

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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The Meaning of the Elections

A Victory for Capitalism; A Defeat for Official Communism

On November 3rd, the vast majority of the voting population in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and other sections of the country marched to the polls and cast once again a ballot of confidence in, and retention of, the capitalist system. Reaction and conservatism remain in the saddle, though here a democratic, there a republican rider, sits in the saddle.

Prior to the elections, *The Militant* (10-24-31) said:

"The elections will serve as a barometer of the maturity of the American working class, to what point it has been heightened under the impact of the disillusioning post-'prosperity' crisis. . . . The elections will not create the rising temper of the proletariat; they will register it within the narrow confines of the ballot box. . . . provided. . . . the workers mobilize their voting strength behind the candidates of the only revolutionary party in the field—the Communist Party."

The Capitalists Win Again

The votes cast in the elections did indicate some things, but not the desired ones. The votes did demonstrate, by and large, the swing of the voters back to the Democratic Party. With this shift, the electors aimed to demonstrate their resentment, and that of the mass of non-voters, against the outright reactionary, naked bourgeois capitalism of the Hoover administration, which offered nothing but a prayer to the mass of people during the two years of economic crisis. But fundamentally, the bourgeoisie, the petit-bourgeois middle class and the voting proletariat, cast another vote for capitalism, but proposed that another court-plaster be pasted on the open cuts.

The American masses voted for the capitalist candidates, because of lack of clarity of a program by any other contending group in the parliamentary field, and not yet ready for socialism. The objective factors—mass unemployment, the rule of King Hunger, low wages, etc.—were favorable for an increase in radical and revolutionary expression. Even though the original Hoover boast, and then only a hope, of "a chicken in every pot" found its realization in the soggy handout on the bread-line through unemployment and militarism, the opposite poles of capitalist disorganization and organization, stalked the land, the people voted capitalist.

The Bosses Look Now to the Democrats

The next House of Representatives will apparently have a slight Democratic majority and will thereby be both a plague to Hoover and an excuse for further failures and inadequacies of the Republican administration. The Democrats will demand of the "sovereign" people, in order to put over their "program", complete control of the powers of Government. Present indications are for Democratic success in the 1932 elections which will enable them then to divide the spoils of victory and to function in their particular manner as the executive committee of the capitalist class.

The discontent that exists among the masses continued the course of previous elections and canalized itself in support of the Democratic Party. But as before, apart from individual, sectional and secondary questions, the two main capitalist parties are as like as two peas and twiddle-dee in their support of the powerful financial and industrial interests of Wall Street; both parties reject with equal equanimity any genuine immediate relief on behalf of the jobless, oppose unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and government; and both parties give unqualified and enthusiastic support to Hoover's concern for the bankers' welfare, a military program, and an attack on the living standards of the working class. Thus

the workers who now voted for the Democratic ticket voted to be duped again.

The American Federation of Labor continued its former policy against independent working class political action, and in the main threw its "non-partisan" support to the Democrats.

The Elections in New York

The elections in New York City where unemployment reaches over a million, and where all sections of the labor movement seek political expression, are perhaps good examples to gauge the significance of the elections, particularly in relation to the Communists and the Communist Party.

It is the viewpoint of the Left Opposition that the working class, in taking its first steps politically, will follow simultaneously the roads of the social-democrats and the Communists. The extent to which the workers will be attracted to the program of communism as against the socialists will, apart from the objective factors of economic and social conditions, depend upon the ability of the Communists to present their program in a clear, intelligent and unambiguous manner. There is no reason at all ordinarily, so far as programs are concerned, why a worker should not be able, if he is looking for a revolutionary way out of the capitalist impasse, to make clear his preference for the Communists as against the socialists. But in the New York elections, the mish-mash program of vulgar reformism and revolutionary communism put forward by the Communist Party, made for confusion instead of clarity, and simplified the tasks of the socialists.

The Petit-Bourgeois Appeal of the Socialists

The Socialist Party of Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit made its programmatic appeal, in the main, to the disaffected petit-bourgeois, the small business man and shop-keeper, the professional man, the liberals, white-collar slaves, etc. While, no doubt, it received the votes of deluded industrial workers, it had no fundamental class appeal to the workers. As is known, the acceptance of the theory of the class struggle no longer appears in its preamble. There are those elements in the Socialist Party who, looking farther ahead than their brother reformists, would prefer to have the Socialist Party appeal to and base its support on the labor bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. and the assistance it can give to develop a labor base.

But the Norman Thomas wing, steeped in the ideology and practices of liberalism, though paying lip-service now and then to the working class, does not concern itself with the capitalist system per se and the need for its abolition. Rather it devotes itself to a denunciation of and demand for a reform of the rotten manifestations of capitalism, with its sores and festers. The S. P. concerns itself with such resultant issues as Tammany corruption, graft, vice, etc. The vote for Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for Borough President of Manhattan bitterly disappointing to him, was 48, 438, (which was greater than his 1929 poll), represented, not votes for socialism, but for petit-bourgeois reformism. His own comment on the outcome of the elections was typical and true to his own and the socialist party propaganda in the campaign itself. Thomas stated that the election results were a "blow against good government. . . . a triumph of organized greed. . . . rampant gangsterism. . . . there is no hope for clean government". Nothing is there but the words of disappointed liberalism, of a program that would put silk covering on a moth-eaten, ragged capitalism.

(Continued on page 4)

Russ Oppositionists on Hunger Strike!

We give here a brief account of the brutal measures employed by the Stalinist bureaucrats and G. P. U. agents against the Left Opposition at Verchne-Uralsk where 130 Bolshevik-Leninists are held at an isolation camp. This savage treatment of the best revolutionists and Communists is meted out to the thousands of Left Oppositionists who are exiled and imprisoned in all parts of the Soviet Union.

The disappearance of Christian Rakovsky from Barnaul, and whose present location is not known to this day, except to Stalin and his jailers, is arousing the indignation of revolutionists throughout the world. It is not known whether Rakovsky is alive or dead. This situation applies to others of the young and old Bolsheviks being persecuted by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

We demand a cessation of the persecution of the Left Opposition. The militant workers must insist upon a knowledge of Christian Rakovsky's whereabouts. Stalin and his henchmen will not be permitted to ignore or forget their brutal actions, which include imprisonment, exile and murder of revolutionary Communists. Time will yet give a reckoning.—*Ed.*

MOSCOW.—

At the isolation camp of Verchne-Uralsk, where 130 "Trotskyists" are kept, the repression was so severe that the prisoners answered by a hunger strike. This lasted eighteen days, after which the administration resorted to forcible feeding. The result was resistance, the use of brute force, shooting, with one comrade wounded, so far as we know. The treatment to which the prisoners are subjected is sufficiently described by the fact that thirty comrades are sick with scurvy.

N. M.

THE CANADIAN TRIALS AND THE LEFT OPPOSITION

See Page Two for Letter of Maurice Spector to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada.

Additional reports on the trial and its outcome, as well as an estimate of the conduct of the defendants before the court will be given by comrade Spector in subsequent issues of *The Militant*.

Jap War in Manchuria Menaces Soviet & World Proletariat

American Imperialists Join in Preparations for World-wide Conflagration

At this writing the state of war between Japan and China on the fields of Manchuria continues and the death toll increases. All forms of "legal" and diplomatic measures, threats of economic boycott and severance of diplomatic relations, the demands of the League of Nations, the invoking of the Kellogg Pact, have failed to deter the Japanese government from sharp military aggression and actions against the Chinese. Japanese imperialism pillages and kills. At Tientsin, U. S. Infantry troops have been called out, prepared to add their bit of slaughtering.

From the start it has been clear that the Chinese National Government, directed by the policies of the Kuo Min Tang and Chiang Kai-Shek, is helpless in a military sense before the Japanese (even as are the Northern war-lords), and is compelled to call for a cessation of hostilities through the medium of the League of Nations and for open or secret support from the United States. Chiang Kai-Shek, the militarist, the murderer of tens of thousands of the Chinese masses, is suddenly become an advocate of the policy of non-resistance. Such resistance as has been directed

against the Japanese aggression, has been the result of pressure of protest from the masses, as well as from sections of the Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie who see in Japan's invasion a blow at their economic and political supremacy in Manchuria.

Behind the Smoke-screen of Japanese Imperialism

Japan, to justify her invasion of Manchuria, puts forward economic and political considerations, legal excuses (violation of treaty agreements by China, that is, the infamous 21 points enforce upon them at the point of a pistol), historical analogies with other nations, including the United States. And, of course, and not least, are not the Japanese keeping the "Red menace" out of Manchuria? The Nipponese maintain they are in Manchuria merely to repair and protect their railroads in which they have enormous investments, and to protect their treaty rights. At the same time Japan is already directing her military operations to the south, as well as in Manchuria. Manchuria must be developed economically, says Japan; it is Japan's "manifest destiny"; its economic and social necessity to do so. Their acts are neither acts of war nor intended as such. After all, the Japanese state, they are merely following the "peaceful" procedure of the United States in the latter's frequent interventions into Nicaragua, Santa Domingo, Cuba, Mexico and other South and Central American countries. The Japs therefore plainly say: What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

The United States is still proceeding discreetly, and in the main is giving its support to the Chiang Kai-Shek government from whom it is receiving and will receive much more support for Wall Street in the future, if the Kuo Min Tangists last. While the economic and physical partition of China and of Manchuria is uppermost in the minds of the imperialist powers, there must be method in the sacking. All of them are jockeying for political, diplomatic, economic and military positions for that time when the economic difficulties, ambitions and contradictions of each imperialist nation compel an attempt at a solution on the arena of capitalist war on a world scale. In the present Manchurian fighting, therefore, there are all the ingredients for immediate war on a world-wide scale, although present indications are that these developments and war skirmishes are only some of the preludes to

the impending world war crash.

Imperialist Provocations and Soviets' Policy of Peace

The Japanese are now also in the Soviet sphere of influence. All imperialist powers, and the Chinese government included, are endeavoring to place the Soviet Union into a bad and false position, to put the onus of difficulties upon the Workers' Republic, and are increasing their propaganda and preparations for an imperialistic war combination against the Soviet Republic. The Soviets are using all efforts to maintain a condition of peace, to demand the cessation of hostilities between the Japanese and Chinese governments. Everybody knows that the policy of the Soviet Union is for peace; that the workers' road is the road of peace and collaboration between the workers of all nations. The imperialists will not succeed in their campaign to provoke the Soviets into war.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union and the workers in every country are supporters and friends of the Chinese masses, and will do everything possible to enforce the resistance of the Chinese masses against the economic and military aggression of the Japanese imperialists, as well as to support the Chinese people against the blood-brothers of the Nipponese invaders, the Chinese Chiang Kai-Shek government. Manchuria and China are the property neither of the Japanese warlords nor the Chinese militarists and bourgeoisie. The American bourgeoisie, too, are sticking their hands into the bloody affair, and their paws drip with gold, coined from blood. Sales of military supplies are being made to Japan and no doubt to China too. Every factory becomes a potential arsenal. The resources of China and Manchuria belong to its mass occupants, the workers and peasants, whose main job it is to wring the necks of both the foreign and native exploiters and establish their own Soviet government.

The Dual Task of the Moment

On previous occasions *The Militant* has examined the causes and objectives of the Manchurian invasion by Japan; the article in *The Militant* (11-7-31) by comrade Niel-Sih of Shanghai has graphically portrayed the political situation in China, particularly the impotence of the Communist Party of China and the Comintern in the present situation. The official Communist movement is today paying the price of Stalinist policies,

Stalinist "victories" and Soviets' in China, by an inability to organize the Chinese workers and peasants in the dual task of resistance against the Japan invasion into Manchuria, and for the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-Shek government and all other bourgeoisie and war-lords in China. It is imperative, moreover, that efforts in all countries be organized to the maximum against the imperialist bourgeoisie in every nation, in order for each Communist movement best to carry out its respective tasks in defense of the Chinese revolution, against the Japanese aggression, for support and defense of the Soviet Union against any and all forms of attack, and against the war danger.

Upon the Chinese Communists, particularly its most militant, resolute and determined section, the Left Communists, devolves the task of mobilization of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism, for resistance against the invaders. The surest way to effect this is a struggle to defeat the bourgeoisie of China, to achieve the destruction of the Kuo Min Tang movement, whether that of the bloody militarists led by Chiang Kai-Shek, or the "Left" Kuo Min Tang headed by Wang Chin Wei. The intensification of the CIVIL WAR IN CHINA is the best weapon of defense against Japan. It is fundamentally that correct tactic proposed by the revolutionists in 1870 during the invasion of France by Prussia, when, as the best defense of Paris against the Prussian invaders, it was necessary and correct to work for the overthrow of the bourgeois government of Thiers and its replacement by a people's government. The Japanese Communists need to increase their struggle against the Japanese imperialists. In the last analysis, the native Chinese bourgeoisie will divide the spoils with foreign exploiters, rather than to give up everything to the masses.

Defeat the Aims of the War Lords!

In the United States all forces must be mobilized to demand that the imperialist paws of the United States be kept off China; to demand that the Japanese get out of Manchuria. War exists. It can easily spread till it engulfs the entire world. The propagation of the ideals of the Soviet Union and of the principles of Communism must be increased manifold as measures of preparation and defense of the proletariat against the objectives of the bourgeoisie.

Among the tasks and duties that fall to the lot of entire working class, and especially the American workers and revolutionists, are the exposure of the hypocritical game of the American imperialists who are getting ready, when the opportunity arises, for military action in the Manchurian situation, with the aim to advance their own interests in the guise of "protection" of China, thereby accelerating a world war. We must demand that the imperialist powers end their pillage of China.

Full support, must be given to the Chinese workers and peasants in their struggle against the foreign Japanese invaders and their enemies at home—the Chinese bourgeoisie, militarists and landlords, their Kuo Min Tang agents and the Northern Militarists. The Chinese Communist Party must adopt the policy by the unity of all Communist forces, particularly with the Left Opposition, and gird itself for a bitter fight against foreign and internal aggression and exploitation. The attempts to provoke the Soviet Union into war must be combated, and workers everywhere must be on guard at all times for the defense of the Workers' fatherland, the Soviet Republic. All forces must be mobilized against the world war which all the imperialist forces are preparing.

—MARTIN ABERN.

★ ★
» OPEN FORUM «
★ ★

Friday November 13, 1931

The Haymarket Martyrs

Their Tradition and their Place in History

Lecture by

JAMES P. CANNON

at the

Labor Temple

14th Street and Second Avenue

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 CENTS

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free

Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

Next Week: Friday, November 20

THE MANCHURIAN CRISIS

Lecture by ARNE SWABECK

★ ★

What Laval Achieved by His Visit

In the recent avalanche of diplomatic visits are concealed many ominous signs of our epoch being at the threshold of new gigantic developments. Grim indeed are the forebodings when these pillaging marauders from the world's highways come together to discuss new schemes of division and redivision of spoils. It is easily noticeable that the American imperialist highjacker holds the very center of the stage. Most of the traveling diplomats are steering their course toward the United States.

These visits are themselves, of course, results of important developments already in the making. They are results of the increasing pressure of the world crisis upon the various capitalist powers and their attempt to find a way out by establishing a new relationship of forces. Each power is on the alert to endeavor to maintain and strengthen its place in the sun. Naturally this was also the primary intent of Premier Laval's visit to the United States. Unquestionably his visit is a part of a definitely emerging new constellation of forces which may have the most far reaching consequences, not only for the two powers involved, but for the whole of the imperialist world.

What are the Specific Relations?

The question immediately arises what is it all about? One can, of course, easily conclude that there are now many pressing problems before the main imperialist powers which they find require discussion. But discussion among robbers can become nothing else but a maneuvering for position. And so it is in this case.

Nevertheless even among bands of robbers a certain community of interests can be found. In this respect we may mention first of all the problem of inflation. These worthy diplomats still remember the dreaded spectre of the German inflation of 1923. They remember with a shudder the narrowly averted proletarian revolution, German capitalism is still financially very hard pressed. Lead by Great Britain, many lesser powers have gone off the gold standard. Even the American dollar showed a few sickly symptoms. The United States and France, the two largest creditor nations, who hold between them about two thirds of the world's gold supply, have undoubtedly much at stake in such a situation.

Secondly, there is the problem of war reparations and inter-allied war debts.

To the aristocracy of finance and to their diplomatic marionettes, it is not at all a problem of the point of view of the staggering burden lodged upon the working class or upon the broad strata of the population of the debtor countries. Not at all. But they cannot ignore the plight of German capitalism. They cannot even ignore the difficulties of the British bankers. And so; while these two of the most powerful creditor countries are compelled to lend some assistance to their fellow exploiters in Germany and England to avert a complete breakdown which would inevitably drag them all in its wake, they are also, by virtue of exactly the same self-interest, continually applying the pressure which leads in that direction.

Let the workers have no illusions. Any apparent solidarity or mutual assistance of the capitalist powers is not for one minute intended in the interest of peace. Nor is there any possibility of peaceful solutions. An eventual modification of reparations or war debt payments, any assistance to prevent a too disastrous inflation will bring a further intensification of conflicts, not merely between creditor and debtor nations but also among the creditor nations themselves. It will become only an instrument in the hands of the strongest imperialist powers to further strengthen their position for the inevitable war for redivision of the world.

The Preparation for these Conflicts

This brings us to the essence of the apparently friendly diplomatic visits of the capitalist nations. American imperialism is more definitely assuming world hegemony. The devastating crisis is pressing it on toward a more aggressive position. New developments are taking place with lightning speed. Events of former decades are now being compressed into a short span of time. Only a few months ago American imperialism held the revolver at the head of the French bourgeoisie. Now there are clearly the preparations for a powerful block of the kings of capital of the United States and France. The latter brings along its little entente and thereby hopes to succeed in obtaining for itself from the hated uncle Shylock a greater ration in world economy and greater degree of hegemony in Europe. Representatives of other powers are still to come here. The Fascist foreign minister, after a hearty welcome in Berlin, is now on his way also to put in claims for a ration in world economy. How many may still

find a place within this powerful block cannot yet be foretold. After all, agreements among robbers stretch only so far, and last only until the victim is felled; then new victims have to be found. But one thing is entirely certain. The aggressively growing hegemony of American imperialism in world affairs is devoting itself diligently for this block, to first of all settle the deadly combat with its main competitor, England.

Yet above all, the American bourgeoisie is asserting its world hegemony and taking charge to strengthen the whole imperialist front against the working class, and with that against the Soviet Union. It is fully apprehensive of the tottering and decaying symptoms recently so strongly manifested within certain European capitalist countries. It is fully conscious of the effects of the crisis upon the workers and apprehensive of their rapidly growing dissatisfaction. It sees the signs of coming

(Continued on page 2)

The Militant Starts on Its Fourth Year

Three years ago to the day, on November 15, 1928, the first issue of *The Militant* came off the press. In their official declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, the three expelled members of the Central Committee, stated their intention to continue with the publication of *The Militant* until the Left Opposition was restored to their Party rights. For three years now, *The Militant*, as the chief instrument of the American Left Opposition, has carried on the struggle for the re-organization and regeneration of the Communist movement on its original Leninist basis.

Must we be able and permitted to carry on this important work? This depends now entirely on our supporters, sympathizers and readers. We again reiterate our appeal for IMMEDIATE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

Must we again retreat from a *Weekly Militant* to a semi-weekly? We count upon YOU who read this issue of *The Militant* to render financial support to prevent such an unfortunate step.

Give Assistance Today!

We aim TO EXPAND. The first issue of the Opposition youth paper, *Young Spartacus*, is about to appear. It is our

hope soon to issue a Jewish organ of the Communist League, and perhaps also a Greek paper. This is the way of the Left Opposition: to build, to grow, to increase and multiply, to gather ever more cadres and instruments about the Left Opposition. This is the way to influence the ranks of the official Communist movement, to win the Communists to the principles of the Left Opposition.

THIS WEEK we must know your answer. Make your donation TODAY for the maintenance of the *Weekly Militant*. Then, continue regular support through weekly, or oftener, donations.

The responses to date to our appeal are as follows:

N. Y. Branch membership	150.00
Carl Freda, New York	2.00
I. Dreyer, New York	3.00
L. J. Miller, Brooklyn	2.00
E. B., New York	5.00
Jean Allen, New York	4.00
Miscellaneous Contributions	8.05
New York	
Boston Branch	12.00
Chicago Branch	4.00
T. Boinsert, Los Angeles	10.00

Send funds to:

THE MILITANT
84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT

The Canadian Trials and the Opposition

Maurice Spector Addresses the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada

Toronto, November 9, 1931.
Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Canada.

Dear Comrades:
In the issue of the Worker of November 7th under the heading "The Spotlight on the Trial" there appears the following reference to the undersigned: "... During the trial he (Maurice Spector) was in court but not in the prisoners' dock. . . ." The implication is drawn, tending to prejudice readers of our party organ, that I somehow voluntarily retired from the revolutionary party to escape the prisoners' dock. This is no time for recrimination. I am prompted to address you, however, not as a matter of mere self-justification but in the interest of our common cause, an objective statement of the facts.

Involuntary Exemption from Persecution

May I therefore be permitted to recall that my momentary exemption from the list of the accused is not of my own choosing? Had the capitalist authorities precipitated their attack on the legality of the party on any occasion prior to the Sixth Congress, the personnel of the comrades in the prisoners' dock would to some extent have been different, and as a member of the Central Committee, I should inevitably have shared the honor of indictment. I never withdrew from the Communist Party in whose organization and development I am proud to have participated. I was excluded, against my protests, by the Central Committee for reasons well known to you and to be found in the struggle over questions of principle and strategy ensuing in the Comintern after the death of Lenin.

Since my exclusion I have never ceased to be a member of a Communist committee and subject to its discipline. From the fundamental program of Bolshevism we have not, we believe, deviated a hair's breadth. We were never more convinced than to-day that the working class can conquer political power and reconstruct society on socialist foundations only by means of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet Power, and under the leadership of the Communist Party. Never were we more convinced that the world is in the throes of the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the development of the social revolution. To the October Revolution as the prologue of the World Revolution, to the Soviet Union as the first proletarian state in history, we have never ceased to give our unwavering allegiance. Nor to the Communist International which we have always regarded as the organization of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

Why Revolutionists Are Proscribed
The Communist Party of Canada is under indictment not for any advocacy of "force and violence" but for organizing the resistance of the working class to the burdens of the economic crisis.

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

CHICAGO YOUTH AFFAIR
A Dance and Entertainment will be given by the Chicago Youth Group of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on Saturday, November 28, 1931 beginning at 8 P. M. at 1435 No. Western Avenue. All profits will go for the benefit of Young Spartacus.

Third Annual MILITANT DANCE

To celebrate the third year of the appearance of THE MILITANT.
AT
Stuyvesant Casino
9th Street and Second Avenue
ON
Saturday Nov. 21, 1931 - at 8 P. M.
DANCING - GOOD TIME FOR ALL - BUFFET
Admission: 50 Cents
Auspices: New York Branch, (Communist League of America (Opp.))

against unemployment and wage cuts. That is not to say that we make a secret of our program which flows from the scientific analysis of the motive forces of history. It is capitalism not Communism which engenders revolutionary crises. It is the unbearable contradiction between a mode of production ripe for socialization and the fetters of capitalist private property relations. But constitutional questions are primarily questions of power and the workers' conquest of political power demands as pre-requisites a sufficient degree of the demoralization of the ruling class in a given country and a sufficient degree of class consciousness in a majority of the working class. In this sense there is no immediate revolutionary crisis in Canada. But the attempt of the authorities to stem the tide of revolutionary organization by proscribing revolutionists will prove as futile as the anti-socialist legislation of Bismarck or the corresponding provisions of the Criminal Code of Czarist Russia.

(What follows is a matter of course. In an Open letter to the Militant (August 29, 1931) immediately on the arrest of the comrades indicted under section 98 of the Criminal Code, we publicly declared on behalf of the Canadian group of the Communist League of America (Opposition) our complete solidarity with the party in its struggle against the capitalist attack on its legal existence. In that connection we wrote that "there can be no question of the position every

class-conscious worker must take up towards this trial—absolute and militant struggle against the forces of reaction. The workers must organize in a broad united front, whatever their political and industrial affiliations, to protest against the wave of terror which the capitalist authorities have unleashed against the militants of the working class".

Reinstate the Left Opposition!
We are all aware that the Communists of the Left Opposition entertain significant internal differences with the official leadership of the Comintern touching principle and policy. We do not seek to minimize the importance of these differences for the correct Marxian development of the party. But the hour of common peril and crisis demands the utmost concentration of revolutionary forces. Confident that our differences can be resolved by the processes of party democracy and on the basis of the heritage of Marx and Lenin, we appeal for re-instatement in our full membership rights, prepared to submit to the requirements of party discipline.

In this spirit the members of our group have taken an active part in the work of defence of the arrested comrades, as delegates to the Workers Rights and Anti-Deportation Conference from various labor organizations. We shall remain at the disposition of the party for any tasks it may assign.

With Communist Greetings,
(Signed) Maurice Spector

ST. LOUIS OPPOSITION ACTIVE IN MOONEY MOVEMENT

ST. LOUIS.—Following Tom Mooney's appeal for the organization of 'Pardon Mooney Committees' as united front bodies, the I. L. D. in St. Louis made no attempt to initiate a movement along the lines laid down in that appeal. The members of the Left Opposition persuaded the St. Louis local of the Molders' Union to issue a call for a United Front Conference.

Through efforts of Opposition comrades, it was a genuine united front. Communists were not only not banned, but invitations were sent to the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations. The Conference took place on September 16. There were some nineteen delegates from local A. F. of L. unions, two delegates from the Communist League of America (Opposition), and two delegates each from the T. U. U. L., I. W. O., the Unemployed Council, N. T. W. I. U., I. L. D. and other party auxiliaries. Although local party leaders were present, the Party was not officially represented.

The credentials committee reported for the seating of all delegates present. There was no objection. The chairman of the credential committee, Charles Bloom, president of the Metal Trades Council of St. Louis, made a short speech in which he welcomed all the delegates to a genuine united front conference.

Stalinists Disrupt United Front Conference

The conference then got down to business. The party comrades distributed leaflets to the delegates, calling on organizations and individuals to attend a Mooney Conference called by the I. L. D. to be held September 20. This distribution caused objection to be taken from the floor. A discussion followed. In this discussion, a delegate from the T. U. U. L. introduced a prepared resolution calling upon the conference to recognize the pending I. L. D. conference, by having all delegates present attend the conference. In support of this resolution, the Stalinists launched into the familiar Stalinist tactic of name-calling and slander. Instead of greeting the participation in the conference of A. F. of L. locals together with Communists, as an evidence of the unity of the workers which it is the duty of the Communists everywhere to promote, they repelled these workers by heaping general abuse on the A. F. of L.

The delegates resented these methods and a heated discussion took place. Delegates took the floor and asked the Stalinists how they expected local unions to participate in a conference with them when all they could expect from the official communists was slander. The "third period" leaders had no answer. Their stupid tactics had placed them in the position of attempting to disrupt the Conference.

Confusion was the fruit of such a discussion. In order to prevent its becoming worse, a Left Opposition delegate introduced a motion to send a committee of three to the I. L. D. conference with instructions to report to the second gathering of this conference. The discussion on the Stalinist resolution consumed so much time that almost all the business of organization had to be tabled to the second meeting of the conference.

I. L. D. Holds Sectarian Meet

As for the I. L. D. conference, it was a narrow, sectarian affair, consisting only of delegates from the Party and Party auxiliaries. There was the usual speech-making about unity, denunciation of all non-Communists and the Left Opposition, as counter-revolutionists, enemies of the working class, etc., ad nauseam. The conference ran its appointed course and accomplished nothing.

This, however, did not disturb the bureaucratic complacency of the local Stalinist leaders. Nor did it teach them anything. To the second meeting of the United Front Conference, held after the I. L. D.'s "united front" affair, the party auxiliaries again sent delegates.

Since the failure of the Unity Conference between the Industrial Union and the Fur Workers International, there has been another United Front movement on foot.

It has been known and become an established fact that the conference held during the month of September between the Fur Department of the Industrial Union, the International Fur Workers Union, were only maneuvers. The proposal for such conferences was only a move on the part of the right wing clique of the Fur Council to stave off the pressure of the fur workers against the intolerable conditions in the shops. Another aspect was the fact that Stetsky wanted to gain the upper hand in the Council through the Unity maneuvers and to give a blow to Kaufman. The events following the break-up of the conferences testify to that. Since then Stetsky and afterwards the whole Joint Council resigned. Kaufman appointed a temporary committee to take charge of the New York Joint Council.

Meanwhile activities are going on among those furriers who are followers of the United Rank and File Committee—an organization prompted by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The original program of the Rank and File Committee was changed time and again, until it is really impossible for the fur worker to know what it stands for or what it strives to achieve. But the recent manifestations were to the effect that the rank and file committee will try to carry out the united front in the shops. It will also try to influence the thousands of fur workers and to rally the sympathizers of the Left wing for a fight inside the International against the class-collaboration policies of Kaufman and against the breaking-up of the shops under the Industrial Union control.

At present, this United Front Committee under the leadership and guidance of the middle-heads in the T. U. U. L. has undertaken to execute a maneuver which is unprecedented in the struggle of the Left wing. When the offices in the joint council became vacant due to the resignation of Stetsky and company, the rank and file committee decided to ignore Kaufman's appointment of the temporary officers. Instead of advancing a demand for regular elections of officers for the

STALINISTS SLANDER EXPELLED GREEK WORKERS

On Thursday, November 5, the day before the expulsions of four supporters of the Left Opposition,—comrades Petras, Katsikis, Haidous and Marmarellis,—from the Greek Spartacus Workers Club Empros (issue of 11-7-31), renewed his campaign of slander in order to justify the expulsions.

The substance of Empros's maliciously false attacks is as follows. First, comrade Koumoundoureas was denounced as the devil who had poisoned the minds of the other four comrades. Koumoundoureas never had been a party member; he was rejected in the party unit because of his expression of sympathy for the Left Opposition. Of comrade Petras, Empros told the tale that, among other things, in order to avoid party obligations, he went to sell ice cream in the streets during the summer months; further, that in a demonstration some months later before the Greek Consulate, he had showed an attitude of cowardice, that he was generally inactive, and in the following summer again went to selling ice cream, and justified his inactivity on the ground of sympathy with the Left Opposition. In addition, that while he was a member of the district Greek Bureau of the party, he showed a contempt for the officials of the Party among the Greeks.

As for comrade Katsikis, he was also an egotist and even worse than Petras in his attitude toward the officials, and, like Petras, incapable of learning, and he also was a victim of the devil, Koumoundoureas.

Haidous who was active among the proletarian artists' group, was obsessed with the idea that he is a great artist,

Again they prevented any business from being transacted.

Opposition Calls For Mooney United Front

The third meeting of the conference is called for the 11th of November. Will the Stalinists again attempt to disrupt the conference? What was their purpose in launching another conference, when they were welcome in the United Front Conference? When a genuine united front conference is initiated and organized, which the I. L. D. and communists should welcome, why do the Stalinists persist in discrediting Communism in the united front?

The Left Opposition will participate in the third gathering of the United Front Conference for Mooney. It will fight for, and urge the party to fight for the unity of the workers under the leadership of Communists for the immediate and unconditional release of Tom Mooney, Warren Billings and all other class war prisoners. The opposition calls upon all party comrades and sympathizers, its own sympathizers, Left wing organizations, local unions and other working class organizations to enter this conference and work to achieve its purpose, and thereby genuinely increase the influence and prestige of the I. L. D. and the Communists.

—H. L. GOLDBERG.

and since the Spartacus Club could not recognize his talents, he had been out of the party for a long period.

The fourth comrade, Marmarellis, had dropped out from the party when the struggle became sharp, and had excused himself on the ground that his heart was weak, but now this illness does not prevent him from being active among the "renegades".

This is the story of Empros, typical of all the Stalinist funkies and bureaucrats of either high or low order. What are the facts?

Comrade Koumoundoureas was actually one of the few active workers in the Spartacus Club. The appointed leaders were offended and disgruntled because comrade Koumoundoureas in a brief time succeeded in winning the respect and esteem of the class conscious workers because of his devotion to the movement. Hence, the party bureaucrats closed the door to him, and tried in every way to antagonize him. Thanks however to the comradely approach of the present Opposition comrades, he continued to remain active in the ranks of the workers and disdained the unproletarian attitude of the bureaucrats and their efforts to discourage any worker who shows capacities for leadership.

The Stalinist pen drips slander always against loyal comrades and revolutionists. The case of comrade Petras is a case in point. The Greek comrades know very well comrade Petras's activities in the class struggle on behalf of the workers. That he went to sell ice cream in the streets (well, isn't that counter-revolutionary?) is true. Stalinists find it necessary to do that too for simple enough reasons. Both comrades Petras and Katsikis were courageous enough to propose motions at meetings aimed to improve the functioning of the various organizations and to promote the movement. Such an attitude of initiative is contrary to the methods of Stalinism. It is very interesting to note, in regard to the Consulate demonstration, that Petras, after a motion by comrade Petras on the demonstration, in the name of the Greek Bureau, published an article in Empros, which criticized the failure of the Party to organize adequately the preparations for the demonstration.

Comrade Haidous served for years in the proletarian artists' group, gave liberal financial support to the movement and supported every working class struggle, such as demonstrations, anti-evictions, etc.

Lastly, comrade Marmarellis is still suffering from heart trouble; and only his devotion to the revolutionary movement, causes him, in spite of everything, to remain active and to carry out the work of the Left Opposition among the Greek workers who are still under the malignant influence of Stalinism.

No attacks from the Greek organ of the bureaucrats will stop the Greek Opposition comrades from carrying out their revolutionary duty. The Greek workers will continue to hear again soon from the Left Opposition.

From these prospects the important question inevitably arises: What is the Communist International doing to prepare the working masses to meet the onslaught of reaction. Unquestionably the immense pressure of the crisis, the ceaseless capitalist offensive and the reactionary governmental decrees, will bring the struggles of the workers more into the political field. It will favor a leftward development of the masses. There are already such evidences in Germany, in its embryo in England and elsewhere. But at the same time it is impossible to close one's eyes to the weakening of the parties due to costly blunders of leadership in practically every capitalist country. In England this weakening became particularly outstanding in the recent political crisis and the elections. In France the strikes of last Autumn brought victory to reformism largely due to the party failure of applying the united front policy. In Germany there can be no other results than weakening from the dastardly adventure of a reckless Communist leadership of a united front with the fascists in the Prussian referendum.

The "Third Period" estimates spread its dangerous illusions of revolutionary upsurges not yet at hand. It deliberately aided illusions of the movement, its possibilities appearing stronger than reality. Its results became the policy of adventures. But worst of all, it prepared a new "turn" to the Right which has already found its classical expression in the united front policy with the German fascists.

The Stalin leadership carries the heavy burden of responsibility for decimating and politically weakening the Comintern forces, for reducing them to a mere appendage of interest of state of the Soviet Union. By the policies of this leadership, the progress of the world proletarian revolution has already been put in a position of being contradictory to the economic progress of the Soviet Union. This has become mainly expressed in the fear of upsetting the present status quo of the powers, that is, the capitalist equilibrium prior to the completion of the Five Year Plan. But the capitalist equilibrium does not remain constant. From the serious weakening caused by the economic crisis, we now have the new constellation of forces; the powerful block under American imperialist hegemony to further strengthen the capitalist equilibrium against the working class. It is developing with breath-taking speed and does not at all wait for the completion of the Five Year Plan. It will aim to take ruthless advantage of the weakened position of the Communist parties.

Thus the chief contradiction is that of the task of the epoch and the maturity of the Communist Party.

These imperialist preparations can bring immediate revolutionary situations. To prepare—not to miss these situations—is the pressing need. This has become mandatory upon the Comintern leadership.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Laval's Visit

(Continued from page 1)

proletarian revolutions. It is taking all measures to crush it if possible. The French Bourgeoisie a Worthy Ally

France remained the strong European capitalist power in face of the crisis. Her internal market with its large peasant economy proved itself a strong absorbent. By virtue of low wages her production for the foreign market was cheap. Her bourgeoisie succeeded in strengthening the ties with, and continually bolstering the little entente. The present government is of the Bourgeoisie light section, though headed by Laval, the former "socialist". Its economic non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union is solely in the interest of more effective exploitation of the Russian market. The French bourgeoisie in entering into a marauders' block with American imperialism for the redivision of the world is, of course, nursing its own hopes of thereby attaining a larger ration in world economy.

American imperialism can well use this ally for the furtherance of its own heinous designs. It was with this in view that the American capitalist press called Senator Borah tactless when, at the time of the Laval visit, he advocated changes of the European boundaries as laid out by the Versailles Treaty. He was otherwise willing to leave the question of disarmament to France itself as it sees fit—and why should he not leave that to the ally? While the latter proposition pleased the French bourgeoisie, the former, being advanced at this moment, was somewhat painful. But then, it may serve in good stead for Senator Borah's real masters as a warning to the ally as to just how far it can go.

These definitely marked constellations of imperialist forces prove again that the kernel of contemporary international relations is still to be found in the furiously growing contest of the powers for redivision of the world market. More precisely the contest between the United States and England.

American imperialism has definitely assumed its role of the main fortress of world reaction. Under its direct tutelage there is a sweeping onrush of reaction throughout capitalist Europe. In France the light bourgeois block is more firmly in the saddle; in England the conservatives are in power stronger than before; in Germany a constant stiffening of emergency decrees. More serious yet, however, are the growing fascist hordes in Germany. While American imperialism may not yet be ready to assume the risk of giving support to an open rule of these hordes, they are being nourished as powerful reserves against the proletarian revolution.

From these prospects the important question inevitably arises: What is the Communist International doing to prepare the working masses to meet the onslaught of reaction. Unquestionably the immense pressure of the crisis, the ceaseless capitalist offensive and the reactionary governmental decrees, will bring the struggles of the workers more into the political field. It will favor a leftward development of the masses. There are already such evidences in Germany, in its embryo in England and elsewhere. But at the same time it is impossible to close one's eyes to the weakening of the parties due to costly blunders of leadership in practically every capitalist country. In England this weakening became particularly outstanding in the recent political crisis and the elections. In France the strikes of last Autumn brought victory to reformism largely due to the party failure of applying the united front policy. In Germany there can be no other results than weakening from the dastardly adventure of a reckless Communist leadership of a united front with the fascists in the Prussian referendum.

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—ROBERT BRILLIANT.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The General Strike in Barcelona

The Failure of the Anarchist Policy and the Revolutionary Strategy of the Communists

The last general strike in Barcelona had a fundamental importance for the unification of the working class of all Spain, based not so much on the extent of the movement in itself, as on the lessons which we can learn from it, for future tactics and for the orientation of Spanish trade unions. We face a profound crisis in the Confederation, which has been considerably deepened by the last general strike. Logically we draw the natural consequences from it. The Spanish Communist Opposition cannot follow the method of criticism used by the official party, consisting of venting epithets against anarcho-syndicalism in general. We must study the origins, the causes and the results of the conflict, as is done by our comrade Andres Nin.)

The general strike declared in the beginning of September by the local Trade Union Federation of Barcelona, and followed up unanimously and with admirable discipline by the proletariat of that city and of the most important industrial centers of Catalonia, is one of the most important episodes of the working class struggle in Spain between April 14 and the present time.

Militant revolutionists must analyse carefully this movement, so rich in experience. Let us limit ourselves today to pointing out, briefly, some of the lessons which it teaches, and to noting down the reflections which it suggests.

Strikes Under Present Conditions

The strike movement which had put great masses of workers in motion on the eve of the fall of the monarchy, has taken on a truly gigantic increase since the declaration of the republic. This movement, in the majority of cases, has had a purely spontaneous character, and the trade union organizations in reality have done nothing more than to sanction it, place themselves at its head, often against their will, in order not to lose the confidence of the working masses. At times, apparently the most insignificant occasion was enough to mobilize great masses of workers. There is nothing surprising about this. Those who are alarmed, or even indignant, at the "chaotic", "anarchic", "irresponsible" character of these movements apparently forget one essential point: that Spain is in the midst of a revolution, and that this situation does not fit in with any plan carefully worked out beforehand. At such times, spontaneous strikes, "chaotic" actions, disconnected and isolated, and "excesses" of all kinds are a purely normal phenomenon. To try to oppose them is like trying to hold back the rushing of a torrent, or to chain a tempest.

All revolutions, without exception, have known such periods; more than that, they are inconceivable without them. A revolution is not the act of one day, of that "Big Night" of which the pre-war revolutionary syndicalists used to dream. It is a prolonged and painful process, during which the masses go seeking a path, in a struggle sown with difficulties, "chaotic" actions, partial offensive, victories and defeats. The strike is one of the most characteristic manifestations of this struggle. The working class learns most by its own experience. The important thing is to draw the necessary lessons from this experience, so that the sacrifice may not be in vain and the proletariat may successfully conquer the obstacles over which it may stumble on its way.

The Character of the September Strike

The Barcelona general strike was, in this sense, a typical movement of a revolutionary period. Its starting-point was a perfectly correct protest against the shameful Government imprisonments. The movement bore the stamp of the remarkable epoch which produced it. These Government imprisonments, to our shame, are nothing new. In this respect, as in many others, the republic only continues the inveterate tradition of the defunct monarchy. Still it was only in a clear-cut revolutionary situation that this procedure, which formerly aroused indignation in the most advanced minority only, should excite and set in motion hundreds of thousands of workers.

"Why," clamored the vestal virgins of republican "legality", "why do these workers, who under the monarchy tolerated passively the mass detentions, the systematic application of the "fugitive prisoners law", the military dictatorship, why do these workers rise up now, when the consolidation of the new regime ought to be the chief consideration of everybody, against the fact that a few men here and there are kept in jail by Government order? Why do the same people, who showed such patience for years, show such impatience now?"

Because—the situation is revolutionary now, and was not before. Because the military dictatorship and its bloody repressions were not, as these gentlemen think, the cause of the passivity of the working class, but the result. Because the energy, the aggressiveness, the fighting spirit of the proletariat are not a constant phenomenon of all periods, but only of revolutionary periods. After these periods of high tension, the working class, particularly if it has been beaten, falls inevitably into a state of depression, of passivity, which smooths the road for reaction.

To understand the profound meaning of the last general strike in Barcelona, we must see it in its place in the gen-

eral picture of the revolutionary situation in Spain. Then we shall see clearly the inconsistency of the opinion so widely spread, not only among the bourgeoisie, but even, to our disgrace be it said, among some working class circles, that this strike was entirely the work of a group of irresponsible anarchists. We shall not deny the importance of the role played by the F. A. I. in declaring the strike. Yet there can be no doubt that if their action had been crowned by success, if it had been followed by the entire proletariat, it would have been due, not to their boldness or their "dictatorial" methods, but to the fact that the objective circumstances—the revolutionary situation, and the subjective—the fighting spirit of the working class, were completely favorable. In this sense we can say without hesitation that the elements of the F. A. I. interpreted the state of mind of the proletariat and its historical interests more faithfully than Pestana, Peiro, Arin and other "reasonable" syndicalists who signed the famous reformist manifesto which won them such praises from bourgeois circles.

We have had anarchist groups before this. The desire to declare general strikes on any and all occasions did not come with the republic; they would like to call a general strike every Monday. Still, how often have they cried out into empty space! On the other hand, on September 4 they found an ardent echo in the working class. Why? Because the soil had been ploughed, because circumstances drove the proletariat irresistibly to the struggle.

What Should Be Our Attitude to "Chaotic" Movements?

We have tried to express one truth: that in the present circumstances, "chaotic" movements are inevitable. Does this mean that they are not a danger for the revolution and that they ought to be systematically encouraged? By no means.

In the face of such movements, there are three fundamental positions that we can adopt: First: To condemn them as a whole, on the ground that at the present time the working class is incapable of making a revolution and must limit itself to a slow work of preparation, organization and education, which is possible under a regime of bourgeois democracy. This is the position of Pestana, Peiro & Co., which puts off the emancipation of the working class to the Greek Kalends.

Second: To encourage such movements systematically, driven on by instinctive revolutionary sentiment, but devoid of revolutionary theory and tactics and still lost in abstractions. We refer to the elements of the F. A. I.

Third: The position of those who, while rejecting as absurd the pretension of holding back the isolated, "chaotic" movements of the masses at a time like this, understand the danger of such movements when they lack objectives and direction, and who try to take advantage of such movements to make the working class understand the necessity of a party, to forge it in the fire of struggle, and subordinate these movements to the general revolutionary struggle which is to lead the proletariat to the seizure of power and the installation of its dictatorship. This ought to be the position of Communists.

The first of these positions is dictated by absolute lack of faith in the revolutionary ability of the working class, by the unmovable fear of revolution, conditioned by the lack of a concrete program. It leads inevitably to a policy of strangling the fighting action of the proletariat and to collaboration, direct or indirect, with the republican bourgeoisie. The policy of the reformist elements of the C. N. T. in trying to hold back the strike movements by means of a series of measures which lead backward to the U. G. T. (remember the leaflet of the Confederation Committee), the shameful break-up of the metal workers' conflict, the abandonment of the telephone workers, engaged in a struggle of enormous importance, the giving up of the most profoundly significant political demands, such as the recognition of factory councils, etc., and finally, the policy of direct support of the Catalanian Generalidad, all prove our statement. This tendency must be fought pitilessly, since it constitutes a danger to the revolution as serious as the reformist socialism of Largo Caballero and Co., with which it coincides fundamentally.

The second tendency is no less dangerous, since it can, and inevitably will, lead the proletariat to a bloody defeat. The elements of the F. A. I. are capable of provoking only mass movements without a future or isolated actions, heroic but in the last analysis sterile. The magnificent defense of the Building Trades Union by a few dozen admirable militants has clearly revealed the treasures of aggressiveness and self-sacrifice which the working class possesses, and has demonstrated the miracles which it can perform, given a consistent direction and discipline.

Communists must bend every effort to make the best revolutionary elements of the C. N. T. understand the necessity for a party, and try to form with them at least a united front for action. Only their active, energetic and prudent intervention can avert a defeat of the proletariat and the installation of a bloody regime of bourgeois dictatorship. In July, 1917, the workers and soldiers of Petrograd launched an impetuous movement in favor of turning over the

power to the Soviets. This movement was completely spontaneous, "chaotic". The Bolsheviks considered it premature, irrevocably condemned to failure. Still, seeing that it was impossible to hold it back, instead of abandoning it to its elemental force, they put themselves at its head and guided it along their channels. Thanks to this genuinely revolutionary policy, this movement, which, left to itself, would have been diverted into a premature insurrection, was converted into an armed manifestation, and the working class was able to retreat in good order with the minimum of losses. Had there been no Party, the working class would have been crushed, a period of reaction would have begun, and the proletariat would not have been able to seize power, as it did, three months later.

For Factory Councils

We have spoken of the necessity for a revolutionary united front. But on what base can it support itself?

Undoubtedly the history of the revolutionary working class movement up to now has offered us no organ of the united front so perfect and efficient as the Soviet, an instrument of struggle today, of power tomorrow, for the entire working class, represented in the Soviet by workers' delegates from all factories and workshops without distinction, let their political and trade union organizations be what they may. One of the negative sides of the Barcelona general strike, like that of Seville before, was the failure of such an organ to make its appearance during the struggle. Had it been otherwise, how different would have been the importance and the political consequences of the movement! Still, the fact is that Soviets have not arisen in this or any other of the great workers' movements which have taken place in this country during the last few months, and that up to the present, there is no sign of a tendency in this direction among the Spanish working class. Will it arise later on? We may hope so, even though it is certain that the working class of our country will arrive at the creation of the Soviets by a different road from that followed by the Russian proletariat.

Yet we cannot adopt a passive attitude until this moment is reached. We must immediately lay the foundations for a united front, we must create the necessary prerequisites for the creation of organizations destined to group the working class together and prepare it for the struggle. This basis can be supplied by the factory councils.

Up to now, including the period 1917-1929, the peak years of the revolutionary movement, there have been in Spain no factory councils, properly so-called. Still the system of delegates, of representatives of the factory and the workshop, has become widespread, and in recent times the idea of factory councils has made much headway and has acquired a certain popularity among the masses.

We must therefore start from this point and energetically encourage the creation of such organizations, assigning to them, as an immediate aim, the control of production. The leaders of the C. N. T. accept them, and favor them, while they still conceive of them as trade union organisms, designated from the top, by the trade union committees. The socialists, for their part, through their representative in the Provisional Government, Senor Largo Caballero, are preparing a bill for workers' control which in reality does not pursue revolutionary control as our aim, but class collaboration.

Communists must fight both conceptions with equal energy. The factory council must not be appointed from the top, but must be elected democratically by all workers without exception. The purpose of the control must not be collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but taking possession of the means of production.

There is not a single revolutionary worker who will not be disposed to struggle jointly with the Communists on the basis of a struggle for the factory councils. And this struggle, correctly oriented, correctly guided, will irresistibly be converted into a powerful movement which will lead to the creation, on the basis of the factory councils, of Soviets, or other organisms similar to the Soviets in structure and functions.

For all these reasons, we believe that the creation of factory councils should be the basic slogan at the present time. Every important strike, every mass movement, should be utilized in this direction.

The Experience of the Guerrilla Fight

One of the most interesting episodes of the Barcelona general strike was the armed defense of the Building Trades Union. For more than six hours, a few dozen workers, insufficiently armed but fortified in the union local, kept at bay a large force of police. Similarly, in the neighboring streets, other groups of workers, sheltered behind a barricade, carried on a fight against the armed force of the government, and after hours of struggle, retreated strategically without giving up a single prisoner into the hands of the enemy.

This episode is rich in lessons for us. During the insurrection of December, 1905 in Moscow, a few hundred poorly-armed workers obstinately sustained a fight, thanks to a correctly led guerrilla struggle, against thousands of perfectly armed and equipped soldiers. First Kaut-

sky and then Lenin, drew from this experience the conclusion that guerrilla fighting played a much more important role than revolutionists had imagined up to then.

Still the insurrection was defeated. With the arrival of new reinforcements, the Moscow workers had to give up. For the final victory, it is necessary that a large part of the army place itself on the side of the revolution.

The heroic fighters of the calle Mercaderes, at the end, had to give up, and the combatants of the calle Moncada had to withdraw.

What lesson can we draw from this experience?

That the tactics of the anarchist groups can lead only to guerrilla fighting; that this, combined with the general strike and organized revolutionary action, can constitute an auxiliary element of the first rank as a means of distracting the forces of the enemy which will make it possible for us to strike the decisive blow at the decisive points, but is incapable, by itself alone, of giving us the victory; that to achieve victory, today even more than in 1905, on account of the enormous progress of military technique, it is necessary to win over to the revolution a good part of the army.

The practical conclusion which we draw from all this is the urgent necessity of intensifying the work of agitation and propaganda among the troops, and of undertaking without delay the creation of soldiers' Committees.

The Strike and Democratic Illusions

Unquestionably the Barcelona general strike has considerably weakened the democratic illusions among the working class. Still it would be a profound mistake to think that these illusions have been definitely liquidated. Maurin, for instance, starts from this premise and justifies the absurd position taken by the Bloque Obrero y Campesino, (Workers' and Peasants' Bloc), renouncing democratic slogans and raising the slogan of the taking of power by the proletariat. The reality, which is the only thing that can serve as the foundation for a truly Marxist policy, is unfortunately quite different. Only a part, and that the smallest, of our working class, has completely lost faith in the bourgeois republic; another part is beginning to be assailed by doubts; the great majority still believes in the republic. They protest, they join the general strike, not against the regime, but against the "bad republicans". The majority of the workers still think that if they took the power away from Maurin, and the governorship from Anguera de Sojo, and replaced them by "real republicans", things would be very much better.

Contributing to this illusion in the first place was the policy of the anarcho-syndicalists of supporting the radical petty bourgeoisie, with its praise for the "venerable", "most integral", "honorable" Macia, expressions which you will find repeatedly in *Solidaridad Obrera*; likewise responsible is Maurin himself, who at a lecture in Madrid favored "the taking of power by the advanced elements of the Ateneo". How can any one expect, under these conditions, that the working class, which evolves slowly and learns only with the help of its own experience, should abandon immediately and at one blow its democratic illusions?

These last have suffered a severe blow, but only a correct policy can contribute to liquidating them definitively.

The Internal Crisis of the C. N. T.

Two words, in conclusion, on the internal crisis of the C. N. T.

The general strike, declared against the wishes of the leaders of this revolutionary organization, has undoubtedly sharpened the crisis. The recent resignation in a body of the editorial staff of *Solidaridad Obrera* is a clear proof of this. The fact that the organ of the Confederation, for the first time in the history of our movement, categorically condemns the strike in the first number which appeared after it took place, is sufficiently eloquent on this point, and reveals before the eyes of the entire world the grave sickness from which the C. N. T. is suffering.

But the crisis will go still deeper. In more or less normal times, such crises can be conjured away with relative ease. Under revolutionary conditions like the present, it is a much more difficult matter. The divergencies do not have an abstract character, but are a logical consequence of the problem which the situation places before the C. N. T. inexorably demanding from it a clear and precise answer—how shall we make the revolution?

The Communist Party cannot remain outside of this internal struggle of tendencies, whose outcome may have enormous consequences for the future of the Spanish proletariat. Let us not forget that this will depend 90% on whether or not the workers in the C. N. T., who are the flower of the working class of our country, continue to give their confidence to the anarchists. To win over these workers should be the principal aim of our party. This will be accomplished, not by the stupid splitting tactics followed up to now, but by an intelligent policy which will be able to take advantage of the internal struggle within the C. N. T.; not by heaping invective on its leaders, and putting into circulation such idiotic epithets as "anarcho-fascists", but by proving patiently and persistently to the revolutionary workers the sterility of anarcho-syndicalism and the necessity of a powerful Communist Party; to prevent the peasant revolutionary situation, instead of leading to the victory of the proletariat, from leading to the enthronement of a dictatorship without a mandate, of the fascist type.

Trotsky on Opposition and the Party in Spain

To Andres Nin: Dear Friend:

First of all, I should like to clear up for myself the disputed question in the Left Opposition: a narrow or broad faction? I have received your opinion and that of comrade Lacroix on this subject. Comrade M. has not yet submitted the report that he promised.

I must admit that the basis for this dispute is not clear to me. Yesterday, with regard to Catalonia, as I can see from your letter, the question was posed in the following manner: Should we call upon the worker to enter the official Communist party or the Catalanian Federation? From your last letter, it appears that the Catalanian Federation expects the Left Opposition from its ranks, that is to say, it proceeds in the same manner as the party does. This fact by itself is quite logical. The Right wing and the Centrists manifest the self-same hostility toward the Bolshevik-Leninists in all countries, beginning with the U. S. S. R. It would be odd for Spain to be an exception to this. On the contrary, in view of the revolutionary situation in Spain, all the political processes (including all the mistakes) arrive at their ultimate conclusion very swiftly. But is it still possible to speak seriously of the Left Opposition calling on the workers to enter the Catalanian Federation? I cannot understand it! We can, to be sure, try to create our nuclei in the Catalanian Federation with the aim of recruiting a maximum of followers in the event of the inevitable collapse of the Maurin organization. We can send individual comrades into the Federation with this aim. But can we openly call upon the non-party workers to enter the Federation? Never. It would be the most monstrous mistake and would not only weaken us but even disgrace the Left Opposition.

Our Relation to the Party
In principle, the question of the official party is posed differently, since we have not renounced the idea of winning to our side, the *Comintern*, and consequently, each of its sections. It has always appeared to me that many comrades have underestimated the possibility of the development of the official Communist party in Spain. I have written you about this more than once. To ignore the official party as a fictitious quantity, to turn our back to it, seems to me to be a great mistake. On the contrary, with regard to the official party we must stick to the path of uniting the ranks. Still, this task is not so simple. As long as we remain a feeble faction, this task is in general unachievable. We can only produce a tendency toward unity inside the official party by becoming a serious force.

The opponents of the "broad faction" reply to this: But if we group about us a broad section of workers, we automatically transform ourselves into a second party. I must admit that this argument astonishes me. If we are to reason in such a formal manner, then in order to avoid the danger of a second party, the Bolshevik-Leninists must altogether disappear from the face of the earth. That is just what the Stalinists want. Political malthusianism is the most unnatural of all the varieties of malthusianism. Every political tendency that grows in forces cannot help going in the direction of uniting around it the

largest masses possible. It is possible to come to the party by different roads. If the Left Opposition becomes stronger than the present official party, that will furnish us the possibility of struggling with a hundred times greater effectiveness for the unity of the Communist ranks than at present when the Opposition is still weak. Isn't this clear?

But, the partisans of the "narrow faction" will answer, the Left Opposition can only take into its ranks conscious followers. Indeed! But does not the same thing hold true for the party? It all comes down to this: the Left Opposition must not attract to itself new workers; no, it is obliged to direct them toward the ranks of the party, where they will be taught that the Trotskyists are "counter-revolutionists". Then, and only then, the Opposition will have the right to disillusion these workers, to reeducate them, to cure them of the contagious Stalinist slanders. Really, I cannot understand such a complicated mechanism.

Growth and Scope of the Opposition

It seems to me that the Opposition has not only the right, but the duty, to group about itself all those that come to it, who respond to its appeals and whom it is able to reach. Naturally, at first, they will be far from convinced and conscious Bolshevik-Leninists. But this only imposes the necessity of occupying ourselves seriously with the education of our followers. Within the scope of this education, there will also enter the question, why we are for one party and why the Stalinists are for two parties. If the flow toward us proves to be too tempestuous (which is hardly to be feared!) then we can form a circle of sympathizers. A local organization of the Opposition numbering 20 members can assemble about it 2 to 300 sympathizers. In this circle of sympathizers, it will be necessary to clear up the difference between Leninism and Centrism. After the circle has reached a certain level under our direction, it can invite the representatives of the official party to present its views before it. On this basis a discussion will arise between our followers and the Stalinists. Only this will bring about a serious reconciliation between the Left Opposition and the party, and create a far more secure path toward a united party than the malthusian measures against reproduction.

The Left Opposition would be transformed into a sect if it were to come to the conclusion that its task is only criticism of the actions of the official party and of the mass organizations of the proletariat. The Spanish revolution is a fact. We have already, without all this, lost a great deal of time, including the Left Opposition, in Spain. We will not be able to reproduce this revolutionary situation, which we are passing up today, at will next year. Precisely in Spain the Opposition can within a brief time grow into a great force. But the first condition for this is: not to fear to become a force, but to strive toward that.

That is all I can say in the meantime on the disputed question, on the basis of incomplete information. I will be very happy to receive additional information.

September 27, 1931

—L. TROTSKY.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

WHERE IS THE MOONEY MOVEMENT?

It is nearly three months since Tom Mooney issued his memorable appeal "To All Militant and Revolutionary Labor Organizations and Groups" for united action in his behalf. Thereby he put the fifteen-year old case once more on the agenda of the labor movement. He aroused the enthusiasm of every conscientious militant for a new struggle for his liberation and for the cause of the working class which he symbolizes in his prison cell. Because of the profound response which it called forth from the depths of the movement, the call of Tom Mooney sent the leaders of all the factions scurrying to prepare their answer. The class war prisoner has a great authority and nobody dared to ignore his appeal. All the factions and groups answered. Each in its own way made a gesture of compliance. And there the matter rests at the present moment. Where is the new "Mooney movement" which the rank and file militants desire with all their hearts. It is not yet under way. Even the campaign to set the great movement in motion still waits the initial steps of organization.

And this is not because there is no basis for the issue. All the elements for a truly gigantic movement, one that can reach into the very depths of the most conservative labor organizations and set its members into action, are at hand. It is the method that is lacking: it is understanding and the will of the leaders of the factions and groups to whom Mooney addressed his appeal. It must be said plainly, because it is the bitter and incontestable truth: they have all diplomatized with the appeal; they have played factional politics with it; they have sabotaged it. The problem is to break through this rotten game. And the best weapon for this is the appeal of Mooney himself. In that document the means and methods for unfolding the movement can be found.

Tom Mooney's letter of August 18th is a remarkable presentation of the question in every respect. All the saboteurs justify themselves on the ground that "Mooney is in jail and doesn't understand the situation". They are all wrong. The class war prisoner, immured in San Quentin these fifteen years, understands the question better than they do. It is even possible that his superior wisdom can be attributed to his imprisonment. New turns and new periods percolate through the prison walls only after a certain delay. Mooney has assimilated the idea of the united front as Lenin taught it. Perhaps he has not yet learned about the new amendments. At any rate he has not been converted to them. That is his strength, and the strength of his appeal. That is why his appeal constitutes the guiding line alone which alone a real mass movement for his liberation can proceed.

The open letter of Tom Mooney was and yet remains a great opportunity for the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense. On the one hand it was a formal notice from Mooney to the trade unions, to the socialists and to the so-called progressives: no exclusion of the Communists from the Mooney movement. On the other hand—rightly understood—it was an intimation to the Communists: I depend on you to press the issue and lead the way, to force the reformists and the trade unions, including the most conservative ones, to fight with you in a common front. Mooney meant to say, as he said personally to the present writer three years ago: "The reds are the dynamic element; they must start the movement; they must set it into motion."

It is bad that the leaders of the Party didn't understand this, and still worse that they do not understand it yet. They are people to whom the obvious is always a mystery sealed with seven seals. Any one who has as much as a casual acquaintance with the line-up in the labor movement ought to know that the trade unions under their present leadership, and the other groups addressed in the letter, whether conservative, pseudo-radical or socialist, will not make a genuine and militant fight for Mooney. At best they will only render lip-service in deference to the sentiments of the ranks, arrange a formal demonstration, make a mild, polite and orderly protest—all of which means nothing, or next to nothing, in such a bitterly-contested class issue as the Mooney case.

But is it not equally clear that the protests of the Communists and their close sympathizers alone—a mere handful of the American working class—scare nobody, and least of all the stiff-necked and class-conscious persecutors of Mooney? They do not care a fig for

the protests of the Communists so long as these protests are not supported by wider masses of the workers. This is the crux of the question. Without the initiative and driving force of the Communists—"the dynamic element", the organizing force—there can be no militant movement on a national scale. But the agitation of the Communists cannot be effective until it penetrates the masses and sweeps them along in a joint movement. Tom Mooney understood this as his letter shows. His letter created the most favorable ground to realize this necessary union of forces. The Stalinist leaders of the Party have bungled the whole question. The next move is up to the Communist workers. It is for them to force the issue and compel a change of course.

What does this mean, concretely, now? It means for the Communist Party and the I. L. D. to make direct, formal proposals to all the organizations and groups mentioned in Tom Mooney's letter for joint action on the single issue of the fight for Mooney. It means to give up the horse-play of a united front embracing only Communist organizations

THE ECONOMIC MONTH

The long-expected wave of wage-cuts broke in the first week of October, initiated by the Steel Corporation, and quickly followed by Bethlehem the Aluminum Co., Allied Chemical, etc. Capitalism serves notice on the worker that it can no longer maintain the "American standard of living". In previous crises, too, wages have been cut, but they have sooner or later recovered, as American capitalism has increased its productivity to new high levels. Unless American capitalism can turn the trick again, this time wages will not come back.

American capitalism needs low wages, first to meet the aggravated competition of England and Germany, second, to enable it to create new fixed capital at low costs based on low wages plus low raw material costs. The fact that there is already an excessive supply of fixed capital in the form of industrial equipment, railroads, houses, will not hinder capitalism from adding still more fixed capital if it can be created on such a low cost basis, due to low wages, that the newly-created fixed capital will produce a profit. Such a policy may not make sense, but it makes money.

The recently-announced decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission denying the application of the railroads for a 15% flat increase in freight rates, and suggesting instead a 3 to 4% increase, whose proceeds are to be pooled among the weaker roads, shows again how hard is the way of the demagogue and the social reformist in times of crisis when a showdown is called for. The maintenance of wages, "agreed to" by the railroads at Mr. Hoover's 1929 conferences, is a pleasant illusion shipwrecked on the rocks of reality. The only reason why the showdown was deferred so long is that the railroads fear the strong railroad unions, and particularly the militancy of the rank and file as demonstrated in the 1922 strike of the shopmen. How far this militancy has been worn down by the growth of company unions, B. and O.-ism, and the class collaboration policies of the leadership will be demonstrated in the next few weeks. In Canada, the question of voluntary acceptance of a wage cut has been put up to the workers and definitely rejected.

The flood of gold out of the country, and the tendency to hoard bank notes, have both subsided sharply, and Monday, Nov. 2, for the first time in six weeks, there was an actual gain of some \$25,000,000 of gold. These who expected a spectacular breakdown of the banking system are probably disappointed. The American banking system has a long way to go yet, in concentration and the creation of still more gigantic banking monopolies than have been known yet, before its internal contradictions, together with those of capitalism in general, split it into pieces. There are still some 25,000 separate banks in this country, compared with in Canada, and four that amount to anything in England.

The price of wheat has recovered from 48 cents a bushel early in October to 67 cents; cotton and petroleum have also been strong. The bourgeois press, with its indestructible optimism, sees the beginning of an upswing. The basic factor appears to be the beginning of purely artificial inflation expressing itself in

in which the Mooney case is tacked on to a number of other issues, and in which its special appeal is lost—the other cases will not lose by this temporary segregation of the Mooney issue; they will gain a hundred-fold by the sweep of the broader Mooney movement which can be created. To change the course and correct it now while there is yet time means in New York and such other places where separate conferences have been organized—Communist and reformist—to propose to the reformists a merger of the conferences into one. It goes without saying that every direct proposal to the official leadership of the reformist organizations and conferences has to be accompanied and supplemented by an intensive agitation in the ranks of these organizations to compel an acceptance of the unity proposals.

This is the way to blow the breath of life into the Mooney movement. This is the tactic of the united front as Lenin taught it, and as Mooney appealed for in his letter. The reformists are doing everything in their power to make this letter remain a scrap of paper. But we have no advice to offer them. Our suggestions are directed to the Communists as a means of forcing the reformists. The Leninist tactic of the united front is a powerful means to this end. That is not the least of its merits.

—J. P. C.

as necessary ideologically to the capitalists as his profits and his power. The same broad social vision is applied to relief activities for busted and misguided bankers by the Hoover Banking Plan. True, the bankers who need relief have to come with hat in hand and three different kinds of security before they can get a loan, and there is no telling but that some of the relievers will need relief themselves before long, but a good game of ring-around-a-rosy with banking funds will give evidence of constructive activity from the greatly misunderstood engineer in the White House.

—B. J. F.

«YOUNG SPARTACUS» OUT THIS MONTH!

The National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is speeding the work of publication of the first number of *Young Spartacus*. The announcement of the proposed publication of a youth paper of the Left Opposition in the United States met immediately with an enthusiastic response. In New York a drive for donations and subscriptions is now being carried on by the comrades, and a number of donations and subscriptions have already been received, as well as bundle orders. 100 subscriptions is the immediate goal of the Youth Fraction of New York.

The subscription price to *Young Spartacus* is fifty (\$0.50) cents per year; for Canada and foreign, \$0.65. Older comrades and workers are asked to subscribe on behalf of young people whom they know, or for their children and friends, and also to aid in the general subscription drive for *Young Spartacus*. Bundle orders are at the rate of 5 cents per copy in bundles of five or more.

The first issue of *Young Spartacus*, will go to press in less than one month. The present editorial committee consists of Joseph Carter, M. Abern and George Ray. Send donations, bundle orders and subscriptions to *Young Spartacus*, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

- The Opposition Forum -

On Friday, November 6, at the Open Forum of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), comrade Arne Swaback spoke on "Fourteen Years of the Russian Revolution." The comrades felt that this forum and anniversary celebration was worthwhile, for one of the best methods for joining in solidarity with our Russian comrades, is to understand the nature and significance of the October revolution, to appreciate its great achievements, to know the dangers that threaten it from without and within so that we can be armed to fight against them. Equipped with knowledge and insight, we are prepared more realistically and enthusiastically to participate in the defense of the Russian Revolution. It was in this manner that comrade Swaback spoke. He made an analysis of the economic processes developing in the Soviet Union, and cited the tasks of the Communists in the capitalist countries in relation to the Soviet Union, and spoke of the role of the Left Opposition.

At the next forum, the chairman announced, comrade James P. Cannon will speak on "The Haymarket Martyrs". The workers of today can learn many valuable lessons from the great 8-hour day movement that culminated in the Haymarket events of the '80s, particularly now when the tremendous unemployment puts on the order of the day—the 6 hour day. The lecture promises to be an interesting one, and takes place on Friday, November 13 at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Ave.

Very Significant Facts! -- by Alfa

Even the bureaucratic shiftings can be of great significance. When Orjonikidze was transferred to the All-Union Council of People's Economy, Yaroslavsky undoubtedly expected the appointment to the post of chairman of the Central Control Commission; but the appointee was Andreyev, one who is much younger and who, it would seem, "earned" it incomparably less. There were even whispers in Moscow, half earnest, half serious, that Yaroslavsky was going over to the opposition.

As a matter of fact the leadership of the G. P. U. has been concentrated in recent years in the hands of Yagoda. He seemed to be the natural successor of Menzhinsky. Suddenly Yagoda is demoted to the post of second assistant, and the little known Akulov is advanced to first place.

What is the meaning of this? Yaroslavsky and Yagoda are two figures of the same order, of a similar type, as if created for similar commissions. Closely tied to each other, they were carrying out, through the two organs of apparatus repression—the C. C. C. and the G. P. U.—Stalin's most delicate commissions in the field of struggle with his opponents, and even in matters of personal revenge against all who at any time, in any way, brushed against Stalin.

that this is precisely how it happened, but every informed apparatus man admits that it might have been so. In the past, there were hundreds of similar feasts carried out under the direct instructions of Stalin, or in the hope of his approval.

It would seem: exactly who should be put at the head of the C. C. C. if not the incomparable Yaroslavsky! And who is more qualified than Yagoda at the head of the G. P. U. to execute Stalin's most "intimate" commissions?

The Apparatus Men Are Nervous

Nevertheless, why was this so picturesque Yaroslavsky pushed aside by the pale, though zealous, figure of Andreyev? And why did Yagoda, who is ready for everything, have to concede his place to Akulov? This is an interesting question. In the impossibility for Stalin to appoint to the most responsible posts the people most necessary to him, is expressed the unvoiced, almost nameless, but insurmountable resistance of the apparatus against the latest results of the Stalinist system. In general and in the main, the Stalinists will accept Stalin and all that is not alien to him. But here we find that even Yaroslavsky and Yagoda cannot swallow everything down. Stalin has to make extraordinary efforts to retain the people most needed by him even in secondary and tertiary roles. Here lies the symptom, one of many symptoms, of the fact that Stalin who was lifted up through the apparatus, is in a constant, voiceless struggle with the apparatus, which somehow feels upon itself the pressure of the Party. The passing by of Yaroslavsky and the demotion of Yagoda is a singular warning to Stalin on the part of the apparatus, one could almost say a secret vote of lack of confidence.

Such symptoms, and even more expressive ones, should be expected in the future and even in greater numbers. A growing alarm of the apparatus precedes the inevitable awakening of the Party. In the future we should expect more and more "very significant facts".

The Meaning of the Elections

(Continued from page 1) The Communist Party Vote

An interesting feature in this connection is that appeal to the secondary or cancer growths of capitalism—corruption, gangsterism, etc.—had no effect on the voters who overwhelmingly returned Tammany politicians or their blood-brother Republicans to office. Fundamental education on principle questions of socialism, the class struggle, etc. was naturally missing, with the exception here and there of a socialist candidate who spoke for "socialism" in the socialist manner.

And what was the case with the Communist Party and its election campaign. To cite one example, I. Amter, Communist candidate for Borough President of Manhattan, received the miserably, incredibly low vote of 1,789. Add what votes were stolen or uncounted, as the Party claims, and it is still far beyond legitimate expectations. The living issues were there: the economic crisis and unemployment, around which the Communists have centered their agitation for two years. Why the pitiful showing in the elections?

The Communist Objective in Elections

We do not over-emphasize the counting of noses at election time, but its value as a partial barometer of working class development has been indicated. For Communists, election time offers a special opportunity to intensify the continuous, all-the-year-round campaign to reach the workers with the message of communism, to explain the class struggle and the solution. Even actual election to office, unlike with the socialists, is for Communists essentially but a chance to use the parliamentary tribunal for Communist education, to point out why the capitalist machinery of government cannot be used to achieve fundamental gains for the working class, and why a complete class change of government and social system is the only bona-fide solution.

Did the official New York Communists carry out the tasks of Communists during election time? The answer is NO. If it is true that the Communist Party and movement has an influence greater than its organizational expression, it failed indeed to consolidate its strength and influence at the ballot box. Actually, however, misleadership and false policies of the Party in the trade unions and in strikes reflected themselves also at the polls, in the failure of unionists and strikers to vote Communist.

The N. Y. Party Program

The Militant has dealt before with the crying weaknesses of the party program in the New York elections, which found similar manifestations in Philadelphia and other points. There was first and foremost a program of immediate demands with no less than 75 demands, good and correct ones mixed, like chopped herring or chop-suey, with demands of the most reformist and petit-bourgeois kind, a mish-mash that left everyone bewildered as to what it all meant. These demands concerned themselves with cheaper milk, ex-service-men's demands, a limit of \$3,000 salary for police captains (! Yes, it is sad, but true), the return of money to mugged bank depositors, for unemployed relief, against the war danger, defense of the Soviet Union, and, lastly, the 75th demand, for a Workers' and Farmers' Government. We are given to declare that no Socialist Party local in American history ever put together such an enormous list of demands without real examination as to meaning or purpose in regard to class content or reality to the situation.

The masses, it is true, again voted overwhelmingly for the capitalist system. But there were some thousands who, thinking a little more clearly, voted for the first time for what they regarded as a "vote for socialism". They voted either for the Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party, the official representative of the future society communism?

Because the Communist Party campaign was scarcely distinguishable from a stupid, near-sighted campaign such as one expects from reformists and socialists. Under the conditions of a volume of reformist demands, why should any worker choose particularly the Communist as against the milder-toned Socialist. Is just one way a worker could reflect in making his decision.

What Kind of Demands Should be Raised

We are for immediate demands. But they cannot be 75, or 50, or 25 or even 15. They must be a few clearly and definitely selected and centralized demands which fit a given situation. Immediate demands are not permanent; nor are the same ones always emphasized. These selected demands must appeal to and

meet the vital needs of the workers at the moment; but, moreover, they must be linked with and be capable of causing agitation against difficulties for, and exposure of the capitalist class and capitalist government who will and can not carry out or concede to fundamental demands of the working class. Our object in a class sense, in presenting immediate demands in connection with our ultimate program, is WORKING CLASS EDUCATION AND ORGANIZATION for the principles of Communism.

Under the conditions, where king nigger held dominion in New York City with an approximate million unemployed, the issue of IMMEDIATE RELIEF, came first. As natural corollaries to achieve real immediate relief, there followed the demand for unemployment insurance, at the expense of the bosses and government, agitation for a six hour day and five day week, and, from a broader but correct political class angle, the agitation for the widest possible economic collaboration between the capitalist United States and the Soviet Republic through the medium of the extension of large and long-term credits to the Soviet Union. These immediate demands, in election campaigns and NOW, remain the immediate demands and issues for the Communists to present. These demands, alive and comprehensible, if intelligently presented, more than adequately cover the sum total of the actual working class demands set forth in the 75 demands by the Party. But it is even far more important to present clearly in the election campaign that there is no lasting way out for the working class but the Social Revolution.

Win Workers to Communist Principles

The object of the Communists in election times and at all times, is to teach, to develop and to organize Communists. This is simple, but primary. If the Communist Party had really had this object in mind during the campaign, the results, votes or no votes, would have been better from a Communist viewpoint.

Far better to go to the extreme of alleged revolutionists as the Socialists Labor Party, and put forward only the demand for the realization of the Social Revolution, than like the Communist Party to put forward 75 demands which smother the main task of Communist education. The Communists cannot compete with the reformists or capitalists on the matter of amelioration of conditions of the workers; to do so means only to sink into the quagmire in which socialist weeds flourish, or into the quicksands in which the revolutionary outlook is buried.

The Central Committee on the Elections

On the day before the elections, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (*Daily Worker*, (11-231) said, in its appeal to the workers to vote the Communist ticket: "Our party . . . is the party of class war . . . It organizes the proletariat on the basis of class against class, working class against capitalist class, for the struggle for power."

What a pity it is that the Communist election campaign was not conducted on the lines of this basic appeal. At least then some workers would have understood the basic distinctions between the Communists and the Socialists, not to mention the capitalist parties. But it is this same Stalinized Central Committee that formulated the election program of 75 immediate demands. The result is that the election campaign witnessed another brand of "socialist competition". That is, the Communists "competed" with the socialists on the platform and arena of the socialists and the socialists naturally won this "competition" hands down.

The Communist Party forgot the main issues in this campaign. In trying to understand the workers, it fell to the level of outlook of the, in the class sense, uneducated worker. The Party dealt too much with the manifestations of capitalism, and too little indeed with the causes and cures for capitalism.

In brief, capitalism in America held its ground, though getting ready to switch the personnel of its political committee, the government; it made no concessions and holds the fort. The Socialist Party, weak too, nevertheless developed its main ideology of reform and politics for capitalism, and laid the ground a little better for the period when capitalism will need to seek them out and use them as their cover and protectors.

The Party Pays the Price of Wrong Theory

The working class as a class is still capitalist-minded. It must yet take its first steps as an independent political force. The Communist Party had great opportunities to make forward strides for Communism, but failed almost totally. In a principle manner, there is only one answer to the failure of the official Communist Party. The Communist Party must once again set both feet on solid theoretical ground, it must examine its past and present. If it will look straight, it will find that, wittingly or unwittingly, it has been under the insidious and corrupting effects of Stalinist theory and practices, sinking, even as other Communist Parties, into national reformism and even local provincialism, coupled as yet with a general outlook and comprehension of communism.

The elections are but an outstanding example. The Communist Party is paying the heavy toll of being wrong in theory and principles. Party ignorance receives payment in kind from the workers.

If the Communist Party will then examine a little further, they will see the Left Opposition standing by and offering the original Communist program of Lenin. Will the elections help the Party to learn, and to redress and reform itself before it is too late?

—MARTIN ABERN.

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Published by the National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition)

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