WORKERS **OF THE** WORLD. UNITE



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After the Lamont Letter

CLASS STRUGGLE OR "PEACE"

### **PRICE 5 CENTS**

## The New Musteite Party The C.P.L.A. Prepares a Home for the Political Homeless

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Quietly, heralded by only the most tinguishable from the reactionary and modest announcements and by even less conservative elements in the labor move enthusiasm, the first bricks are being ment. As soon as the working class showed signs of moving away from the laid in the dark of night for a new political party, a home for the politically bourgeoisie, and even from reformism, homeless in the labor movement. The the Musteites came forward as a barnew structure is not provided with a rier in the path of the workers' advance seeking to turn them back to reformism firm foundation, its bricks are not tinged with one clear color but those engaged by devious routes, but under no condi-

in erecting it are filled with the faith tions to allow them to take the natural based upon a hope that it will offer them road of development towards Communa refuge from the conflicting winds of ism. Since its organization, this has the class struggle.

tively "launched" at the last meeting of as a political bloc of yellow socialists, the New York branch of the Conference labor bureaucrats, pseudo-progressives, of a statement presented by A. J. Muste in the name of the organization's execu- and even further "Left"-the Lovestone tive committee, "Do We Need a New group itself-the C. P. L. A. now seeks Political Organization in the United States?". The 150 stalwarts who attended into the political field. the meeting finally endoresd the document by a slim majority against the votes of the Socialist party members present and a "bolt" by part of the Lovestoneites who had entered the C. P. L. A. to give it a "radical" coloration. anti-Trotskyist, who renounced even that The nub of the new Muste party is

contained in the following extended excerpt from the manifesto:

Socialists and Communists

"The Socialist Party in the United Miller helped expel from the Communist States today does not have a clear work- Party as a traitor, and who has since ing class orientation. It has not, as a matter of fact, succeeded in winning the defense of the Hillman regime of the confidence of American workers. Some blackjack, the gangster and class collaof its exponents have frankly abandoned | boration in the A. C. W. A.; A. J. Muste, Marxism as a labor philosophy, and have the "ideolgical" leader of the pseudo-prono philosophy to offer in its place. Others profess to retain Marxism, but exhibit greatest concern is to prove that in his no militancy in carrying on the class struggle. It pursues a policy of "neutrality" toward the trade unions, which in practise amounts to leaving them in the hands of bureaucrats and corruptionists, makes it impossible for a man to be regarded as a good Socialist on the political field, while he is a reactionary on find any real distinction between the the trade union field and makes it imrevolutionary Communist movement and possible to distinguish between socalled the phrase-mongers of the socialist "Left" Socialist unions and any other. It has wing in England, Germany and the Unilacked vigor and aggressiveness in supted States. porting, inspiring and leading efforts to These are elements without a political

organize the masses of unskilled and home, the classic exponents of Centrism semi-skilled workers in the basic induswho seek to repeat today the farcical tries. Its propaganda tacitly assumes experiment made a decade ago with the that by a gradual democratic process the formation of a "Two and a Half Interbasic industries of the nation can be national". That the sponsors of the bought from their present owners and new party have their eyes turned tosocialized, and evades any realistic anai- wards the recent attempts made by the ysis of the modern scene to determine "Left" wing leaders of the British I. L. what foundation there is for such an P. to build a new "international" cannot expectation. It is confused and at times be doubted for an instant. It is equally distinctly antagonistic in its attitude to- sure that the second edition of the Two wards Soviet Russia. It is not aggres- and a Half International, including its

Once again, a member of the ill-star-1 The figures are extremely interesting red capitalist efficiency cabinet of the and should be studied attentively by evgreat engineer, has dropped a few "indiscreet" remarks, Hoover's Lamont has unintentionally given away the secret preparations of the bosses for an organized—and that is about all that is real

in the social democratic myth of "organized capitalism"-campaign for deepgoing nation-wide wage-cuts, ranging been the primary function of the C. P. L. from the pivotal steel industry to coal The party is the one that was tenta- A. Developed on the trade union field textiles, manufacturing, all along the line. What Lamont blurted out has not been unknown to the Communists, who for Progressive Labor Action in the form and finally embracing turncoats from were the first to predict the inevitability of a concerted offensive action of the Communism like Miller and Benjamin bourgeoisie in the attempt to disentangle to transfer its functions more directly

The Sponsors of the Party

Who are presiding over the birth of the new infant? The names themselves are instructive. Foremost among them

Of course, Hoover and his Secretary is the name of Bert Miller, the notorious of Labor Doak who got his training in deceiving and misleading workers from his mild variety of Communism represented by Lovestone in order to crawl into the days in the Railroad Brotherhoods, im-C. P. L. A.; another father of the new| mediately came out with denials, assert-

party is J. B. Salutsky-Hardman, whom ing that the government still remains firm in its stand against wage cuts and rejecting all responsibility for Lamont's letter to Condon. But, too late. The been engaged in the principal literary beans have been spilled. The New York Times, the mouthpiece of Wall Street, if any, gently chides Lamont for his rashness, deplores the "lack of cooperation" [find: in the government and proceeds . . . to gressives in the labor movement whose

explain the necessity, yes even the inevitably of wage reduction, all in one criticism of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy editorial. he does not associate himself for an in-

And how do things actually stand at stant with the only force that has conthe moment. To what extent has the ducted a serious struggle against the attack on the workers advanced? This disastrous policies of treason pursued may be gathered from figures published by the Green hierarchy-the Communist in the June number of the Monthly Lamovement; Ludwig Lore, who fails to bor Review by the Department of Labor.

ery worker. **Per Capita Earnings** (involving some 5 or 6 million workers) March February March Industry 1930 1931 1931 X1.3 Manufacturing \$24.30-9. Anthracite

Wage Cut Drive Mining And Textile

Mining 25.14-22--9.2 Bit. Mining 18.86 ---1.6 ---16.2 We notice a particularly sharp down ward trend in per capita earnings during the month of March in the current year and when we keep in mind that the figures for the manufacturing sector in clude 54 industries, we can easily pie ture the universality of the trend. Later on we shall show that this drop in aver age wages is quite out of proportion ever with the growth of unemployment and has a cause behind it, wage cuts already carried into effect. From the mining figures it becomes quite apparent why the strike struggle wave has found its inception in that industry.

From February to March 1931, unem ployment among the railroad workers increased by 1.4 percent, while payrolls fell 8.1 percent. Taking the figures for

the same month in 1929 as 100, the figures for March 1931 are: Anthracite Bituminous Empl'm't Payrolls Empl'm't Payrolls 81.2 70.1 88.8 65.2In the iron and steel industries we

Employment 1931 1930 April Feb. March April 91,9 72.0 72.671.9 Payrolls 1930 1931 Feb. March 60.4 62.0



"If there wil be a strike, the racket-| "strike" was in reality a lockout for the change. The privileges granted the or eers would call it." This ambiguous re- purpose of cutting the wages and tightganized manufacturers are a sufficient ply by Sidney Hillman to Mayor Walk- ening the noose around the necks of the inducement to the independents to join er's question whether Hillman could membership of the organization. the Exchange or at any rate sign the How were Hillman's plans in this promise that there will be no strike in agreement with the Union. The agree-New York has become clear now that "strike" carried out? Already on the ment seemingly affords lower production the strike of the New York clothing worksecond day after the "strike" was decosts and better security than the open ers has been declared. In that reply clared the workers were sent to work shop. It is worth while in this connecwere contained the real meaning and the in most of the shops with considerable tion to quote from the Advance, July 31. purpose of the strike contemplated by reductions in wages, amounting in a on Hillman's stand on the question of Hlilman and of his "campaign" against number of cases to as high as 25 per-(Continued on page 2) cent. (No official announcements, of The strike has been en

Stalinist Failure to Apply United Front Threatens Strike

Strikes In Danger

Every day of the prolongation of the ever before the gravity of the situation. struggles renders more acute the dan- The strike is still isolated; men have gers that threaten the two big strike

workers into action-the strikes of the coal miners and of the textile workers. the separatism, the isolation of the strikes-even when considered from the standpoint of each industry separately. From the very beginning this has been pointed out by the Militant, and the ites. warning sounded that unless swift and resolute measures were taken to overcome the prevailing disunity, the strikes would be threatened with the poison of slow disintegration and defeat.

Our warning was addressed primarily to the Left wing and to the official Communist party which leads it-no initiative in the direction of unity can be expected from the reformist labor leaders who thrive and prosper on the basis of division in the ranks of the working class. Yet, although each day has brought new confirmation of the need of putting into practise the policy we put forward, the party has been compelled to mark

time on one spot by a leadership more concerned about maintaining its prestige and the "infallibility" of its policies than in adjusting them to suit the needs of the class struggle and the interests of

the movement. The Party on the Mine Strike

Now, driven to speak out by the sermine strike has developed, the Political Bureau of the Communist party has issed a long declaration in the Daily Worker, which describes more openly than

gone back by the thousands, under the movements that have swept thousands of pressure of terror or lacking faith in the strike's possibilities; the endeavors to spread the strike have thus far pro-The dangers arise out of the disunity, duced the most meager results. What do the party leaders propose as a remedy? Not a single serious step that has not been advocated up to now: spread the strike, intensify relief, fight the Muste-

> All this is very good, except that the militants in the mine fields are not told how this is to be done to secure different results from those obtained with the

> methods pursued up to now. One small "concession", which remains a pure phrase when taken with the whole party policy, is made in the correct direction by the belated proposal to "organize our opposition and fight for our program inside the U. M. W. A. locals no matter if controlled by the open Lewis machine or by the various Musteite elements". But this is far from enough.

While one of the criticisms made is that of "Insufficient reliance in the united front", the statement does not give one other word to this immensely important problem. The strike of the independent West Virginia Miners Union is not even mentioned. The semi-inde-

pendent Kentucky strike is not referred to. Yet they are in some respects the key to the situation. To give new courious state in which the Pennsylvania age, new heart, new vigor and militancy to the miners strike it is necessary to unite all the autonomous movements-Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia (north and south) Illinois, etc.,-in a single front. Not one of these movements can carry on successfully by itself. The prime necessity, therefore, is for the N. M. U. to take the initiative to address the organizations conducting the other strikes and rebel movements with the proposals for a joint conference to unify them all. This, together with agitation in the ranks everywhere to have the workers exercize pressure upon their leaders, is the first real step towards a genuine united front, desperately needed by the miners.

> When the Stalinist leaders fail to take this step, as they have up to now in spite of the fact that it does not diverge for an instanst from the policies recommended by the early congresses of the

April April 92.860.7 In 54 manufacturing industries in (Continued on page 2)

#### themselves from the economic crisis which they and their system have brought about---at the expense of the working class, by whose toil and sweat alone they are able to subsist. What Is the Situation of the Workers

At This Juncture?

ialist, neither has it yet demonstrated from which it emanated. No other fate that it can be an effective Left pro- is reserved for the petty bourgeois polgressive American party.

"The Communist party in the United independent existence on the basis of the States today suffers from a mechanical workers' dissatisfaction with the social dictation from outside which severely democracy and a parasitic criticism of handicaps it in dealing with the American the blunders of official Communism. The new party-if it can be dignified situation. It does not have its roots primarily in the American soil. It has by such a designation---is already having pursued a divisive and sectarian policy its troubles. The socialist partners of in the trade unions. It has abandoned the C. P. L. A., including the "Left wing any honest effort to build a mass labor militants" are already making barely party. It talks a fantastic and docconcealed threats to withdraw their suptrinaire language which American workto establish a rival to the S. P. The ers do not understand. It overreaches "revolutionary-reformist" party of Musteitself and tries to impose a Communist Lore-Miller-Salutsky and Co. is being dogmatism on the workers, rather than born under luckless auspices which algaining their confidence and developing their initiative by giving them a realistic ready determine its slender and brief and democratic leadership in their daily future. We shall return to other phases struggles." of the question on another occasion.

New York.

The Socialist party is too discredited for these homeless Centrists, and they proceed to say so as politely as possible the Communist party is too revolutionary for them and as is the custom of these people, they conceal this petty hourgeois fear of the revolutionary movement be. To the comrades of the Militant. hind weasel words about foreign dicta-

tion, sectarianism (which to them does Dear Comrades: not mean an isolationist policy so much as an intransigeance in principle) and munist Left Opposition with gigantic lack of realism. The Muste leaders tasks. Although the situation is objectherefore propose to organize a party tively favorable for the development of oscillation between the two basic forces within the modern labor movement; the reformist and the revolutionary. But the purpose of this new movement is not danger that the revolutioanry process merely that. Only a blind man can fail to see that ever new sections of the workers are moving today, however only for the revolutionary movement of our country but for the whole world. slowly or unevenly, towards Communism. They are the most militant and conscious These dangers have their origin in causes of various kinds: in the influence exersections of the class. That the leadercized in our movement by anarcho-syn- while, it has met with an excelship of the official Communist party and

their policies do not facilitate this move dicalism, in the strength that the Socialist party still has in certain points, ists, cannot reach the masses dirment in their direction, is another matof Spain, and above all in the extreme ter, but it does not remove the fact that feebleness of Spanish Communism and the movement is there.

the disastrous policy of the Internation-To imagine that the new Musteite party is being organized for the purpose al. In reality, there is no Communist of accelerating this movement in the party in Spain. There exist various facdirection of revolutionary channels and tions that fight each other and lack, against reformism ("Yes," said Muste with the exception of our own, ideoloin reply to a question, "it is intended gical cohesion. Under these circum among the masses. This is a question that this party be an anti-reformist and stances, the constitution of a powerful revolutionary party.")---is not to under- Communist party is urgently imposed tion. The lack of funds prevents us from stand anything about the role of these upon us. But this will be impossible carrying out this work. The publication cople in the labor movement. In without a clear policy, capable of tak- of the review has already involved enortimes, they were barely dis- ing advantage of the inevitable discon. | mous sacrifices on the part of the mili- Street, New York, N. Y. iet"

sive and militant in its struggle against American "section" will follow the first racketeering. militarism. It is not out-and-out Soc- back into the camp of social democracy gineered and contrived by Hillman and course have been made.) These shops iticians who attempt to eke out a brief

the organized clothing manufacturers for are mostly shops owned by the members the purpose of bolstering the New York of the New York Manufacturers Exchange market through lowering production costs who according to Hillman, have always Blackguards and Assistants

(See my article in the Militant, July 11.) agreed to the terms of the new agree-The campaign was well prepared, the ment.

"strike" staged in accordance with the The workers who have remained on plans laid out and having met no in-"strike" are those who worked for the terference by any forces inside or out- independent firms which subotaged on side the A. C. W. organization, will be union standards and sent out their work carried out to the satisfaction of Sidney to out of town places.

Hillman the New York Manufacturers Considering, however, the privileges Exchange, and Mayor Walker, and incigiven under the agreement to the orport from the Muste group if it proceeds dentally to the aggrandizement of the ganized manufacturers to reduce wages ignoble prestige of the yellow socialist and even send their work to out of town leaders, Norman Thomas, Louis Wald- shops where standards are lower (even

man, Vladeck, and their ilk. though they operate under a union agree-A New Betraval ment) it is not difficult to predict a

speedy termination of the "strike" and To the clothing workers this "strike" means another betrayal and a sellout una complete victory for Hillman and the der an "Amalgamated agreement". This New York Clothing Manufacturers Ex-

by the masses.

Up to now, we have been confined to

a monthly review, Comunismo, which

lent response among the Commun-

ectly because of its relatively mod-

est distribution and its purely theoreti-

cal character. We need to issue mani-

festos leaflets, weeklys, to have the pos-

sibility to react to all events which are

unfolding here with extraordinary ra-

pidity and to spread our point of view

of life or death for the Spanish revolu-

**A SLANDER!** 

masks Trotsky who, he says, called the

bourgeois press and predicted the speedy fall of Bolshevism, In Yaroslavsky's article is published the reproduction of the first page of the Polish paper to

article. In this connection, they speak once more of renegade etc.

As a matter of fact, I never gave any Gitlow—have been able to make the article on the Five Year Plan to any central issue of the strike the-splitting bourgeois paper with the exception of activities of the Communists and the National Textile Workers Union. By the an interview which I gave at the beginnarrow policy of the party, these gentlening of this year to the Manchester Guardian. The content and the sense of men have been able to cover up their own splitting policies, and, in all likethis interview, emphasizing the enormlihood, under the same covering the A. F. ous successes of socialist methods of of L. leaders will be able to conclude economy and defending the necessity of economy collaboration of England with the strike with the usual disgraceful the U. S. S. R., is in direct and irre- settlement. Here is a tragic instance of what happens when the Left wing concilable contradiction with the articles throws away the banner of unity. Here of the world bourgeois press which base themselves upon fraudulent falsification and upon perversions. Riga and Warsaw have long been laboratories of false information, directed against the U.S. S. R. and against Communism. Probably, my alleged article in the Polish Illustrated Courier was supplied by the same blackguards who at one time manufactured the telegrams on: How Lenin and Trotsky are arresting each other, who subsequently manufactured the "Zinoviev letter", and dozens of other forged documents. To fight against these falsifications in the columns of the bourgeois papers is exceedingly difficult, because most of them cover up each other and are certainly not inclined to fail

their clique higher than the interests of

the Soviet Union. While the counter-

revolutionary blackguards fabricate false

documents and forged articles, the Yaro-

slavskys photograph these documents as

authentic. What then is the political

-L. TROTSKY.

too a rapid turn is demanded of the Left wing. The Daily Worker last week reported that J. Rubin, of the N. T. W. demanded one strike and one committee at a meeting of the A. F. of L. union. What is this to mean? Does it mean that Rubin demanded that all the others join the Rank and File Unity Committee of the N. T. W.? If this is the policy, and everything leads to such a belief, than it is a poor and unfruitful substitute for what is imperatively required. The N. T. W. must propose to the A. F. of L. unions a joint committee to direct the strike! On the joint field of strike

battle, the Left wing will be able to demonstrate to all the strikers whose policy and leadership best suits their out among themselves in order to lend interests. It will be able to spike any assistance to a proletarian revolutionist. attempts of the A. F. of L. leaders to The Messrs. Yaroslavskys know this get another "Marion settlement". very well, but they hold the interests of

The Left wing must snatch the banner of unity away from the Mustes and Gitlows, the anti-Communist baiters who use the banner as a cover for their own splitting actions. The danger confronting the two big strike movements must be overcome immediately. The disrele of the Yaroslavskys? Assistants to credited theories and practises of Stalinism have become an obstacle in the path of development. The obstacle must be kicked aside so that the movement can proceed further on its road. -S.

Communism and for the preparation of spite of the difficulties under which we the victory of the proletariat there is the are fighting, we have already achieved historical mission that devolves upon it The cause of the Spanish revolution is in recent times very satisfactory re-

> Hoping that our request will find a swift and favorable response among the American comrades, I send my fraternal and Communist greetings.

Your comrade, ANDRES NIN.

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We wish to acknowledge the follow ing receipts for the Spanish Left Opposition Press Fund: M. Engel, 1.00-Brown, 1.00-Ralph Heller, 1.00-B. J. Field, 4.00-Bronx Street Meeting Collection, 3.15-CLEVELAND: Fred Fisher, 1.00: Albrecht Viewey .05-A. M. Giotzer, .50 ---I. Stone and J. Paul, 1.00---Total last week, 10.00-Grand Total to date: \$22.70. All funds should be sent to comrade

bourgeois blackguards-one cannot define this role otherwise. A. Gonzales, c-o The Militant, 84 E. 10th Kadikoy, July 8, 1931

With little change, the same holds true In Pravda of July 2, Yaroslavsky unfor the textile strikes, particularly in

Paterson, where we have the saddening Five Year Plan a "deception" in the picture of two strikes, under two organizations, with two separate systems of activity. The stubborn stupidity of Stalinist policy in this case has created the

anomalous situation where the whole which, it is claimed, Trotsky sent his crew of Right wing and reformist leaders of the A. F. of L .- from Matthews to Norman Thomas to Muste to Mr. Ben

Comintern, they are sacrificing the living interests of the movement for the sake of the dead letter of their dogmatic formulae.

#### The Paterson Strike

Andres Nin Calls for the Spanish Opposition Press tentment that will not be long in devel- (tants. It is absolutely necessary that oping among the broad popular masses the comrades of the other countries of the country, deceived by republican- should lend us their aid. The assistance The unusual situation through which ism, in order to win them to our cause of the American comrades could be inour country is passing presents the Com- and to lead the proletariat to the con- valuable in this sense. That is why we think that The Militant might open up a quest of power. It is obvious that this subscription in its columns for the benecan be achieved only under the banner of the Communist Left Opposition. In fit of the Spanish Opposition in order that it should be able to accomplish the

that has begun may end in a miscarriage sults. But these would be infinitely the cause of the revolutionary proletarthat will have fatal consequences not greater were we to have the possibility iat of every country. of making our voice heard more directly

# IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements



PAGE 2

THE SUCCESSES IN ANDALUSIA A few days before the elections, the director of aviation, Major Franco, arrived in Andalusia. The hero of Spanish aviation, the December rebel, is not in agreement with the work which the Provisional government is doing. He thinks that the government of Zamora is betraying the revolution. He has said so although many believe that what separates Franco from the government is a question of personal ambition. From

the bourgeois point of view, Franco is right. He made sacrifices, he fought to have the bourgeois republic triumph. In return, he was merely named head of he should have been named generalissimo of the army at the same time. It was a mistake of the Zamora government to sacrifice Franco. That is why the major—a deputy today—rebelled. Two

days before the elections, he delivered a very violent speech in Seville against the government. Following an accident that occurred at the theater where the meeting was held, Franco was seriously wounded. The following day, for the sent to Seville General Saujurge-exmonarchist, chief of the civil guard during the dictatorship-and chief of the

civil guard of the republic. He immerepublic. Franco denied the facts and a question of proclaiming the free reit was an election maneuver by Maura.

In actuality Franco endeavored to employ a radical language and perhaps he was preparing an adventure in order, by captivating the sympathies of the Andalusian workers and peasants, to gain a question: Class collaboration or class number of deputy's seats for himself and struggle? Green's agreement with the for his friends. Maura, who saw in it bosses, faithfully carried out by hima danger for the seats of his own friends, concocted a conspiracy, hoping in this finger to put the A. F. of L. workers in manner to draw to himself the sympathy of public opinion for his alleged zeal. THE ELECTIONS

#### The elections to the Constituent have taken place. Its salient feature has been the defeat of the republican liberal Right, the party led by Zamora and Maura. The regionalist elements triumphed in Galicia in Guipuzcea and in alonia by Macia's separatists is immense. Macia finds himself placed before the obligation to realize his separatist promises and to attack the Spanish government, or else to betray the interests of the people who supported him.

For many weeks, numerous political

THE ARTICLE ON BRITAIN The pressure of space has compelled us to omit from this issue of the Militant the article by comrade Arne Swabeck in his series on the situation in England. The article will appear in the next issue.

Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation which did not seek to propose the united front of Spanish Communism before the elections. Madrid, June 30, 1931

-HENRI LACROIX.



(Continued rfom page 1) cluding textiles, clothing, etc., unemployment increased 16.7 per cent and payrolls decreased 24.6 percent. Aggregate figures involving more than 5 million aviation. Franco no doubt thought that workers, show that between March and April this year alone, payrolls dropped 1.5 percent as compared with a 0.2 percent drop in employment.

Everywhere we see constant growth of joblessness, continual decrease in wages. No matter how great the ravages of unemployment are, or rather because of them, the men on the job suffer the onslaught upon their conditions just as well. Unemployment and wage cuts go hand in hand. The wide disproportion elections, the minister of the interior between the figures for employment decreases and payroll drops display this convincingly.

This is how things stand today with the American working class. What of diately discharged Franco and other mili- Green's agreement with the bosses at tary men who were his friends. He im- the Hoover Round Table Conference of prisoned them and charged them with a 1929 the worker in the A. F. of L. is conspiracy against the government of the bound to ask himself. And if he considers these figures seriously, there can the minister of the interior Maura, re be no doubt left in his mind, that this leased them; Maura declared that it was whole sorry business of "peaceful" agreements with the bosses is a sham and a public of Andaulsia, while they say that fraud and that the only result it achieves is: giving the capitalists a chance to gather their forces and throw the workers

off guard. The workers in the reformist trade unions are confronted today by the burning self-he has not raised as much as a motion against the cloud burst of wageslashing threatening them-and quite of insecurity towards the dominant sys naturally disregarded by the bosses,

should teach them a sound lesson in class politics. That they will awaken from the dark years of lethargy, brought about by the "prosperity" ruse is certhe Communists, the front rank fighters party doing? of the proletariat, properly to size up the situation and to act accordingly. We know that the bosses in the steel

ands of workers in their employ. But they are wary. The company (U. S. Steel Corporation), we read in the is preparing may be the commencement Times, on July 30, 1931," does not contemplate any movement for the reduction of wage scales covered by contracts with organized labor at this stage." Notice: "with organized labor" and "at saw, the petty bourgeoisie voted for the this stage" The wages of the unorgansocialists, and some groups of the big ized have already undergone a good cut, bourgeoisie, who see in the socialists a that is visible from the figures we quoted above. And why not "at this stage" Because the steel bosses know the sentiment of struggle among the workers only too well. Because the coal industry, in which a fierce struggle, extending over Pennsylvania and Ohio, the steel centers, a strike struggle led by the milisocialist radicals, even though divided at tant National Miners' Union, is already the last moment into many groups, each on. Because the steel kings fear the solmore radical than the other, received a idarity of the steel workers with the who had no confidence in the divided signal for strikes on a nation-wide scale. The exploiters in the C. S. Steel and of the National Miners' Union and of the official Communist party know their's, they will strive with might and main fo extend the strike and to stop sabotaging the Leninist united front tactic.

## G E R M A N Y

The Impotence of the Communist Party in Face of the Crisis

Hardly ten days have passed since the | little towards mending the mistakes of announcement of the Hoover moratorthe past, towards winning the social ium and already a violent accentuation democratic workers to the common strugof the political and economic crisis in gle.

Germany has manifested itself. All the prophecies of the bourgeois and social Leaders

democratic press on the advent of a new era-diminution of the economic crisis and a new rise in a short time-not only in Germany but throughout the world, have vanished.

The crash of one of the largest banks -the Danat-gave the signal to the financial bankruptcy of Germany. All the attempts of the Bruening government to stop the financial catastrophe by international loans have up to now had no success. Up to now Luther's mission has fulfilled but one object: to hold back for three months the payment of the 100,000,000 in credit payable on July 15. The French bourgeoisie which has deliherately prolonged the negotiations on the moratorium in order to deliver a heavy blow to the German bourgeoisie

in exchange for the suspension of reparations payments, is obviously far from ready to consent to loans to Germany without political guarantees. The near future will show if the German bourgeoisie will once more be forced to give up its imperialist attempts. The

renunciation of the customs union, of the construction of the armored cruiser means to push the German bourgeoisie back in its imperialist endeavors. Among the working masses, panic has taken the place of discounted illusions. The small savers start a run on the saving banks and other bank, which a

Bruening decree had closed until Thursday. The experiences of the inflation days are still very vivid in the minds of all. Every worker who has made little economics out of his wages or allotments knows that he will be expropriated just

as in the inflation time up to 1923. The warnings of the bourgeois and social democratic press, seeking to prevent the workers from withdrawing their savings, have had no success. The feeling tem recalls 1923.

### What Is the Party Doing?

The Rote Fahne is prohibited, the headquarters of the party, the Karl Liebknecht House is occupied by the police tain. Can they be harnessed together The bourgeoisie is afraid of a reactionwith the rest of the workers for effective ary insurrection, it takes its measuresclass action-this depends upon another the reactionary pressure against the Catalonia. The success obtained in Cat-important factor: Upon the ability of party grows more acute. What is the

The present situation in Germany, the domination of the Bruening government, resembles, if one wishes to make a hisindustry are prepared to cut the pay torical parallel, the situation at the time bility of disciplining union officers for "fight" against the racketeers. As reof every one of the hundreds of thou- of the Cuno government. It is clear e, provided however there were that the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, as compared with 1923, is not in favor of the proletariat. Nevertheless, the confusion and the insecurity of the bourcontracts." geoisie and the petty bourgeoisie the loss of confidence in the miracles and of all possible difficulties and disputes magic means of democracy on the part of the social democratic workers, shows us a strong resemblance to 1923. Still more, the social democratic workers have gone through a great number of experiences which prove to them that the democratic republic will not lead them to socialism. Since the epoch of the Mueller their conditions. It is no wonder that troducing the most intricate schemes of government, their standard of living has been falling rapidly. And the coming perspective shows them not the resurreetion of the Weimar constituton, but the advance of Fascism, the eventuality of facturers, will be the ones to benefit large number of workers' votes, of work- striking miners and because it is well a viotory from this side. The last hopes in the end. Those who will lose are adopted by the officialdom. They, thereknown that a steel strike will be the of the social democratic workers inspired by the Hoover moratorium, have tematically betrayed by the Hillman bur- that they would get back their wage vanished much more quickly than might eaucracy. Bethlehem corporations are waiting for have been foreseen. The social demtold, even if less so than they had hoped. the collapse of the miners' strike. They ocratic worker begins to understand that know their strategy. And if the leaders in this republic he has only his chains to lose. Fascism which, in 1923, hastened to place in the present "strike". But the go over to the insurrection, hesitates today. It is uncertain about the issue of the struggle. The elections to the factory councils and the proletarian manicontinue to miss opportunities, or will festation on May 1 have proved to it fining his attacks on the outside racketthey begin to employ the united front that the German working class is not eers who protect the non-union shops. at all prepared as yet to suffer its dom- But even in regards to these his fervor labor movement and unites the fighting ination. Today, Fascism would prefer seemed to have been greatly modified. to see itself represented by a coalition government. The only force that could utilize the present situation is the Communist party. of evolution. After all, racketeering is the party leadership and the unwarrant-NATURA CZARANI WANICZARA PROVINCIA NA KZANICKA PRA CZARA PROVINCI ZA KARANI KRACZA PRA CZARA PROVINCIA PROZINA PRA CZARA PROVINCIA P And yet it is doing nothing for the mom- a business and as such is subject to ed changes of policies the organization ent. Where is the political strike about principles governing all business enterwhich the Centrists babbled for years? prises and can only be combatted on ated has not yet even begun. It was not Why can't our party organize and pro- that ground. It is evident that the racclaim today the political strike, drive out keteers are in a position to compete with the Bruening government and lead the the A. C. W. in the business of supply. Left wing could have exerted a great working class to struggle? Here come ing cheap labor to manufacture. The to light the deplorable results of the result is-loss of ground for the union. for a wide movement in the A. C. W. "third period", which certain capitula- A way must be found to put the racket- and regained the lost confidence of the they have completely obscured the goal tors of the youngest generation would eers out of business. True, it is not so masses. This opportunity, however, has and the ideological physiognomy of the like to forget so quickly. We are face easy. Racketeering is well organized been missed. Despite the favorable ob- Left wing for fear of being disclosed as a to face with a historically tragic fact and protected by politicians and upholdthat, on the one hand, there is indeed a ers of the law. It is next to impossible strongly rising radicalization of the soc- to get rid of them. They are not even to ial democratic workers and of the work- be reached. But the gangsters that are gree to develop a rank and file moveing class as a whole, while on the other in their employ can be arrested and pro- ment in the A. C. W. In some respects not be able to grapple with any great hand, there still exists the great distrust secuted. That will increase the cost of their policies are not correct even now. of the social democratic workers towards racketeering and manufacturers will not In their reversal of the old "third perthe party, egged on by "social fascism" be in a position to enjoy its "services". iod" policy the party leadership hit the But more about this and about the cliqu But the present policy of the Central It will simply "not pay". It will be other extreme. In their endeavor to fights in the Amalgamated in my Committee of our party contributes very cheaper to deal with the Amalgamated pose as a pure rank and file movement article.

The Party and the "Left" Socialist

The Rosenfelds, Seydewitzes and Stroebels are exploiting the fighting moods of the socialist workers. The "Left" socfalist leaders have issued an "exhortation to the party" in which they take up a position against the tolerance policy of their Central Committee. The Right winger, Sollmann, replied to them in Vorwaerts by saying that one must finally "speak in a clear tongue" to the leaders of this faction. The general political and economic crisis of Germany is

reflected in the sharpened contrast between the social democratic bureaucracy and its workers. It is this situation which the "Left" wing leaders exploit in order to halt the departure of the socialist workers towards Communism. What is the Central Committee of our party hoing? Instead of making proposals for a united front to Rosenfeld. Seydowitz and Stroebel on the basis of fighting demands, in order to put them against the wall, to unmask their real position before the eyes of the workers Thaelmann conducts secret negotiations with the leaders of the "Left", he in vites them to come to the Communist party, he promises them . . . internal democracy and places in the Central Committee and even a unity congress

if they are ready to join the party. There is the real face of Centrism. It problems openly before the working class. tiations behind the scenes appear to it battle.



(Continued rfom page 1) stoppages at the conferences with the manufacturers:

"President Hillman expressed himself as quite in agreement with the exchange that stoppages should not occur and industrial processes should not be interrupted while an agreement is in force is even willing to conceive of the feasi- explains the diminished vigor of his

to be the tested method. But it is not in this way that the workers still in the ranks of the Social Democratic party will come to Communism. It is the duty of our party to approach the Left wing socialist workers. Let us give them the opportunity to recognize by experience their Left wing leaders.

The party must address itself to the leaders of the "Left" with a program of struggle. They claim to fight against

the Bruening government, they must of struggle in which their slogan "Down with the Bruening government!" is put forward side by side with a series of slogans understandable by all the work-

ers and touching their vital interests. Such a program cannot become the object of secret negotiations, but it must become in the factories, in the trade unions and in all the proletarian meetings. the axis of the discussion and the or ganization of the common struggle. If the Central Committee of our party intended under present circumstances to launch the party alone into an isolated

and hopeless struggle, it would mean the ruin of the party, the complete enfeeblement of the revolutionary vanguard for years.

The class contradictions will grow even more acute in Germany. The bourgeoisic will go over openly to the oppression of the revolutionary working class. The prohibition of our party is bilities. We know that the Centrists you must condemn the accused very sevhave already spoken for three years erely. What the Communist party has about the coming prohibition of the Communist party. They will now be able to say that they were right. But that is done by the organization of the Bolshenot what is involved. All measures must be taken for the passing over into illegality. The party must not be caught unawares.

Whatever may be the maneuvers undertaken by the German bourgeoisie in or; der to maintain its positions, one thing is incontestable: It is laughing at the has forgotten how to pose the political masses now. The policy of brigandage of exile. will continue. It will not be so easy Proposals for the united front to lead for the social democratic and the nationthe masses to struggle are too much to al socialist parties to hold back the the "Right" for it; on the contrary, nego- masses. Our party must be ready for



Hillman's "efficiency unionism" and de serves therefore, our recognition. It is clear from this that Hillman's role in the fight against the racketeers and while machinery exists for the ad- has greatly diminished. Mayor Walker justments of all possible difficulties and will receive most of the credit. Hillman disputes (underlined by me. A O.) He lost his chance for another medal. That of Towich origin with a second date of the congress, a Bulgarian officer,

In Greece

**Repression** Against the Opposition

Tuesday evening, from 7 to 12:30 the trials of comrade Oreozil (Anna Carsi) and comrade Tsonndas took place. Afprove that they agree with the program ter the questioning of the witnesses, mainly agents of the police, who heaped up slanders and lies without end, the tribunal listened, amid interruptions, to comrade Oreozil, who flung back the accusation of propaganda that had been marged to her by saying that as a member of the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists, she had the obligation and the duty to work with all her power for the liberation of the proletariat. In the same spirit spoke comrade Tsonndas emphasizing his devotion to the proletarian cause.

Thereupon, the prosecutor of the republic took the floor and spoke at length about the Archio-Marxist organization and of the danger the hourgeois is running if it is allowed to progress in the formation of cadres. "This organization", he added, "is the real enemy of capitalism, because it is constituted out of conscious and devoted revolutionists. capable of giving their last drop of blood more than ever in the order of possi- for the cause they embrace and as such, not done and is unable to do, lacking absolutely in ideological level, will be vik-Leninists."

The defense attorneys then spoke showing that the accused only did their duty as Communists and that they hold their heads high before the class tribunal.

Our comrades were each sentenced to a year and a half in prison and 2 years

The courtroom was filled with young comrades of our organization which forced the police and the detectives to intensify the terror and the police measures.

#### Anti-Semitic Disturbances in Salonika

Greek capitalism, reduced to extremities, is falling upon the minorites. At the present moment, it is the Jewish minority which gets the role of scapegoat. The "patriotic" fury of the nationalist organizations was unleashed against the Jewish element of Salonika which is accused of being in connivance with the Bulgarian Macedonian Committee for the autonomy of Macedonia.

In actuality, a Jewish sport organization, the Maccabees, had sent a certain person as presentative of the Groek Maccabees to Sofia last year to the congress of the Maccablad. It seems that at the speech showing the need of autonomy willfully interfering with the industrial gards the racketeers inside the union, applauded, although he understood nothfor Macedonia. And our representative

conspiracies have been unfolding in Catalonia. The moderate statute which Macia of the betrayal.

The socialists won 130 seats, more than they hoped for; they are the most numerous group in the chamber. As we foreparty of order, also voted for the social traitors.

The radical party of the minister of foreign affairs Lerroux, was highly successful. The bourgeoisie divided its votes among the "Lerrouxists", the socialists, and the republican liberal Right. The ers discontented with the socialists and groups of the Communist party. The socialist radicals were successfu, all Their last minute divisions were one of the reasons for it.

The "official" Communists received more than 50 000 votes, although they have no seat in the chamber. The Workers' and Peasants' Bloc led by Maurin, obtained 10,000 votes at Madrid and Baroelona. It has no influence in the rest of Spain.

Had the Spanish Communist Party presented itself unitedly, it is probable There lies the principal responsibility of The time to decide is today. the Stalinist bureaucrats and also of the

We ask again: Will the party leaders

tactic which drives the fakers out of the that it would have won many seats. masses with their Communist vanguard?

-SAM GORDON.

## **PICNIC AND RALLY** For the Spanish Revolutionary Movement

The heroic and militant battle which the Spanish workers are carrying on today will be celebrated at a picnic organized by the New York branch of the Communist League (Opposition). All New York militants are invited to join with it at the picnic and rally to aid the Spanish Left Opposition to carry on more effectively its struggle for the Spanish proletarian revolution. The affair will take place on

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9, 1931 at TIBBETTS BROOK PARK Speaker on the Left Opposition and the Spanish Revolution Games - Races - Rowing - Ball Playing Directions: Jerome Avenue-Woodlawn subway to end of the line. Hike or take street car or bus to the Park. Picnic is at Plot No. 8.

checking of employers' attempts to dis- the A. C. W. regard the stipulations of the existing The agreement provides for settlement

by a machinery established for that purof wages and under the prevailing comworkers have no guarantees whatsoever unrestricted and unlimited lowering of or by connivance with the bosses, is in-

Exchange has been giving its heartiest

plans for the unionization of the New York market has been given prominent

carried on has somewhat shifted. Hillman does not speak any more of the racketeering inside the union and is con-He does not foresee any immediate sweeping "victory" over the racketeers,

et us hope the fight is not over yet. effective provisions for the checking of These racketeers will some day have to employers' attempts to disregard the give an account to the membership of

What did the workers expect from this "strike"? The workers had very good reasons to welcome a real strike. Their conditions in the shops are deplorable. Unemployment is rampant. nose. In the absence of minimum scales | Wage cuts are a daily occurence. Work is then taken out of their shops to be petition among the different sections, the made up at lower prices. Competition between union shops has ruined all deagainst adverse settlements and even cent standards. The officialdom, openly

the New York Clothing Manufaturcers rationalization. The workers are subjected to abject slavery. A real strike cooperation in Hillman's "strike" and held out a great promise for them. They in his other campaigns. They the manu- have had no strike for over a decade since the policy of cooperation has been the clothing workers who have been sys. fore, voted for the strike in the hope of common criminals upon the Israelite cuts and improve their conditions. Hill-

The fight against the racketeers who man made them promises of a 10 perhave been interfering with Hillman's cent increase in wages, of bringing the sides. The police who usually show a "bundles" back from the out of town shops and establish control in the New York shops. True, they had little conground on which this "fight" has been fidence in the Hillman bureaucracy, but knowing no other power that could help them in their distress they vaguely hoped for some relief from the strike. But they were disappointed. They will

now have to do a bit of thinking. What part did the Left wing play in the "strike"? The influence of the Left wing organized in the Rank and File Committee in the "strike" has been neglibut leaves it rather to the slow process gible. Due to the numerous errors of of the Left wing forces in the Amalgampossible to expect any results for the

Left wing in this "strike". But the ideological influence, laid a foundation

ing, not knowing Bulgarian.

Recently, certain bourgeois journals of Salonika alluded to the last congress, asserting that the Maccabees are Bulgarian agents and that the whole Jewish minority is of about the same caliber. This was the tocsin. A band of reactionary students distributed leaflets invited the Greeks to boycott the Jews. Pretty soon, it came to blows and the police did all within their power to arrest the Jews and let the students escape.

In the meantime, a violent campaign of the bourgeois papers, aimed to sow dissension among the two elements in order to distract their attention from the economic crisis, was opened up. First there was the looting and destruction by a band of madmen of the Maccabee hall. Then, attacks by veritable gangs suburbs, inhabited by poor families and bread-winners. Veritable scenes of fury unfolded, with many wounded on both remarkable zeal in the pursuit and assassination of revolutionary workers, always arived at the last moment. Monday evening, numerous nationalist gangs led by a monstrous attack upon the suburb of Campbell, at the eastern end of the city. After looting, this people caliing themselves "patriots" put fire to the institution inhabited by widows and orphans. As usual, the police and the army were unable to re-establish "order" until after the event.

The reactionary leaders of the Jewish community only urged the Jews to a "laudable calm and passivity". Counting upon their natural allies, the Hellenic bourgeoisie and the authorities, they did not permit the Jews to defend themselves.

Salonika, July 3, 1931

-OPPOSITIONIST.

jective conditions and the Rank and File Communist movement. Their new policy Committee'e correct slogans in this of "no politics" in the trade unions is "strike", it has not succeeded to any de- bound to doom them to impotence. Besides, the Rank and File Committee will movement given its own weak forces. This serious error must be corrected.

-ALBERT ORLA

# **DISCUSSION ARTICLES**

## The Party and the Opposition's Tasks

(Continued from last issue) ous Federations that had been connected To go back into the "company unions" Party. The first few years of the party's slogan of "destroying the company unexistence were to a large extent taken ions", only to renew tomorrow the "unhand a systematic attempt to raise the probably the most fruitful in the whole of official socialism, absolutely innocent spite the party's claims have not beof any theory, and on the other, the need come "reactionary", who have not forof lifting the party into open political gotten the lessons of the struggles work. The whole character of the party taught them by the Left wing is a unifor the first four years of its existence was seriously colored by a semi-con- on any question concerning their status spiratory nature which was the out- in the every day struggle. growth of the post war governmental persecutions.

#### The I. W. W.

The native proletarian elements who cept the gage of battle some 25,000 to at that time still centered around the I. 30000 workers carried on a struggle for W. W. were at first neglected by this a half a year. This strike partook of rising movement. It was not until 1919 all the sharpness so characteristic of and again 1921 that a definite effort American labor battles. After this proover the heads of the American Com- tracted struggle the collective party wismunist leadership was made. The ef- dom could find no better road than to fort emanated directly from an appeal hand these workers over bag and bagby the Communist International signed gage to the A. F. of L. fakers, to disby Zinoviev asking the I. W. W. to join sipate and demoralize. The party's inin the creation of a unified Commun-fluence in Passaic, New Bedford (where ist movement. By this time the I. W. a strike took place two years ago involv-W. had degenerated to a very large ex ing almost as many workers as Passaic), tent. In a great measure this was is reported by Manuilsky at the recent caused by the removal of its previous R. I. L. U. conference as having reached leadership by governmental prosecution a practical loss of all influence. and imprisonment and the entry of anarchistic elements into some of the embracing some 3 to 400,000 workers leading positions. The clumsy maneu- spread over the principal mining centers vering and awkard machinations of some of the country. For two years while of the party elements sent in "to capture, this struggle was waxing sharper and or destroy the I. W. W." also helped. sharper, the party's press and spokes-The result of this whole process was man, hardly mentioned the fact of its that the most invaluable revolutionary existence. This policy of evasion was elements, trained for years in sharp finally brought to a head by the strike struggles, were eliminated from the of miners in Colorado carried on unmovement. At no time before the very der the auspices of the I. W. W. Out recent period could the I. W. W. be of this strike grew a nation wide agiclassified in the same general political tation for relief and defense. The party category as classical European syndical- pounced upon this movement as a godism. Here the petty bourgeois philoso send through which they could somehow phy of sabotage and all its kindred enter into the neglected mine fields. manifestations never assumed command- They immediately started a general reing influences. The worst that can be lief movement which for intensity and said about the I. W. W. is that it lacked thoroughness in a considerable fashion Marxian understanding. Yet with sound covered up its previous neglect. One class instincts, it raised all its strug- thing we must remember in connection gles into open political actions. Every with the miner's struggle. From its strike led by the I. W. W. soon trans- inception it took on the character of a cended the mere momentary gains and struggle, not only against the mine assumed a general class character.

It was not until 1923 that the Communist movement became a serious face eaucracy. Instead of raising the badly tor in American political life. At this time the party made its first attempt all the fakers," the purging of the unat active participation in the prevailing ion of all undesirable elements and a class struggle. The organization of the real fight against the bosses, here insult T. U. E. L. as a center for co-ordinating was heaped upon injury by an unprinthe activities of the Left wing workers in the existing trade union movement tionary who momentarily spouted Left was launched. A number of correct phrases. Out of this grew the famous slogans were raised: "To broaden out movement of unpleasant memories, the the base of existing unions by amalga- "Save the Miners Union Movement." mation; the breaking down of the estab- After this adventure the party organized tion stage to socialism. lished narowing craft divisions the age a brand new union "t

sults of this wild adventurism is that working class history as a most heroic launched, the Marine Workers Industrial The Communist party came on the from a following of 50,000, the Indus- and bitterly contested struggle. This un- Union. Mink, Sparks and such kindred scene in 1918-19 following on the heels trial today commands a membership ion also went to smash, this time as a lik who had no knowledge of the indusof the October revolution. The basic which is variously estimated from 3500 result of the characteristic muddlehead- try were picked as the chosen leaders. elements the party recruited from were to 1500. To finish this devasting picture edness of syndicalist leadership. In 1928, Most of the militants who entered into foreign workers, members of the numer- of decline a new policy is being evolved. the party organized the Marine Workers the union were upt converged Communfor years with the American Socialist for the purpose of there raising the York harbor. The purpose of this club the task of organizing under the conup with preparatory work. On the one ited front" from above. This field was neded union (Andrew Furseth once said put up with all the impositions of the ideological level of the general member- party's existence. The general attitude ed, it could organize the Marine Workship which had come out of the ranks of the needle trades workers who de- ers into a fighting union".) This club a bare year's existence cannot even be versal distrust of the party leadership

2. The next outstanding event was the Passaic strike where despite the slowness of the party leadership to ac-

3. There had been a miners' strike operators but also against their lieutenants, the United Mine Workers burneeded slogan of a "clean sweep with cipled alliance with every rag-tag reac-

### THE MILITANT large port on both coasts. After the '21 this point the struggle between Foster strike this tremendous strength was dis- and Lovestone sharpened as a result of sipated. Two years later the Marine which the opportune time for launching Transport Workers of the I. W. W. could a union was deferred for years, A contruthfully claim a membership of from vention was held a year and half ago 25 to 30,000. Some brilliant strikes were which in composition contained the fincaried on, of which San Pedro, Calif., est representation seen in many a year bids well to go down into the annals of at a Marine convention. A union was

International Club on South Street New ists, yet they were willing to undertake was to coordinate Left wing sentiments trolling leadership of the R. I. L. U. This with the object of launching a much was not to be. Elements who would not that "if the Salvation Army was so mindbureaucracy were not desirable. The Marine Workers Industrial Union after classified as a skeleton. The best elewas no sooner organized than it began to draw around its fold all the leading ments have been driven out or mechmilitants in the industry. These were anically eliminated. Here too, the party's men who through 10 or 15 years of the influence is practically non-existent, war and post-war period had gone where it is not totally discredited. through a history of organized struggle.

They were well trained militants. At

(To Be Continued)

the revisionist policies upon which

in the process of this struggle.

-S. M. ROSE.

Education and the Young Communists In the program of the Young Commun-| ganized in accordance with these fundaist International adopted at its Fifth mental ideas. The Rights and the Cen-Congress its character as an educational organization is affirmed. Despite this the party. In the Soviet Union they are correct programmatic statement, the gradually dissolving the party in the written contributions, comrades should Young Communist Leagues do not fulfill this function. For them to do so would ments unqualified to be in the vanguard mean to come into conflict with the (whole factories joining en masse). In ruling regime in the Cmintern.

The members of the Y. C. L. do not understand the educational nature of admission of elements who do not postheir organization. For them its whole sess the proper prerequisites for mempurpose is expressed in the simple for- bership. Democratic centralism has been mula: to win the youth for the strug- eliminated. The proletarian wing has gle against capitalism. The vanguard been expelled. The apparatus has usrole of the party and how the Y. C. L. urped the functions of the party. Burcontributes to the creation of this vaneaucratism reigns supreme. guard is not understood by them, although they may know formally that the party is supposed to be the vanguard of and lines of the apparatus which must the class. The formula has no real content for them. The importance of the Marxian vanguard for the success of the revolution has been demonstrated by the victory of the Russian revolution and the defeats of the German and Chinese revolutions. The Young Communist League can help forge the Marxian vanguard only if it functions correctly as the youth necessary. an educational organization. But does

it? Let us restate the problem here: 1. In capitalist society the young worker is intensely exploited. Not only are the needs for his particular physical and mental development which he undergoes during this period completely disregarded, but he is even more burdened than the adult worker. He is compelled to work under worse conditions and receives less wages than the adult worker for the same amount of work. He thus occupies a special position in industry.

2. The Young Communist League is the organization of the working class youth which defends its special interests: unites them with the struggles of the whole working class for the improvement the duty of training the cadres from the of its conditions; and indissolubly merges them with the historic mission of the proletariat for the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transi-

# **Organization** Notes

For the arrangements of our pre-con-, Nevertheless we must say-more speed. ference discussion the National Com-The contributions received since last mittee has decided that it is necessary report were as follows:

to arrange contributions in such a way that they do not exceed two columns per article, but with no restrictions upon the number of contributions which any member may wish to submit. We count in general not on more than one page per issue for discussion. This will also include the publication of the additional theses and resolutions.

Boston br. For those who may at the outset look New York for an analysis and conclusions from the B. J. Field 25.00 1,500 revolutionary developments in Spain, while that was not contained in the main Toronto br. Cleveland draft thesis it will become part of our I. A. Brody 8.00 proposed resolution on developments Minneapolis br. 11.86 within the International and in the Left Kansas City br. 20.00 Opposition.

In taking up this discussion in the various branches the best method will naturally be the one of first taking up the general estimates and the conclusions which the draft thesis presents. Once that is thoroughly understood it becomes easier to take up possible amendments on certain aspects, adding omissions or proposing changes of formutrists have distorted the whole idea of lation if any. In the discussion in general, both within the branches and the class through wholesale admission of elebear in mind that when proceeding somewhat systematically, possibilities are the best for an exhaustive clarification of views. Hence our fundamental political the capitalist countries an analogous process occurs through the indiscriminate views should receive first consideration, that is, discuss first the draft theses. This will then facilitate taking up further the tasks which flow from these fundamental views as well as the tactical questions and organizational problems implied.

#### **Our Recent Activities**

9. In the Y. C. L. the members are The Boston branch has been temnot permitted to criticize the policies porarily reinforced by the arrival of comrade Sam Gordon from New York. He be viewed as infallible. They can only will function there in an organizing capstate whether the "unquestionably coracity, help the branch by speaking at rect" line has been correctly or incormeetings, helping to make contacts and rectly applied. If bureaucratism is disin taking up more effectively the work astrous for the party, it is even a hunwithin the general mass movement. The dred times more so for the Y. C. L. for period of his stay is not definitely deit strikes at the very heart and idea termined but depends upon the possibiliwhich makes a seperate organization of ties as well as the resources available. Comrades Clarke and Stamm have now 10. The future of the Communist youth for a few weeks been very active in movement depends on the struggle Cleveland. Jointly they have been speakagainst the bureaucratic regime and all ing at regular meetings on the Public Square to an ever-increasing and ever rests. This can be done only through more sympathetic audience. They have the road proposed by the Left Opposireported many examples of the eagertion. The cadres from the Communist ness with which assembled workers have youth movement will be educated for listened to explanation of the views of the future regenerated Communist party

the Left Opposition and received our literature. Concretely it has been proven talk about its rehabilitation, but mat-In view of this situation what tasks in an ever increasing literature distri- ters went so far that in the Council of devolve upon the Left Opposition? The bution.

inability of the Young Communist League to fulfill its function because of Stalinon alone in Cleveland while Clarke is Transportation, Professor Lomonossov, ist bureaucratic strangulation imposes an making a tour further west through the made a report to the effect that transmine fields to St. Louis, Mo. There he portation is on the eve of complete and enormous responsibility on the shoulders of the Left Opposition. It must assume will remain for a while and help organize the activities of our branch. It youth for the Communist vanguard. It is the expectations that he will also be transportation, advanced two slogans means that the Opposition must be alert able later to spend a little time in Kan- which had a decisive significance not to the youth question, and devote more sas City, Mo. This is not an organiz- only for transportation but for the whole attention to it than it has in the past. ation tour in the usual sense of the word economy of the country . . . Order 1042 The advance of the Opposition will to but rather one of a footloose active mem- is an historical one. According to it, a large extent be determined on its suc- ber putting in an effort to help build the the locomotives were to be rehabilitated

FRAGMENTS OF TRUTH FROM **UNDER THE GARBAGE OF SLANDER** In 1924, Zinoviev set into circulation

PAGE 3

-1.750

-1,250

-750

-250

2.000-

\$5.00

-4.00

1,000-

500-

Total \$73.86

reported \$1 103.41

to date \$1,177.27

Previously

**Total** 

an accusation against Trotsky for issuing the railroad "Order 1042", which was supposed to have nearly ruined transportation. Upon this canvas, Stalin, Yaroslaysky and Rudzutak embroidered their designs. The legend made its rounds in its day throughout the press of the Comintern. In a letter by Trotsky to the Institute for Party History, the actual coments of Lenin and Dzerzhinsky on Order 1042 and its significance for transportation, are reproduced. But it appears that there is a comment of more recent origin. In the Annual of the Comintern which appeared in 1923, that is, on the eve of the campaign against Trotsky, in an article "The Transport of the R. S. F. S. R. and Its Rehabilitation" the following is said literally:

"At this time, transportaion was completely ruined. There was not only no Labor and Defense a member of the col-Comrade Stamm will henceforth carry legium of the People's Commissariat of unavoidable standstill. Comrade Trotsky, having undertaken the direction of

<text><text><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><form><section-header><text></text></section-header></form></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></text></text>	lished narowing craft divisions; the as-a	brand new union "the National Min-	3 However the need for a sense to	a large extent be determined on its suc-	ber putting in an effort to help build the	the locomotives were to be rehabilitated
<text><text><text><text></text></text></text></text>	sumption of a more definite class char- er	rs Union," this organization trimmed	3. However, the need for a separate	cess in educating youth elements for	Left Opposition in various places. The	within five years. The Communist pro-
<text><text><section-header><form><form><form></form></form></form></section-header></text></text>	acter, and above all the question of or- w	vith all the revolutionary "phrases"	class wouth arises not from its	iuture leadersnip.	results so far have nevertheless been of	
<text><section-header><section-header><section-header><form><form><form></form></form></form></section-header></section-header></section-header></text>	ganizing the unorganized." This move- a	nd despite this contained some of the	class youth arises not from its special	But does this mean that because the	distinct organizational value.	
<text><text><text><text></text></text></text></text>	ment gained such scope that by 1924 be	est known militants amongst the min-	bosicion in industry, but from the pecu-	Y. C. L. is prevented from performing	The Minneapolis branch has made a	
<form><section-header><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></section-header></form>	and 1925 the Left wing organized and e	rs. Within a year's time thanks to	har psychological characteristics of	its real task correctly that the Opposi	record of taking in several new members	
<form><section-header><section-header><form><section-header><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></section-header></form></section-header></section-header></form>		he mechanical manipulation of the	youth. If this were not so, there would	tion ought to ignore the V O I and	during the last couple of months. For	
<form><section-header><section-header><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></section-header></section-header></form>	T. U. E. L. had succeeded in nonetrating n	arty huroanarata with their areter of	se no reason why the party should not	perhaps attempt to groute a new V C I	a period some of its active forces spent	of the Comintern, Publishing House of
<text><text><text><text></text></text></text></text>	every corner of the organized movement of	limination to the and for a loci	become directly the defender of the		some time in the Dulth-Superior terri-	the Comintern Petrograd-Moscow, 1923,
<text><section-header><section-header><form><form><form></form></form></form></section-header></section-header></text>	The whole labor hypogeneration of the	infination to the end of mechanical	special interests of the youth adopting	which, because of correct Marxian lead-		
<form><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><form><form><form><form><form></form></form></form></form></form></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></form>	mediately engeniesd to unreaucracy was im- co	ontrol we arrive at another new un-	appropriate organizational forms such	ersuip, will perform its functions? This	which literature is now being distributed	
<text><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><form><section-header></section-header></form></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></section-header></text>	mediately organized to crusade against io	on called the "Mine, Mill, Oil and	as youth committees or youth sections to	would be an extremely erroneous con-	These forces have returned to the tert	
<text><text><text></text></text></text>	this threat of the Left wing.	melter Workers Industrial Union"	concentrate on this work	clusion. The relation of the Opposition	Cities and again strengthered to the twin	
<text><section-header><section-header><form></form></section-header></section-header></text>	From 1925 onward the party played w	which Manuilsky quotes as having a	4. The nevchological characteristics of	to the Y. C. L. can at the present time	The brouch has next in the branch.	refent at unferent periousALFA.
<form><section-header></section-header></form>	a decisive part in a number of strug-m	aembership of 50 (probably all func-	wouth such as the prodominance of	be in no way different than towards the	woliof monly and the second states	
<text><section-header></section-header></text>	gles in the economic field.	ionaries). This appelation was quick-	timent even reason must be a sen-	party. The arguments which determine	relief work and the comrades report that	
<text><section-header></section-header></text>	1. The needle trades: By consistent ly	v dropped and its previous name re-	initial and usite greater need for soc-	our attitude toward the party are equ-	as usual the relief conferences were very	
<ul> <li>A many of the specified in working it is a workin</li></ul>	Left wing activities within the reaction-	ived. The total results of these ad-	fanomicy and self-expression, impulsive-	ally valid here. The Opposition will	narrow and their efforts will be directed	
<form><section-header><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form><form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></form></section-header></form>	ary needle trades unions, the Left wing y	entures are that whereas in 1026.27 and	ness, plus the inexperience and lack of	educate the youth elements in the pro-	for and grang them a proader basis. In	
<ul> <li>and the organized workers used as a rest of the organized is not 0,000 for the same finite of t</li></ul>	leadership succeeded in winning the mail in	$\frac{1920-21}{10}$ and $\frac{1920-21}{10}$ and $\frac{1920-21}{10}$	theoretical knowledge determines the	case of its struggle against humaning the	trade union activities our Minneapolis	
<ul> <li>It is a new space calling the space of the s</li></ul>	ority of the organized membrane and an	in some cases 28, the party and the	character of the Y. C. L. as an educa-	and opportunism	comrades are as busy as ever. Just now	by Leon Frotsky
<ul> <li>In the policy of regulation statistics in the control is southers mutucle, a small statistics is parts mutucle, and show of the southers mutucle, and show of the s</li></ul>	its swow This mean at a line of the swow workers under 1	oung Communist League had healthy		and opportunism.	the main attention is taken up with or	THE DRAFT PROCRAM OF THE
Lat wing which minded hard work wing bit wind wing wind wind wind wind work wind wind work wind wind work wind wind work wind	moromone cummuteu w	volaing class blanches in every initi-	Y. C. L. is to train Communists The	The tasks of the Left Opposition in	ganization to thwart the ownulsion and	
<ul> <li>And with which indied them over by and observed, between the weak weak of the community leads of the</li></ul>	Freed of onpution against the it	us town in Southern Innois, western	mothod for committelly in the		Daign initiated by the A To	
Mark must down       Just models whete       Just	Left wing which handed them over by O	)hio, Pennsylvania, etc. there is hardly	cipation in the class strugglo	volution to the youth are:	hurequerate this time	
<ul> <li>and allow id (Add) farting scalar is a low in the state more method is a low if (Add) farting scalar is a low if (Add) fartif (Add) farting scalar is a low if (Add) farting scalar is a</li></ul>	1926 some 40,000 dress and cloak mak- a	party nucleus left. The bitterly con-	contraction and the clubb struggle supple-	1. Propaganda on the real nature and	et the Communistate	Introduction by J. P. Cannon
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group begins for two years for two and harding with the Ferveria to a community performance of the table and performance of the table and the description of the table and table and the description of the table and t	under their absolute leadership. After P	Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia bida	5. Because of all this, as well as the	(M10)	progressive workers.	THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD
and as raises, in 128 with the Pervard labor       income at this change of control the control term in the results of the pervare income at the control term income at term income at term income at the control term income at	going begging for two years for block f	air to once more revive the possibil.	f lact that each generation arrives at Com-	5	Our Expansion Program	REVOLUTION
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<ul> <li>A. by the late model: 140 model</li></ul>	launched the Noodle Window Western	and does not pursue the usual course.	tionally independent; and because of the	3. United front of youth members of	showing that the interest is still alive.	
<ul> <li>The matrix and the was and the construction of the series of of the se</li></ul>	Induction Union White states	4. By far the most favorable field of	superior experience and knowledge of the	Opposition with Y. C. L. on every possi-	From the preceding notes it will be ob-	COMPARING AND CUMPTON TON
<ul> <li>the matrix industry. In 1921 the 1, as industry, In 1921 the 1, as indust</li></ul>	industrial Union. This union was no w	work for a number of years has been	narty which is the yanguard of the		served that we are making some progress	
<ul> <li>the interval of the stream is the order product and product of all degress are proportion of all degress are product and provide the first of the ranker souther form of roganization than the product are provide and provide and provide the product provide the product provide and provide the product provide and product product provide and product product provide and product produt</li></ul>	sooner born han a period of hectic ad-	he marine industry. In 1921 the I. S.			in a modest way toward extending our	The Haue Chion Question
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their workers on strike. The total re- the harbor workers in practically every workers who want to become Camuulas that shi show workers who want to become Camuulas that shi show workers who want to become Camuulas that shi show workers who want to become Camuulas that shi show accept its fall program. The party dimits to its ranks all young the interfere to arrange with a dranced elements that show a papearing weekly there should be excellent party. If a dimits of the ranks and arrange delements that show a papearing weekly there should be excellent party and the interflect of the League of the should renew your sub. Next you should renew you you should renew your sub.	while the Right wing unions had called t	ion prevailed in a lesser degree amongst	broader form of organization than the	5. Relentless criticism of Stalinist	conference activities the discounts	208 page book—cloth bound 1.00
<ul> <li>Special attention to Marxian edu attention to the marxin edu attention to Marxian e</li></ul>	their workers on strike. The total re- ti	he harbor workers in practically over		policies in Y. C. L.	propagations for the method	paper bound .50
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Sciences       See Some subscription pair one year, \$2.00; six months, \$1.00.       Name       Address.       Address.       Address.       State			ists while the narty admits to its ranks		rectly connected up with the material	TRUTTER AND A REAL AND AND AND
who accept is full program. The party consists of the most advanced elements of the class.       C. Participation of Opposition yout is not econtribution is to the fix to the fixed efforts in all phases of class straggie to the fixed efforts in all phases of class straggie to the fixed efforts in all phases of class straggie to the fixed efforts in all phases of class straggie to the fixed efforts in all phases of class straggie to the fixed efforts in all phases of class straggie to the fixed efforts in all phases of class straggie to the fixed efforts in the definition is the fixed efforts in the party. The party is the party is the power incast advance of the party. The power is the party is the power is the party is the power is the power is the power is the party. The power is the party is the power is the party is the phases of class straggie to the most advance is the party is the power is the power is the party is the phase of class is traggie to the party. The power is the party is the power is the party is the party is the party is the power is the party is the party is the party is the power is the party party is the party is the party is the party is the pa	والمحادثة المقدين بالمحبر المحبوبة فتحدد فالمحبو المحبوبة		those who are Communistic that is there	cation of youth comrades in the opposi-	aspect of finances we will be sure to be	
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#### PAGE 4



### WAGE CUTS AND STRIKES

A speeding up of the wage cutting campaign on the one hand and the growth of the strike movement on the other are the two outstanding and related developments of the month in the doestic field. The letter of Secretary of Commerce Lamont to Representative Condon gave a powerful impetus to the drive against wage standards, and was no doubt so designed. The subsequent attempts of the White House to obscure the issue and "interpret" Lamont's blunt declaration in justification of reductions by firms "in extremely difficult positions" are not to be taken seriously. We do not believe that Lamont spoke for himself alone, and certainly not as an opponent of Hoover's attitude. It is more reasonable to conclude that his letter was put out as a "feeler" and a tip to the industrialists to go ahead everywhere, with full assurance of Governmental support.

They are doing so. And even more significant than the reductions already made are the wide-scale preparations for a bigger assault all along the line, and especially in the big industries. The steel workers will be one of the next points of attack, an attack which was already being prepared at the time of Farrell's hypocritical speech against it a few weeks ago. The railroads are getting ready now. Stuart Chase, in his latest work, predicts a sweeping wage cut in the railroad industry. The application for an increase in freight rates is primarily, if not exclusively a filibuster to prepare the way for a drastic reduction of rail wages on the ground that the railroads are also in "extremely difficult positions" which, higher freight rates failing, can be relieved only by a cut in labor costs. The wage cuts so far recorded, heavy as they have been, are only the first experimental steps. The great offensive is yet to come, as all signs testify.

The defensive struggle of the workers is gaining momentum, although slowly and in a tentative fashion. There is nothing in the facts to sustain the blockheads who describe the situation as a "workers' offensive". The Department of Labor figures which, like the reports on unemployment are not to be taken a face value, give, nevertheless, an appro ximate picture for comparative purposes 447 strikes and lockouts in the first six months of the year show an increase of nearly fifty per cent over the same per iod in 1930. But if we compare this with the 2,385 strikes in 1921-also a crisis year-we can see that the labor movement is not yet standing on its feet. And the strike figures for 1919, when 3,630 wage conflicts were recorded, speak even more eloquently of the realities of the present situation.

Coal, steel and railroads were re presented in the labor revolts of that year and constituted the heart of it. The present defensive movement of the workers is confined largely so far, to soft coal and textiles where the industry is the "sickest" and the pressure on the workers has been the heaviest. But the rate at which the struggles are developing in this sector and the militancy

with the gusto and enthusiasm of hypochondriac boasting of his diseases The section devoted to the Southern Ill inois mining fields is a fair sample of the whole document. They were busy there and they have results to show for it. The achievements claimed in the resolution include the following: "(a) Failure to mobilize the Illinois miners to struggle and spread the Orfent strike. (b) Decline of our influence in the Orient strike. (c) Dissolution of the four locals of the N. M. U. (d) Dissolution of five units of the party. (e) General weakening of our position in the Illinois fields."

This, we contend, is pretty close to a hundred per cent efficiency in the work of clearing out the sprouts and shoots of Communist influence. The grasshoppers in a Dakota field could hardly make a cleaner sweep. And how do the Chicago Stalinists account for this result? But if its leaders gave no revolution-Do they re-examine the policy that produces such a devastation? Not at all.

made generally correct decisions on work "self-criticism" and on top of it they method of work by which we improve of the bourgeoisie. all our methods of work." They say it with flowers.

In the political struggle we grow ac customed to much, and we are ready to believe that this incredible document was really adopted, that is not a forgery elaborated to make fun of the party. But when the Daily Worker introduces the resolution with the statement that it is "an example to other districts-not only to follow, but to excel". it goes too far. How can that record be excelled? -J. P. C.

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Spanish revolution.

Bucharin, for instance, it is not difficult

to rummage through his old writings and

Glancing through some old documents.

the writer has come across an illumin-

# Mistakes of Comrade Maurin

**Problems of the Spanish Revolution** 

It has been said that without revolu- meeting which followed the next day at in who, for various reasons, is much its emancipation. In the elaboration of tionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. In Spain, this truth in. But they are of such importance Russia that many other militants, tribution of the experience of the great has never been so much in evidence as that we deem it indispensable to bring at the present moment Our labor movement is terribly disoriented at a time when a clear and distinct orientation is now more necessary than ever before. The ideological chaos into which the National Confederation of Labor has sunk constitutes a mortal danger for the revolution. Anarcho-syndicalism can only lead the Spanish proletariat to defeat.

pelled the slender hopes for correction that might have remained; the leaders of the N. C. of L. have learned nothing from the rich experiences of recent years and they continue to debate in a frightful confusion.

Theoretical poverty has always charac erized the Spanish Socialist Party. ary theory to the working class of our country, it was not only out of incom-"The District Bureau", they say, "has petence but with the aim of subjecting its hosts to the liberal bourgeois ideoin the mining field." This they call logy. Today, socialism is no longer at the Right wing of the labor movement, add: "Self-criticism is that particular but perhaps not even at the Left wing

In the Communist movement painful the Catalonian-Balearic Communist Fedfloating ideolgically in the air, maintain an indefinite policy full of vacillation and wavering.

Should the present ideological disorientation persist, the immense possibilities that the situation contains objectively for the proletariat, will be wasted. There is lacking in Spain a powerful Communist party capable of directing the spontaneous movement of the massthe indispensable premise for the formation of such a party and the guarantee the liberation of the working class, is

tegy and tactic. For this reason, the and the deviations and the mistakes of energy.

In this sense, the lecture given on represent an immense danger for the lieved it his duty to join his voice to

this hall, combatted the errors of Maurthem forward once more before the Spanish Communists. An . . . . Uncomfortable Position Maurin began by declaring that the Communists of the Catalenian-Balearic Federation, in whose name he spoke were regarded as Stalinists by the "Trotskyists" and as "Trotskyists" by the Stalinists. The thing is logical. The The last congress of this central disfate which is reserved for those who

as in the case of Maurin and of the organization he represents, have no definite political position, is to receive the blows from both sides and to be compeled, in the final analysis, to pronounce themselves concretely, incorporating themselves into one of the tendencies or else to be eliminated conclu sively from the political arena.

The tragic conflict that now divides the international Communist movement has its roots in profound differences on the fundamental problems of the revolution. These differences can and should be overcome by the sole effective manner known up to now: the application of democratic centralism, converted into a dead letter by bureaucratic centralism as it is to say so, the situation is not of the International. But the fact is much more alluring in this respect. In that the differences not only exist but the official Communist party, the system have become deeper, and to remain inof bureaucratic leadership chokes off in different or to maintain an attitude of its infancy all possibility of theoretical neutrality towards them, is impossible life. Nobody dares, out of fear of ex for any Communist. To persist in claimpulsion, to hazard the slightest idea or ing the contrary, leads to what Maurin his own initiative. On the other hand, has been led to, to adopt a political the autonomous organizations, such as orientation which has alienated from the Stalinists and from the Left Opposieration or the Agrupacion de Madrid, tion in exchange for an approach to the Left wing of the petty bourgeoisie.

#### Why Maurin Is Not with the "Trotskyists"

Since politics does not tolerate a vacuum, Maurin had to say why he was not with the Left Communist Opposition and why he dissented from the policy of the International.

Against the political orientation of the Opposition, Maurin was unable to es towards the conquest of power. But oppose his own, or else he had none, or still better because he did not presume to declare that its evaluation of of its effectiveness as an instrument of the Spanish political situation and the tactics it recommends were correct. the elaboration of a revolutionary stra- Therefore, he went off on a tangent, resorting to one of the arguments favored struggle on the theoretical front must by the sub-Stalinists of every country: occupy at present a prominent place, to assert that the Communist Left Opposition is an enemy of the Five Year must be combatted with the maximum Plan. Precisely in recent times, Reuter and other bourgeoisie press agencies, singing in chorus with the Stalinists, June 8 at the Ateneo of Madrid by have attributed interviews and falsified comrade Joaquin Maurin cannot be al- articles to Trotsky, according to which lowed to pass in silence, inasmuch as our comrade called the Plan a "fraud' the spirit that animated it constituted and proclaimed its complete downfall. an attempt at revision of the basic prin- Maurin who, up to now, had maintained ciples of revolutionary Marxism, an at a neutral attitude on the internal pro tempt which, should it succeed, would blems of the Russian revolution be

Maurin who cannot limit himself to the simple worship of a neophyte before the to study its problems and to know the genuine history and not that manufactured by the Stalinist bureaucraoy-knows perfectly well that the accusation he formulated does not correspond to the

reality. Has the leader of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc forgotten the history of these last years? Does he not know that it was precisely the Left Opposition that initiated the industrialization of the country, which conducted a furious struggle for it against the present leaders of the C. P. S. U. who accused us as super-industrialists, and utilized the collaboration of the Mensheviks in the economic organs of the state -the same ones whom Stalin recently had to try as sabotagers - for the elaboration of plans based upon the minimal development of industry and Does not Maurin know that it is precisely for having defended indus-

trialization against those who stigmatized them as counter-revolutionists, that the militants of the Communist Left Opposition were expelled from the party. imprisoned deported and shot? Maurin knows all this perfectly well and that is why his assertion can have only two meanings: to fall deliberately into error, or else to buy the good will of

the International, by throwing a stone. against the "Trotskyists" The "National" Character of the

## Spanish Revolution

Having liquidated with such lightness the difference that separates him from the Communist Left Opposition, Maurin had to explain wherein lay his disagreements and those of the organization in whose name he spoke, with the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International. Here the mistake of comrade Maurin is even more serious.

Manria asserted that what separates him from the Communist International is primarily a difference of evaluation of the present situation. The International-according to him-wanted to impose the experiences of the Russian revolution upon other countries, and this led to the defeat of the Communists in Germany, in Bulgaria in Cihna and in Esthonia. Spain has to make its revolution a national, original revolution The conception of Maurin, in this rc spect, is a distorted transplantation of

the anti-Marxist theory of Stalin of socialism in one country, a conception the spirit of which contains grave dangers for the cause of the proletariat.

Nothing could be more disastrous to the Spanish proletariat than to separate itself from the international Communist movement and to claim to orient it in accordance with a domestic policy of home manufacture. The working class, the Stalino-bourgeois chorus. We do not precisely because of international ex-The author of these lines, at the congratulate him on it. Because Maur- perience, will elaborate the methods of

we may have additional proof-if more ductive forces with the national-imperis needed-of how all the Bolshevik ialist boundaries to their development,

better informed on what is going on in the tactics of Marx and Lenin the conrevolutionary movements of the nineteenth century, and more specifically of Russian revolution, but has the duty the revolutions of 1848 and the Paris Commune, played a role of the first order. Without this experience, Lenin would have been unable to work out with such precision the tactics that led the Russian proletariat to victory in October 1917.

If the Communist International failed in the countries mentioned by Maurin, it was not because it imposed the experiences of the Russian revolution, but precisely because it forgot them completely. In China, in place of assuring the hegemony of the proletariat and of guaranteeing its independence in face of the bourgeois parties, it proclaimed the "bloc of four classes" subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, represented by the Kuo Min Tang, curbed the agrarian revolution, and as a consequence of all this, prepared the vicupon the protection of the Kulak? tory of the bourgeois counter-revolution of Chiang Kai-Shek. Then, as if the lesson had not been sufficiently heavy, it submitted the fate of the proletariat and of the revolution to the government of the petty bourgeoisie of Wuhan-the government which, according to Stalin in May 1927 was almost the dictatorship of the proletariat, which-naturally, also betrayed the interests of the working class.

> In Germany, the Communist International, thanks to its opportunist policy, did not know how to take advantage of the exceptional opportunity offered it by the exceptional situation in the country in the Autumn of 1923 for the seizure of power. This formidable collapse had enormous consequences for the whole development of the international Communist movement and paved the way for the beginning of the social reaction in Russia, which led to the enthronement of the bureaucratic Stalinist domination.

In Bulgaria, the lack of revolutionary decision and the opportunism of the party leadership provoked the reactionary coup d'etat of Tsankov, for which the Bulgarian workers and peasants paid in torrents of blood. The insurrection that broke out afterwards in this country and later on in Esthonia were adventurist attempts to repair the consequences of the disastrous policy that had been practised.

Did the International fail in these countries because it imposed the methods of the Russian revolution? This is true up to a certain point insofar as the policy of the Comintern in these ocuntries was inspired by the conceptions and the methods of the Mensheviks. We are of course in agreement with Maurin if this is the example which he urges us to follow. We are not, it is needless to say, if by his assertion he claims that we have to lay aside the Bolshevik experience. And in saying this, we have no desire at all to affirm that it will be necessary to copy literally that which the Bolsheviks did in Russia. Naturally, one must take into account the circumstances of time and aders during Lenin's life time regarded and the capitalist forms of place, the specific peculiarities of each appropria the question of Russia's alleged self-suf- tion. The imperialist boundaries and coutry in the same way that the doctor takes into account the peculiarities of each patient in order to apply the general treatment. What is essential is the general political orientation. And in this organization of world economy accordsense it must be said that the general takes precedence over the particular. omic collaboration of the advanced (in-When we speak, for example, of the dustrial) states with the backward (fuel bourgeois revolutions of the past, we do not refer to the various forms in the seizure of power by the proletariat of the latter by the former). It is for which they manifested themselves in each country but to their fundamental this precisely that the international characteristic: the destruction of feudal relationships to be substituted for by Otherwise, an organization and normal bourgeois democracy. In our epoch, the development of world economy cannot struggle of the exploited against the even be thought of. But in orde exploiters unfolds itself on a world to begin (at least to **begin**) with the scale, the national manifestations of this organization of a correct world econstruggle constitute only one aspect of omy, the history of the proletariat at this general struggle. In this huge batleast in a few of the advanced states is tle, the proletariat can find its emancirequired. So long as this is not the pation only in the establishment of its case, our party must seek roundabout dictatorship, based upon mass organizaways for cooperation with the capitalist tions, such as the Soviets, the revolugroups on the economic field. This is tionary Juntas and similar organizations, the reason why the party, after having with a directing Communist party as shaken off its bourgeoisie and raised guide. Outside of this general formula the banner of the proletarian world are admissable all the modifications and revolution, considers it expedient to libamendments imposed by national cirerate small production and small induscumstances and peculiarities. Let us record in this connection that in 1923, when the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party was discussing the problems of the German revolution it was precisely our comrade Trotsky who opposed Zinoviev's proposal to create Soviets, arguing correctly that at that moment the mass organizations around which the German proletariat had grouped itself were not the Soviets, as in 1918, but the factory councils. (To be concluded.)

which characterizes them are promising signs of a genuine labor awakening.

The theory that the workers are not inclined to strike during periods of crisis and wide unemployment receives a certain confirmation from American labor and economic history, and is borne out within limits by the experience of the past two years. But the present situation is extraordinary in many respects, as has been pointed out before. It is quite false to construct a law to the

effect that the workers will not strike during the crisis, as the Right wing has the theory of "socialism in one counbeen inclined to do. The increase in try" In the first edition, published, strike struggles in recent weeks, and particularly the determined battles of the miners and textile workers, refute this dogma.

They argue rather for the idea that the workers in other industries, such as the railrodas and steel mills, caught in particularly of such a peasant country as the furious wage-cutting drive, will not Russia, are insufficient". In the second wait for a revival to give their answer edition, Stalin introduced his nationalist in terms of struggle. Our perspective of the coming months runs this way. From such a development will flow unbounded possibilities for the awakening of the labor movement and a sweeping Marx and Lenin. It will be remembered advance of Communism.



### THEY SAY IT WITH FLOWERS

The exponents of Bolshevik self-crit icism are at it again and true stories stranger than fiction are unfolding themselves on the pages of the Daily Worke for anyone to read if he will and to understand if he can. Kuusinen precipitated the latest orgy with his recent article entitled, "Are the Decisions of the E. C. C. I. Plenum to Remain on Paper?" They should have, but they didn't. And now we are hearing a rollcall on the results. The head men of the C. E. C. have evidently called on all the District Committees to explain—at length, of course-which district applied the line of the XI Plenum most faithfully and which got the worst results. The Chicago D. E. C. bids for the prize in the latest Stalinist competition with a resolution in the Daily Worker of August 1, which covers almost a whole page of the paper. The report is long and, in its own way, good.

The resolution of the district leaders University on June 9, 1925: bristles with accounts of "weaknesses", "failures", "opportunism" "Leftist mistakes", "dissolution", "demoralization"



It is already fairly well known how in technique and equipment on the part in two editions of one of his pamphlets, of the victorious proletariat of the West? "Lenin and Leninism", both issued in "Yes, this is possible. It is not only the same year, Stalin expressed himself possible, but is both necessary and inin two mutually exclusive ways about evitable. . . . "The great significance of Lenin, also, by the way, consists in the fact that he like the second, in 1924, Stalin wrote adopted no haphazard attitude towards that while the efforts of a national proconstruction, that he does not contem-

letariat were sufficient to overthrow its plate construction without perspectives, bourgeoisie, "for the final victory of socand that he gives a clear and definite ialism for the organization of socialist answer to the question of the perspecconstruction, the efforts of one country, tives of our work that we have all the pre-requisites for constructing a socialist economy in our country, and that we can and must construct a completely correction, according to which what had socialist society". (Stalin, "Bolshevism: Some Questions Answered", London, a few months before been insufficient, now become quite adequate and entirely 1926.) in accordance with the teachings of Now, Stalin has one doubtful advantage over the other leading theoretical also that Stalin, to explain away this defenders of national socialism. With

embarrassing dualism in his 1924 contributions to revolutionary science, de clared at the Seventh plenum of the C.

bring forth one passage after another I. "against" Zinoviev, that he had the in which he speaks decisively against "right to change and to express more the theory he and Stalin have advocated sharply" his formulation of a brief few from 1924 onwards. But Stalin's litermonths before. In the intervening years, ary contributions, especially prior to the theory of "socialism in one coun-Lenin's death, are so meager, that he try", known to Marx and Lenin only as has thus far been able to console himthe subject of ridicule and attack, has self with the idea that, aside from his been rounded out, invested with the au- "slip" in the first edition of "Lenin and thority of the Communist International, Leninism", his feeble literary endeavors dressed up in distorted and falsified of the past will not rise to contradict "quotations" from Marx and Lenin, and his present theoretical position. But it laid down by Stalin and his apparatus appears that even this safeguard is not as the foundation stone in the struggle without its breach. against "counter-revolutionary Trotsky-

ism".

#### Stalin in 1925

How definitely Stalin took his place on the side of this theory-following 1924, of course; before then it was quite unknown in the ranks of Bolshevism or of any other Marxian current-is to be seen from the following quotation from a speech he delivered at the Sverdlev

"Is it possible then, to construct a socialist economic system in our country without the previous victory of socand "collapse" in every field, all related ialism in other countries, without aid ficiency in the building of a "completely the capitalist form strangle the prosocialist society", and that "without aid ductive forces and do not permit their in technique and equipment on the part development. The only way out is the of the victorious proletariat of the West" Let us quote the Stalin of 1921 at ing to the principles of fraternal econlength:

And Stalin in 1921

"But the October also has its dark and raw materials) states (but not acside. It is concerned with the fact that cording to the principles of the spoilation in Russia proceeded under peculiar external and internal conditions which proletarian revolution is required. stamped all the work after the seizure of power. First: Russia is a backward country in economic respects; it cannot rehabilitate transportation, develop in dustry and electrify urban and rural in dustry with its own forces, without exchanging the raw materials at hand for machinery and implements from the Western countries. Second, Russia 's for the present a socialist island, which is surrounded by capitalist states more developed in industrial respects and hostile to it. If Soviet Russia had but one large state or a few Soviet stafes developed in industrial respects, as neighbors, then it could easily collabor-

ate with such states on the principles of try from their fetters, to permit a par tial revival of capitalism, putting it in the exchange of raw materials for madependence upon the state power to chines and implements. But so long draw in tenant farmers and shareholdas this is not the case, Soviet Russia and our party, which has the govern- ers, etc., up to the moment when ment in its hands, are compelled to seek substantial results are yielded by the policy of the party: 'to realize a maxiforms and methods of economic cooperamum of what can be carried out in one tion with the hostile capitalist groups country for the development, the support of the West in order to acquire the and the arousing of the revolution in necessary technique, until the moment all countries'." (Page 808. Our emoccurs of the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or a few industrial phasis.)

Thus spoke Stalin in 1921, before he capitalist states. Relations in the form had undertaken to "deepen" Marx and of concessions and of foreign tradeto "broaden" Lenin. At that time, far these are the means for attaining this from believing that Russia had "all the goal. Otherwise, a serious economic

pre-requisites" for a complete socialist construction, an electrification of the country, cannot even be thought of. economy, he even rejected the idea that Russia could "dvelop industry and elec-This process will undoubtedly be a slow trify urban and rural industry with its ating article in Russische Korrespondenz, and painful one; but it is unavoidable own forces". In 1921 he had not the No. 7-9, July-October 1921 a review publand inevitable, and this inevitability slightest idea that the "maximum of lished in German by the Communist In- will remain even if some impatient comwhat can be carried out in one country' ternational which, unless I am mistaken, rades gesticulate nervously and demand was a "completely socialist society." was the forerunner of the International immediate results and effective opera-

How clearly does every new scrap of Press Correspondence. The article is by tions. J. Stalin: "The Communist Party Before "From the economic point of view, the evidence dug out of the submerged past demonstrate to us that the theory of Max Shachtman and After the Conquest of Power," a present conflicts and military clashes of chapter, the editor informs us, taken the capitalist groups among themselves, socialism in one country, entirely alien from some unknown book by Stalin. in the same way as the struggle of the to Marxism and reactionary to the core, saw the light of day in the ranks of What Stalin wrote in 1921 is so reveal proletariat against the class of the capi-

ing that it must be lifted out of its talists, have at their foundation the Bolshevism only after Lenin could see 't obscurity and made public again so that fundamental conflict of present-day pro- no more! ---S-n.

-ANDRES NIN

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#### Editorial Board

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