WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

HEMILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, Novem ber 28, 1928 at the Pest Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March a, 1879

VOLUME V, NO. 44, [WHOLE NO. 140]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

Miners Face Big Tasks

Progressive Miners of America Must Be Class Union

From the day the Progressive Miners | given by the new union becomes the de of America began to take on organized form it was clear that the real tests of its existence as a union, and particularly as a militant unon, were still ahead. These tests, of course, could not be expected to be easy ones. It could not be merely a matter of going out to line up the membership and collecting dues. No, the job is a far more serious one. The existence of the new union will be conditioned upon its ability to give battle and its ability to fight to greater degree of clarity of views as to ter of a direct head-on-collision everywin. That also presupposes a much what really constitutes a militant union —one which can actually win over the combined enemy forces, the Lewis-Walker clique and the operators.

Only a few weeks have passed since the day of formation of the union, and the test is already beginning. The operators have extended their line of the battle front against the new union. In this they have obtained some measures of success, at least temporarily. That this could be possible, there need be no doubt, is due to some of the weaknesses displayed by the new union leadership ed there and has already replaced the at the Gillespie convention and since.

Carrying the Offensive to the Miners

In Franklin County, it will be remembered, the powerful Peabody company had, at the time of the convention, with the help of the Lewis-Walker clique, plus the terror of unheard of proportions, succeeded in preventing the strike and compelling the miners to submit to the \$5.00 scale and with it to submit to the UMWA. These efforts had been extended to Taylorville, but there the miners were still fighting on the picket lines and solidly with the new union. U. S. soldiers were on guard at the Peabody mines there. U. S. soldiers also invaded Canton, in the Peoria territory, to break the strike. And now the mass picket lines appear to have been given up entirely by the new union.

This question of the picket lines is, of course, not the only point at issue. That itself is merely a part of the general strategy pursued. But for a new union, for a progressive union, which has to meet the enormous obstacles of all the enemy forces combined and merged into one, the question of stratgy becomes a real problem. The rank and file will and readiness to fight can be depended upon but the strategy of the fight must be a superior one. It must be one which will outwit the combined enemy forces.

In this respect it is necessary to note the very first weakness represented by the acceptance of the \$5.00 scale at the To the Rock Island Section Committee Gillespie convention. For this those lead- of the Communist Party ers who advocated its acceptance are To all Communist Party members and fully responsible. The weakness lies not merely in the sense of its immediate ef- Dear Comrades: fect but more so in the fact that the ably brings their own conclusion in new day, September 30, 1932. and greater contradictions, new and I take it that you have realized the

important event we are not exaggerat-

with was left behind. This material was

something can be learned.

cisive question.

Organization of the New Union

The new union starts out with the dis-

advantage of the retreat to the \$5.00 scale. This part of the basis is thus equal for both unions. Which one will prevail? That question is more fundamental than the wage scale. It is now an open direct struggle between the two. But the strategy to be pursued must take into account the conditions existing in the various localities. It is not a matwhere. It is clear that in Franklin Co. the process of winning the rank and file for the new union is by no means com- N. Y. Br. Communist League of America pleted. Their strike was broken, they are still in the UMWA. For the Progressive Miners of America the task is therefore the one of working from within to strengthen its foothold, to regain what is lost and to prepare for the complete break with the Lewis-Walker regime.

The Taylorville and Canton territories, on the other hand, present a different picture. The new union is solidly root-U. M. W. The issues can be settled to its advantage, its interests can be maintained, only in the direct collision with the enemy forces Any relenting in this respect will surely react by the latter gaining ground, if not gaining the upper hand. This will surely hold true wherever the operators extend the battle front into the new union territory.

The Left wing must particularly make this clear to the mines. It is a part of the process of building a militant union. The issues, the conflicts can find their solution only through struggle against the enemy forces and not at all through collaboration with them. From the opposite direction the Peabody interests, which are the dominant interests in Illinois, have assumed this kind of an approach and are attempting to advance in N. Y. Br. Communist League of America head-on collision everywhere. This company is the main controlling factor in machine mining. As such it represents the crux of the problem of job control and union control. The Progressive Miners will in this respect have to meet the Peabody company face to face on its own ground.

(Continued on page 2)

FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE **RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4th

126 East 16 Street, near Irving Place

ADMISSION: 15c Auspices:

(Opposition)

Protest Meeting

What is Happening in China

Chen Du-Hsiu, founder of the Chinese Communist Party and member of the Left Opposition, and six co-work. ers were arrested. Unless action is taken at once they will be executed!

What are the effects of Japanese invasion? What is the role of Amer. ican imperialism? Hear about the Peasant Wars and the Soviets.

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Sunday, October 30, 8 P. M.

126 East 16 St.

Auspices (Opposition)

VOTE COMMUNIST!

Vote Communist!

Against the Party of Petty Bourgeois Reformism

interests of the masses of the people recognition of the class struggle, aimed stands out in glaring evidence of the fact at shifting its base from the working that even in the wealth-saturated United class masses which at one time gave it tion to relieve the intense sufferings strata bewildered by the crisis, crushed brought on by the crisis. The hollow between the upper and nether millstones promises, the spread-eagle oratory, the of capitalist society, and looking for a mutual recriminations and self-exposures way out which is smooth and not lined of the capitalist candidates do not hold with thorns or boulders. out the least prospect for a working class which is now in the fourth year ist party, perfectly typified by its standof the crisis.

The ever-present liberals, in a quandsupport, are taking refuge in great numsiah, Norman Thomas. The arch-Bournot been able to muster around him.

dorsed the Communist candidates, the jority of the socalled "protest voters" into line behind the American edition to the wealth and power which a comof the social democracy.

And there is no barrier in their path. Particularly since the war, the American

The present campaign of the Social opportunism to the days of 1917 when ary as to which of the two parties to Morris Hillquit ran for Mayor of New York with an agitation centering chiefly dodger so openly—even the bourgeois hope for reorganizing our economic life, newspapers cannot refrain from point- but also immediate plans for making ing out this trait as his chief character- things better. We are aware that massistic—that the muddlehead liberals for es of men will not vote for deeper purwhom he winked a flirtatious eye have gatory now in the dubious hope of paradise hereafter. (Beware the Bolsheviks!) Hence we are concerned with programs Regardless of the handful of intellec- to keep the peace now to relieve unemtual and scientific lights who have en- ployed now; to help the farmers now. We ask you to examine our platform from 'practical' as no other proposals are: out of the ranks of the more conscious practical, that is, for all those who are petty bourgeois elements, have swung not trying above all things to hang on paratively small owning class controls?"

(Page 30.) And elsewhere (Page 64), the hand-Socialist Party and its leadership have book soothes the apprehensions of the moved in a virtually unbroken line to small property-holders, to whom Thomas the Right, doing everything conceivable and Thomasism make such a warm apto deserve the designation of the third peal, that "Socialists would not urge capitalist party, which properly belongs that all industry be run by the communto them. The party which surrendered ity. They would encourage many conto the bourgeoisie by deleting from its sumers and producers, voluntary cooperconstitution the disciplinary warning ative organizations, particularly on the against those voting credits for military farm, in retail distribution and in educaand naval purposes, is not calculated to tional, journalistic and artistic ventures.

called to trial, etc., etc.). I immediately

understand that all this is not accidental,

that it is, in fact, the fullest and highest

expression of Stalinist bureaucratis in

(Continued on page 2)

our party.

As the elections come to a close, the arouse the fear of a mobilized proletar-1 "There would likewise remain under the cold indifference of the two big capital- iat in the hearts of the ruling class. The socialist commonwealth a certain small ist parties and their leading spokesmen party which erased from its banner, in amount of private ownership in new inwith regard to the burning problems and deep actuality as well as formally, the dustries, in handicrafts, in agriculture and in intellectual production."

Grocers, traveling salesmen tourist home managers of the world, unite, and States, the ruling class is not in a posi- their confidence, to the petty bourgeois vote Socialist! Your future is guaranteed!

In word and deed, the socialist party is a petty bourgeois party, masquerading with yesterday's tattered garments of a working class movement. The class conscious worker, who does not want to throw his vote away in a futile attempt to reard bearer, must look for its equal in gister it until Norman Thomas is elected president and 51 percent of the Congressmen and Senators are members of the Socialist party-will register his protest bers under the tent of the socialist mes-"We offer", the official social handbook tion, exploitation, misery, and war by bon Hoover—they cannot endorse. As for 1932 hastens to assure all timid pea- voting for the Communist ticket all along for Roosevelt, he has played the artful nut-stand owners, not only the one true the line. Our differences with the party's policy, which isolates it from the masses and impedes the development of the revolutionary movement in this and other countries, cannot eliminate the fact that the Communist party is the only working class party in the field, the only revolutionary party, the only party which stands for the interests of the working class today' and tomorrw.

The Left Opposition therefore ranges fact remains that the overwhelming ma- this point of view. Are not our demands, itself alongside its party and calls upon every worker to cast his vote for his party, the Communist party!

Good Meetings in Boston

Two successful meetings were held in Boston and Lynn by the Communist League of America (Opposition), with Max Shachtman of New York speaking on the situation in Germany. In Boston. Otisfield Hall had betwen 60 and 70 Boston workers listening to the standpoint of the Opposition on the German question, ending in a number of questions put to the speaker from the floor revealing a keen interest in the importance of the events. Significantly enough, this is the first meeting held in Boston on Germany, for the official party has not displayed sufficient interest in this crucial problem for the world revolutionary movement to organize one single meeting on it. As a result of the Boston lecture, the branch expects to announce shortly the addition of several new members, who are not new to the movement, having been active in the Comcharging that I refused to appear when munist and labor movements for years.

The meeting in Lynn exceeded all our apealed the action of the District Sec- expectations, for it was arranged by one retariat to the highest body of the party, the Central Executive Committee. The committee the commit comrade alone, Celia Cooperstein, one industry there. Some twenty-five workers gathered in the cooperative center to hear Shachtman, including several party members. A warm discussion took place. In Lynn also this is the first meeting ever held on the German events.

Indicative of the increasing influence Since the Fall of 1927, that is since of the Opposition is the invitation exthe wholesale expulsion of the Opposi- tended to our comrades to organize a tion in Russia and the vicious campaign meeting in Chelsen shortly for the purof the party leadership against Trotsky pose of discussing the standpont of was in full swing, I, time and again, the Left Opposition. We are marching forward!

New Militant Forces Join the Ranks of the Left Opposition

Papcun's Statement

Greetings. With the greatest joy do operators jointly with the Lewis-Walker I greet the proposal of the Section Orclique are bound to take advantage of ganizer for the purpose of discussing my it. They will use it in this situation to reinstatement into the Communist party. strengthen the Lewis regime. They will The thought that the invitation for my be on the offensive, further extend the re-entry was made in all sincerity is attacks to new territories and prepare especially heartening since it refutes the for new and additional wage cuts. Na-lobviously absurd and altogether unturally we are not unmindful of the fact founded charges made by Jack Wilson that the logic of these measures inevit- at the conclusion of the debate on Fri-

greater antagonisms between the miners injustice of those slanders and the inand the operators But in this respect vitation extended by the Section Comalso the direction and the leadership mittee by your Organizer Jack Wilson

But where are the conclusions drawn?

(Continued on page 3)

position). It is with great joy that we ment.

We print here extracts from a number | welcome these fighters into the ranks of in the Daily Worker of August 18, the of declarations which have been made by the Bolshevik-Leninists, confident that District Secretarat of Dist. 2 avoided the well-known militants in the Communist they are only one small section of the entire issue raised in my document, submovement, associating themselves with numerous Communist workers who will stituting for arguments, lies and slandthe Comunist League of America (Op- continue to swell the ranks of our move- ers (calling me a disruptive element,

tion-by the principle of democratic cen-

to rejoin the party is proof of that.

The reason for my being out of the party is, I believe, well known to you. I am not out of the party by my own free will. Briefly stated, at the present pelled by the Stalinist leadership for my Left Opposition and of comrade Trotsky as counter-revolutionary. My expulsion is due to my refusal to subordinate Communist principle to the bureaucratic With the national convention of the What about our past activity and our which I hold to be Marxian and for I. L. D. in Cleveland, came to a close a plans for the future? That we did not not belly-crawling before a leadership most important event in the life of our hear, for there was no time at the conwhose course runs counter to Marxism organization. And when we term a na- vention to deal with the several resolu--Leninism. tional convention of the I. L. D. a most tions introduced at the last moment. It

The leadership that expelled me is is true that certain achievements have ship to the extent that we forget to had the courage of conviction to fight

must be able to give ourselves an ac- only my readmission which is in quescounting of the masses we approached tion. It is the re-entry of all the thouin our struggles. Have we organized sands of Bolshevik-Leninists who have these masses? How well are we able to become the victims of the bureaucratic retain the recruits we make? The com- regime of Stalin and Stalinism. If you plete turnover in our membership during desire my return, you must also strive October 1932 Labor Defender), is no stands in need of these comrades. It is accident but speaks for something sig- only the Left Opposition which is cap- Worker, and brought out the necessity of present period. (4) the invasion of China able of returning the party and the In the face of this, it was indeed pain- Communist International to a Marxian aid of our German brother party. ful to hear that the point stressed most course and thereby placing it at the head

The demand of the Left Opposition has

the ranks of the Communist Interna-Now, as at all times since my expul- tional, carrying on activity and abiding sion, I am eager to rejoin the party. I by Communist discipline. In re-entering Central Committee answered my appeal want to re-enter the Communist party we do not demand that the party accepts with contemptuous silnce. I can readily because I believe that it is the only real our views but that we merely be free party of the working class.... I stand to exercise the rights guaranteed by ready to participate in all party activities democratic centralism,-the right of and abide by Communist discipline-by presenting our stand before the memberthe Leninist first principle of organiza- ship at convention time, and having the membership judge the correctness of our

position. After the judgment is passed

by the membership we shall abide by its

decisions, be they what they may.... Comrades, you have invited me to rejoin the party. My answer is that I time I am out of the movement because stand ready. But if you ask me to re-(was rudely and bureaucratically ex- pudiate the Marxian principles of the Left Opposition I refuse. For me as for refusal to condemn the position of the every real Communist, Marxian principle stands supreme. In spite of my differences with the present leadership I Davenport, Iowa.

-GEORGE J. PAPCUN.

Declaration by Pappas

To the Communist League of America (Left Opposition)

In connection with the menace of Fascism in Germany and the ruinous policy of the German Communist Party and the ECCI-especially on the question of the united front as the most effective weapon with which to combat and sweep on August 8, a lengthy statement to my party unit and to the District and Central Executive Committees of the C. P. U. S. A. In it, I pointed out that no conscientious Communist can keep silent any longer on the crimes of the Comence of our central organ, the Daily opening up a discussion to come to the

For doing this, I was summarily expelled from the party by the District Secretariat without any hearing or trial. always been that we want to return to In the statement of expulsion appearing the C. I. must be formulated. The C I condition of the shaking of the economic

Bankruptcy at 12th Plenum am ready to take my place in the ranks. Theses Fail to Give a Reply to the Burning Questions of the Day

The thesis of the 12th Plenum of the ing to new low levels. It says the end of ECCI, published in the Daily Worker of capitalist stabilization is at hand. October 20th (City Edition) once more In 1928 the C. I. introduced the "Third

gives us an inside picture of the bank- Period", as the end of stabilization and ruptcy of Stalinism. A resolution with the beginning of a period of revolutionmore mistakes and with a greater num- ary upsurge. In 1930 the C. I. swung ber of meaningless revolutionary phrases to the Right. That is, the theoreticians is difficult to conceive of. A thesis of of the C. I. moved to the Right as the the vanguard of the revolution must pre- crisis was moving the workers to the sent the determining factors of the world Left. Now in 1932, the C. I. in the 12th situation. The C. I. thesis gives more Plenum informs us that "the end of capispace to secondary questions, leaves out talist stabilization" is at hand. Comsome determining factors and does not pared to the Right zig-zag of 1930 (which deal correctly with the important factors dropped the form of the "Third period" which are taken up.

munist International is itself going prove the opposite: that the Left shell through a profound crisis under the of the present move is a cloak for a new Stalin leadership must at least give an Rightward shift in the Soviet Union by answer to the following problems: (1) Stalinism presented by the recent buthe world crisis and the perspective. (2) reaucratic decrees, the expulsions of the the danger of Fascism in Germany. (3) 12th Plenum and the growth of the reacthe role of American imperialism in the tionary element. their proper relationship.

ong ago passed beyond the economic tion. Further, if the "Third Period" of stage, and has reached a stage of open 1928 ushered in the end of stabilization conflict between the imperialists, in and in 1932 we again have the end of China, in South America; and in Spain stabilization, then it follows that stabiliand Germany where revolutionary situa. zation existed in between. This is a tions developed out of the crisis. The contradiction the Stalinists do not ex-

but which retained the kernel of the Left A Communist thesis for 1932 even zig-zag) this seems to be a return to though it leaves out the fact the Com- the 1928 Left zig-zag. However, facts

If, as the thesis says, we are conby Japanese imperialism (5) the posi- fronted with the end of the period of tion of the USSR after 15 years and capitalist stabilization, we would like to the relation of its contradictions to the know: was capitalism in a condition of imperialist contradictions. From this stabilization for the last three years of analysis, directives for the sections of the world crisis? A crisis itself is a thesis does not take up these points in equilibrium. It is the economic explosion of the accumulation of the contradic-The third year of the world crisis has tions of the capitalist mode of produc-

(Continued on page 3)

ing, for the sharpening economic crisis been made and important battles have part of the same Stalinist leadership and intensified persecution of the work- been and are being fought by us. We which is responsible for driving out the Dear Comrades: ers by the exploiting class, have unlare justified in taking pride. But to best fighters from the Communist Interquestionably broadened the field of activity for the defense organization of the selves on our achievements, however for imprisoning comrade Rakovsky, and working class. Under these conditions, small or great, criticizing the member- thousands of our Russian Bolsheviks who with a clear-headed leadership, correct learn from the past and consider the for Leninist policies... policies and tactics, much can be gained

Dead Handat I.L.D. Meet

Feature of Convention is Absence of Discussion by Members

for the International Labor Defense. A fuure, is false and detrimental. We Comrades, at this moment it is not away the Fascist reaction-I addressed survey of our successes and failures affords us many lessons for the future. Lack of Discussion Yet at this stage in the existence of the I. L. D. when a balance sheet should be drawn up of the past and the basis laid for the future, the material to work the first seven months of this year (see for theirs. The Communist movement intern leadership. I criticized the sil-

nothing less important than the conclusions, recommendations and proposals of nificant. the entire organization after a thorough pre-convention discussion by the membership. But there was no pre-convention at the convention was that the member of the working class. discussion in the I. L. D. despite the ship is not sufficiently active, hence the constant protests and demands on the stagnation in our organization. But part of members! Since this is the what else could be expected since the case, it can hardly be said that ours was voice of the membership was not heard? a convention reflecting the views of the Could we expect our leaders to come membership. It is a small wonder there-down and tell us that they bear the fore that the reports given us were so greatest responsibility for the existing lifeless. It was important to know the situation in the I. L. D. and are ready

number of delegates who attended, the to assume it? Not as long as they can

number of branches "represented" and dish out criticism to the rank and file

the enthusiasm displayed. From all this and make them swallow it.

15th Russian Revolution Anniversary Celebration

ENTERTAINMENT DANCE REFRESHMENTS

Saturday Night, November 5th. 126 East 16 Street

Keep this date open for a good time a the International Workers School Hall, with comrades and friends ADMISSION 25 CENTS

Auspices: N. Y. Br. Communist League of America C. I. thesis says that the crisis is mov-

Letters from Militants

Jobless United Front in Chicago

CHICAGO.—

trolled by the Socialists. Despite the United Front on the specific issues obvious packing of the hall by the Com- at hand. munist party with delegates from all sorts of paper organizations, all three groups were well represented. Among the other representations were A F of L trade union organizations, and fraternal His viewpoint on the united front was working class groups. The bulk of re- so close to that of the Left Opposition presentatives, however, came from the that he even used the exact words of branch organizations of the three unemployed bodies, signatories to the calk order to carry out our aims, we can Among the political organizations directly represented were the Communist party devil himself" He continued, "We will and Y. C. L., Socialist Party and YPSL criticize each other but we will have a Proletarian Party and Farmer-Labor united front because we have to have sented by three delegates.

and able to organize itself for the tasks worker hailed before a capitalist judge set out, namely, the organization of a for participating in the class struggle joint march to the City Hall, energetic suffers exactly the same fate as a Comfight against the 50% cut in relief and munist worker would under the same cirother practical immediate measures, is a cumstances. On the other hand, a Comliving vindication of the correct united munist in bed is as safe as a Socialist front policy that the Left Opposition has in bed. Personally I am convinced that so persistently advocated. The party can if the workers' struggle is to be success. no longer say in Chicago that it refuses ful, the only path is the path of the as to why the C. I. di not publish Trotto sit in the same hall with the leaders Communist struggle." Later on when sky's arguments. In this way, I pointof the "social-Fascists" and even the the names of the organizations who gave ed out, the party leaders would enlight-

"united front from below", so-called; the whole conference was a very dramatic one of the most provocative speeches munist party representatives came with er-Laborites to leave the conference. full intentions of "capturing" organiza-

port of the secretary of the joint com- comrade Satir, another delegate of the mittee, Lockner. He read the demands Left Opposition, arose to ask why the agreed upon by the joint committee of name of our organization was not inthe three organizations. He was follow-cluded in the list of those read. The ed by additional reporters of the three reporter, Miss Thompson, was evidently organizations, Karl Borders, Givens and not well versed in the intricacies of tend-Lemson. They each stressed the point encies in the Communist movement. She that despite political differences, unity took the Communist League to be part must be preserved on the question of re- of the Communist party organizations and lief, and against the system that breeds stated so in her answer. The Left Ophunger. Following these three a repre-position delegates profusely shouted sentative of the T U U L. Mike Zalisko, their thanks, stating that that was where took the floor and launched into a tirade they belonged anyway. against the A. F. of L. Delegate McVey, representing the Farmer-Labor Party singing of the International started by immediately started to heckle the speaker the Left Opposition delegates. throwing the conference into pandemonium. He objected to the correct characthat this united front has far-reaching terizations that Zalisko made against the possibilities. A good deal depends upon build revolutionary unions. (Hundreds A. F. of L. After quiet was restored, the tactics pursued by the Stalinists from the speaker was permitted to go on.

ence, however, came when John Wil- are yet too strong to permit the official A. F. of L. is a Fascist and company ING TO THE ANNIVERSARY ISSUE? liamson, Communist party leader, secured party's participation along genuine Len- union, the Left wing could not possibly the floor, reading a carefully prepared inist lines. Undoubtedly mistakes will afford to "lose time" working within criticized the Socialist party and the not place itself in such a position as to 'social-Fascism', the party also split inother reactionary organizations. How- appear to the workers as splitters and dependent unions like the Amalgamated ever, the manner in which his expres- the theby continue to drag the banner Food Workers that for years supported sions were formulated coupled with the of Communism in the mud. The Chicago the revolutionary movement. This same usual Stalinist name-calling angered the Left Opposition will very shortly issue notorious theory prevented the party representatives of these organizations and a statement on the conference. disorder broke out anew. For a moment it looked as if the united front was all over. It was due to the consummate cleverness of the reactionaries that the whole maneuver of the party was turnedto the discredit of the party, and instead of strengthening the position of the Communists put them in the light of aware that the danger to their regime resplitters. Most of the non-partisan work- gaining its former position does not come ers present saw the party in this bad from the conservative elements in the this question the party, due to its ruinfeelings.

McVey and the others took the floor and, in substance, pointed to the attempted the Communicity Formorum it was direct is concretized as follows: disruption on the part of the party, ed against the official party, now the Sympathizers, who are members of the stating, however, that despite all this, main guns are trained against the Left A F of L or other unions, are called to no one was going to force them Opposition. This sheet, while attempting a united front conference "from below to leave the united front and that they to define, as it puts it, the Right wing organized by the TUUL. These members tion of comrade Maurice Spector. The the achievement of the aims of the con- Left wing Communists, the League, warns since they were not elected by any. When ference. McVey's speech given in the against our "flirting with the Progressive the conference is ended, the members typical trade union style won the ap- Miners of America" and aginst our "do- cannot report the results of the conferplause of many present. At this point ing the best to get control of it." This ence to their respective local union for, chairman Weber pulled a masterpiece of sheet further concentrates its attacks as mentioned above, they were not elect-Stalinist imbecility. He said, "Do you upon Gerry Allard attempting to reduce ed by it. Even if the dare make a re- of the Opposition. Continuity of revolu- lations of close and comradely solidarity is allowed. No one is permitted to wear know whom you just have applauded, a his position purely to the one of holding port, the yellow leaders of the union man who is splitting away from the condown a job. Of course, to this kind of locals, according to the law of the contained—never more so than in the pre- the masses, the officialdom of the Indus- giving verbal adherence to its principles. ference?" McVey vehemently shout- scribbler no other motive is understand- stitution where no member has the right sent period of Stalinist falsification of trial Union adopted a truculent, ultimat- Our comrades are active in defense work, ed that this was not so and that he would able than the one of holding down a to represent a local on his own initia- Bolshevik history and corruption of remain in the conference. The chairman soft job. They complain that Gerry was tive, could demand their expulsion. The theory in the Comintern.

Comrade John Edwards, representing Progressive Miners. the Left Opposition, was the first to rise to ask for the floor in the discussion. However, the chairman simply could not see him, as he called upon delegate after delegate of all other groups. It was

THE MILITANT

New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th St., N. Y. EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannor Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Vol. V, No. 44 (Whole No. 140)

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1932 Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, For- supporters in the field pursue. eign \$2.50. Five cents per copy.

after his insistent effort, together with the demands coming from all sections of the hall, that he was finally given the floor. Comrade Edwards presented the line of the Left Opposition, hailing the For the first time in many years there first genuine united front conference held was achieved in Chicago last night a in Chicago since the Stalinist regime genuine working-class united front, con- has been in existence. He pointed to the sisting of the three largest organized unemployed groups in Chicago; the Unem- Leninist united front on the part of the ployed Councils of Cook County con- Left Opposition over the period of years. trolled by the official Communists, the He pledged the support of his organiza-Workers Leagues of America controlled tion to the conference and warned the by the United Workers Party and the Stalinists, as representatives of Com-Chicago Committee of Unemployed con-

make a united front "even with the Party. The Left Opposition was repre- united mass action. The struggle alone will prove the correctness of the program of the different political The fact that the conference was held lines. But this I know that a Socialist not shy from mentioning the name of trict leadership looked upon me (and It is a most complete reversal of the the Communist League of America (Op-

one with frequent outbursts and tense made at the end of the conference was moments. From the moment that the that of Herbert Newton, party Negro conference elected Weber as chairman by leader. He delivered himself of some pure an overwhelming majority, there was no pieces of Stalinist ultimatism, of pracdoubt in anybody's mind that the Com- tically inviting the Socialists, the Farm-

The conference was not without its humorous moments. For example, after The first order of business was the re- the report of the credentials committee,

The conference adjourned with the

It is the opinion of the comrades here The sensation of the whole conference that the hang-overs of Stalinism For, according to the theory that the now on. It was obvious at the conferbe made. We hope that the party will these unions. Guided by the theory of

-JOSEPH GIGANTI.

Miners Face Big Tasks

(Continued from page 1)

The Lewis-Walker clique is perfectly wing. In the Illinois Miner, the sorry After Williamson's speech, Borders, sheet which functions as their official orin substance, pointed to the attempted the Communists. Formerly it was direct-Communists, the official party, and the represent in reality no organization, got the horse laugh from all sections of first with the National Miners Union, united front conference of the FWIU held then with the UMWA and now with the

Such efforts to discredit a Left wing leader will not get very far with the miners, however. To them Allard's position as a militant and as a revolutionist Left Opposition, and the bureaucratic gaining in the ability of pursuing a cor-suppression of the party membership by rect class policy is becoming increasingly clear. Nor will the rank and file ature of the Left Opposition, and attend-Entered as second class mail matter miners be much disturbed over their ing their lectures, the party members November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at warnings against the Communist League begin to see and realize the true Leninof America. We have taken our position ist role of the Left Opposition. The squarely with the new union, as is the blind belief in the party leadership falls duty of all revolutionists, not at all in aside. I know of a number of party the sense of supporting the direction members who are in secret sympathy with which the reactionary careerist elements the tactical and organizational program attempt to impose upon it; but on the of the Left Opposition. It is only contrary, to help the rebellion against the hair's breadth that separates these memenemy facing the miners in combined bers organizationally from the Left Opforce and to help develop it into becoming truly a militant class union. That is the direction which our comrades and

Our Eight Page Double Anniversary Issue

15 Years of the Russian Revolution-4 Yrs. of the Militant

Russian Bolshevik revolution will be two dates coinciding almost to the day, we are making the next issue a as many pages as usual.

The eight-page issue will contain a good deal of material on the Russian revolution which is not available to the aevrage militant in this country. the national socialist epigones. Some of it has never appeared in the English language; other documents are known to comparatively few readers. Among them, the readers of the next issue of the Militant will find:

The first proclamation of the Rev olutionary Military Committee of Petrograd announcing the deposition of the Provisional Government.

The minutes of the Extraordinary Session of the Petrograd Soviet after the Bolshevik insurrection, including speeches by Trotsky and by Lenin who had just come out of enforced con

The fifteenth anniversary of the [The minutes of the famous November session of the Petrograd Comcelebrated in the next issue of the mittee of the Bolshevik party at which Militant At the same time our fight- Lenin and Trotsky jointly defended ing paper will mark the fourth anni- their standpoint against the conciliversary of its existence. With the ators. These minutes suppressed by Stalin we shall print for the first time.

Lenin's last speech to the Communjoint anniversary number with twice ist International in 1922, at the Fourth Congress, on Five Years of the Russian Revolution, a brilliant summary of its achievements and problems and an advance refutation of

> In addition to these and other historical documents, the Militant will contain many other timely articles, including one on the Russian revolution and the American Communist movement, another on the birthday of comrade Leon Trotsky, which falls on the same day as the anniversary of the Russian revolution, etc., etc.

While a special edition will be printed, it will nevertheless still be limited, and we urge that all special orders be sent in immediately and without fail.

New Forces Join the Left Opposition

(Continued from page 1) in the collection were announced he did en the membership. For this the disthis question) with distrust and suspicion. (At this point, I may be permitted to point out that even many of the present lieutenants of Stalinism, at that time, also objected to such expulsionsthough in private conversations, under

> The criticisms of the Left Opposition policies of the Left Opposition.

Under the theory of the the "third period", the party split the Left wing forces away from the A. F. of L., thus resulting in giving the yellow traitors a free hand for their betrayals and sellouts. Even small, insignificant Left wing Illinois. groups were also split away from the of these groups compose today the varfrom accepting the united front in the Illinois miners' strike, even when it was Muste group.

The united front question today is one of the most important weapons of the working class against the brutal, vicious already miserable standard of living. On Communist movement in Ontario has ous theory of "Fascism" and "social-Fascism" confuses this question by pro-

here last winter and lasting but two days, was typical of the nature of such conferences....

In spite of the slanders and calumnies of the party against the views of the forbidding them to read even the liter-

Long live the views of the Left Opposition and its great international leaders, Trotsky and Rakovsky, and the thou.

sands of emprisoned and exiled Left raised the question in party meetings Oppositionists! Long live the World

> For the regeneration of Lenin's third International! Comradely,

-SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

Help the Illinois Miners

miners have been fighting for months are as follows: J. Sifakis-\$2; P. Vomvas against the greatest odds is in itself an appeal to every worker in the country to come to their aid. The long period of preliminary lists which comrade Angelo unemployment through which most of on the fundamental questions and their them have gone has left them in no And there are other lists coming. The proposals put forward convinced me of position to conduct a struggle without procedure is to transfer these names to its correctness. I, therefore, uncondition- assistance from the outside. Relief is the Militant list as fast as we get subs ally declare myself in full agreement now urgently required by the men and for them with the views of the Left Opposition. In their families, and the miners' union is HOW TO GET SUBS FOR MINERS my struggle against the district and now making a great effort to supply the TUUL bureaucracy through the fraction coal diggers with a minimum of assistof the Food Workers Industrial Union, ance. The Militant therefore urges all points. The first is to get outright (which I shall deal with on another oc- its readers to do their utmost in coming casion) the proposals I put forward to the aid of the men in Illinois. In your there, were, in the main guided by the union, your fraternal organization, in whatever movement you may have a voice, raise the question of relief for the Illinois miners, and then contribute all that you yourself can raise among your friends and comrades.

> All aid should be forwarded to the Progressive Miners of America, Gillespie,

USE THE CLUB PLAN. GET SUBS FOR THE MINERS.

HAVE YOU SENT IN YOUR GREET.

MILITANT BUILDERS Our Club Plan

COMPLETING THE CIRCUIT

cities have stepped up to the firing line zations. Remittances should be made and sent in club plan subs. They are on the club plan basis. The minimum Philadelphia and Toronto. Philadelphia remittance should be \$2 for which we makes an occasional appearance in these will shoot out four half-year subs. This lists but the name of Toronto is almost does not mean that the \$2 must be raised a newcomer. Greetings! Salute us from one comrade or sympathizer. No. often in like manner.

PITTSBURGH

Last week we heard from comrades Vomvas and Sifakis again. This puts them away out in front. You can judge from what they say whether this is a sudden burst or the beginning of a powerful and sustained drive. We think it to read attentively and follow suit: "with a depression like this it is very to donate the sum of fifty cents for a at the rate of \$1 for both. Explain that their living. So far as we could go we fill in two miners' names. succeeded in collecting 8 subs given by workers, of which 4 are of the miners \$30 DOES THE TRICK and 4 for the names below. 2 have been collected by comrade Sifakis and six by rade Angelo's list to the Militant mailing comrade Vomvas.

50c; Bill Theocharis-50c. The sub of peg or two? Have no hesitation. Step George Cephalos has been donated by right up. two workers who can't read English and THE STAFF RECORD who knew that George could but couldn't afford to pay 50c; so they gave 25c each. Is any comment needed on this in Pittsburgh?

MINERS' SUBS

In response to our appeals for subs for miners we have received \$3.50 which, according to the club plan rate, is 11 subs. 11 miners are now entered on the Militant mailing list who were not there The heroic battle which the Illinois before. The comrades who sent them in -\$2; J. Hamilton-\$1; H. Nash-\$.50.

This is only a small beginning. On the has sent us there are sixty more names.

The club plan drive should be pointed in this direction. There are two pivotal

donations for this purpose from com-Since last week's report two more rades, sympathizers and workers' organi-It can be collected from three or four or half a dozen. But the remittances should be made in units of \$2.

A second way of raising money for miners' subs is to get half-year subs from workers at the old rate of \$1 and include it in a club plan of four. In this case you need send in only two names on the club plan blank and \$2, explaining is the latter and we urge all comrades that the other two names are to be filled in by us with miners' names. But be sure to explain to the subscriber that he hard to approach the workers and ask is asked to subscribe, in effect, for himthem to subscribe for the Militant or self and a miner for a half year each miner's sub. As we know, very many we are able to do this because you will workers not only can't afford to pay fifty include his sub with another on a club cents but are in great need of money and plan sub and that thereby the minimum it is a problem to them how to make of \$2 will be realized enabling us to

\$30 will transfer the whole of comlist. But more than that it will mean The names of the workers who don- 60 miners who will read the Militant ated for the miners' subs are: M. Vas- regularly. So let's get going. Who will silias 50c; D. Babarin-50c; P. G. M.- be the first to knock this \$30 down a

It looks as if comrade Vomvas is going to win that copy of the "Proletarian Revolution in Russia" by Lenin and Trotsky really inspiring news from our comrades we are offering to the comrade who heads the staff in the anniversary issue on

iber 5.	
P. Vomvas	\$4
H. Nash	3
W. Krehm	3
B. Morgenstern	2
A. Konikow	2
O. Coover	2
н. А.	2
Chicago Friends of	
the Militant Club	2
J. Hamilton	1
the record by cities:	
Chicago	86
Pittsburgh	8
Montreal	3.50
Toronto	3
Philadelphia	2
Boston	2
Minneapolis	2
's going up!	

MILITANT BUILDERS CLUB PLAN BLANK

A \$1 HALF YEAR SUB of 26 ISSUES for 50c in CLUBS of FOUR or MORE.

THE MILITANT, 84 E. 10th Street, New York City. Enclosed find \$2 for which send the MILITANT for 26 weeks to the following:

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

MIILITANT BUILDER Address

City State Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

Left Opposition Movement Growing in Canada

of the Communist League has marked a guide to action. the definite expansion of the Left Opproposed by the unions influenced by the political and organizational progress are in fresh elements. manifest in the several fields of education and agitation, trade union contacts, literature sales, youth work, and branch recruiting, all of which strengthens the premises for a more comprehensive program of action. In appraising this acattacks of the employers to reduce the tivity it must not be forgotten that the been declared by the courts to be illegal, and the revolutionary organizations are subjected to the most rigorous police persecution.

Educational Work

One of the outstanding undertakings of the branch has been the organization ferment that was going on among the Unser Kamf is similarly increasing and of a class in Marxism, under the direcimportance of theoretical training of Industrial Union had been in existence organization. cadres of the younger generation, can for three years it was isolated from the not be overestimated. Reference to this discontented mass in the older union, and The branch has been increasing its urgent need was among the most con- the workers anxious to throw off the membership steadily. We put into effect spicuous points in L. D's letter of greet-chains of the Hillman machine, set up the principle "from each according to his ing to the first (Chicago) Conference a new union. Instead of striving for re-abilities". No merely passive allegiance tionary Marxian thought must be main- with a movement that was genuinely of the badge of the Opposition by merely

season of the year but drew an attend-strength of the Indudstrial Union did cials, have been called upon to speak ance of between thirty-five to forty, not suffice to prevent the new union to the various Workers Associations, throughout, although as a matter of from consolidating itself in Montreal but forums, etc. The Stalin organ has conpolicy (in the interests of a selection it did suffice to retard the organization sequently become more venomous in its that would be stable) no effort was made of a similar mass movement of revolt falsifications. Rumors are circulated to recruit in the highways and byways. The predominant element was naturally Hillmanism in Toronto. The Hillman tion in Queens Park" (in connection with the youth, but there was also an adult officialdom have for the time being got a deputation from Workers and Producproletarian element with trade union ex- the situation in hand and are busily ers Conference to place its demands beperience and connections. The first part of the course dealt with the theoretical system of Marx, the next with the strategy of the proletariat in the struggle for power, and the concluding part not as unqualifiedly revolutionary as the out of the whole cloth are punctured as is to take up the problems of socialist- RILU. Soviet construction. The lectures were supplemented by mimeographed readings from the revolutionary classics, and the organization of a lending library.

ergetic and loyal militants, who have collaboration was clearly defined from tion of the October anniversary. accepted the full implication of the the very beginning. This group of Left | Toronto.

Trade Union Activity The events in the Montreal needle

trades which precipitated the revolt of the rank and file in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union against the Hillman bureaucracy, also revealed the pled. There is a growing demand for sterility of the "third period-social-Union" (RILU) was so thoroughly satis-

The "third period" trade union tactics see us in action. did however meet with resistance from a sector of the Left wing which rejected the ultimatist attitude. With these blems of the class struggle in the Domin-It may be stated without exaggeration comrades the Left Opposition established ion, we are preparing to publish the that as a result, the revolutionary move contact and embarked on a course of first number of a monthly organ of the ment has gained a number of keen, en- friendly collaboration. The basis of this Opposition to coincide with the celebra-

The period following the last plenum dictum that Marxism is no dogma but wing trade unionists most of whom have passed through all the experiences of It has been decided to continue the the TUEL, reject the Stalinist slander position in Toronto. Indices of this class throughout the winter and to draw about the Opposition. They agreed that an organized Left wing, its policies proceeding from the recognition of the class struggle, is the prerequisite to any militant program of action.

Literature—The Militant—Unser Kamf The sales of the Militant, which had slumped prior to the plenum have triour pamphlet literature, with the satis-Fascist" trade union strategy of Stalin- faction of which the rigid censorship ism. The leadership of the "Industrial interferes. The Customs confiscates our material and the Militant is prohibited fied with itself and the structure and entry in the West, as being Bolshevik objectives of the union as the final word propaganda. Apparently the capitalist in revolutionary engineering, that it re- authorities are not convinced by Stalin's mained blissfully unaware of the actual assurances to contrary. The sale of "backward" masses in the Amalgamated. the branch has taken steps to knit the As a result, despite the fact that the sympathizers of this paper into a stable

Organization and Agitation

ist position of antagonism. Their atti- trade union work, literature distribution, tude was one of "Caesar or nothing! etc. Comrades MacDonald and Spector, The class was launched in the hottest Join us or we will smash you." The to the great distress of the Stalin offiunder Left wing leadership against that "MacDonald opposed a demonstraquoting the articles of the "Industrial fore Premier Henry). Or in connection Union strategists to prove that it is with a previous deputation for the rehardly worth while to break away from peal of section 98 "Spector was afraid the Amalgamated for a union that is to address the Premier". But such lies soon as the workers read our press and

A Canadian Organ of the Opposition To deal more effectively with the pro-

The Stalinists at the Twelfth Plenum

(Continued from page 1)

of the crisis as the end of the period of capitalism. of stabilization is to use phrases instead of analysis unless the "analysis" means tion is to become worse for capitalism,

point. We will take this phase up later. tion what would you call the period of had the invasion of China by Japan, the weakened our forces. revolutions "between" the United States and Great Britain in South America, the Spanish revolution, the Indian situation definite perspective of a worse condition learned and wanted wisdom—that the and above all the danger of Fascism in as the only variant ahead, as the C. I. bourgeoisie is the main enemy of the Germany? Was this the characterization does. On the contrary, one possible proletariat in Germany. This is not told

to the Left Opposition.

Ebbs and Flows in the Decay Stage stabilization is just as dangerous for mulations of contradictions. capitalism as the "end" of stabilization. The whole period is a period of wars and are ebbs and flows.

tions for the seizure of power will exist ditions with no economic gains, which supported by England." This is not the and have existed in the periods of ebbs means relatively worse conditions. The line up in the Far East, even though inas well as flows. A Marxist must pre- released pressure and worse conditions terests ran parallel for a time. sent strategy for the party and the class creates a contradiction, this time for All facts point to a much more comin the decay stage, but this can only be the capitalists which drives the workers plicated imperialist as well as Soviet done providing the ebbs and flows, that into the counter-offensive. Signs of this Union problem. To pass this problem off is, the general direction of the whole are already at hand in isolated examin such a "simple" way and at the same in the downward curve of decay capi- ples especially the miners' strike in Bel- time fail to show its relations to the talism, as well as the parts to the whole, gium and the miners' strike in Illinois, danger of Fascism in Germany is to fail are presented. In other words, the embryonic signs but nevertheless signs. whole period is a period of revolutionary possibilities and in either periods of ebbs and flows within the whole per- perialism this thesis seems to think that transformed into realities. To take ad- ance in world politics. The proper eleva- To cover up our weak points, to hide position of world capitalism, on the conventers of these realities means to be a solid cheek where the conventers of these realities means to be a solid cheek where the conventers of these realities means to be a solid cheek where the conventers of these realities means to be a solid cheek where the conventers of these realities means to be a solid cheek where the conventers of these realities means to be a solid cheek where the conventers of these realities means to be a solid cheek where the conventers of these realities means to be a solid cheek where the conventers of these realities where the conventers of these realities are the conventers of the conven iod these revolutionary possibilities are such an imperialism is of little import. Soviet Union is the most disgraceful part. vantage of these realities means to know tion of the role of American imperialism, from the world proletariat our true conthe direction, the ebb or flow, so that in a C. I. resolution today, must place ditions, when the whole capitalist world proper tactic can be formulated. This it as the leading imperialist power of knows these difficulties, is to lull to sleep the present and past several years of

tahead, but different kinds of ebbs and a thesis that makes up the world pro To pose the question in the fourth year flows than we had in the growth stage blems of the vanguard.

The reorganization and readjustments that after three years of crisis the condi- States but in other important links at not posed in its proper relationship. The the expense of the working class, the resolution uses enough ink in speaking difficult position. The policy of Stalinism trade unions was strangled; but for that The same Congress elected a commisthat the semi-open conflicts are to break peasantry and the weaker section of the of Fascism and Germany but does not is accelerating the difficulties. out into open imperialist wars and rev- exploiters. The failure of the Stalinist pull out the determining factor-THE olutions. However, we will show that leadership to take advantage of the fav- DANGER OF FASCISM IN GERMANY. the thesis speaks differently on this orable revolutionary situations since the Instead, the thesis turns the problem up-If we are now at the end of stabiliza- present German situation has not only enemy is the social democrats. It says, enabled the capitalist class to obtain a "Only by directing our main blows the crisis just before, where we have worthwhile breathing spell, but has against social democracy, this social

Considering all these factors together, one cannot at this stage lay down a To draw an analogy we can say that bility of a short upturn. Not a return of the proletariat. Abstract thinking is self-determination in the Black Belts. the "Third Period" designed the second to prosperity or the end of capitalist essential but there are times when ab-1923 or 1921 to 1928. In this period of the last three years. It will be one of the worst enemy for advancing the workstabilization we had the British General the brief flows in the downward curve ers cause. Or more often it is a cheap strike, the Vienna uprising and the Chi- of decay capitalism. This holds the up- substitute for lack of knowledge as to period came the third period of revolu- process as well as every major stage, the Stalinists The danger of Fascism in tionary upsurges. The C. I.'s guess was of birth, growth and decay has within Germany and its international historical a miserable failure. But history does it its ebbs and flows. Growth has its importance is brushed over with meannot repeat itself. We are on safer dynamic flows and difficult ebbs but de- ingless phrases. ground, not due to Stalinism, but due cay has its turbulent flows and prolonged spasmodic ebbs.

A short upturn solves nothing for the To talk constantly about the end of workers—the way towards which the stabilization and revolutionary upsurge social reformer is looking and hoping. is to replace Marxian analysis with For the capitalist, it prepares the way "Japanese imperialism in alliance with Stalinist phrases. The "beginning" of for greater explosions or greater accu-

Because this mechanical schema does formed to deeper levels of revolutionary struggle for the partition of China and not fit the facts of the dialectic stages situations, always put the workers on intervention against the USSR on the and its cycle. Because the cycle of the defense, drive them to lower stand- order of the day" In this sentence the capitalism has reached the decay stage. ards and scatter their organized forces. United States, which the thesis correctly Upturns have the opposite effects upon says, "is pursuing its imperialist aims revolutions, but within this period there our class. Upturns release a certain in the Far East" is put on the basis as economic pressure but at the same time struggling against a line-up of Japan In this decay stage, favorable situa- usher in the workers into the new con- "in alliance with France" and "actually

Did Stalinism Forget America? In considering the role of American imwhole future from now on be downward? well as its relations to the Soviet Union and the conversion of the whole toiling

The Main Danger in Germany

are proceeding not only in the United | The danger of Fascism in Germany is 1923 German revolution as well as the side down and tells us that the main

mainstay of the bourgeoisie." The thesis clings to the theory of "social-Fascism' and tells us most variant, far from excluded, is the possi- to school children but to the vanguard For equal rights for the Negroes and

The Far East Conflict

The Manchurian situation is treated in an equal bankrupt fashion. The thesis says, "The chief hot-bed for breeding a new imperialist war is the Pacific." France and with the actual support of England, is converting Manchuria into Crises and depressions, unless trans- its colony and has thus put the armed here they are:

to present the contradictions of world capitalism in their proper relationship.

The Position of the Soviet Union The question of the position of the

On the contrary, ebbs and flows are must be an elementary consideration for population of the country into active and

conscious builders of a classless society." The internal difficulties due to objective conditions of a backward country industrializing the country, with world capitalism fighting this industrialization, and the subjective difficulties of the wrong theory of socialism in one counworld crisis upon the Soviet Union, have placed our fatherland in a most

Directives for the United States

The resolution ends by giving such directives in the coming period. With the end of capitalist stabilization the thesis gives the following directives for the United States. Even though we grant that the tempo toward revolutionary upsurge in the United States will be slower than the other countries the directives are inadequate and wrong for this period, for any period. They say, "For social insurance, against wage cuts, for immediate assistance for the unemployed. and the Soviet Union".

The thesis, you will remember speaks of "the end of capitalist stabilization", enth Congress, page 177): nese revolution. Following this second turn within definite limitations. Every what to do. The latter is the case with and "the development of the revolutionary upsurge and preparation for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat." Not that the upsurge will be together, 39 ballots were cast. Five ences of the Communist party of the Soeven, or everywhere at once, but that in comrades abstained from voting. They viet Union (B), pages 169-170.) the present period the general direction cast blank ballots. The rest are divided Literally every document of the party's upsurge. No sooner do they tell us Sverdlov—33, Zinoviev—33, Bucharin—regime of falsifications! this, when we are ready to prepare for action to fit this, that is action to fit the end of capitalist stabilization and revolutionary upsurge, than the fifth section of the thesis presents the directives. And

"The general task of the Comintern to wage a concrete struggle: (1) Against the capitalist offensive. (2) Against Fascism and reaction. (3) Against the impending war and intervention in the Soviet Union". The directives contradict the first part of the thesis. The directives are DEFENSIVE struggles against the capitalists. If the first part is true: "the end of capitalist stabilization and revolutionary upsurge are ahead", then the "genral tasks" are not correct. And if the general tasks are correct for the There will be defensive struggles in the period of preparation for revolutionary upsurge, that is sure, but the general note. tasks, means to point to the main line of march and preparations.

The economic analysis of the Left Opmust now inform the party and the class to prepare the battle-lines to transform the Stalinists are failing to do and have failed to do.

This it as the leading imperianst power of the only class that will defend the Soviet Union, disarming them and helping the gles of the proletariat against the capitalism. continues in the present to take the de-After three years of crisis and deprest termining role in the struggle against Soviet Union, "That country has combe developed with the tempo and to consion what is the perspective? Are there the extension of the October revolution. pletely established itself in the position form to the strength or weakness of the still possibilities for ebbs and flows in The role of American imperialism, in of socialism; the second five year plan link to a higher stage of an offensive the economy of capitalism, or will the Europe, in Asia, in South America as provides for the final abolition of classes for the overthrow of the capitalist rule.

-HUGO OEHLER.

heated character. But to characterize the therefore propose to include Radek inrelations of the party to the participants stead of Stalin. in the dispute, the results of the party refused to participate in the elections of the names to a vote. the Central Committee. Thirty-four deleperiod as a period of stabilization, from stabilization, which was not stable for stract thinking and presentations become For the defense of the Chinese people gates actually did participate. The chairthe official published minutes of the Sev-

"A commission including Avanessov,

The new generation in the Comintern 132, Sokolnikov-32, Stalin-32, Krestintry, combined with the effects of the knows nothing about how the Chinese sky-32, Smilga-29, Stassova-28, Lashrevolution was slain, or how the Left evitch-27, Schmidt-26, Dzherzhinskywing Minority Movement in the British 26, Vladimirsky-24, Sergeiev-23."

it is educated on secondary episodes of sion to elaborate the party program. The the past of the type of the "August bloc" significance of this commission requires (1912!), or the Brest-Litovsk differences no explanation. Let us present here,

Brest-Litovsk

able entities: Leninism and Trotskyism. the question of the make-up of the com-The decision on the Brest-Litovsk dif- mission and the results of the voting: ferences was adopted by the Seventh "Uritsky-I, at least, am unaware of Congress of the party in March 1918. The any programmatic articles by Stalin or discussions at this Congress were of a Zinoviev, but Radek's are well known. I

"Chairman-Stalin has written on the elections are more telling than anything national question, whoever read themelse. It was a question of the Central knows. This is not the question. Since Committee. Bucharin's group, in protest, objections have been raised, I will put

"The voting takes place. "For Lenin-37, Bucharin-36, Sokolman reported the results (we quote from nikov-25, Trotsky-37, Zinoviev-30, Stalin-21, Smirnoy-32, Radek-19, Ob-

olensky-7. "Elected: Lenin, Trotsky, Bucharin, Soloviev and Shelavin served as tellers. Smirnov, Sokolnikov, Stalin, Zinoviev." Permit us to announce the results. Al- (Minutes of the Congresses and Confer-

for the whole, is toward revolutionary as follows: Lenin-34, Trotsky-34, past bears deadly witness against the

Two Press Comments on Russia

Archives of the Opposition

which are presented as two irreconcil- word for word, the brief discussion on

Legend of

AS IT IS TODAY

"As to the prospects (of world revhas been scrupulously repressed.

of Maxim Gorky's jubilee, which occupied contest now being waged on Russian soil, the pages of the Soviet press, there was are constantly held before the people: scarcely a line in the speeches and arti-the Red Army, on its fourth anniversary, cles to show that the Soviet Union was must not forget that it is serving first and interested in world revolution. So much foremost as the vanguard of the world coming period, defensive struggles, then so, that a suggestion of the French radi-proletariat in its advancing march tothe first part of the thesis is incorrect. cal writer, Henri Barbusse, that the time wards freedom; while the members of was approaching for the proletariat to the Communist International know that throw off its chains struck a jarring on hailing the triumphant forces of Rus-

> Kremlin policy that world revolution will be a product of circumstances and not propaganda, and that it is the Russians' side of the square, Trotsky in their midst business to cultivate their own garden . . . It was a magnificent spectacle, deand set the example of a successful So- dicated to the cause of world revolution." cialist State."

-Wireless dispatch from Moscow to the New York Times (10-2-1932) by Walter Duranty.

AS IT ONCE WAS

"Before the review commenced, a group olution .- Ed.) one might think this state of speakers from the Communist Internaof affairs offers to Soviet diplomats, who tional ascended the tribune to greet and its sections in the present period is are alert and experienced in social up- them in the name of their own proletarheaval, the Moscow press says nothing, iat. The Russian leaders, who have Indeed, it is immensely significant that in never for a moment forgotten the interthe countless articles devoted to foreign national character of the struggle they affairs in the past two months, anything are conducting, invariably include the to indicate the Soviet attitude or bias representatives of the fighting proletariat of other lands in every celebration of the "What is more, during the celebrations Red Republic. The broader issues of the sia, they can rejoice at the closer ap-"The Soviet press holds true to the proach of the world revolution.

" . . . The reviewers stood on one

-Report from Moscow on the Red Army Anniversary to the Communist Review (June 1922) by E. Roy.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue) Rise of Japan, Decline of England The rise of English capitalism caused Limited Possibility for Japanese Growth

keep secret the machines that gave her Forced to follow in the wake of the impower. To-day nemesis stalks the Bri- perialist powers, Japan's normal growth from her greatest markets for cotton decay of democracy and the militarizing use every weapon of resistance to fend struggle for larger and larger markets. the capitalist onslaught on wages, partilords were able to direct Japan's course. are symbols of the decline of British "real" democracy in Japanese governaccelerating the decline of English capi-

The Rhythm of Cotton Technology finer the yarns and piece-goods it can mills there even before Japan has satproduce. The Lancashire mills, the old- urated her own home market. Practicalest in the world, are still pre-eminent by 40% of all Chinese cotton spindles are in the making of fine goods, the kind owned by Japanese capitalists. In the used in the more advanced countries. But developments of Chinese and Indian cotthe East-India, China, Japan-with its ton manufacturing, we see however the teeming millions, uses coarse yarn and same fate meted out to Japan that she trols the shipping industry and all the ing. Wages remained stationary or lag- of peasants owing their own land had pursuing a policy which will extend the goods, the type first developed by a new meted out to England,—the loss of martechnology. The mastery of cotton kets. Already China has ousted Japan manufacturing has followed the same from her market for the sale of yarns rhythm in every country, Japan being and India already has more spindles quite typical. At first Japan was a than Japan. Japanese capitalism rests the "Big Five", are gigantic combines, manufacturers, shipping concerns, showed market for coarse piece-goods and the on cheaper labor than that of England heavier, coarser yarns of English make. but both India and China rely on labor Gradually the yarns of coarse size were still cheaper than that of Japan. A produced at home until they ceased to be girl spinner in Japan gets 50 to 60 cents imports and became exports. In this for 10 hours of work. A male spinner stage Japan ousted England from India in India gets from 34 to 43 cents for and China for this type of yarn. Still 10 hours. later the coarse yarn was used in dom- Japan's development in the last 70 estic weaving to produce coarse piece- years, looked at closely, has been slow goods which thus became the export. At rather than fast, much slower than that this stage Japan captured the Asian of England even during its experimental market outside of India almost com- stage. Her home market is not a strong pletely away from England. Japan en-lone; for example, in the cotton industry, croached rapidly even on the Indian mar- on the basis of yarn consumed Japan ket with the results already outlined, does not produce nearly as much goods the closing of India to Japan by Eng- as England, the U.S. or even India, and land. In this process not only has Japan | yet Japan exports more cotton cloth

importing additional yarn (made in China) for her factories.

the ruin of the handicraft cotton lndus- The entire development of Japanese tries of India, China and Japan. But capitalism is conditioned by the epoch not forever could England guard and in which it arose, the era of imperialism. tish Empire and the East ousts England was stunted. Imperialism signifies the manufactures. Naturally England will of the imperialist power in its desperate will not vanish without gigantic strug- sion of the bourgeois revolution with its gles, death-throes one might well call democratic phase in Japan's development them. The tariff, imperial preference, and for the ease with which the feudal occupies in world markets, of the de- themselves Fascist, the reason is that of the rising costs of manufacturing. The so that the so-called Fascism, the outrise of Japan as a manufacturing na- growth of the military oligarchy, tends tion is an added force tending towards to strangle democracy in its very birth.

The more advanced the technology, the to China for the setting-up of cotton

imported greater and greater amounts of than any other country except England, raw cotton but latterly she has been |-because she sells less at home due to

"The Big Five"

A striking phenomenon illustrating under the imperialist forces shaping her ism so tremendous an impetus that it and to remedy it. Are our leadcapital. During periods of crisis when its opportunity to invade all the markets that the rank and file who not only of our organization which can be eraof bankruptcy, the government intervenes Sea Islands and Australia. No better discussion, would have nothing to say errors will not be repeated in the fudirectly to bring about amalgamations measure can be given of the extent of its in opposition to the role played by the ture. Only in this way will the I. L. D. and greater monopolistic concentrations new trade than the relation of exports prove itself the "shield of the working of industry, banking, etc. The "Big to imports. From the Sino-Jap war up Five" of Japan are the very heart of to the World War, imports exceeded exoff the inevitable, the British Empire This fact helps to account for the omis- Japan are the very neart of to the world war, imports exceeded ex-Bank in the U. S. and the Midland Bank ginning of the War. The first three pangs of hunger gnawing ever more of England; that is to say, they are the years of the War cancelled this deficit fiercely. A period of growing strikes cularly in the Lancashire mills,—these lf to-day, before the achievement of any dertaking can be started in Japan with- plus of exports amounting to 467,000,000 in the nation-wide rice riots of 1918. out the aid of one or more of these yen. capitalism, of the precarious position she ment, we witness movements calling banks. To enumerate the companies Before the War England controlled more severe crisis in Japan than in the ers are still under the influence of and controlled by the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Dai- 53% of the imports of cotton piece-goods other capitalist countries. Once more follow the reactionary and reformist pletion of her natural resources (coal), developments are foreshortened in Japan Ichi, Sumiton and Yasuda banks would to China, Japan sending only 20%. By Japan's imports exceeded her exports so leaders. be to catalog every great Japanese en- 1925 Japan had 51% of this business, that the first five post-war years showed terprise. The Mitsui Co. alone controls England only 38%. The present Jap- a greater deficit than the enormous sur- within the organization to raise the level 25% of the entire export trade of Japan anese steel industry is the product of plus of the four War years. Unemploy- of understanding of the rank and file, to On the economic field imperialism gives and handles coal, copper, sulphur, lum- the War. The number of factory work- ment became general and took on unpreoccasion to the peculiar phenomenon of ber, cotton, silk, sugar, etc. It imports ers increased almost half a million from cedented proportions for the first time lection agency and every member a colthe export of finance capital by Japan ships, locomotives, steel bridges, opium, the outbreak of War to Oct. 1917. machine tools, paper pulp. It is the Of far greater importance however, panies of the war period, the overex- the I. L. D. can exist without funds. No largest owner of coal mines in the East. are not these figures, but the changed panded industries, experienced wide-It handles the millions of tons of the social conditions, the enriching of the spread failures. In 1923 the Great the raising of funds and other questions soya bean crop of Manchuria and practic- few and the utter pauperizing of the Earthquake added its ghastly burden to like it will be more successful when they ally owns the forests of Hokkaido be- masses. The same process of inflation the suffering of the masses. On the are bound up with and a result of a sides having the monopoly of camphor occurred in Japan as elsewhere. Prices land the War accelerated the process of thorough understanding of the class in Formosa. The Mitsubishi Bank con-doubled, then tripled and went skyrocket- concentration of ownership. The number struggle by our membership, and by large shipping companies of Japan. It ged far behind the rising cost of living. fallen by 38,000 during the six years behas vast interests in the engineering in- Food became scarce. The profits made fore the War but in the five years fol- Only then will the worker become a dustries. It is vitally concerned in the by the capitalists were simply enormous. lowing the War this class decreased by valuable element in the I. L. D. and in South Manchuria Railroad. These banks, Certain mushroom steel companies, sugar 450,000.

the lower per capita consumption of her vertically and horizontally, with tremenby England in the cotton industry which, since the Mitsui's "own" the Seiyuaki nevertheless, is Japan's greatest industry. Party and the Mitsubishis subsidize the Minseito Party.

Effects of the War on Japan

Japan's uneven capitalist development The World War gave Japanese capital sivity of the membership, passivity defense of the working class. institutions, is the growth of tremend- can be said to have reached maturity ers certain that the past policies of all workers regardless of political views ous empires of monopoly capitalism side- with this period. The war freed Japan the I. L. D. have been correct, beyond and affiliations. The position taken by by-side with her backward industrial temporarily from the strangling fetters criticism? Is there no possibility that the I. L. D. officials in the Morgensternforms. The Japanese government has of competition. After a year of painful there is something that the members are Goodman case and towards the marine consistently encouraged combinations of readjustment, Japanese capitalism seized not fully in agreement with? To assume workers, left a stain on the forehead capitalists find themselves on the verge of the East as well as Africa, the South follow but also think, after a thorough dicated only by proof that such basic in the same sense as the National City of imports of 928,803,000 yen at the be- ously, the workers and peasants felt the it can stand through its sectarian and sources of finance capital. No big un- so that by 1918 there was an actual sur- and tenant outbursts culminated finally the future must be a complete turn from

(Continued from page 1)

Had we been given the opportunity to case and in the case of the New York avail oursives of our constitutional right Marine Workers, is to underestimate the poverty-stricken population. It is a dous and cynically recognized power in foregone conclusion that Japan will never government. Japanese papers refer to a doubt that the entire picture would be the workers. A serious consideration of attain the height of development reached Mitsui cabinet or a Mitsubishi ministry changed. For the most important task these points would lead us to some conis not to dismiss the whole matter of clusions.

How the Stalinists Ran the I.L.D. Convention

the very existence of the organization simply by laying it to the passivity of 1. The I. L. D. must become the

in Japan's history. The mushroom com-

the membership, but rather for all of true mass organization for the defense, us to determine the cause of this pas- the organization and training for self-

2. The I. L. D. must truly defend class"

3. The I. L. D. must go deeper into the masses. It has suffered more than isolationist policy.

4. Our united front conferences in the past. A united front from below is The post-war period brought an even meaningless since the bulk of the work-

> 5 Educational work and discussion avoid turning the I. L. D. into a collector. It would be absurd to say that one makes such an assertion. However, influence and following of the I. L. D. the revolutionary movement as a whole. - CHARLOTTE SCHECHET.

BOOKS BY TROTSKY

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

450 pages Cloth cover \$1.50

paper cover 1.00

paper cover 50c

cloth cover \$1.00

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

REVOLUTION-Vol. 1 522 pages

PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOP-MENT OF THE U. S. S. R.

paper cover 15c

COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALpaper cover 15c

48 pages

64 pages

STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION* Part 2 of the Draft Program 86 pages 25c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER

84 East 10th Street,

64 pages paper cover 15c

WHITHER ENGLAND

Paper .\$75 178 Pages PIONEER PUBLISHERS

WHAT NEXT-Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

192 Pages Cloth \$.65 Paer

THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA*

364 pages cloth cover \$1.00

New York, N. Y.

What They Say in Prague About the United Front

From the Series of Articles in the Forthcoming Book 'The Only Road' : -: by Leon Trotsky

(Continued from last issue)

The united front on the international scale, as we have said above, contains the greatest difficulties and dangers, for there the formulation of the practical tasks and the organization of mass control is harder. That is how matters stand above all in the question of the struggle against war. The prospects of joint actions are far slighter here, the possibilities of subterfuge and deception by the reformists and pacifists are far greater. By this, of course, we do not contend that the united front in this field is out of the question. On the contrary, we demanded that the Comintern should turn directly and immediately to the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals with the proposal for a joint anti-war congress. It would then have been the task of the Comintern to work out the most concrete possible obligations, applicable to the various countries and differing circumstances. Were the social democracy compelled to agree to such a congress, the problem of war, providing there were a correct policy on our side, could be driven into its ranks like a sharp wedge.

The first premise for this: utmost clarity, political as well as organiational. There is involved an agreement of proletarian, million-membered organizations, which are today still divided by deep antagonisms in principle. No ambiguous intermediaries, no diplomatic masqueradings and hollow pacifist formulæ!

The Comintern, however, found it proper this time also to act counter to the A B C of Marxism: while it refused to enter into open negotiations with the reformist Internationals, it opened up negotiations behind the scenes with Friedrich Adler through the medium...of the pacifist literary gentleman and first class muddlehead, Henri Barbussc. As a result of this policy, Barbusse gathered together in Amsterdam half-masked Communist or "related", "sympathizing" organizations and groups, together with the pacifist free lancers of all countries. The most honest and sincere among the latter—and they are the minority can each say for himself: "I and my confusion." Who needed this masquerade, this bazaar of intellectualistic conceit, this Münzenbergerie, which converges into downright political charlatanry?*

But let us return to Prague. Five months after the appearance of the article discussed above, the same journal printed the article of one of the party leaders, Kl. Gottwald, which bears the character of an appeal to the Czechoslovakian workers of the different tendencies to make fighting agreements. The Fascist danger menaces all of Central Europe: the onslaught of the reaction can be beaten off only by the unity of the proletariat; no time should be lost, it is already "five minutes to twelve". The appeal is very passionately written. In vain, however, does Gottwald swear, following Seydewitz and Thälmann, that he is not pursuing the interests of the party but the interests of the class: such a contrast is absolutely improper in the mouth of a Marxist. Gottwald stigmatizes the sabotage of the social democratic leaders. It is needless to say that the truth here is entirely on his side. Unfortunately, the author says nothing direct about the policy of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party: evidently he is not resolved upon defending it, but does not vet dare to criticize it. Gottwald himself, nevertheless, goes into the grievous question, not resolutely, it is true, but still fairly correctly. After he has called upon the workers of the various tendencies to come to an agreement in the factories, Gottwald writes: "Many of you may perhaps say: Unite there 'at the top', we 'below' will get together pretty easily." We believe, continues the author, "that the most important thing is for the workers to agree 'below'. And as for the leaders: we have already said that we combine even with the devil if only it is directed against the rulers and in the interests of the workers. And we say to you openly: if your leaders give up their alliance with the bourgeoisie for even a single instant. proceed in reality against the rulers even in one question—we will greet it and support them in it."

Almost everything necessary is said here, and almost the way it should be said. Gottwald did not even forget to mention the devil, whose name the editorial board of Rude Pravo printed five months before in pious indignation. Gottwald did indeed omit the devil's grandmother. But God be with her: for the sake of the united front we are ready to sacrifice her. Perhaps Gottwald would be prepared, for his part to console the offended old dame by turning over to her disposal the article from Rude Pravo of February 27, together with the inkwell-"worker correspondent".

Gottwald's political considerations, let us hope, are applicable not only to Czechoslovakia but also to Germany. And that's just how it should have been said. On the other hand, neither in Berlin nor in Prague can the party leadership confine itself to the bald declara-

*The fact that the Brandlerites (see their Stuttgart Tri. bune of August 27, carefully separated itself from us in this question too, and supported the masquerade of Stalin, Manuilsky, Losovsky, Muenzenberg, surprises us least of all. After supplying the model of their united front policy in Saxony in 1923. Brandler-Thalheimer thereupon supported the Stalinist policy towards the Kuo Min Tang and the Anglo-Russian Committee. How can they deprive themselves of the opportunity to enlist under Barbusse's banner? If they didnt, their political physiognomy would not be rounded out.

tion of its readiness for a united front with the social democracy, but must demonstrate this readiness in of this Trotskyist is no concern of cow date line that grave regis are the working class. At the same time, here that General Chiang Kai-Shek, the deeds, enterprisingly, in a Bolshevik manner, by means Browder, smarting under the Opposition's Chinese Nationalist Commander, may of quite definite practical proposals and actions. That criticisms of his leadership of the party turn counter-revolutionary and join forces is just what we demand.

with a realistic and not an ultimatist tone, instantly Stalinism in general in the question of fought resolutely, printed a belated found an echo among the social democratic workers: On July 31 there appeared in Rude Pravo a letter, tion of 1925-1927. among others, from an unemployed printer who had of 1927," writes Browder, "the writer recently returned from a visit to Germany. The let- of this article was in Hankow-when ter bears the imprint of a worker-democrat who is un- the decisive issues of armament or disdoubtedly affilicted with the prejudices of reformism. armament of the workers and personal doubtedly affilicted with the prejudices of reformism. All the more important is it to pay attention to how Communist party. In view of the fact the policy of the German Communist Party reflects it- that the Trotskyites in America have self in his consciousness. "When in the spring of last systematically spread slanders about myyear," thus writes the printer, "comrade Breitscheid self in relation to that period, attemptdirected to the Communist party the appeal to begin legend that the Chinese party and the joint actions with the social democracy, he evoked in Communist International, including the the ROTE FAHNE a veritable storm of indignation. So American Stalinist, Browder', failed to the social democratic workers said to themselves: 'Now we know how serious are the intentions of the Communists on the united front'."

Here you have the genuine voice of a worker. Such a voice contributes more to the solution of the question than dozens of articles by unprincipled penpushers. As a matter of fact, Breitscheid didn't pro- on a resolute struggle against Chiang pose any united front. He only frightened the bour- Kai-Shek? We read on: geoisie with the possibility of joint actions with the Communists....Had the Central Committee of the Communist party promptly put the question right on the edge of the knife, the social democratic party leadership would have been pushed into a difficult position. But the Central Committee of the Communist party hastened, as always, to put itself into a difficult posi-

In the brochure What Next?, I happened to write of the land. This statement was printon Breitscheid's speech: "Isn't it self-evident that ea m English in the magazine Chinese Breitscheid's diplomatic and equivocal offer should Correspondence', published at that time in have been grabbed with both hands; and that from one's own side, one should have submitted a concrete, carefully detailed and practical program for a joint struggle against Fascism; and have demanded joint sessions of the executives of both parties, with the participation of the executives of the independent trade unions? Simultaneously, one should have carried energetically this same program down through all the layers of both parties and of the masses." (Page 56.)

By spurning the trial balloon of the reformist leaders, the Central Committee of the Communist party transformed in the minds of the workers the ambiguous assertion of Breitscheid into a direct united front proposal and prompted the social democratic workers to the conclusion: "Our people want joint actions, but the Communists are sabotaging." Can you imagine a more inappropriate and stupider policy? Could Breitscheid's manœuver be better supported? The letter from the Prague printer demonstrates with remarkable plainness that, with Thälmann's aid, Breitscheid completely attained his goal.

Rude Pravo endeavors to perceive contradiction phic course followed by the Comintern of the responsibility for the catastro-phic course followed by the Comintern tionary Kuo Min Tang in Wuhan will be the victory of what the Stalinists did their utmost to destroy in its infancy, an agreement, but in another, we acknowledge it and youd the pale of forgiveness of the Stal- olutionary-democratic dictatorship of the deem it necessary to determine anew each time the indisputable facts that he revealed with indisputable facts that the source of the struggle against imperialism." decisive (Daily scope, the slogans and the methods of the agreement. great defeat was to be found in the Worker, May 13, 1927.) RUDE PRAVO does not understand that in politics, as policy imposed upon the Chinese Comin all other serious fields, one must know well: what, munists by Stalin and Co., that his own plary fidelity, the Daily Worker editorial when, where and how. Also it cannot hurt to under- mistake consisted in following it out to

In our Criticism of the Program of the Comintern simply part of the notorious Stalinist ment, is growing stronger each day". four years ago, we set down a few elementary rules system of manufacturing scapegoats. for the united front policy. We consider it worth while to recall them here:

"The possibility of betrayal is always imbedded in reformism. That does not mean, of course, that reformism and betrayal are one and the same thing at ly the official policy of the international every moment. Temporary agreements may be made leadership (all emphasis is ours). with the reformists, if they take a step forward. But to maintain a bloc with them when they commit treason shortly before the development of a movement, signifies a criminal carelessness towards the traitors and a veiling of betrayal." (The Strategy of the World Revolution, page 51.)

"The most important, best established and most unalterable rule of every manœuver says: One's own from Chiang Kai-Shek or of a crisis larged Political Council of the Kuo Min party organization should never be diluted, united or breaking out in the Kuo Min Tang. In Tang Central Executive Committee—the, combined with another; no matter how 'friendly' the latter may still be today. Such a step should never be undertaken which leads, directly or indirectly, ment is in a position to move on unopenly or maskedly, to the subordination the party to other parties or to organizations of other classes and therewith limits the freedom of one's own agitation, or a step through which one is made responsible, even if only in part, for the political line of other parties. You shall not mix up the banners, not to speak of of the drive on Peking, he accepts the it. While Feng was already negotiating kneeling before another banner." (Ibid, pp. 60-61.)

Today, after the experience with the Barbusse Congress, we would add still another rule:

"Agreements should be reached only openly, before great hopes will not materialize at prethe eyes of the masses, from party to party, from or- sent. The Chinese liberation movement ganiation to organization. You shall not avail yourself of equivocal middlemen. You shall not palm off Stalin's struggle against Chiang Kaidiplomatic affairs with bourgeois pacifists as a proletarian united front."

PRINKIPO, September 2, 1932.

L. TROTSKY.

The October issue of the Young Spar. the History of the First International by subsequent numbers of the Young Spartacus has been off the press for several G. Steklov. weeks. It contains articles on the presi- Comrades should hasten the distribu- Readers of The Militant should sub-

dential elections, the German situation, tion of the issue. The November number scribe to the Young Spartacus (fifty Illinois miners' convention, Youth and which will be devoted primarily to the cents a year).

cial educational features consist of an first week of November. This issue will article on John Reed and a review of be an eight pager—the regular size of tacus.

the Chinese Revolution Browder on Now that the Daily Worker has "cor-

rected its mistake" in appealing to the workers to protest against the arrest and possible execution of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu in Shanghai, the leader of the Chinese revolution and that the arrest of this "Trotskylst is no concern of cow date line that "grave fears are felt and our exposure of his role in China during the 1927 events, takes occasion Gottwald's article, thanks to the fact that it rings to defend himself in particular and who, as we see, foresaw and warned and the great tragedy of the Chinese revolu-

armament of the workers and peasants ing with all their power to create the carry on a resolute struggle against Chiang Kai-Shek, it may not be out of place to take this occasion to call atention to the records."

And what are the "records" which disprove the "legend" that the Communist International (i. e., the Browders of all shapes and magnitudes) failed to carry

BROWDER'S RECORDS

"These show that in April, in the period when Chen Tuh-siu was actively and bitterly fighting for the disarmament of the workers and peasants, I wrote a statement for the All-China Federation of Labor energetically calling for the further armament of the workers and peasants and the development of seizure

First, what Browder wrote in his statement at that time, we do not know. It would be interesting to read it, of that we have no doubt. But it is not needed for an estimation of Browder's position in China during that period, for we have at our disposal fairly adequate material on that score. More important ants for a real struggle against the Stalin-Bucharin fàction in the Chinese

leaders of the Chinese Left Opposition, masses. there is this to be said: With a spirit of revolutionary responsibility and candor of the responsibility for the catastro- best disciple of Lenin": "The revoluthe letter. The structures now directed othe Hankow government, the genuine at him by the apparatus scribblers are expression of the Chinese liberation move-

And now, back to Browder and his "resolute struggle" of the Comintern. For the moment, we shall quote from a responsible source, the Daily Worker of the time, which merely echoed faithful-

DAILY WORKER AND CHIANG KAI-SHEK

On April 4, 1927, with the whole bourgeois press talking about Chiang's pre-Daily Worker lulled its readers to sleep, and sundry that there was no danger its front page dispatch from Hankow. it announced: "Now that the crisis is past the Nationalist revolutionary movehampered by the slightest suspicion of inner conflict."

And in its penetrating editorial comment in the same issue: "There is going to be no split in the Kuo Min Tang, Chiang Kai-Shek remains in command authority of the Political Committee of the terms of the betrayal with Chiang which the imperialists have been building is a unit against imperialism."

Isn't it clear how "resolute" merely echoed the rest of the official these terms:

the Apologist of Stalin

party, Earl Browder, endeavors in the first quotation which guarantees not grab hold of! "Wuhan has not yet issue of October 21 to explain to his the slightest suspicion of inner conreaders that comrade Chen betrayed the flict", the Daily Worker announced on the imperialists....the present crisis of page two, April 15, 1927, under a Mos- the liberation movement is not decisive." with Chang Tso Lin and the Northerners.", while on page one, the editors Shanghai report that "General Chiang Kai-Shek has gone over to the side of "During a part of the crucial period the imperialist powers conspiring to crush the revolutionary Nationalist movement."

WE" AND FENG YU-HSIANG

Chiang's "defection" was promptly exolained away as a mere episode: "We" still had.... Hankow and.... Feng Yu-Hsiang. Bucharin, Browder's boss of yesterday, declared according to a Moscow dispatch in the Daily Worker of April 21, 1927: "We must remember that we (Ahem!!) have the army of Feng Yu-Hsiang, which, as yet, has not been brought into the fight. It is necessary to avoid forms and organizations that will give the imperialists cause to yell about 'the Sovietization of China' (read: that will mobilize the workers and peas-

PROTEST:

The leading militants of the Chinese Left Opposition have been arrested in Shanghai, with comrade Chen Du. Hsiu, former secretary of the party, at their head. The sanguinary record of Chiang Kai-Shek leaves no doubt as to his intentions. The lives of our seven comrades are in real danger. The party leaders are display. ing a cynical indifference to the case. The I. L. D. leaders are doing likewise. The principle of international proletarian solidarity demands that we raise our voices in unmistakable protest against the imprisonment of these comrades. Militants, party members! Demand a change of front from the party and the I. L. D.! Demand a campaign for the release of the seven Bolshevik fighters of Shan.

than that, is the even more damning traitors and vacillators!-M. S.). The record of the whole official policy of the Communists must not leave the Kuo Min Tang, but must push out the Right wing revolution, which Browder's latest in elements instead. Workers must enter discretion in even speaking of himself the K. M. T. and bore from within, in this connection permits us to review never forgetting for a moment that Hankow is a Left government and a consi-Second, as to comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, derable part of the national army favors hidden in his trunk the letter of Wang the principal founder of the Chinese it and that Hankow will become more and Chin Wei and Co., which forever stigma-Communist movement and one of the more the center for the workers and the tizes the role Browder played in China

Thus Browder's boss of yesterday concerning the Wuhan government and ous in its effects, it is no less reactionof which Browder is totally incapable, Feng, the successors to Chiang Kai-Shek ary and base. Every man to his part. comrade Chen some three years ago, is in the bureaucrats' list of white hopes! sued an open letter to the Chinese Com- And here is what was said by Browmunists in which he took his full share der's boss of today, Stalin, the renowned transformed into an

> Following this guidance with exemof May 19, 1927 told its readers that

BROWDER'S GREETINGS IN HANKOW

express some skepticism about Hankow. give some warning to the Chinese masspage 32, which quotes an authentic report of his speech in Hankow on April revolution". What gathering? The Enat that time, still combined treacherous cliques of Wang Chin Wei and Chiang Kai-Shek!

Let us resume the thread: On July 7 1927, a week after Feng Yu-Hsiang's open treachery, the Daily Worker editorial Feng Yu-Hsiang (was) an eventuality easily to have been perceived". Let us Minneapolis see how easily our Stalinists "perceived" having been sent to conclude a military 3 P. M. every Sunday afternoon. alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek against the northern militarists, under the instructions of the K. M. T. Central Committee; that Feng has done anything else Shek? For, we repeat, the Daily Worker than carry out his instructions". This was in the issue of June 29, 1927. TWO press. When Chiang "pledged" himself DAYS LATER, the Daily Worker, which to be "loyal", in order to gain time for perceived, which warned, which fought his coup d'Etat, Pravda hailed him in resolutely, announced in a Moscow dispatch: "Branding Feng's alliance with "Chiang Kai-Shek's declarations re- Chiang Kai-Shek as a betrayal of the lative to his faithfulness toward the rev- Chinese revolution, N. Bucharin in an olution, toward Sun-Yat-Senism and article in Pravda points out....Feng Yuloyalty to the Kuo Min Tang, are dis- Hsiang has passed into the camp of the tinguished from his former statements enemies of the people's revolution" (July and testify to the pressure of the revolu- 1, 1927). This is the same Bucharin

But Wuhan! Oh, yes, there was still something for the sinking Stalinists to fallen", "in spite of the predictions of

The rest can really be guessed: A brief eleven days later, the Daily Worker of July 16, 1927 bore a headline: "Denounce Wuhan Government As Workers' Enemy. Third International Demands Action," But action is difficult to get from workers and peasants bleeding to death under the ax of every bourgecis nationalist seoundrel in whom the Comintern leaders taught the Chinese masses to put their trust.

This horrible record could be prolonged indefinitely. But enough has been printed to show what the "resolute struggle" looked like in reality, and precisely who it is that, trusting to the short memories of his readers, is creating legends about the Chinese revolution.

A final word. Browder pretends to an honest indignation which the calloused bureaucrat is really incapable of experiencing. Let us therefore reprint the glowing letter of introduction signed on June 3, 1927 in Hankow by Pang Chek-min, head of the Oversea Department of the C. E. C. of the Hankow Kuo Min Tang, and addressed to the "Dear Comrades" of the reactionary Kuo Min Tang gang in Oakland, Calif.:

"I have the honor to introduce to you Mr. Browder, the American delegation of Pan-Pacific Labor Conference. He now returns to America from China where he has given a great deal of help to the Kuo Min Tang and the Nationalist Government. I hope you and all of the branches welcome him and introduce him to the branches of Kuo Min Tang in

BROWDER EARNS HIS PRAISE

We do not know the exact nature of the 'great deal of help" which the Chinese bourgeoisie appreciated so warmly in Hankow. But we have not the slightest doubt that Browder richly earned the hearty introduction and appreciation of Messrs, Wang Chin Wei and Co. In any case, such a letter, if it was written because of what Browder calls his "resolute struggle", was obtained from the Hankow hourgeoisie under false pret-

Browder now loftily informs his readers that our comrade Chen Du-Hsiu's arrest is nothing for workers to worry over, that "he is much closer to the group of Wang Chin Wei, with which he has worked for many years." The man who slanders the Chinese revolutionist and winks to the Chinese counter-revolution that the Stalinists will not interfere in his time. If his latest intervention in the Chinese situation is less pernici-

As for us, we shall fight to prevent the assassination of comrade Chen and the the victory of Chinese Bolshevism.

-MAX SHACHTMAN.

MEETINGS

Philadelphia

Comrade B. Morgenstern will speak at 4035 Girard Avenue, Philadelphia, on Saturday, October 29, 8 P. M., on the And Browder? Did he, on the spit, subject of "Why All Young Workers "knowing" the situation-did he perhaps | Should Vote Communist". The meeting is under the auspices of the Philly about Wang Chin Wei and Co., did he branch of the Communist League of America and is one of a series which is es? Here, if you please, is the record, to be held. Admission to this meeting taken from Browder's pamphlet of 1927, is ten cents and all workers, particu-"Civil War in Nationalist China", on larly the young, are cordially invited.

The next evening, on October 30, comrade Morgenstern will speak at the Libparations for counter-revolution, the 2: "Earl Browder, delegate from Amer-eral Forum, 911 W. Girard Avenue, on ica, spoke next...greeting the gathput them off their guard, and assured all ering as the highest organ of the Chinese sions in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union". This timely subject should arouse considerable interest and bring many workers to attend. Admission is free and questions will be arranged for at the end of the lecture.

On November 12, Max Shachtman, editor of the Militant, will speak in Philadelphia on the outcome of the Gerblandly observed that "the defection of man elections. Watch for future announcement.

The Minneapolis branch of the Communist League is inviting all workers to the party, and the cleavage between the Kai-Shek, the D. W. editors again take part in the regular open forum Left and Right wings of the party upon "fought resolutely" by reassuring their meetings to be conducted throughout the readers that "it is unlikely that after winter months at 1530 E. Franklin Ave., following subjects are scheduled:

October 30: "The Community Fund Drive", with Sara Avrin speaking.

November 6: "City Relief, Political Parties and the Tax Amendment" with Clem Forsen as speaker.

November 13: "The Move for New Wage Cuts in the Railroad Industry" with C. R. Hedlund speaking.

Other meetings will be announced regularly.

Admission is free and all are urged to attend.

A HALF-YEAR SUB TO THE MILI. tionary rank and file." (March 16, who smugly boasted a few weeks before TANT IS \$1; WITH THREE OTHERS that "we must remember that we have ON A CLUB PLAN BLANK IT IS ONLY

October Young Spartacus the Anti-War Congress, the activities of comemmoration of the anniversary of the Spartacus Youth Clubs. The special Russian Revolution is planned for the

No more than eleven days after our the army of Feng Yu-Hsiang"!