WORKERS **OF THE** WORLD. UNITE

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<u>**THEMILITANT</u></u></u>**

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Consolidate the Weekly! I. Y. D. AllOut!

New York Gives New Impetus to Expansion Program Fund

the year. This decision of the National Committee is a timely reminder that we should not forget the practical tasks we it. have undertaken nor leave them uncompleted. Approximately two-thirds of a corresponding proportion of the obbeen attained. These results bear convincing testimony to the practical feaswhich the National Commitee estimated fulfill the obligations.

As matters stand now our planned movement. Not the least of the positive results of a triumphant completion of the whole program will be its influence we mean what we say and accomplish what we undertake. There has been more than enough of bluff and bluster in the Communist movement of America, A practical demonstration of a different method will have a wholesome effect all the way around.

which the appeal of the National Comzation of the Weekly Militant. The launching of this enterprise in the face a bold step, but it was necessary and issue of the resurrected Weekly. It was undertaken without adequate reserves. of the organization have been strained us in this respect.

a new push is needed all along the line Marsh, \$1.00; H. Capelis, \$10.00. Grand to secure the Weekly. If all the sup- total, \$88.00. What do the comrades in the wide spread militarization of the porters of the Militant see the situation the other cities say?

The last meeting of the National Com-1 as it is, there can be no doubt that they mittee decided to appeal to the members will pull the belt a little tighter and and friends of the Communist League make the necessary sacrifices to guaran- ialism had collapsed, the national soc to make up the balance of the two thou- tee the uninterrupted weekly publication sand dollar fund needed to finish the ex- of our beloved paper. Their past perpansion program which was laid out for formance speaks in favor of this assumption, and the confident appeal of the zerland, unfurled the banner of proletar-National Committee is predicated upon ian internationalism. It was there, in Although the problem presnts itself at

the moment as a practical question of the total fund has been subscribed and finances the campaign will derive its scope and power, and its certainty of jectives of the program have already success, from the broader aspects of the issue. It was a great day for the Communist vanguard of America when our ibility of the plan, to the accuracy with Militant recovered from its first defeat and raised its head again as a weekly the resources and responsive spirit of publication. And not only for America; the membership and its own ability to the embattled sections of the unconquerable Opposition throughout the world, who are united with us in a single fightmethod of work stands vindicated, but ing fraternity, have drawn a new strenthe program remains uncompleted. The gth and inspiration from the triumphant thing now is to finish the job. This will resurgence of our militant paper. It is

signify another step forward for our these considerations which will animate our whole organization as one man when we say that the re-establishment of the November 1919, in Berlin, a few months weekly Militant was no trifling experi- after the Comintern had been formed, in convincing ourselves and others that ment, but a deliberate action. We meant amidst tumult and uncertainty, victories to carry it through at all cost and we will do so.

> —J. P. C. $\bullet \bullet \bullet$

FIRST RESULTS

Following an appeal to the last meeting of the New York branch by comrade The central task of the moment, upon Arne Swabeck, national secretary, close to ninety dollars was contributed or mittee is primarily based, is the stabili-pledged for immediate contribution by C. I. against militarism, armaments, war. the comrades assembled. This action should serve to give a new impetus to of the traditional "Summer slump" was the completion of the Expansion Program Fund, not only in New York, but throughtherefore correct. This is the tenth out the country. The following comrades contributed: J. P. Cannon, \$5.00; Sylvia Bleeker, \$5.00; Marty Abern, \$5.00; M. and all Summer the financial resources Lewit, \$10.00; Al Glotzer, \$2.00. Pledges in addition were made as follows: J. almost to the breaking point. We con- P. Cannon, \$5.00; M. Lewit, \$5.00; Al fidently believe that the worst is behind Glotzer, \$5.00; Harry Milton, \$5.00: Max Engel, \$10.00; George Clarke, \$5.00 E. However, it must be said frankly that Field, \$10.00; Louis Basky, \$5.00; Jerry for new markets. The increased arma-

Gordon Arrested at Boston Meeting

BOSTON .--

Sam Gordon, organizer for the Comdown to court next morning who re-

All Efforts Now for a Broad and Genuine United Front Move War, at a time when international socialist parties had (with few brilliant exceptions) turned social-imperialist, the socialist youth assembled at Berne, Swit-April 1915, that the first Sunday of every September was set aside for the mobilization of the working youth against

Amidst the fires and flames of World

capitalist militarism and war. The kindled sparks served as torche to light up the path towards proletarian. revolution. The socialist youth, actively aided by the Bolsheviks, inspired by

Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg, courageously led the struggle against opportunism and social patriotism. Hand in hand with the revolutionary socialists of the social democratic parties it forged ahead, organized Left wings, held demonstrations, defended the principles of revolutionary Marxism.

The victorious October gave unprecedented impetus to this development. In and defeats, the Young Communist International was born. Continuing the best traditions of the Socialist Youth InIternational, it made International Youth Day a living expression of its anti-militarist work. The traditions of I. Y. D. were enrichened, made more glorious, enshrined in the heart of every young revolutionist. Growing thousands of youth rallied to the call of the Y. The fight against militarism was intimately connected with the struggle against wage slavery, with the winning of the youth for Communism. The Y. C. I.

was becoming the acknowledged leader of the international proletarian youth. Today more than ever since the last

war, the need for systematic anti-militarist work exists. The present worldwide economic crisis compels the imperialist powers to intensify their search ments, the numerous peace conferences youth, the offensive of the capitalist governments against the Communists, the divers campaign against the Soviet Union are a few of the outstanding signs of the day.

Are the Leagues prepared to play the same role that the socialist youth did authorities combined to organize the ial revolution. Only an international lished in the Daily Worker of August 28 in the last war? Can they mobilize the frame-up.

being informed, sent a representative youth for the defense of the Soviet Un-Too many working class groups divide ion? Will they be able to carry on a

We should greet the seventeenth In-

Against opportunism! For revolution-

Young Communists, young workers

young students! Demonstrate on Sept-

Our Spanish Fund

We are anxious to sum up our cam

paign for the support of the Spanish

for this campaign, at least, we want to

get the money raised as quickly as possi-

-JOS. C.

ry Marxism!

ble.

A Call from Prison

California State Prison, San Quentin, California, August 20, 1931. To All Militant and Revolutionary

Labor Organizations and Groups

Dear Comrades and Fellow Unionists: The time for action has come. Too long have we been deceived with slick promises-away with them! From the cell where I have been buried alive for fifteen long years I appeal to every working class organization with a spark of militancy or revolutionary purpose-I appeal for united action.

The most flagrant "frame-up" this country has ever seen is dragging into its sixteenth year, and not even a glimpse of freedom is in sight. In fact, I am more securely imprisoned today than when first arrested. The dictatorship of

capital knows the economic conditions are so ominous that to issue a pardon at this time would be as though a lighted match were thrown into a powder keg. (We must prove that neither will my continued imprisonment serve their purposes. Let this appeal be the spark which will start an unparalleled conflagration-agitation that will arouse the masses to demand my unconditional pardon and the release of all class war prisoners.

I ask for a genuine united front. Every working class organization should elect delegates and be represented on Pardon Mooney Committee that will direct the activities of the workers in this fight. The task of such committees will be to call mass meetings, distribute literature, carry on monster public demonstrations, and engage in an energetic campaign that will make the ground tremble under the feet of the arrogant rulers of

California. One of the immediate tasks of these committees will be to force through the pressure of an awakened public opinion. the publication of the Wickersham Commission of the suppressed report on the Mooney case, prepared by its experts. This Report. I am given to understand. is a factual record and, when published, will definitely prove that the California

ary and militant labor organizations and groups.

Mooney Appeals!

time for action has come", and unreservedly indorse the call. To the Communist movement, to all revolutionary and militant workers it becomes a duty to close the ranks and act unwar prisoners. The Communist League to that of Tom Mooney's from his prison

cell, where he has been buried for fifteen long years. We say: Yes, this issue can serve as a common rallying tant groups!

The Need for Action

With the capitalist oflensive forging its way ruthlessly, with its dungeons filled with miners from Harlan, Kentucky, and from the Pennsylvania fields, with Negro workers from Chicago and Scottsborough, with the Centralia prisoners still languishing in jail and the continued increase of class war victims, this issue of freedom for Tom Mooney and release of all class war prisoners has become an ever more potent one, action upon which brooks no delay. With the deepening of misery, it is to be expected that the rulers of Wall Street, in order to extricate themselves from their economic difficulties, will attempt to feed the greedy maws of class oppresion with many more victims-sterling champions of the proletariat. But it is not yet too late for the working class to rally and to build

From his prison cell Tom Mooney This is entirely correct and will meet with the approval of every red-blooded strong in numbers; sufficiently strong in purpose and in conviction to batter open the prison doors and to advance the American working class toward the soc-

solidarity, steeled by a revolutinoary

New York District Executive Com.

Communist Party of the U.S.A.

In an adjoining column, we print Tom, purpose, can liberate the working class Mooney's clarion call to all revolution- from capitalist oppression and forever destroy the capitalist dungeons.

Tom Mooney names specific organiza-We agree with Tom Mooney that the tions upon which he calls to build a genuine united front, to create Pardon Mooney Committees throughout the country. He, does not call upon the imperialist agents within labor's ranks, the regolden opportunity and an imperative actionary trade union bureaucrats, nor upon these who have deceived with slick swervingly and unitedly in a struggle promises. Their role as deceivers and which will reverberate from coast to betravers he has already unmasked by coast, for the unconditional pardon of his burning denunciations. A genuine Tom Mooney and the release of all class united front must mean an effort to include all of these organizations and of America (Opposition) adds its voice others willing to participate. In this there need be no fear of the deceivers and betrayers within some of these organizations. The Hillquits, the Hillmans and the other little Mustes hate ground for all revolutionary and mili- more than anything else to work in common with us in any genuine struggle, or even for the release of all class war prisoners. They prefer the ranks of reaction to the camp of revolution and they prove it daily at every serious test. But it is our task to make them stand up in front of the workers on every concrete question and affirm this by their refusal to participate in a real struggle. Such leader types will oppose the united front with the Communists because they aim to maintain capitalism. But without the Communists, there can be no united front and the workers will the crisis and more acute working class to heed the clarion call of Tom Mooney thus, by one more experience, learn that they will have to fight all such leaders standing in the way.

The Communist Duty

Upon the Communists devolves, therefore, the duty to bring this genuine united front into life. Their guiding line can only be the one of the dearest ina gigantic movement which will prevent terests of the working class and of following the glowing spirit of Tem Money and the other class war prisopers. says: "I ask for a genuine united front." To weld together various workers organizations, with varying programs, into one solid fighting front around this one worker. Only a genuine united front common purpose will bring about a can produce a movement sufficiently mighty echo of approval from every militant worker.

> It is therefore pertinent to ask, in view of the statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party pub-(Continued on page 2)

munist League of America (Opposition) quested that the I. L. D. be given charge The International Labor Defense, upon with the I. L. D.

was arrested at a street meeting in of the case, a gratifying change of course capitalist class? Malden here for "speaking without a on its part as compared with the sabotpermit". The meeting, one of a series at aging action it pursued in the demands which Gordon had been speaking to ev- for defense made upon it in the Philaer-increasing groups of workers, was delphia Morgenstern-Goodman case. Bail held in connection with the anti-deporta- was set at \$200.00 which upon being tion campaign, and had attracted a large furnished, enabled the release of comnumber of Malden workers. After having rade Gordon. Trial was set for Sept- inating in the International Communist spoken for about half an hour, a police ember 11 on the charge of speaking movement, spell a serious danger. Just patrol arrived in an auto and comrade without a permit, although-as is the as in 1915, the revolutionary socialist Gordon was asked by the police sergeant Massachusetts custom—it is possible youth, who were in the forefront in the groups I may overlook or forget in my to stop speaking. Gordon refused. A bit that the prosecution may change the struggle against militarism, led the fight nonplussed the police stood around for charge when it sees how weak its case is. against opportunism in the revolutionanother ten minutes and then, at a Representatives of the Left Opposition ary ranks, so today the Communist youth signal from the sergeant, when Gordon have conversed with Harry Cantor, head should rally around the Left Opposition once more refused to leave the platform, of the I. L. D. locally, and arrangements in its struggle for revolutionary Marxism, against opportunism, for the regenhe was pulled down by a couple of burly are being made for the defense, although cops and into the police auto. There comrade Cantor emphasized that in such eration of the Communist movement. were loud and noisy protests from the cases it is not the I. L. D. policy at crowd which had by that time swelled present to provide attorneys or pay fines. ternational Youth Day—resolved to emuto more than three hundred workers. However, it appears that there is a good late the young comrades who came be-While in the auto, flanked by the gen- likelihood that satisfactory arrangements tlemen of Law and Order, the order was can be made with the I. L. D. ot cooperfinal victory. given to the cops to "stay and break it ate in the case. Mr. David K. Niles, of up". At the police station, Gordon's tie the Civil Liberties Union, has informed and belt were removed so that, accord- the Left Opposition comrades in Boston ing to the sneering remark of the serge- that he wants to make a test case out of ant, he would not "hang himself" (!). the arrest and is willing to cooperate movement!

Credits for Soviet U Inion and war!

Stalinists Change their Stand but Evade Most Essential Points

follows:

"10. Development of trade relations Union not only as a fundamental re- laboration with the Soviet Union. quirement of international working class solidarity, but also as a vital immediate year plan."

Following upon the insertion of a similar point in the demands of the Uncommented last week, it is which w

The Communist party has finally in- | clear that, on this question, the Stalincorporated into its unemployment pro- ists have made a turn about face in the gram a part of the demand put forward direction of the Opposition-not their by the Left Opposition for a campaign customary hysterical turns of 180 dein favor of large, long-term credits to grees, nor even a complete turn to the the Soviet Union. In the new unem- correct position, but at any rate, a turn Left Opposition press in ship-shape style. ployment program published in the Daily in the right direction. The cool and off-The aim we have set ourselves, and it Worker of August 29, 1931, we find that hand manner in which the change is worker of August 29, 1951, we find that maine maine maine in and mained in a model the fact that for is a modest one, is to raise the sum the last point which the party "declares made cannot conceal the fact that for of two hundred dollars to help our is a modest one, is to raise the sum that the masses must demand" reads as more than a year now the Stalinist hiermilitant Spanish comrades in their efarchy in the party-and throughout the Comintern-has systematically and bit-Our assistance will not end there, but

with the Soviet Union (including the terly sabotaged the promulgation of this demand for recognition of the Soviet vitally necessary slogan of economic col-What We Demanded

As far back as April 5 1930, the economic need of the starving masses) Militant wrote: 'We regard it necessary in order that the idle factories may for the Communists to conduct a camwork, fill the constantly growing de- | paign for and to make demands upon the mands of the successful construction of Hoover government for the establishment the workers' government and its five of broad and long-time credits to the Soviet Union by the United States. This

\$155.81. Grand total to date: \$166.81. should, in fact, be a central slogan of Not much more is required to fill the the Communists in all countries It is employed Counicles of New York, upon possible to demonstrate to the American sum completely. Let us do it generous-(Continued on page 3) ly and speedily!

and weaken their forces. The effect revolutionary struggle against their own they quite naturally should have in combined numbers is lost when they

The absence of systematic and effective quarrel among themselves. This case anti-militarist activity, and the virtual ought to serve as a ocmmon rallying sterility of the Leagues caused by the ground for all revolutionary and milirevisionist theories, false strategy and tant groups which should unite for effectactics and bureaucratic regime predom- tive work in the face of a common enemy.

> I call upon the following groups, listed alphabetically, and other similar haste to unite and organize Pardon ed the following letter to the official Mooney Committees in every city and party: state in this nation for immediate action:

50 E. 13th St., All the militant units and individuals New York, N. Y. within the A. F. of L. Comrades: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The Communist Party, and all of its subdivisons including the Trade Union Unity League, the International Labor fore us; to carry on their work until Defense, and other similar organizations. All of the groups who have split away from the Communist Party, such as the

Young Communists! Struggle for the Majority Group, the Communist League unity of the Communist youth movement! Opposition, the Communist League of For the unity of the world Communist Struggle.

> The Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

The Farmer Labor Party. The Industrial Workers of the World The Proletarian Party. The Socialist Party.

every sincere man and woman willing to join in a united effort should and shall. be welcome.

the ideals and purposes all these groups represent and my fate is in their hands. When they fight for my freedom, they fight for their cause—the cause of labor. alonian Statute? forts to issue a popular weekly organ. My continued impression of the futility and weak-My continued imprisonment is the verv ness of their divded efforts. Only by their combined strength can they defeat

the common foe. I hail each and every one of my fellow

Since our last list, we have received workers and comrades in this struggle. the following contributions: Chicago Let us all work in common for the Social branch, \$8.00; Toronto branch, \$1.00; D. Revolution that will bring to an end this Dreyer, N. Y. C., \$1.00; M. Morris, Loch barbarous dog-eat-dog, profit-mad, capitalistic system Sheldrake, N. Y., \$1.00; Previous total:

> To each and every one of you I send fraternal revolutionary greetings. TOM MOONEY 31,921

Offer Aid in Party Election Fight

In view of the coming municipal elec-In order to have as successful a camtions in New York, the local branch of paign as possible, it is essential that a the Communist League of America (Op- prompt and energetic effort be made for position) in an effort to do all in its the collection of signatures for the placnower to cooperate in the furtherance ing of Communist candidates on the of the Communist campaign, has address- ballot.

We are prepared to participate in this collection campaign.

We await an early response. Comradely H. STONE. Secretary * * *

No reply has yet been received from The New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) of the party, but the New York branch of fers its services in the coming election the League is laying plans for the maxcampaign. We are reday to supply imum participation in the campaign in speakers, press space, literature, and spite of the obvious desire of the Stalaid in any other manner assigned to us. inist officials to prevent our cooperation.

The Anarchists in Spain

The «Turn» of the Syndicalists and Macia's Nationalism

In recent days, the Catalonian ques- | the petty bourgeoisie of the cities and tion has occupied the foreground of the country. This fact gives the Catal-Spain's political life. The Catalonian anist movement a conciliatory and op-Statute is to be discussed by the Cortes portunistic character. Macia, Compagnys at Madrid: will it be adopted? The and the other leaders of this movement jubilation in the Catalonian nationalist have adopted the only policy adapted to circles was great this week, but it has the spirit and the social nature of the swiftly abated. From the latest infor- petty bourgeoisie, that is, the policy of mation, Macia himself went to Madrid to those "seated between two chairs". It I have spent fifteen of the best years defend the Statute. The telegrams add is only eight days ago that complaints of my life in a California dungeon for that, following a conversation between were made against Macia in the Spanish Macia and Zamora, Barcelona is sure that press and even from the tribune of the

the Statute will be adopted by the Cortes Cortes for having conspired with the without great difficulties. What lies be- National Confederation of Labor against hind all this agitation around the Cat- the central power of Madrid and for having supported the strike movement of

The Catalonian nationalist movement the N. C. of L. against the bourgeoisie. is led entirely by the Catalonian petty Compagnys delivered a flamboyant speech bourgeoise. It is in this movement that in the Cortes in favor of the anarchothe great popular mass of Catalonia has syndicalist N. C. of L. In reality, Macia put all its economic and social hopes assured himself, on the eve of the plebisaroused by the April revolution. The cite for the Catalonian Statute, of the Communist party being too weak in Cat- aid of the "a-political" anarcho-syndicalalonia and the Catalonian Federation, ist N. C. of L. Macia cannot rule tranled by the confusionist Maurin, having quilly without the aid or at least the benevolent neutrality of the organized "separatist" policy, has enabled Macia Catalonian workers. The syndicalist to canalize into the zone of his influence, leaders of the N. C. of L. who undividedly by an "evangelical-social" agitation of rule the Catalonian working class have lent this necessary accord to Macia, in

(Continued on page 2)

favored the policy of Macia by its false the most vulgar demagogy, the sympathies of the great majority of the popular the hope of having "social peace". masses of Catalonia, primarily those of

ember 8th against capitalist militarism

The Socialist Labor Party, etc. I know it will not be easy for some of these groups to cooperate, one with the other. But this is a basic issue, and

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

U. S. S. R.

FROM MOSCOW & DEPORTATION

From Moscow:

After a fairly long interruption, I have succeeded in passing some time in Moscow. The provisioning is extremely badly assured; it should not be forgotten that in Moscow it is, in any case, much better than in the provinces. The winter was very harsh, the past year was not any better, but the suffering has never before been as it is now. The successes of construction have brought the workers nothing and enthusiasm is demanded of them . . . on an empty stomach. The workers complain about the frightful mess and the bureaucratic regime in the factory, in the trade union, everywhere. The absences have become "permanent". The shock brigades (the workers say, "they are always shocking each other") have no effect. There is no doubt that behind the veil of the official shouting about the uninterrupted successes we are proceedding towards an accelerated accumulation of contradictions. Many are those who see it. The "floaters" (workers who shift from one plant in his booklet) . . . The worker gets provisions in the factory cohis operative. Besides these cooperatives, divided into three categories-the first category: industrial proletariat; the second: non-industrial workers; the third: employees-there are cooperatives close to the living places. There still exists a number of camouflaged provisioners: for the diplomats (without restrictions), for the foreign specialists, for the big bureaucrats etc. All this is differentiated according to the grades and the posts occupied.

Apart from this, they have created, as you know, cooperatives where everything is sold at market prices. Here, everything is from five to ten times dearer: the prices are absolutely unapproachable. The Moselpromtorg, one of the enterprises where one can buy everything, but at fantastic prices, is nicknamed the Ramzin (or the Stalin) Museum. "Museum", because the products to be found there are to look at and not to buythey are too dear.

I have spoken to some of the militants who at one time criticized many than it was last year to speak "with an grasp this as an excellent opportunity open heart" with anybody. Most of for Communists to mobilize a powerful these comrades were very sympathetic movement. That much every militant to our criticism during the period of "exagree in recognizing that the thought of disposal of such a movement. the party is stifled, that there is no life in the party. This is not an object of discussion. One of these comradesa very important director of economytold me approximately this: there is nothing to do, we must suffer the Stalinist regime. One cannot lead among us except with an iron hand. It is only in this way that the five year plan can be achieved-today that is the most important thing. There is nothing to look for from the C. I. It is weak and lives only by grace of subsidies. There are no leaders; there are not even any parties, with the exception of the German C. P We know that perfectly well. The C. I will not lead us far; that is why we must develop what is, that is, the Soviet Union. That is a real task. Such a national socialist position is not excep tional and I believe it comes from higher-ups [That is right; it is just what Stalin said to Lominadze in speaking of the Comintern.-Ed.] It is interesting to note that most of them accept the persecutions agains Riazanov with the same passivity: there is nothing to do about it To be sure, my interlocutors reflect only a thin layer of the party, but for this layer the sentiments it expresses it seems to me are symptomatic

ed with them. In the Spring of this year, the term of deportation of many of us should have expired (three years) but the majority were given a "repeater", often even the solitary. Some were arrested all over again a month or even less after the expiration of the deportation term. The aim pursued remains the same: our extermination.

The comrades who were not arrested again received certain "reductions"; in reality, this means a transfer to a new place of deportation.

... A great interest exists among us for the Spanish revolution and its perspectives. It would be interesting to know the opinion of the Old Man. None of his works on the Spanish revolution has reached us.

Mooney Appeal

(Continued from page 1)

alongside of Mooney's call: Do the party leaders intend to emulate the Hillquits, the Hillmans and their helpers in a r_{\P} fusal to organize a genuine united front? to another) still exist. And this in spite Is this statement to be a justification for of the rule according to which the work- evasion of duty? While it indorses er, by changing the factory, has not the Mooney's call in general, it fails entire got in the factory he left (the single step toward the organization of arrived in Seville and ordered the killsize of his wage must be noted a united front. While it does call upon ing of the workers, the police-surprised the party leaderships' responsibility.

> Why do the party centrist bureaucrats fear a genuine united front? Not a "socalled 'united front' 'arranged' from the top with 'leaders' . . . an alliance of a few socalled 'leaders'." This is not what Tom Mooney asks for. In a genuine united front the Communists can have nothing to fear from such 'leaders' Why, then, do they shirk this responsibility? This is what every party member should ask of the leadership!

Through the International Labor Defense there must be inititated the or ganization of a genuine united front, the setting up of Committees to fight for the freedom of Tom Mooney and release of all class war prisoners. The party leadership must give up its miserable evasion things. Today it is still more difficult and cease begging the issue. It should worker will demand from it. Our modest aggeration" and "dizziness". They all forces will stand unreservedly at the the slogan: "For the Red plebiscite!"

> "Tom Mooney is an historical symbol of the American workers-of their weakness and failures of yesterday and today and their potential, dynamic power which alone will bring victory tomorrow." 'To bring this potential dynamic power into motion is now the task. Throughout the period of the present crisis, the insoluble contradictions of capitalism are intensifying. Throughout the country, the signs of sharpened struggles are multiplying. We are facing the beginnings of an upward working class curve. It harbors enormous possibilities. In this situation, the ringing call for Tom Mooney's liberation and the release of all class war prisoners must echo and reecho throughout the length and breadth of the country. It must resound in a movement of powerful proportions. The Communists must become its spearhead.

IN SPAIN



THE INCIDENTS AT SEVILLE

The bourgeois press, formerly monarchist and today republican, has passed over in silence and distorted the truth prison. The government called it a about what happened during the last suicide.

general strike in Seville. It confined itself to declaring that the origin of the strike was the assassination (it did not use the expression "assassination") of a striking brewery worker, an assassination carried out by the police. As a protest, the Sevillian working class called a general strike. During the burial of the assassinated worker, a violent clash took place between the police and the workers caused by the prolongation of punished. the arrest and also by violent fights be-

tween the public forces and the workers. THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS Four workers were killed and many wounded in the fighting. But the bourg- DISTURBANCES

eois press passed over in silence the principal object. In the battles, the Security Guard. When general Sanjurjo was proclaimed), sent by the republic

The Constituent Cortes sent to Seville a Parliamentary Commission to investigate what hapened there. 'Some of these parliamentarians saw the horrible truth, threatened to tell it and to demand judgment upon those responsible. But the government has compelled the press to conceal the authenticity of these manifestations. It is needless to say that the injustices and the crimes tolerated by the republican government will go un-

DURING THE RECENT

The leadership of the official C. P. has declared pompously and pedantically afworkers defended themselves with bril- ter the Seville disturbances that it took liant heroism and the police received only all the responsibility for the past inciwhat it deserved. Many guardsmen were dents. But unfortunately, we have obkilled, among them an officer of the served that during the last strike disturbances, the C. P. remained complete-(monarchist up to the day the republic ly in the shade. Not even a single watch- two gentlemen cause a serious danger er, by changing the factory, has not the statist buteaucracy, hor right to a higher wage than the one he ly to indicate one single measure, one government to suppress the movement, the smallest gesture made during the struggle. As for the leaders of the N. C. of L., they were afraid of the recent the workers, upon the unemployed coun- by the heroic defense of its life con- incidents. The working masses, more the head of Spanish finances. The peseta cils, etc., for support to the call, it fails ducted by the working class-refused to impetuous and militant than the leaders, in the most crucial demand-the demand fire, even though it only lasted a few exceeded the limits of the plans projected for the organization of a united front hours. But the Guardia Civil, a police by the anarcho-reformist leaders and movement. The statement attempts to body hated by all Spaniards, launched also left in the background the C. P., cover this failure by the usual base sland- the fight which came to the point of which should have been in the vanguard ers against the Left Opposition as a the bombardment and the destructon of of the working class. The leaders of means of diverting the issue away from many homes, rendered uninhabitable, in the N. C. of L. of Spain gave the order which some elements friendly to the for the general strike in Seville, anworkers had been living up to the time nounced and threated a general strike of their imprisonment. Censorship of throughout Spain, but when they see the the press was imposed in order to con- amplitude and the character that the ceal the truth. The "republican" gov- Seville movement assumed, the anarchoernment has already committed infamies syndicalist leaders-not knowing what to and crimes which Primo de Rivera did do with the strike, lacking in a program, not dare commit. One of the workers and not knowing what orientation to detained during the incidents was wound-| pursue-left the Sevillian workers in the ed and imprisoned in a boat converted lurch. The official C. P. was neither

A Letter from Berlin at Election

... It is insistently claimed that there | German aroused considerably sympathy were great differences on the plebiscite . . After his speech, a dozen Schupos in the Central Committee of the Com-(Defense police) broke into the hall and munist party. Thaelmann was against, picked up a young newsboy of the Rot Neumann for: there were extremely vio- Front, which is prohibited. This provoklent discussions among them. On July ed only cries, but no clash. The meet-21, the Rote Fahne being prohibited, the ing continued after this incident. . . . local Communist press issued the slogan: Sunday. Berlin presents the usual "Against the White plebiscite!" On the picture. In the workers quarters (Wed-22nd, the Rote Fahne reappeared with ding), large numbers of police, in autos, mounted, afoot. But the streets are

It should be noted that Pravda has not calm, no assembling; in the afternoon published a single article on the ques- much fewer police are seen. The Role

able nor did it dare to put itself at the head of the movement which had already taken on a genuinely insurrectionary and revolutionary character. The working masses had outstripped their leaders and the latter were surprised and demoralized. They lack the basis for the insurrection; the proletariat lacked a guide. Why was the order issued for

a general strike? Those who issued it into a jail. A few days after the inare unable to reply. The workers of Sevcidents, when all was already peaceful, ille, disillusioned were beaten. Their dehe was found assassinated in the floating feat is full of lessons for the future. It is necessary to profit by these lessons and to study them profoundly. The Sev- followers with empty boasts about the revolutionary vanguard and of the very foundation of the revolution-the revolutionary Juntas of the workers and peasants.

blem, as every Marxist-Leninist must see it, then the struggle of the Sevillian attention to the Prussian referendum at proletariat was not a route but on the all-it is more interested in "Communcontrary, produced a great arsenal of less ism in one country"-chanted the same sons. Let us know how to profit by them in the coming struggles!

THE SOCIALIST MINISTERS The bourgeois press has begun the

open struggle against two of the three socialist ministers who belong to the present government of the republic: against Indalecio Prieto, minister of finance, and Largo Caballero, minister of labor; and it is precisely because these word from the Stalinist bureaucracy, nor to the government, being two ministers who, together with Maura have lost all prestige and are dishonored. Prieto has carried out a catastrophic job at has suffered an enormous depreciation,

which has produced an aggravation in the already difficult Spanish economic situation and has extended the labor crisis. Caballero has distinguished himself by his anti-labor policy and has brought the hatred of the workers upon him. The workers arise against those who, usurping a representation which nobody has conferred upon them, work against the interests of the class. The bourgeois press, taking into account the importance of the matter, proposes the idea of replacing the two socialist ministers by others who will be better able to fulfill the ministerial functions. In reality, Prieto and Caballero have shown an absolute incompetence at the heads of their respective ministries. The bourgeoisie which gave them their posts

in order to have them confine the lm petuousness of the workers from these vantage points, sees that that they have done has been to heighten the courage of the workers by their myopic actions and means to remove them. They will succeed. Prieto especially is swamped in his ministry.

THE REPRESSION CONTINUES

Upon going out of a meeting of the International Red Aid in Madrid, the workers were pounced upon by the police litz, the "Red" referendum received more who killed one and wounded many. La- (in one almost double) than it received ter, many workers were arrested. Labor last time. Red referendum indeed! The meetings are suspended and workers pa fact is that the Fascists brought out al-

GERMANY THE PLEBISCITE'S **REAL RESULTS**

The press service of the German Communist Party, commenting on the results of the referendum to dissolve the Prussian Landtag, seeks to swindle the party ille strike had the advantage of showing alleged victory of the Stalinists in their the great necessity which the Spanish disastrous combination with the Hitlerproletariat has of the organization of a ites: "Yesterday's referendum was a truly Red referendum . . . The Red referendum furnished the proof that it is possible, by a principled Bolshevik policy, not only to drive back Fascism, but If this is the way we see the pro- to beat it decisively." The Daily Worker in this country, which paid very little song. Pitiful as these claims are, they are properly revealed in all their falsehood and deceit by the final returns which have just reached us.

The Figures Speak

We publish the comparative figures of the votes given in the 20 "verwaltungsbezirke" (roughly equivalent to our wards) of Berlin, first in the referendum of a few yeas ago on the expropriation of the German princes, a campaign led by the Communist party which won the support of the socialist workers, and second, the votes given in the same districts during the recent Pfuksian referendum which was really led by the Fascists:

	"Princes	"Pruss.
Ward	Referen."	Referen."
Center	$127\ 561$	67,329
Tiergarten	111,215	66,469
Wedding	191,579	89,986
Prenzlauer Berg	159,162	72,899
Friedrichschain	175,984	76,094
Kreuzberg	179,742	88,352
Charlottenburg	120178	79,440
Spandau	48,652	29,003
Wilmersdorf	46,767	47,266
Zehlendorf	8,733	16,932
Schoeneberg	76,261	60,699
Steglitz	42,106	58,863
Templehof	26,969	23,941
Neukoelln	153,905	71,500
Treptow	48,112	21,860
Koepenick	32,156	17,511
Lichtenberg	96067	53,652
Weissensee	25,683	18,741
Pankow	40,809	31,536
Reinickendorf	48,756	36,536
Thus in such de	cisively p	roletarian
wards as Center, Wedding, Friedrichshain		
and Neukoelln, the "Red" referendum to		
dissolve the Prussian Landtag, gave only		
half or less than half the votes cast for		
the Communist referendum a few years		
ago to expropriate the princes. In such		
bourgeois wards as Zehlendorf and Steg-		

a pers are seized, correspondence is vio-most their maximum forces (very few

$\bullet \bullet \bullet$

A voice from deportation:

Since the Spring I have been living in a new place. During the Winter and the Spring, all the deportees were "shaken up" so that those who, like myself, for example, were not sent into solitary, were transferred to a more "pernicious" locality. As before, things are very bad from the standpoint of provisions and postal service: a message from friends is an extremely rare affair. In spite of this we read not so long ago with great pleasure the booklet "What is the Peranment Revolution?". Christian G. Rakovsky has elaborated theses on "The Laws of the Socialist Dictatorship", which we have received. If you have not the latest works of Rakovsky, I can tell you that they coincide entirely with the works of the Old Man [Trotsky.-Ed.]

. . . From everywhere, we receive news of a new wave of repression. In May, a number of "recidivists" (former Oppositionists who have come back to the Opposition) were arrested in Moscow. Some of them were sent to Solovki, others were condemned to ten years in concentration camps. Two comrades have proclaimed a hunger strike; their boss". For, Macia is more the "Barcecondition is very grave. We do not knan. agent of the Madrid imperialists" raging through the streets of Seville belland which only two months ago exknow, unfortunately, what has happen- (Trotsky) than the sincere friend of the when the central organ of the N. C. L., pressed the hope that the Spanish an- Paris August 15, 1931

-ARNE SWABECK.

A few facts. A rank and file Com- flags from the windows. All told, there munist, whom we asked the meaning of are few, except on Koeslinerstrasse the partys activity and its perspectives, answered us: "There is nothing to be street are all Communist; that is where disturbed about, they'll never get there." The action was taken without thinking 1929. . . about it.

On the 5th, there was a big party goes on here in saloons. To our quesmeeting in the largest hall in Berlin. It is hard to estimate the number attend- that things were not going well. There ing $(7\ 000\ to\ 10,000)$, but the hall which is usually absolutely packed during party noon, which brought about no change. meetings, was hardly full in the downstairs seats, and about half empty on the three balconies. The meeting began very late. A large police force on the outside, in the lobby and, according to opinion replied: the law, evn two police officers, one in

uniform, in the hall besides the tribune. just as bad without it." Beaugrand, of the French party, who spoke partly in French and partly in the night, I will write next time. . .

appointed. The duty of the Catalonian

Communists is to unmask this double

dealing of Macia and to tear off his

apostolic mask. Unfortunately, Catal-

onian Comunism, at the present time

led by the Maurins and Arlandises, is

not in a position to accomplish this task,

for, instead of severely criticizing all the

treacherous acts of the Catalonist move

ment, Maurin practises a policy of bene-

volence and amity towards Macia's party.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists

The conduct of the anarcho-syndical-

ists also requires a pitiless criticism by

treason of the syndicalist leaders of the

N. C. of L. been more cynical, more

looked in vain to the support and the

solidarity of the strongest trade union or-

Fahne has given the order to hang red which is really red. The tenants of this the May First shootings took place in We visited many voting places: it more workers than did Primo de River

in the seven years of his government tions, the party placard bearers answered Misery, hunger and despair increase incessantly among the workers. The coming Winter threatens to be prodigious were hopes for the better in the after in desperate struggles between the work-Before the results, it was clear that the ers who will ask for bread and the police plebiscite had flopped in Berlin. A who will mow them down. The presen Communist placard bearer at the entrance government promises to se bloody and to a voting place, after having heard our brutal to a degree exceeding the dictators of the monarchy.

"It's no good with the plebiscite; and Will the Spanish working class know how to organize itself and to react? As to the fighting of the evening and

Madrid, August 8 1931 -HENRI LACROIX.

ness that the N. C. of L. "is making a

unfold under the vigilant control of the

revolutionary workers, anarcho-syndical-

ism will be led more and more to demon

strate the inconsistency of its doctrine

and the cowardice of its methods. In

one of his letters "The Spanish Revolu-

tion from Day to Day", comrade Trotsky

writes: "The whole fate of world anarch-

ism, or rather what remains of it after

the Russian revoluion, is closely bound

up with the fate of Spanish anarcho-

syndicalism. And since anarcho-syndical-

ism in Spain is setting out towards a

shameful and ridiculous bankruptcy, one

cannot doubt for an instant that the

Spanish revolution will be the grave-stone

of anarchism." One could not hope that

-M. MILL.

lated, house raids are conducted, arrested Fascists failed to vote on account of the workers without defense have judicial law Communist party's participation) for the applied to them, workers are imprisoned referendum, while the revolutionary and brutalized more and better than durworkers stayed at home, indifferent or ing the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera resentful towads the Stalinist capitulajust as in the heyday of Martinez Anido. tion to the nationalist demagogy of the The republic government has assassinated Hitlerites.

Further "Victory" Proof

In proletarian Berlin-Center, 67 329 'For" votes were cast in the "Prussian" referendum. At the last Reichstag elections, the Right wing parties received 61,000 votes and the C. P. 58,872.

In overwhelmingly proletarian Wedding, out of the 279,000 eligible voters, 89 986 "For" votes were cast. In the last elections, the Right parties received 51,936, while the C. P. got 99,273. The "Red" referendum did not even receive the total C. P. vote of last September 14. In workers' Friedrichshain, 76,094 'For" votes, while the C. P. got 80,000 and the Right parties 74 000 votes last September.

But how do we know whether the "For" votes in these districts came from the C. P. or the Right? The answer is found ed by the bourgeois wards:

In overwhelmingly bourgeois Zehlendorf: last September the C. P. got 2,598 votes, the Right parties 20 424 votes. In the present referendum there were 16,-932 "For" votes! The C. P. won over" . . the bourgeoisie!

Take Steglitz, a bourgeois ward. 14,-165 C. P. votes and 69,299 Right votes in September. "For" the "Prussian" referendum: 58,863.

Outside of Berlin, the same picture. In Cologne, which gave 132557 Right votes and 67,786 C. P. votes, there were 74,358 "For" votes in the referendum, with 540,000 eligible voters. In Aachen, with 113,593 eligible voters, 15,889 voted 'For". In September, the C. P. received 14,564 votes, the Right parties got 25,780. As a final straw to show which may the wind blow-from the workers or from the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie; to the Communists or to the Fascistswe take the characteristic example of the rural, backward, petty bourgeois district of Hessen-Nassau, a "natural" stamping ground for Hitler's cohorts: Eligible to vote: 1,720,210 September C. P. vote: 137,148. September Right vote: 614,393. "For" the referendum: 554,-537.

A political party-particularly the revolutionary Communist party — cannot stand many more such "victories" without collapsing under the deadly weight of its own folly. . .

the republic. In an official declaration of the N. C. of L. its leaders declare in dangerous turn" by submitting body and in the unmistakable indications furnish the name of the thousands of revoluviewed matters differently. It exercized Macia's trip to Madrid will definitely do better than the Spanish republic" and a pressure upon the government of the consecrate the treason of Macia's party. that consequently, they will do it no Generalidad by another means: it ad- The hopes of the Catalonian working harm. While these articles and declaradressed itself directly to the central pow- masses in the national independence and tions were made, the workers, abandon-

the trade union organizations sacked. Only the Spanish Communists, in spite

of the absence of a party and a clear sighted leadership, supported the heroic fighters of Seville by revolutionary class instinct. The Spanish working class will remember these two differing attitudes of two political currents in the revolutionary proletariat of Spain. The treason of the anarcho-syndicalists and the courageous conduct of the Communists in the Seville events should serve Spanish Communism to enlighten the masses organized in the N. C. of L. on the shameful and ignoble role of the Pestagnas, Uraleses and the other leaders of anarcho syndicalism. With a correct policy in the trade union field, as in all the other avowed. The workers of Seville who fields of proletarian life, the Spanish battled courageously against the armed Communists today could deliver a morforces of the provisional government tal blow to the anarcho-syndicalist move ment. That is what the friends of the Spanish syndicalists in France not with-Macia has yielded to the "powerful ganization in the country, the N. C. of L. out anguish, are beginning to understand.

these lines, written a short time before the Spanish events, would find their confirmation so swiftly.



But the Catalonian big bourgeoisie has er of Madrid in order to guarantee its social enfranchisement, demagogically divine right to property. We read in the promised by Macia will be cruelly dis-August letter of the special correspond-

(Continued from page 1)

ent of the Paris Temps: "On July 20, the members of the 'Fomento del Trabajo Nacional' (which embraces the representatives of all the big Barcelona Industries) met 'in order to examine the imminent peril presented to them by the attitude of the laboring masses', and, considering that the cooperation of the government of the Generalidad with the Sindicato Unico had disastrous consequences, they decided to address themselves directly to the central government of Madrid in order to request it to defend them. At the same the Spanish Communists. Never has the

time, there was held a meeting of seven hundred proprietors of Barcelona Gerona, Tarragona, Lerida, etc., whose tenants demand a 40% reduction in rent. They also decided to request aid from Madrid."

Loyal to his petty bourgeoise nature,

The police of Maura-Caballero were still The Cri du Peuple of Monatte and Cham-

Solidaridad Obrero, wrote: "in spite of, archo-syndicalists would oppose to the everything", we have said on many oc-Bolshevik state a genuine "anarchist" casions that we want nothing against state, is obliged to declare with bitteranarcho-syndicalists of the N. C. of L. The arrangement with Zamora and

soul to the bourgeois state of the Spantionary workers whom they are deceiving ish republic. that "nobody can boast of being able to This "turn" of Spanish anarcho-syndi calism is not a surprise to the Marxists. Anarcho-syndicalism was able to win the

ed to themselves, were massacred and

confidence of the working masses in the stifling atmosphere of the dictatorship of the monarchy and thanks to the treason of the socialists who for a long time perverted and discredited the ideas of Revolutionary Marxism. In the revolutionary events, when the activity of all the political parties of the proletariat

THE MILITANT

DISCUSSION ARTICLES

Some Shortcomings of the Thesis

work of the period since our last conings and mistakes, our past and present the second national conference of our League will be able to see clearly our possibilities and tasks.

This article will confine itself primarily to the thesis proposed by the National Committee for the present discusion.

The thesis marks a decided step forward from the platform accepted at our first conference (May 1920). At that time, the first cadres of the Opposition had been expelled from the party and League. Our leading comrades had not yet succeeded in separating themselves from former associations, views, tactics and perspectives which they had held as a group in the party (Cannon group). Our platform was therefore permeated, and understandingly so with these "vestigials". It was formulated with references to the former policies of "our group" (Cannon group), the "proletarian character" of the Foster group, etc.

On the important question of the perspective of a long and inevitable period of social reformism and the organization of a national labor party, the thesis states:

"The Left Opposition, at its formative stage, leaned in the direction of this reformist perspective which constituted to a certain extent an uncritical carry-over of the preceding group struggle in the party, prior to the time when the Left wing took shape and was established as a political grouping distinct from all the others in the movement." (My emphasis -J. C.) "Leaned in the direction of"? Is there any doubt as to our previous position? The importance of the question requires a more categorical statement of change.

Change on Labor Party

It will be recalled that during the first pre-conference discussion and at the conference itself, the leading comrades not only stressed the correctness of the slogan for a labor party, but offered as their strongest argument its so-called "inevitableness". Our platform stated: "---the propaganda slogan (of a labor party) must be really revived and as soon as it has found roots in the masses and their experiences in the struggle it must become an agitational and finally an action slogan". Why is this to expect that the masses of the American workers, who are still tied ideologically and politically to the bourgeois parties, will come over to the Communist Party politically at one step (!) in a period not immediately revolutionary"

the platform replied. Wherein does this position of the inevitability of the labor party, and the need for Communist leadership of the movement in this direction, differ from the present Lovestone position? Not in a hair's breath!

The change on the question of "radicalisation" is likewise a step forward.

speaks of "our group" position previous speaks of "our group" position previous endeavoied to another to the most by which it could be to the actual organization of the Left ing possible means by which it could be in regard to the world crisis, but par-not settle the basic problem of capitalist Opposition. That is, we are no longer done-"which 'accidentally' could be upthe "Cannon group" (in the historical set by war".

The present pre-conference discussion, aciousness of the workers as well as the will have to thoroughly evaluate the blunders and mistakes of the Communists. The mechanical "economic detervention, our accomplishments, shortcom- minist" interpretation of the Stalinists, of course, leads to serious tactical mis perspectives and tactics. In this way, takes. The thesis, while essentially correct should include the above thought The Economic Crisis

On the present economic crisis, the thesis states: "The present crisis is distinguished from many which preceded it in the history of capitalist production by its virtually planetary character" is this correct? No. This is not sufficient. The thesis should state clearly and with emphasis that the present economic crisis develops on the basis of the post-war crisis of imperialism. One can, of course, find the essential features of the latter mentioned in various sections of the thesis. But this is insufficient. They should be enumerated as part of a whole At this time, I will not attempt to dis cuss the prospects of the American crisis. Comrade Field in his article on "The Meaning of the American Crisis" (which we intend returning to at some other time) tells us that there is a contradiction in the thesis when it states: (1) that America will get itself out of the crisis, and (2) "the prospect of struggles ahead that will increase in breadth and depth and militancy". Although there is absolutely no contradiction between the two statements, the thesis is undoubtedly incomplete on this important question.

The thesis correctly states that the American workers, because of the absence of struggles-and therefore defeats-in brium' between agriculture and industry, the previous period will have vitality for militant struggle. But-and this is unfortunately overlooked-these struggles are primarily defensive. Can we expect the present defensive struggles of the workers to be converted into the counteroffensive against the capitalists during the present crisis? It is hardly likely. Comrade Field implies that a liquidation of the crisis means a perspective of decreasing battles. On the contrary, the re-entrance of workers into industrythat is, the beginnings of economic revival-when they are materialy more secure, morally stronger, a decreased unemployment, will mark the beginning of thesis more sentences are presented to the counter-offensive of the workers. The show this differences but it does not thesis should contain this important -JOSEPH CARTER. thought.

In the discussion on the first two main divisions of the national committee thesis in our branch, the question was of capitalist production in America, in asked: "How can American capitalism issue out of this crisis? As a whole, the thesis correctly describes the methods capitalism will use to endeavor to extricate itself from the crisis and analyzes the contradictions it will meet in each process. Yet it gives no direct answer to this question since it can only be answered from life, in the course of the Further. The present theses no longer class struggle. However, two comrades endeavored to answer this question giv-

portunist defeatism, etc. Just as the from our goal, but that does not mean formulation to the contrary would be necessarily that it is a long time off. just as erroneous, leading to Leftist adventures or indolent fatalism. The revolutionary Marxian party has a role, a historical duty, to bend every effort to make each crisis of capitalism its last. Aside from a breakdown of economy and capitalist rule, there must be a conscious organized proletariat with a will for power, before capitalism can be destroyed. The party must work consciously for this at all time, we must not allow one situation to be missed if it is in our power to advance to victory. Without losing any of its ability for recognizing reality, the Left Opposition must give itself and the party a determined tenacity to work for the revolution. True, we are faced with tremenvictory for our class. dous difficulties we are a far way off

The character of this crisis, as to its finality, should be put problematically, a question of struggle. The Bolshevik-Leninist in 1905 and 1917, fought to make the crisis of czarism its last, and won. Be sides the art, we must have the will. It is to improve our will that I propose this change. Capitalism can issue out of this crisis and have another only after a defeat of the proletariat. Do we already see defeat? No, our thesis time and again must call our League our party, our class to work and to fight for victory. This does not mean that at the same time we should not point out, expose and mercilessly fight against all dangers and obstacles in our path that threaten the

-CLEM FORSEN.

The Thesis and the Crisis

leaves unanswered a couple of important points which I desire to raise for discussion. One place, the thesis says, "The present crisis is distinguished from many which proceeded it in the history of capitalist production by its virtually planetary character." The universal character of the crisis is not new nor the distinguishing character. Marx and Engels of the last century pointed them out more than once. The universal character is an effect and not a cause. The above sentence explaining its scope, nevertheless explains none of the basic difference in relation to past crises.

In another party, the thesis says, "The present crisis comes after the existence of an acute disruption of the 'equiliand only serves to aggravate the agrarian situation; it appears coincidentally with a contracting domestic market which gives no appearance of noteworthy extension in the immediate future; and, finally, it occurs in the period of declining world imperialism and is part of a planetary crisis which, precisely because American imperialism's sources of power are spread all over the world, invest the disruption of American economy with highly perilous character." Of the three points, the last is of vital importance, the basic but the first two are of no value. In other parts of the negate the above question; however, such a vital point should not be scattered through the thesis. Speaking of agriculture and industry, the "acute disruption" is not new; American agriculture is a slogan necessary? "It is not reasonable to expect that the masses of the Amment and industry and the process of disintegration and centralization has been the logical outflow of the general process

> relation to agriculture. To say, "coincidentally with a contracting market" is to put the problem upside down and approach from the side of consumption rather than the point of production. This factor should be presented as an ABSOLUTE decrease in the number of workers in production, a fact Marx predicted in the last cen-

Further, the most vital point, not only ticularly in regard to American imper- production and its crisis. alism-an excess of capital a new form

The thesis deals at some length with prospects for a decisive upward swing the crisis and presents many facts, but of the conjuncture would put the period for a commencement of recovery at an even later date." Saying such without explaining what kind of a revival it can be is to leave hanging in the air the main

point of the perspective. We may add that the date of recovery is not as important as the kind of recovery. No blueprint can be given, nor asked for, but a Marxian group must at least

present possible variants as well as what is not possible. The thesis takes up what is not possible but does not deal with what is possible.

It is possible for the crisis to develop into a war. Such a one would be not a mere economic crisis, but a new problem of higher dimensions. With it would proceed a negative revival of industry and production only to end in greater difficulties. At least there would be a flow before the next ebb, considering capitalist economy. It is most probable (as presented by the thesis) that American imperialism at the expense of the other imperialisms, will come out on top. But on top of what, is as important as to specify.: on top. Such a revival will not be the prosperity of the immediate past; however, this does not mean decline.

The Leninist analysis that we are in a period of decay capitalism means that capitalism as a WHOLE is in decay and from this approach. American imperialism, from the absolute standpoint, is also in the decline. However, from the relative standpoint the problem is different. From the relative standpoint, American imperialism still has ebbs and flows because its holds the upper hand and all indications are that, in the downward curve American imperialism will be able to holds its upper position (at the expense of the others). The problem can only be considered correctly from its The fact, though, is, the growing comtwofold relation of the absolute and relative.

To show that there will be a diminishing rate of profit and draw conclusions that this holds decay and decline for American production, is false. A diminishing rate of profit in the past has accomparied an increase in production and logically so. Profit is only a part of surplus value and such an approach will

TORONTO

The Canadian Red Raids

When the first attack was made against | ers, in the vain hope of achieving securthe Communist party in Toronto two ity and independence, organized themyears ago the reformist leaders were able to delude many workers by explain- the banks with the purpose in view of ing that the rights of free speech were being taken away from the Communists only, and not from the workers. In less than a year the right of free

speech had been banned even for the are also extracting t heir pound of flesh "pinkest of the pink."

Today the Communist party is again attacked, not locally but nationally. The Attorney-General of Ontario has openly stated that the purpose of this attack is to drive the Communist party into illegality.

History has already taught us that political tendencies of the day are determined by the basic economic conditions and in order to understand why the political rights are being taken away from the Communists it is necessary to go beneath the surface.

In Canada, agriculture still plays a dominant role in the economic and political life of the country. The present depression coupled with the big drop in the price of agricultural products below the cost of production; the record-breaking accumulation of tremendous stocks of raw materials; the falling off of the internal and external trade-have left in their wake mass starvation and destitution. Thousands upon thousands of small and middle-class farmers are ruined and bankrupt, while mass unem-

end of the country to the other. Again, in Canada, workers have demon strated behind the Red Flag. Troops being called out to cow down the workers has become a common occurence. Militant demonstrations of the unemployed, while yet still limited to the West are growing. The hungry workers in the cities want bread. The ruined farmers want the bankers' noose taken off their necks.

This present crisis is quite different structurally from that of previous crisis and will not be overcome in a hurry. Even the capitalist bankers themselves openly say that much. This winter, the bourgeoisie openly state, is going to be the hardest Winter yet experienced by all classes. Mr. Meighan, former Prime Minister of Canada, in a speech at Toronto stated "that Canada is facing its greatest trial in history." "Unless something is done to meet the growing competition from Russia, the existence of thousands of producers will be ruined" He calls for a war against Russia to save capitalism but that is another ques tion which we will discuss in future petition Canadian capitalism is meeting on the world, market is coming not only

from Russia but from Australia, Argentina, etc., added to which is the reduction of the demand itself, and there lies the crux of the matter.

Canadian capital is preparing to fight for a greater share of the markets of the world by the lowering of the standards of living for the workers and farmers. The question before capital is not only of this Winter as many bourgeois politicians wish us to believe, but the

workers in this connection! The present

party proposal leaves the whole issue

Winters and the Summers of the future

selves in a "Wheat Pool", financed by keeping up prices. But this worked to the contrary. Today they are worse off than ever before, and their land and posesssions are mortgaged to the banks who for the huge accumulated stocks in the "Wheat Pool".

The workers-except for a small minority of the higher skilled labor—are completely unorganized and at the mercy of the bosses. The majority of industries are concentrated in Ontario and Quebec. In the latter Province the workers are almost completely under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the company and Catholic Unions. In Ontario, it is the Orangemen and conservative trade unions. Only in the West have the workers demonstrated with the spirit of militancy.

The leader of the workers and poor farmers is a weak Communist party. The false policies and perspectives the Stalinist Comintern has foisted on the Canadian party in the last few years, is one of the principle factors responsible for the failure of the party to penetrate the masses. The isolation of the party finds its reflection in the fact that in the West where the workers are more militant, the party is organizationployment leaves its bitter trail from one ally weaker than in the East, where the workers are more conservative. The adventurous 3rd period policies were forced on the party during the peak of the capitalist prosperity. When the slogan should have been for partial demands, the party was "fighting for the streets". What saved the party from committing complete suicide in those days, was the fact that the membership of the party is made up of foreign language federations, whose activity is mostly cultural and social.

The growing terror against the Communists raises to the forefront more sharply than ever before the necessity of the rehabilitation of the party. In the present crisis, the party is faced with problems that raise again the following demands, if the party is to measure up to its tasks.

1. Unification and reinstatement of all expelled Oppositionists.

2. Inner-party democracy and ideological clarity; that is absolutely essential if the membership is to develop as the real leaders of the working class.

3. Policies based not "on the building of socialism in a single country", which cannot become a reality surrounded by a bourgeois globe, but on international revolution.

We warn all Left wing workers, whatever may be the differences that they may have with the Communist party leadership, that this must not be made the cover for the failure to take a definite position in the defence of the party. The workers of Canada if they allow the bourgeoisie to smash the party, will find that tomorrow they too will be disarmed. We warn the workers and farmers of Canada, that the capitalists are preparing a general attack against your

sense). In fact, the abandonment of the above position on the future of reformism in the United States marks an important departure from that group's position.

The thesis states: "The unevenness of social development rendered particular ly acute and jerky in the present epoch of imperialism, may easily advance the United States toward the head of the list." The thesis in attempting to take sharp issue with the general conception of the American Communist movement that the revolution in the United States is a thing of the distant future, exag gerates the state of affairs. The essen tial truth of the statement lies in the fact that revolutionary upheavals in Europe which characterize post-war imperialism considerably hasten the forces making for revolution in this country However, the probability of the situation, and that is precisely what we should base our perspectives on, is that the pro-Europe; a Soviet United States of Eur- at once reveals the inner link between in irreconcilable conflict with reactionary class and the workers of the Soviet Union. capitalist United States. This perspective outlined with such lucidity by comrade Trotsky in "Europe and America" (1926) still holds good today.

smaller shortcomings of the thesis.

The first section mentions in disconnected form the position of France in Europe today. Instead of showing the importance of this position (the last mental struggle between capitalism and important capitalist country to enter the crisis, its immense stock of gold) the thesis rests satisfied with the mere state- the U.S.S.R. and against the capital ment of it. It should be clearly stated ist government of the U. S." that France is becoming ever more an outstanding creditor nation; that on the gan for trade and credits with the Sovtween France and the United States.

The section of the thesis which polemizes against the Stalinist conception of written on March 14, 1930. a narrowing of the "base for social reformism" should be strengthened along the following lines: The party leadership rests on the ability of American capi-

I think that the formulation in the thesis to the effect that "the present crisis of American capitalism is not its final revolutionary crisis", is erroneous as it stands, and is not in harmony with the rest of the thesis. It leads to an

to the crisis. As to prospects, the thesis says, in a criticism of the Annalist perspective, underestimation of revolutionary possibilities the war danger, organization, op that "A more objective estimation of the

We must have more discussion on these of overproduction in the period of financial capitalism, is not even considered or | two points; difference of this crisis in presented in its proper light in relation relation to the past and the variations the workers and farmers? The power of possible for the future in order to round the bourgeoisie in Canada has been

out the thesis on this point.

-HUGO OEHLER.

living standards. The successful sup-What are the principal factors behind pression of the party will follow in the the present assault of capital against suppression of all militant labor organizations and progressive bodies.

built up on a strongly organized and In the fight for legality, the Left Opcentralized industrial and banking sys- position calls upon all workers to actem. The small and middle-class farmtively support the party.-Q.

CREDITS FOR THE SOVIET UNION

link them closely with the needs of the Soviet masses."

More than two months later, on June 21, 1930 (that is, still more than a year ago), the Militant, under the heading of "Towards a Concrete Program of Action", had the following to say: "The demand for credits for the Soviet Union the interests of the American working Millions are idle in the United States But the socialist plans of the Soviet Union cry out for machinery and other and collaboration with the Five Year A few brief comments on some of the plan in the U. S. S. R. would be the consequence of large scale credits. Thousands of American workers would receive practical lessons in the implications of internationalism in the fundasocialism and the meaning of Communism Thousands could be mobilized for

In this manner, we advanced the slo-European continent it is more and more iet Union on a revolutionary basis, coinfirst initiated by comrade Leon Trotsky the objective situation and in the his- particularly outrageous sum in the face from his Turkish exile in an article torical interests of the proletariat, that it of "easy money"—in order to swing even

Stalinist Objection

world reply to this imply and irrefut- question. The duty of the Left Communconfuses the ground or base for the ably correct proposal? They rejected it growth of social reformism with the decisively. The Czecho-Slovak party or-"social basis" for it. The latter which gan wrote that according to the "Trotskyist plan", the contradiction in printalism to bribe sections of the working ciple between the Soviet state and the tion of the human matter and the class is undoubtedly becoming even more capitalist world is to be replaced by tion of the bureaucratic apparatus and limited. But the basis for the growth of their mutual collaboration . . . It is a social reformism is more than that. (We pity that the Messrs. Trotskyists did not are speaking of its growth among the tell us on what principles the general first signs of the awakening of class con- tion of the crisis should be constructed.: position. What value has the contempti- pointed lessons in the class struggle the fill the constantly growing demands of for a time in delaying their progress.—S.

workers the simple material needs that aid would be given to the victory of ment program", to the Left Opposition's capitalism within Russia; or on social- program being identical with that of the ist principles-this would mean that the A. F. of L. when the new turn of Mr. Trotskyists believe in the readiness of Browder and Co. so glaringly reveals the capitalists themselves to introduce their own doleful bankruptcy and incomsocialism . . . the responsibility for un- petency in this question, which they employment is to be thrown upon the have overcome shamefacedly after a Soviet Union which does not give us harmful delay of a year and a half sufficient orders . . . instead of compromising the worthless capitalist sys- employment crisis in the United States tem, the industrial crisis is to serve to compromise the Soviet Union." (Rude Pravo, June 24, 1930.)

In one form or another, these same unbelievably stupid objections were reindustrial equipment. Employment here peated by the Stalinists in every other country. In the American party, such a job naturally fell to the lot of Earl Browder, who could not find words violent or contemptuous enough with which to excoriate the "counter-revolutionists" and their "counter-revolutionary" plan. idle American factories to work and of Our answer to the infantile clownings filling Russia's growing demands. But of the Stalinists was contained in the words with which comrade Trotsky concluded his proposal: "But is there any lations? Not merely non-diplomatic rehope that with their present leadership cognition of the Soviet Union, but the the Communist parties are capable of virtual credits boycott agianst it by a serious revolutionary mobilization of the masses? We will not decide this trading agency in New York is compelwill finally make its way through .all the smallest purchase of American prothe obstacles. It is entirely a question of time. But that is a very important lations remains babble unless one raises ist Opposition, therefore, is to exert all its strength to shorten the period."

So powerful is a correct revolutionary idea that in the span of more than a has finally made its way into the program of the Stalinists, giving new justi-

basis.

without its spear-head. Further: Aside from the proposal beon capitalist principles-but by that, ble reference, in the same "unemploying buried at the end of nine other points-instead of being up at the head of the list as a central, urgent demand -there is nothing said about organization a nation-wide campaign among the workers and throughout the organized labor movement to press for its adoption. This demand gives the Communists a splendid opportunity to organize a broad -a period in which the intense ununited front movement of workers of all industrial or pelitical standpoints by apoffered the richest possible soil for rootproaching the non-Communist labor oring the idea in the minds of the workers? ganizations with the proposal for joint The Need of Credits

action on this issue. Their replies to Yet, even now it is not completely this proposal will show the workers folovercome. The formulation of the delowing the reformist leaders where the mand in the party program is a half-way latter really stand on questions of immeasure. The Opposition's proposal must be adopted in its entirety. The party de

portance to labor. Still further: the party speaks in a mands recognition of Russia and the permanently hysterical monotone about "development of trade relations" for the defense of the Soviet Union, as the entirely correct purpose of putting though it were a purely military question. Behind military power stands the factory-industrial power, and for Russia what is one of the-if not theespecially, it means the power (and conoutstanding obstacles to trade resequently the consolidation) of the proletarian dictatorship. But for this it requires that which it has not, at least what it has not in adequate or properly the U.S. It is no secret that the Soviet developed quantities: machinery. To get replacing England as a creditor; that ciding in this with the demand raised question beforehand. The policy which led to pay interest rates running as high this highly essential machinery, it must this promises future serious conflict be- by the International Left Opposition and we defend has such prefound roots in as twenty-five and thirty percent—a trade with the bourgeois nations. To "growing demands", requires not so much

diplomatic recognition-which we favor which Russia hasn't got and which Hoover seeks to prevent it from getting. In short, regardless of what angle of the question is approached, the formulation in the party program reveals its inadequacy and half-heatedness in exactly the

same degree as the rounded and incontestably correct standpoint of the Left Opposition is confirmed,

Finally, one phase of the party's de of dollars in credits to bolster up the fication-if it were needed-for the in- collapsing structures of reaction in mand requires comment. It says that tant workers. The only boast of the sistent advocacy of the idea by the op- England, Gembany and elsewhere. What the "development of trade relations . . . Centrist official is that he can succeed

Communists can teach the American the successful construction of the workers' government and its five year plan". The essence of what is said here is a repetition of what we have always contended and a slashing refutation of the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country". According to the latter, Russia can be made a self-sufficient socialist island, not dependent upon any of the rest of the world, because it has all the economic resources and pre-requisites for the construction of a socialist classless society. If this is so, and if we have—as the Stalinist bureaucracy declares-"entered the period of socialism in the Soviet Union", trade relations with capitalist countries would not need "development" but "diminution". The party tells us, now, however, that precisely because of the "constantly growing demands of the successful construction" there must be a "development of trade relations". It is this simple and ordinarily indisputable idea that we have defended against the vulgar national socialists for years. The Opposition declared a thousand times, against the furious denials of the Stalinists, that Russia's connection with, its need of and even its subordination to the world market would become more acute precisely in the period of its economic construction and reconstruction. We pointed out that the contradictions which each passing year muliplied for a capitalist encircled workers' state would bring increasingly conclusive refutation of the theory of "socialism in one country".

Time and its events are great teachers, even if their teachings mean so unreservedly-as it does credit facilities little to the mentally ossified Stalinist official. The Browders not only refuse to learn, but try to prevent others from learning. The former have at their dis-. posal an enormous, usurped apparatus. Our weapons are chiefly correct ideas. The machine has a temporary strength. But in the end, ideas last longer and prove invincible. The ideas of the Left Opposition are even now making a way for themselves to the minus of the mili-

the demand for large, long-term credits to make these relations possible for the Soviet Union on the most advantageou The demand for long-term credits to the Soviet Union is particularly facili-

tated at the present time when the United

States is expending hundreds of millions

ducts. All the babble about "trade re-

PAGE 4

THE MILITANT

involved, as well as the Bittelmans,

Weinstones Johnstones, Stachels and

other shadows who lurk even more dimly

in the vicinity of the factional stage

what has been quoted above is enough

to indicate the "line-up". For that mat-

ter, to have imagined that Foster or

the others, who have about as much re-

spect for Browder as he has for them.

would stand by silently under Browder's

managership would mean to display a

If there are no issues, they will be found.

Right now, they all juggle with "de-

fensive" and "offensive" and "counter-

offensive" as if the terms were so many

tance. But underneath all this word-play

combat. Thus it is that they serve them-

selves well who serve Stalin best!

ITORIAL

WHERE IS THE BRITISH **COMMUNIST PARTY?**

reformist bankruptcy that rings around the entire world. Since the world war there has been no more striking illustration of the truth that social democracy is the shield behind which capitalism marches in its assaults upon the working class. In the dramatic events of the past week the whole game stands revealed. MacDonald and Company led the British masses up to the edge of the precipice and then pushed them over it A reduction in the miserable unemployment dole and a cut in wages for the attack on wage standards in industry: these are the concrete results of the workers' experiment with a reformist principles of International Commission. Labor government. What will the laboring masses of Great Britain learn from this terrible experience and how will they prevent a repetition of it on a still greater scale? These are the most important questions arising out of the present situation.

And here it must be acknowledged that, as far as can be seen now, there is nothing to warrant optimistic expectations on this score in the immediate future. It is true that the masses learn only in the course of their own experi ence. But even this is not an automatic process. It is the historic function of the Communist party to assist the masses to assimilate the experience and raise their struggle to higher ground. And it regime which ravages and disrupts the heavy blow which reformism has dealt into a still heavier if not a mortal blow against itself and its future usefulness to the masters. But the arm which could deal the blow-the party of the vanguard -is palsied.

The stabilization of British capitalism rested in the first place on the reformist labor bureaucracy, and particularly on its "Left wing". The policy of Stalin in the general strike covered its advance and disarmed the revolutionary workers. Only this enabled the labor bureaucracy to escape unpunished for the betrayal of the general strike and to prepare the way for the new debacle. The pseudo-Left wingers are now organizing another division of labor to head off the furious resentment of the masses and divert it again into the same channel of reformism. And again their maneuver is facilitated by the helpless regime in the Comintern.

The Stalinists content themselves with tom of the dispute-another illustration be read a fatalistic acceptance of their faction. victory. The question of what could be done to defeat this strategy and open the way for the Communist party to bound forward at the head of the inthem.

They will not press the counterfeit Left wingers to the wall, split their ranks

mary importance to every internationalist: Where is the British Communist The catastrophic collapse of the Bri- Party? Did it expire completely in the tish Labor government is an example of embraces of Purcell and Stalin? Up to the present writing, we have heard noth ing of its activities or its proposals in these events which are so fateful for the proletariat of the entire world. Could there be a more devasting commentary on the present regime in the Comintern than the recital of this single fact?



THE RETURN OF GERRY ALLARD

The return of comrade Gerry Allard to are fighting under the flag of Marxism. In a time of reaction against the basic outstanding militants of the younger comrade Allard is without a doubtfinds his way for a second time to the to an unquestioning obedience to the in-

period of study and conflict, it can be leadership of any Comintern section regarded only as a victory for our cause dares to develop a "different" point of and a significant sign of hidden developments taking place deep within the ranks Kuusinen, or Manuilsky) has to say of the conscientious and uncorrupted Communist workers.

Comrade Allard, who supported the Opposition at the time of its explusion from the party three years ago and then a is precisely this indispensable factor few months later capitulated to the Stalthat is lacking, thanks to the devastating inists, accompanied his application for readmission into the Communist League Communist movement from within. The with a manly and straightforward acknowledgement of his mistake and a deto the workers ought to be transformed claration of solidarity on all the important principle questions. The National Committee readmitted him to membership with a six months probationary period. This action is to be regarded as an extra-ordinary one which is not designed

to set a precedent. The reference, of exceptional set of circumstances could not informed as to who represents them. justify such a decision. As a general rule it cannot even be thought of.

There were a number of extenuating circumstances in this particular case. Lovestone and Foster against the Op- all the disguises and camouflage and an-

the Left reformists, in all of which can is not and cannot be the basis of the

Comrade Allard was caught by the argument, which was Foster's contribu-"mass work" in the mine fields, unobership, was the most important and de-

cisive question-proof again that the der illuminate he problem? ballyhoo about "mass work", without re-

The Anonymous Factional Struggle in the Party

A new factional struggle, a new type only beginning to overcome the hind-1 one for whose throat the rapacious Brow- in his least harmful form, is a phraseof factional struggle, is brewing in the rances and to resist wage cuts. speedder is itching. In the same article, we monger. To those who know the three men

party. It is a new type because it cor- up, the starvation of unemployment. responds so perfectly with the bureau- The beginning of the mass actions cratic, artificial "monolithism" of the has primarily a defensive charac-"third period" in the Comintern. In the early years of the Comintern, groups and factions took shape on the sharpen the struggle, it simultaneously basis of clearly defined standpoints in

principle, and the discussion between contending groups took place openly on questions of principle. That is how the doctrine of Marx and Lenin was clarified and strengthened in the Communist International. After Lenin's death factional struggles began to degenerate into

unprincipled combinations, mechanically concocted to serve the momentary inthe ranks of the Left Oppositon is of terests of similar combinations in the civil employees, the signal for a furious itself a matter of interest to those who Political Bureau of the Russian party-Zinoviev's, Bucharin's or Stalin's. With the final triumph of the Stalin faction, with the organizational crushing of all when those who remain faithful to the opposition in the parties, "factionalbanner are numbered by tens, and not by ism was eliminated". The destruction of hundreds or thousands, every man is a virile internal ideological life in the important. And when one of the most parties-falsely labeled "monolithism" or "anti-factionalism"-was made possigeneration of revolutionary miners-as ble by the canonization of the system under which leaders exist only thanks

platform of the Opposition, after a long fallible Stalin faction. Nobody in the view without knowing what Stakin (or about the issue. And once either of the

point. This is the way factional struggles are "eliminated" in the "third period" of the Comintern. Unfortunately for this consummately

bureaucratic "solution", political struggle has a logic which is more powerful. The

For the reasons already mentioned, the

the Y. C. L.:

tion for a memorial notice today.

per, the Revolutionary Age, have been

to appear as the defender of Stalin . . .

for this ardent and touching defense

was a series of articles by Duranty in

itself. It is not Stalin, you are given to

of this theory is Trotsky.

The last few issues of Lovestone's pa- Age, 8-22-1931.)

repetition and continuation of Leninism power". (Ibid.)

against Walter Duranty. The occasion out of kindness, and read further:

read a condemnation of ... the idea that, because we have a splendid fighting spirit among the masses therefore we are already developter. Wherever this defensive moveing an offensive of the working class. ment begins to involve broad masses and Sometimes this is theorized . . . In its begins to develop the elements of a counleast harmful form, this is no better than phrase-mongering. It is a substituter-offensive against the offensive of the capitalists. The general character of the tion of the wish for the deed." Again, who is the phrase-monger in small strikes that sprang up during the past period all over the country is, in question? He appears to be no less a

one than Foster himself! In the very the main, that of the defensive. In the same issue of the Communist, he writes, callow ignorance of the party situation. miners' strike we alrea y see this defenusing the same "anonymous language' sive in the process of passing over into as Browder, about the mine strike: "It would be to completely misunder-A truckload of mud could scarcely be

stand this strike to consider it merely clearer. But what-that is who-is a defensive struggle . . . While this colored balls without meaning or impor-Browder really aiming at? Let us read began as a defensive fight against a local "It is therefore clear that it is abso

wage cut at the Avella mines, the strike the cliques are busy undermining each is taking on a counter-offensive characother-anonymously, for the rank and ter," etc., etc. file must not find out about it "prematurely" and the fighters must take no Thus, according to Browder: Dunne is absolutely wrong and what is more, is chances in burning their fingers in open

irresponsibe and bureaucratic. According to Foster: Browder completely misunderstands the mine strike.

---MAX SHACHTMAN.

Maurin and the Anarcho-Syndicalists

We must pitilessly criticize Maurin, pose that pitiful lay priest of a Pestagna without surcease; the events will com- who will undoubtedly play the most pletely confirm our criticism. In a short infamous and cowardly role in the comtime Maurin will only be a comical fig- ing developments of the revolution . . . ure with his provincial reflections, his corroded doctrines and his primitive slogans. Everything lies in knowing who will succeed him. The Left Opposition will be unable to become a leading force in Spain without being one in Catalonia.

effects of it are being partly disclosed The second urgent question is that of our struggles" we find that the unrethe anarcho-syndicalists. It is indispensin the present struggle of the cliques lenting Browder resumes the thread of in the American party. able to publish a pamphlet against anhis struggle a month later, more sharp archo-syndicalism and to distribute it An Anonymous Struggle ly and more anonymously. In the Aug widely not only in Spain, but also in ust issue of the Communist, Browder other countries. Have you read the arstruggle has two additional characteris- writes: ticles by Monatte [leading French syndi-"At the miners' convention, there oc tics to justify its designation as a "new course, is not to the question of probation type". First it is carried on anonymouscalist.-Ed.] in which he expresses his curred unprecedentedly bureaucratic dis--that goes without saying-but to the 1y. Policies are mentioned, viewpoints hope to see the Spanish anarcho-syndicaltortions of the correct revolutionary line. readmission of a capitulator. Only an are referred to, but the outer world is ists oppose to the Bolshevik state a gen This was typified by the method used in making a change in the name of the uinely "anarchist" state? The whole fate Second, the ranks of the party are kept Union. The miners were all for the old of world anrchism, or rather of the in abysmal ignorance of what is going on name, National Miners Union; the Party fragments saved from the Russian revor what is involved. For, to submit the had never made any decisions instruct- olution, is intimately bound up today with dispute to the membership of the party ing its members to try to change the the fate of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism. Comrade Allard came to us in the first is to submit the bureaucracy as a whole name. And yet, one comrade holding a And since anarcho-syndicalism in Spain wave of protest in the party against the to the decision of the ranks-which would strategic position proceeded upon nis is moving inevitably to the most pitiful 'outrageous violations of party democracy be the beginning of the end for the personal whim and by use of personal and ridiculous bankruptcy, there is no committed by the combined forces of Browders of all stripes. But in spite of prestige to propose and to have adopted doubt that the Spanish revolution will be without discussion the change of name the tombstone of anarchism. But attenposition. He did not remain with us onymity, the principal actors in the to Mine, Oil and Smelter Workers Union tion must be paid so that the tombstone long enough to assimilate the more pro- tragic-comedy can already be discerned. (without even a discussion with the Comof anarcho-syndicalism does not at the found principle conclusions at the bot- The first hint as to who is who and what munist fraction!) . . . It was an exsame time become the one of the revis what was given to us by the present treme example of bureaucratism [hear! olution. If Maurin is the temporary covroutine denunciations of the strategy of of the truth that party democracy alone leader of the party, Earl Browder, in hear! This from Browder], of going over er for the Stalinists, anarcho-syndicalism his speech to the sixth convention of the heads of the workers-and even of is a temporary cover for the socialists the party. Further demoralization was and the republicans, that is, for the "It is necessary that our comrades, thrown into the work of the Union at bourgeoisie. Just as Maurin can turn especially the youth should have more this convention by another irresponsible over the advanced Catalonian workers tion to the education of the miners, that definite understanding of the terms 'de- action, the postponement of the election into the hands of the Centrist bureaufensive', 'offensive' and 'counter-offen-1 of the official leadership and the installcracy, so the anarcho-syndicalists can surgent masses has not yet occurred to structed by disputes with the party lead- sive'." (Daily Worker, July 14, 1931.) ing of a 'provisional' committee instead. turn over the whole revolution into the This again was an individual action . . ." A commendable idea. How does Browhands of the bourgeoisie. The theoreti-Once more, our anonymous, high-hand- cal and practical struggle against an-"The capitalist class is conducting a ed, bureaucratic, irresponsible, etc., etc. | archo-syndicalism now stands on the orand take the workers away from them gard to the principle basis upon which vicious economic and political offensive criminal proves to be Dunne, who reder of the day. It is manifest that this with a fighting policy of the united front it is conducted, is a capitulatory tend- against the working class. Within the presented the T. U. U. L. at the N. struggle must be conducted on the basis on concrete issues of the day. God ency. Lacking at the time of the great working class there is wide-spread radi- M. U. convention, making the main re- of the policy of the united front, of the questions in their world-wide scope, calization and upsurge of activity and port and—as Browder so delicately in- unity of the trade union organization, comrade Gerry allowed himself to be beginning of struggle. The main body of forms us-running affairs in general. etc. But we must unmask the leaders of the working class is, however, as yet But Dunne appears to be not the only anarcho-syndicalism and, above all, ex-

The samples of Maurin's speeches produce a painful impression. Contrary to us, he considers, you see, the Five Year Plan as an acquisition of the revolution ! Can it be that he has read nothing?

By the way, the Reuter Press Agency and other agencies with it, are spreading false telegrams concerning alleged articles and interviews with me on the Five Year Plan (complete failure, falsehood, etc. . .). It is extremely impertant to unmask and to deny these infamies. In the present case, the bourgeoisie uses against the Stalinists the latter's own falsehoods and calumies. . . Kadikoy, June 29, 1931

-L. TROTSKY.

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offensive of the coal operators'." (Ibid.) Browder vs. Dunne and Foster As we see, the comrade who "is abso lutely wrong" remains anonymous. But latter has spoken, then there is surely he has a name which is the spoken our files of the he has a name which is far from unnobody in the national leaderships who Daily Worker, and find that the quotation made by Browder refers to a dis-

a counter-offensive." (Ibid.)

further:

natch to the Worker from Bridgeport Ohio, signed by William F. Dunne, colleague of Browder's on the omni potent Political Bureau. Having reveal ed the man who has created "an entirely erroneous political atmosphere around

Lovestone

10 Years Ago

lutely wrong to speak of the 'offensive of the working class and the counter-offensive of the capitalists'. An example of this wrong use of these terms, which car create an entirely erroneous political atmosphere around our struggles, may be found in a recent issue of the Daily Worker, which says: 'increased mass pic-According to Browder again: Foster, keting at Piney Fork and other mines Saturday morning checked the counter-

Only a few years ago they could forbid ! make a bloc with these same people-social imperialists to the core-"against imperialist war"! They could sit at the same table with the betrayers of the general strike at the moment of their betrayal and even after it! But they have become very radical since then. Having burned their fingers on the "united front" with the strike-breakers-after expelling the Left Opposition for opposing it-they will not think of a united front with reformists any more under any circumstances. And with this pseudoradicalism, the British Communist Party -already enfeebled, disrupted and beaten down by the international leadership-is still further handicapped and prevented from taking a single step forward in the face of this tremendous opportunity.

With an air of wisdom, pathetic in its emptiness and impotence, the Daily Worker "exposes" the aims of the "Left" laborites. In the issue of August 27 they say the Labor "Opposition" to MacDonald is "trying to prevent the workers from turning to the Communists". This is the last sentence in the leading editorial. It represents their conclusion on the subject of the Laborite "opposition", the only conclusion they have offered up to date. But the matter does not end with this inference, which is a fairly obvious one. That is rather the premise from which we should begin. What is the Communist party going to do about it? -that is the question. On this crucial point the Daily Worker has not yet reported any program of the British Communist Party. Neither has it offered one of its own as it is in duty bound to do if internationalism means anything to them. Let the America Stalinists ruminate over this question and tell us what they think about it. And while they are at it, perhaps they can give some information on another question of pri-

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swayed by personal attachments and the immediate issue of agitation among the miners-a further confirmation of the necessity of a principled and an international orientation.

A closer examination of the fundamental issues of the struggle, during the course of which he also had the opportunity of testing the practical policy of the Opposition as against that of the Centrists in concrete action, enabled comrade Allard to clarify his views and take his stand. In view of all these conditions the National Committee, having confidence in his seriousness and good faith, could not do therwise than welcome him back into the ranks of the Communist League. We believe that we will justify that confidence and that the organization as a whole will approve the action taken.

-J. P. C.

10c

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48 pages, paper cover 15c shall they do with their power within letariat of a number of other countries. Special Rates in Bundles of 5 or more the Soviet Union? This is no abstract If this is the line of division, we are

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titled "Russia's Hour of Need":



our readers will understand; and to un-feudal society. But they do neither. In Who is this counter-revolutionary derstand, says de Stael, is to forgive. spite of the Trotskyists, the Russian Trotskyist who smuggled his anti-Lenin-It is September 1931 and in these lines workers have decided to build socialism !] we shall engage to commemorate the "For what other purpose shall they use Communist Party of America under the tenth anniversary of Jay Lovestone's their state power in the Soviet Union guise of a famine relief article? As we conversion from counter-revolutionary except for constructing socialism there? have said, it was Roger B. Nelson. And Trotskyism to Stalinism. The fact that Let the critics of the Soviet Unionwho is Roger B. Nelson? He is, or was Lovestone, ten years ago, was a "Trot- bourgeois and otherwise ["otherwise" skyist"—we hasten to explain to the means . . . Trotskyists]—tell us what Lovestone, yes, the same Jay Lovestone wondering reader—is adequate justifica- should the Soviet workers build in the whom we quoted above. And if the rev-Soviet Union except socialism." (Rev. olution could not be accomplished successfully in "any one country" by the forces

We assume this means that the Opof the proletariat of that country alone, position is in favor of the Russian workwhy did not Lovestone, in September Soviet Union and Its Bourgeois Critics: ers building capitalism, or feudalism, or 1921, tell the Russian workers-in line nothing at all. If such unrefined idiocy with his arguments of September 1931which Lovestone makes a moving attempt were so, Lovestone has already won the -that they "have no reason for mainfirst victory. But let us pass this by taining power"?

But is it not possible that this was "It was at the Fifteenth Party Congress in December 1927, that Bucharin 1.00 the New York Times, in which he argued speaking for the Congress, administered that Leninism had been replaced in the the most crushing ideological defeat to Soviet Union by Stalinism, which has Trotskyism on this viewpoint. If the Third Congress' written by "James A. subordinated or cast aside the perspec- C. P. S. U. were not correct in conclud Marshall, Delegate Commuist Party of olution." tive of international revolution in favor ing that the Soviet proletariat was capof the "practical reality" of national soc- able of overcoming fully all bourgeois America" who, after speaking of "Lenin, Trotsky and other irreproachable leadelements within its country, that is, of of an argument that Stalinism does not building a socialist society, then, it would ers" (he changed his mind about that exist; if it does it is merely a legitimate really have no reason for maintaining later), writes:

"Soviet Russia cannot exist as an isolated state within a capitalist world." The line of division is clear: "Leninunderstand, who invented the theory and ism" (a la Lovestone) deciares that the practise of "socialism in one country", Russian proletariat, by itself, is capable led for saying no more than that !] "This but Lenin himself. The only opponent of the successful construction of a nais the problem. Two solutions are possible. One puts the burden of the action tional socialist society. "Trotskyism" "The Russian workers have seized polit- declares that this can be done only with upon the revolutionary working class

outside of Russia. The other must be ical power," Lovestone announces "What the "state aid" of the revolutionary procarried out by the workers of Russia. question. To play with the state power now in a position to look back at The structing socialism in the Soviet Union munist Party of America (the undershall the Soviet proletariat de in the No. 3, for September 1921, where we tion of Russia. It waited until it could and Muste's in the United States. Soviet Union except build socialism?" read an article by Roger B. Nelson, en- wait no longer." [Why did it have to

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wait if Lenin "in 1915" said that they "Our speakers and agitaors should util. need fear no isolation because they could build socialism with their own forces?] Soviet Russia for specific purposes. Bat "It now proposes to break the unbearable economic isolation. The concessions policy is one of the methods of doing it." And who is this Trotskyist No. 2? Is end do more harm than good to the he Cannon or Swabeck? No. At the starving workers of Russia . . . We risk of producing the rupture of a blood vessel, we must point out that James successful revolution can be accomplish- A. Marshall was and is Lovestone's It is not customary or seemly to write [Is this not a positively annihilating] ed in ANY ONE COUNTRY without the bosom friend of yesterday-Max Bedacht, assistance of the international proletar- member of the Political Bureau of the party today and professional Trotsky killer.

> But perhaps we have before us only ist views into the official organ of the two individual aberrations? Not at all. In The Communist, official organ of the United Communist Party of America (both Lovestone and Bedacht were members of its Central Committee), No. 5, -- it is not much of a secret today-Jay for August 15 1920, we read the following official pronouncement, presumably representing the standuoint of the whoie party, unless Lovestone's and Bedacht's protests were concealed by the other "Trotskyists":

> "The Soviets will realize that the theoretical deduction from the facts of the struggle between capitalism and communism, that a proletarian state cannot exist in a capitalist world, must be followed in practise and that Soviet Russia a momentary "Trotskyist" aberration of can only preserve itself by developing one individual? Let us look further in the Russian revolution into the world the same issue of The Communist, and revolution. Soviet Russia will stand or on page five we find an article "The fall as the revolution in that country becomes, or does not become the world rev-

> Cannot even exist! Can only preserve itself! But what about building up a complete national socialist society with their own forces, without "developing the Russian revolution into the world revolution"? Where was Stalin to put the [Name of a name! Trotsky was expel- quietus on such arrant Troskyism? Where was Bucharin? Where was Bedacht? And Lovestone? The horrible truth is that they were all, all, "Trotskyists" in that those days. . . . * * * *

There is no exact record of when The first is the overthrow of capitalism Lovestone was converted. He may tell in the countries of Europe or America, us some day what caused him to see is to play with fire. The question of con- Communist, official organ of the Com- and the establishment of a proletarian the light and when. But we doubt it. dictaorship there. The other is a meth- He appears to be too busy dividing his should never be treated abstractly. What ground C. P. of a decade ago) Vol. 1, od to break the deadly economic isola- tongue between Stalin's boots in Moscs.

-MARSH.