensification of the political activity of the Opposition, as was indicated by the National Conference, the first fruitful records of which have already been recorded. These activities and results demonstrate that the adherents of the Left Opposition are learning how to conduct the political struggle. This is not a secret art. It consists primarily in the assimilation of scientific Marxist ideas and the intransigent defense of them. The Opposition is armed with an invincible platform which has been verified in every concrete question by the test of experience. It is this fact which gives the Opposition fighters such unbounded confidence and assures them an increasing influence in the ranks of the proletariat vanguard in proportion to their activity and aggressiveness in expounding the platform.

—J. P. C.

THE MILITANT

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Manchurian Events and the Communists

(Continued from page 3)

utilized owing to the absence of a Communist party. The ferment is so deep and strong that not only the lower sections of the Kuo Min Tang are more pronounced dissatisfied with the policy of the official Kuo Min Tang, not only is the military grip to a certain degree slackened so that the masses are to a great extent free to write slogans, hold meetings and express views; but even in the Nanking government, the strong bulwark of reaction and counter-revolution, certain opinions are expressed against the random slaughter of Communists because they are vigorous youths, and that the Kuo Min Tang itself is guilty since it cannot put the country in order. The masses need leadership. Provided with correct tactics, the Communist party would grow rapidly.

Progress and Hardships of the Left Opposition

The Chinese Left Opposition, after a long period of disunity, no sooner had achieved unity under the leadership of the International Secretariat and comrade Trotsky, than the blows of the Kuo Min Tang fell upon us. After the arrest

FOR CLARITY AND ACTION

«Young Spartacus» to Appeal to Membership of Y.C.L.

Three leading members in the Chicago District of the Young Communist League were recently expelled from the organization. All three comrades, Norman Satir, Ruth Andras, and Nathan Gould were former members of the District Bureau. They were expelled because of the sharp criticism they leveled at the character of the regime that prevails in the Y. C. L. In essence it was an attack on the strangulating bureaucraticism in the Y. C. L.

The action of these comrades must be hailed as a progressive sign and a reawakening in the ranks of the Y. C. L. When it is recalled that practically the one form of expression of dissatisfaction in the Y. C. L. for the past period has been an ever-accelerated turn-over in membership, then this latest manifestation is indeed insignificant. It proves that the Stalinist bureaucrats cannot rob all the young Communists of a sense of self-reliance and capacity to think, though they may clothe themselves in the mantles of official Communism and usurp the traditions of the October revolution.

An interesting aspect of this latest revolt against the bureaucratic regime is that it originates almost wholly on youth grounds. It does not assail the policies of the Party, it is not organizationally related to any group in the Party, nor does it connect itself ideologically with any Party current, as for example, the Left Opposition. While this demonstrates the vitality of the Communist youth and augurs well for the future—the ability of the youth on its own initiative to fight for a correct regime—it at the time reveals a profound weakness. If this revolt were not to transcend its present stage, it would merely dissipate itself, and lose the real value it could contribute to the Communist movement.

We Must Reach Y. C. L.

It is particularly when faced with such developments that the unpostponable need for a youth paper of the Left

Opposition is keenly felt. An organ that would reflect these developments from their inception, influence them with its advice and criticism, point out the necessary steps, and finally guide them into the Marxist channels of the Left Opposition, is the next link that the Communist League of America must forge in its chain of steady progress. Our Young Spartacus must become a powerful instrument for the intensifications of the struggle against bureaucraticism in the Y. C. L. and for genuine Marxist education.

The Young Vanguard, even were it to appear with unflinching regularity in the Militant could not possibly have that appeal for young Communists that a separate opposition youth paper would undoubtedly have. The appearance of Young Spartacus will unquestionably arouse widespread interest in the ranks of the Y. C. L. It will immediately pose in the minds of numerous Y. C. L. members the fundamental questions that separate the Left Opposition ideologically from the Stalinist and Lovestone factions. For the first time young comrades who hitherto have been oblivious to these burning issues, and have followed in blind faith the decrees handed down from above, will concern themselves with these problems, and will want to know more about them.

Our Young Spartacus must become a positive factor in saving for the Communist movement those innumerable young workers who are lost in the astounding turn-over in the Y. C. L. Our paper will explain to them the causes for their unfavorable reaction to the life of the Y. C. L. and show them the way which will lead to a Leninist regime in the Y. C. L.

But in order to transform our good plans into better reality, we must have the assistance of all those advanced Communists who realize the significance of our project. We are confident that their response will be commensurate with their understanding.

Activities in the Ranks of the Opposition

We have mentioned in a previous issue our intention of organizing a group of active Militant builders. This is now taking form and has already some results to show. We named already in our announcement some comrades upon whom we relied to make this a live item. This depends entirely upon their activities. We have heard directly only from two of these comrades mentioned by name. Meanwhile a number of others have already made their application and become accepted in the group.

The qualifications for membership are very simple. Just hustling for Militant subs. and in this manner building the circulation to make the Left Opposition organ a much more powerful medium, a much more powerful organizer for our movement. This includes also the securing of renewals for the expired subscriptions. We are sure we have many comrades ready and willing to take up this work.

We list under this heading only such new subscriptions and renewals secured by the efforts of our comrades, not those readers who on their own initiative sent in their sub or their renewal.

During the last two weeks the following comrades have results to show for their efforts by way of actual subscriptions secured.

- C. Shekett, Boston 3
Joseph Carter, New York 2
H. Capelis, New York 1
P. Shulman, New York 1
M. Kent, New York 1
Sylvia Bleeker, New York 1
Jack Carmody, New York 1
D. Plarinos, Youngstown, O. 1
L. Brayer, Cleveland 1
C. Shekett, Boston 2
C. R. Hedlund, Minneapolis 1
Leon Goodman, Phila. 1

N. Y. CLASSES BEGIN

The class in the "Fundamentals of Communism", conducted by comrade Martin Abern has begun, and classes are held each Monday evening at the headquarters of New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition), 84 E. 10th Street. There is still opportunity to enroll before the next class, after which registration for this class is closed.

The class in "Marxism" to be conducted by Arne Swaback will begin on Monday, November 9. Prospective students should send in their names at once.

STUDY GROUP

A study class in the Fundamentals of Communism, composed mostly of young workers, is being conducted by the Philadelphia Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). For particulars, write to Leon Goodman, 327 So. 11th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

CHICAGO CLASSES

A class in the Fundamentals of Communism is being conducted by comrade Charles Curtiss on Thursday evenings at the headquarters of the Chicago Branch of the Communist League (Opposition), 1435 N. Western Ave.

Additional study classes are being conducted by comrade Hugo Oehler in the form of a Marx-Lenin study group, and also a class in the Fundamentals of Communism by comrade John Edwards at 1118 West Madison Ave.

Chicago workers wishing to register in any of these classes may do so by getting in touch through the Opposition headquarters.

Hail The Russian Revolution!

(Continued from page 1)

a world-wide campaign for the extension of large and long-term credits to the Soviet Union by the capitalist countries. Stalin and his stupid lackeys branded this living slogan as counter-revolutionary. It conflicted with the theory of "socialism in one country".

The Conditions in the Factories

It is axiomatic from a revolutionary standpoint and the aspect of the development of workers' control, that for every increase in the productivity of labor in the Soviet Union, there must result an approximately corresponding increase in the standard of living of the workers—their wages, working conditions, etc. The industrial proletariat particularly, the carriers of the future hopes of humanity, must participate in every gain made by industry and agriculture.

But under Stalin, there has been by and large a policy of production for the sake of production, a false concept of socialist construction; productivity has increased at the expense of the working class; that is a damning indictment of Stalinist practices. The regime within the shops has deteriorated. More, not less, control must be vested in the workers in their shops, their committees, their unions. Instead, managers, trade union officials and State and party bureaucrats increase their domination over the workers. Dissatisfaction naturally arises with this non-proletarian policy; workers shift from job to job, hoping for betterment; shop control and discipline become weakened, which the Stalinist bureaucracy thinks can be overcome by decree. A principle of Communist management and workers' control is involved in these prevailing Stalinist methods in the Soviet Union.

In the field of foreign policy, there has been a wide departure from the early days of Lenin, Trotsky and Chicherin. It is indeed a long journey from that period to the "diplomacy" of Stalin and Litvinov who finds it possible on behalf of the Soviet Union, to sign the Kellogg Pact of the imperialists and to justify this non-revolutionary action on the ground that the Kellogg Pact enforces "moral" (sic!) obligations on the capitalist powers who also signed it.

The Changes in the Communist Party

In the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there have been tremendous changes, which took on the speed of a locomotive with the expulsion of Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition from the Party. The Party, in a fundamental sense, is non-existent: it is melted into the masses by the method of mass infiltration into the party by whole factories, etc. The actual role of the Party as the leader of the masses is vitiated by the bureaucratic control of the Stalinist apparatus which tolerates no criticism or program other than its own. Thus, the proletarian dictatorship still exists, but Stalinism is eating at its roots and its heart, the Party.

The Stalinist policy is the policy of isolation for the Soviet Union, an underestimation of the role of a Communist Party and the Communist International. With the acceptance and espousal of the anti-Marxian theory of socialism in one country, it was inevitable that not only in the Soviet Union, but throughout the C. I. social-democratic theories would in time take their hold.

The Development of National Socialism

Theory has no boundary lines. Even as the Left Opposition warned, national socialism developed among the Communist Parties in other countries (witness the German Party and the recent referendum). The theory of "socialism in one country" became "internationalized". With it, to mention but this major cause, there followed the decline of the Communist parties. The War Danger and Defense of the Soviet Union became, without relation and analysis to the current situation and burning issues of the day, the central slogans of the Communist Parties. Lip service was given to the fact that the best defense of the Soviet Union and for the temporary staying off of another world war, was best carried through by a consistent struggle against one's own capitalism on living issues. The Communist Parties have in the main become reduced to auxiliaries for the Soviet Union.

The Platform of the Opposition—And the Future

With comrade Trotsky and the Russian Opposition, we say, even as it was said to the Stalinist Central Committee on October 23, 1927:

"We stand at the helm of Bolshevism. You will not tear us away from it. We are going to hold it true. You will not cut us off from the party. You will not cut us off from the working class. We are familiar with repressions. We are accustomed to blows. We will not surrender the October Revolution to the policies of Stalin—the entire essence of which is contained in these few words: Trepression of the proletarian nucleus, fraternization with the compromisers of all countries, capitulation before the world bourgeoisie"

The platform of the Opposition is on the table of the Party.

The proletariat thinks slowly, but it thinks strong. . . . The decision lies in the last account with the political course, and not with the bureaucracy's fist. . . . "Your persecutions, expulsions, arrests, will make our platform the most popular and the closest and dearest document of the international workers' movement. Expel us. You will not stop the victory of the Opposition—the victory of the revolutionary unity of our party and the Communist International."

—MARTIN ABERN.

During the period of Lenin's life four Congresses of the Communist International took place, as follows: First Congress—1919; Second Congress—1920; Third Congress—1921; Fourth Congress—1922. Lenin's death followed in January 1924 and the Fifth Congress was in 1924; four years elapsed between the Fifth and Sixth Congress of the C. I. in 1928; three years have since passed and there is not yet a word about a Seventh Congress. Thus loudly, but without words, shouts Stalin his contempt for the Comintern.

Here we will only mention that Stalinism, carried over into many other countries, as in Great Britain, hoped to jump over the inevitable step of the development of a British Communist Party, and thus helped to carry out the mangling of the British proletariat and Party through the "actions" of the now dead, but unlamented Anglo-Russian Committee. And the manner in which Stalinism aided by Mensheviks like Martynov, helped to measure for years to come the Chinese Revolution. Need we mention how the Communist International ignored, and Parvda lamented, that the Spanish Revolution, still in mighty motion, might hurt the preservation of the peace of Europe; forgot the cause of revolution and clung instead to that pitiful reed of peace by agreement with capitalism, "of collaboration peacefully of the Soviet and capitalist world." (Litvinov).

Soviet Russia — The Fortress of World Revolution

Despite all, Soviet Russia remains the fortress of the world revolution, its prelude. The Russian Revolution still is powerful in its own right—despite Stalinism. The fundamentals remain—which the second party and fourth international advocates fail to see—: The prevailing property relations are the socialized and nationalized means of production and distribution; the monopoly of foreign trade by the State remains as a bulwark. The Proletarian Dictatorship stands; Soviet Russia is a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. The education of the masses, the military and achievements of the workers and Bolsheviks during all the years of the Russian Revolution, have planted deep the roots of revolutionary practice and the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky. On an international scale, in varying degrees, this is true also. Therefore, the International still lives and the Opposition calls for the policy of the regeneration and reform of the Communist Parties and the Communist International. The Opposition and its ideas live and will conquer. The HERITAGE OF THE RUSSIAN OCTOBER STILL REMAINS. It is for us to be dedicated to the task of preserving that heritage and increasing its wealth. Stalinism destroys, but Leninism rebuilds again and again on a higher plane.

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Greek Left Opposition in Appeal to British Sailors

(We reprint here the leaflet addressed to and distributed among the British sailors on October 10th at Salonica, Greece by the comrades of the Left Opposition in Greece, the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Archie-Marxists). The previous issue of The Militant mentioned this distribution of an appeal at the time of landing of the sailors from British boats. We are glad to print the entire appeal as an evidence of the policy of international solidarity on behalf of the working class.—Ed.) The appeal follows:

THE APPEAL TO THE BRITISH SAILORS

"To the British Sailors.

"To the British Working Class and the world proletariat.

"Comrades:

"A month ago 12,000 sailors of the British Navy struck in protest against the attempts of British capitalism to shift the burden of the economic crisis, engendered by the capitalist system, onto your shoulders and those of the British workers. They are cutting down the unemployment dole, reducing wages, while the expenses for armaments, for the preparations of a new war are continually increasing.

"At the head of these efforts the capitalists of your country put the traitors of the Labor Party—the MacDonaldis, Snowdens and Thomases—who made an

open alliance with the landowners, mine-owners, bankers and other big capitalists and militarists. The same dirty job is committed against the British workers by the Hendersons, Maxtons and Kirkwoods who are agents of the possessing classes among the British proletariat.

"The post of these traitors is full of such treacheries against the working class. In the General Strike of 1926 the same leaders betrayed the struggle of the British working class, with the collaboration in this instance of the Stalinist leaders of the British Communist Party.

"When the Communist Party of Great Britain could have really become the vanguard of the struggling proletariat and unmasked the treachery of the MacDonaldis, Citrines, Purcells and Company, the British Communists worked hand in hand with them in the Anglo-Russian Committee and on instruction from the Communist International from which the best Bolsheviks, among them Leon Trotsky, the collaborator of Lenin, were expelled.

"Comrades! Today, in the whole world, in your country also, the great work to redress the Communist Parties, with the assistance of the International Left Communist Opposition, is going on. At the head of this task is Trotsky, the organizers of the Russian RED ARMY AND NAVY. We all must do all in

our power to obtain the reinstatement of all expelled Left Communists into the Communist Parties.

Proletariat Greets Sailors' Strike

"Comrades! Your strike frightened world capitalism and met with great enthusiasm from the world proletariat. You, by your action, have forced the capitalists to retreat. You have learned from your own experiences that only your organized and concerted action secures victory. Your example revives the history of the Russian comrades hoisted the flag of the Revolution and aided in the destruction of czarism. Hence, the world proletariat considers your action as a good beginning and blow against the British money bags. Together with the proletariat of your country, you must accomplish the destruction of your capitalist regime, under the leadership of the Communists and the International Left Communist Opposition.

"The Greek workers are wholeheartedly with you.

"Long live the British Sailors!

"Long live the British Red October!

"Long live the Soviet Socialist Workers' Republic of Great Britain!

"Long live the Soviet Union!

"Long live the International Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky!

"Long Live the World Social Revolution!"

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