

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879

VOLUME V, NO. 42 [WHOLE NO. 138]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

## Zinoviev Expelled Again

New Expulsions Denote Dangerous Crisis for Stalinist Regime

For the second time in less than five years, the former head of the Communist International, Gregory Zinoviev, and the former chairman of the Russian party's Political Bureau, Leo Kamenev, have been expelled by the ruling faction in the Russian party. The cablegram from the Inprecor to the official party press leaves everything in obscurity, as is to be expected. From its own internal evidence, only one thing is clear: the charges against Zinoviev and Kamenev, as well as the other twenty-two party members who were expelled along with them, are a typical product of that disloyalty and rudeness for which Lenin stigmatized Stalin and demanded his removal from the post of general party secretary.

### The "Counter-Revolutionary Plot"

Is it possible to believe that the expelled twenty-two were actually engaged in what the party press, without the slightest idea of the actual standpoint of the dissidents, already glibly denounces as a counter-revolutionary conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet power and reintroduce capitalism. Still less worthy of our credence is the charge that Zinoviev and Kamenev, however wretched their political course in the past few years, knew of a real counter-revolutionary plot and failed to inform the party of its existence.

The whole affair, we are prepared to say even without the more detailed information which we know will shortly be available, smacks of those despicable Thermidorian amalgams produced in the factional laboratories of the Stalinist clique, which seriously told the Communist workers that the Opposition was allied with Chamberlain and Chiang Kai-Shek and that the most trusted leaders of the October revolution were working together with a "Wrangel officer" in 1927 to overturn the Soviet regime.

The Daily Worker reports that those expelled were in "counter-revolutionary groups... which drafted programs opposing the party and aiming at restoration of capitalism and kulak power, a dissolution of the Soviet and collective farms and the granting of important concessions to capitalists." The finality and certitude with which the journalistic footmen of Stalinism speak is determined not merely by their subservience, but also by their complete ignorance of the facts in the case.

The truth about the situation that has been revealed with such breath-taking abruptness is more closely approached by the report printed in the organ of the Left Opposition in France two weeks ago:

"A short time ago rumors began to circulate about discussion at the top of the party; the harbingers of a new and deep-going turn-about face to the Right have been perceived; furthermore, the rumors were recorded in the Letter from Moscow (printed in the Militant a few issues back). A dispatch from the T. A. S. S. published without comment by L'Humanite simply denied the report that Stalin was going to quit—of his own will or under compulsion—the post secretary of the C. P. S. U.

### "Letter of the 18 Bolsheviks"

"Now, a document is being talked about which is called the letter of the eighteen Bolsheviks, which is circulating in the Russian party. It appears to emanate from circles close to the Centrist apparatus. Its central slogan is: **remove Stalin!** It is a letter to the members of the party. Stalin is accused in it of having stifled the Communist International, stifled all workers' democracy in the party, of having zig-zagged in economic policy, of having broken the bridges between town and country, and having led the Five Year Plan and all of Soviet economy into a state of profound crisis."

In a word, it is already plain that the new group which the Stalinists have "discovered", is a manifestation of that profound crisis which is tearing away the foundations of that structure of contradictions, patch-work and bureaucratic violence which the usurpatory ruling clique has sought in vain to pass off as Bolshevism. The crisis in present day Soviet economy, superinduced by the whole series of incoherent, disastrous, zig-zagging blunders which make up the "line" of Centrist, we have already analyzed in these columns. The reflection of this state of affairs in the form of a new party crisis had to come to light. The expulsions just announced are unmistakably the first tangible evidence of the new party crisis in the Soviet Union.

It is as yet too early to pass judgment on the program of those who have been expelled. In the miserable inadequate reports, the official cables to the party press and the semi-official cables to the capitalist press, there is a lack of those specific details necessary for a complete analysis. Among those whose expulsion is announced we find the former "Trotskyist", Rintin. We also read the name of Uglanov, the former head of the Moscow organization who was the first victim of the organizational measures taken

against the Right wing Bucharin-Tomsky-Rykov group in 1929. Finally, there are the professional capitulators of the Leningrad school, Zinoviev and Kamenev. What common line these disparate elements might have, it is difficult to say. Whether we have here a repetition of that hopeless venture undertaken some time ago by the so-called "Right-Left Bloc" of Syrov and Lominadze, is also a declaration which requires further details for its confirmation.

### The Crisis of Stalinism

But enough information is at our disposal for the confident assertion that the latest news from the Soviet Union speaks volumes about the insoluble crisis of the Stalinist regime. One fact alone: Zinoviev and Kamenev, who capitulated so pitifully to the Stalinist machine at the 15th Party Congress in 1927, and have since that time disavowed or swallowed their opinions for a party card and that contemptuous toleration shown them by (Continued on page 3)

## MASS MEETING THE NEW CRISIS IN THE SOVIET UNION

What Is the Significance of the New  
Expulsions in the Russian  
Communist Party?

Come and Hear

MAX SHACHTMAN

ARNE SWABECK

Thursday, OCTOBER 20, 1932 8 P. M.  
at OUR NEW HALL  
126 East 16 Street

The Regular Open Forum Season in  
New York Begins on Friday,  
October 28, 1932

### "THE NEW MINERS' REVOLT"

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

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

## Lytton Report Aims at Partitioning China Among the Imperialist Bandit Powers

Hardly a day goes by without some report or other regarding engagements between Chinese and Japanese troops in Manchuria. Japan, by the ruthless extermination of all opposition, is attempting to consolidate its position in the territory that is predominantly Chinese and extremely hostile to the Japanese domination. Putting up a stiff resistance, the Chinese are nevertheless being slowly subjugated.

It was to investigate the present conditions in Manchuria, and to suggest action, that the Lytton commission was created by the League of Nations some time ago. On October 2 the lengthy and voluminous report was made public. The commission being dominated by America and Great Britain, the content of the report could very easily have been predicted. As a matter of fact, a Washington dispatch to the New York Times of October 3 emphasizes the similarity between the proposals made by the United States in the past, and those of the Lytton report.

The report does not however devote itself only to the question of Japan and the invasion of Manchuria. One even gets the feeling that the above questions sort of occupy a secondary position. Throughout the entire report the danger and menace of Communism is stressed. The spread of the Communist movement in China represents a real and live danger to the bourgeoisie, and they mine no words in expressing their opinion on the subject. "There is a new menace, which had its origin in China in 1921—Communism." Thus reads the report. "In that country", the report continues, "Communism has become an actual rival of the National government." Created to investigate the conditions attending the slaughter of many hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers and peasants by the Japanese marines, the commission finds

instead the existence of a strong Communist movement.

The report does not stop there; it continues by suggesting a solution—"international cooperation". The American and British imperialists seeing in Japan a future ally in suppressing Communism, and recognizing their own technique in Japan's invasion of Manchuria are unable to attack too strongly the actions of their rival. But the hand of the United States is obvious even in the mild attack that is leveled against Japan. We thus find actual recognition of the fact that the government of Manchukuo (Henry Pu Yi) was forced on the Manchurian people against their will, by the Japanese, and would collapse should the Japanese troops be withdrawn. Does the report therefore demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Japanese bluejackets? Hardly. It points to the need for a force capable of coping with the so called main danger—Communism, and suggests the creation of an international police force to oppose this danger. The reporters stress the importance of law and order to the safety of capital already invested, and that to be invested in the future. It recognizes that should Japan be given a free hand to establish its own "law and order", it would mean the virtual exclusion of the other imperialists from the enormous Manchurian market. The opposing imperialists are thus forced to demand "international cooperation" and the creation of an "international constabulary", as opposed to the Japanese marines only.

In discussing the question of who started the war (Sino-Japanese) a thousand and one minor incidents are stressed. Particular emphasis is given to the killing of one Nakamura, a Japanese captain. The by now universally accepted fact that the complete plans and maneuvers (Continued on page 4)

## IN THE ELECTIONS

## 'Labor' or C.P. Ticket?

The Lovestoneites Propose a Reformist 'United Labor' Slate

Political elections at this stage of development in the United States offer, from our point of view, opportunities for revolutionary propaganda and activities. It is because of this that they can be utilized to advance the working class political level. More than this we should therefore not expect from them.

Elections do not decide the important issues of the working class which we approach in the sense of being essentially issues of power. That is, as the issue of which class shall hold power in society. There is no other way to approach it. But elections can become stepping stones for working class advance only when they are correctly utilized to help make clear the existing class relationships. The collisions of the conflicting

interests between capitalism and the workers are manifested daily in the shop, in the unions, in demonstrations and on the picket lines. There the economic basis is established. In the elections they can become the focusing points around which the workers can express their interest from a class point of view and to that extent further prepare themselves for the struggle for power.

### Reformist or Revolutionary Objective?

In that particular objective the essential difference between a reformist and a revolutionary policy becomes apparent. The reformist policy can never educate the workers to the concept of power, nor can it serve to advance them in that direction because that is not at all its (Continued on page 2)

## Right Wing Wins at Gillespie Mine Workers Conference

Miners Militant but Small Left Wing Fails to Stop \$5.00 Day Scale Adoption

### GILLESPIE, ILL.—

The first convention of the Progressive Miners of America has ended with the acceptance of the Walker-Lewis five dollar wage scale.

This is the result of the political confusion existing amongst the leadership, and the lack of an organized Left wing, which can be placed on the heads of our official Communist party. The militancy of the rank and file still exists. They raise no cry of betrayal or sell-out, and in all probability will change the existing temporary leadership at the coming elections in December of this year. They will replace the present leadership with militant fighters, who will more amply mirror the degree of militancy displayed by the miners since the fight began.

An indefiniteness and overcautiousness, due to the Red-baiting campaign carried on by the bosses and reactionaries, were high-water marks during the proceedings. This was evidenced by the advice of Claude Pearcy, temporary president, to the delegates—"because of radicals who are trying to cause dissension in our ranks, and whose only aim is to smash the union". This point was taken up by Joe Pickel of Bend, who spoke of brotherly love and an "equitable share" in the products of labor. The militant in former issues has had brief sketches of the other leaders.

The miners, disliking the acceptance of the new wage scale, are mighty glad to have rid themselves of the sterile bureaucracy created in the old U. M. W. A. by John L. Lewis and John H. Walker. The miners are jubilant that no president of the P. M. A. can hold office more than two years, and feel that the agreements entered into are only preparatory for a counter-offensive in the near future. Toward that end, the militant Left wing workers are at the moment preparing.

The preamble adopted, while not conforming in its entirety to the class character of society, demands that the workers receive the "full social value of their product." A motion by Gerry Allard, of West Frankfort, for a National Miners' Unity Convention, to be held on January 15, was defeated and an amendment carried which left the date to the discretion of the executive board.

The N. M. U. made a plea for unity, which was turned down on the pretext that the N. M. U. never won any battles. This, the leadership thought, was enough to prevent unification, forgetting the great battles fought by the N. M. U. in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky, which, if not for the incorrect policies of the leadership, would have made the birth of the P. M. A. unnecessary. The P. M. A. made another mistake at its first convention by not joining hands in unity with the N. M. U. and putting all groups to the test of sincerity.

Frank Borich, secretary of the N. M. U., in a written appeal for unity said, "It is only because we feel that we are duty-bound to do everything in our power to help you the Illinois miners, to win your fight, on the outcome of which depends much of the future of the miners throughout the country. And because of this we feel we have the right and even the duty, to freely and in a comradely spirit discuss your and our problems. We feel that we have for many years been carrying on a fight similar to yours, and must impart to you our experiences. Though we are separated into two different organizations, thanks to the strike-breaking policy of Lewis, who sold out the miners in the 1927-1928 strike we feel we are one, and must come closer together. The rank and file of the miners' union must be united for a common struggle."

The voice of the Left Opposition, though feeble, was the only consistent organized fighter for a Left wing policy throughout the convention. We proposed a united front to the party on this score, and while not being called "counter-revolutionary" the proposal for unity was rejected.

More than 300 Militants were placed in the hands of the delegates. Our policies were discussed by the assembled miners and met with a favorable reception. The Militant will succeed in advancing Communism in the Illinois coal-fields.

—CARMODY.

The Progressive Miners constitutional convention, just concluded at Gillespie, Ill., had before it, as its main job, the matter of laying a militant union foundation. Second in order came the question of the wage scale. The break with the decrepit Lewis-Walker clique, which led to the formation of the Progressive Miners of America, ostensibly occurred over the issue of the betrayal by the former of the basic \$6.10 a day wage scale. In reality, of course, it had a far more deep going cause. Nevertheless the question of the wage scale, the manner in which it found its "solution" at the convention and the consequences which will flow from it in the future, are of real importance.

It is in respect to this that we can say confidently that the correctness of the fight made by the delegates of the Left wing, by Allard, Fraser, Steed and others against a retreat will be more than vindicated in the future. The convention, however, concluded by accepting the reduction to the \$5.00 a day scale, recorded in a vote of 98 to 17.

But even in this retreat the true revolutionists and the proven militants in the field will know their duty. Their sympathy, their warmest and unstinted support, their every ounce of energy and ability of sacrifice as well as their resources of strength extends to and belongs to the cause of the new union. That we can affirm even with the knowledge that the future course of the union cannot yet be foreseen. We know today that it is a union created by the will and determination of the rank and file to have forever done with the corruptionists, fakers, grafters and capitalist agents of the bygone days. They have taken measures to draft their constitution so as to give the utmost possible guarantee against a repetition. It is a union belonging to the miners and it can become the harbinger of a real militant national coal diggers union.

### The Left Wing Position

The Progressive Miners of America now constitutes a serious challenge to the rule of corruption and servility to the operators of the Lewis-Walker combine. That is its great capital which it is duty-bound to preserve. But it will be faced with a serious combat to survive, to strengthen itself and to grow.

It is from this point of view that the fight made by the Left wing against a wage cut retreat assumes enormous significance. There was serious substance to the arguments made by Alex Fraser, showing that under the \$6.10 wage scale the Illinois operators had gained 9.4 percent in coal markets; that the operators could afford to pay the \$6.10 was demonstrated by more than 100 independent mines signed up on the above scale with the P. M. of A. prior to Oct. 3; that it was not the P. M. of A. but the Belleville operators who had called for the scale conference which showed their desperate circumstances and that a definite attitude and an intensive drive would also force Peabody to his knees.

But the Left wing did not carry its point and it would be wrong to argue (Continued on page 2)

## LEON TROTSKY

## The Peasant War in China

The Standpoint of the Red Proletariat in the Present Situation

Dear Comrades,

Following a considerable lapse, we received your letter of June 15. There is no need of stating how much we were overjoyed by the revival and the renaissance of the Chinese Left Opposition after the most ferocious police persecutions it had endured. Insofar as one may judge from here, handicapped as we are by extreme lack of information, the position expressed in your letter corresponds to ours.

The irreconcilable attitude to the vulgar democratic view taken by the Stalinists towards the peasant movement has, of course, nothing in common with a careless or a passive attitude to the peasant movement itself. The Manifesto of the International Left Opposition

("The Tasks and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution"), that was issued two years ago and that evaluated the peasant movement in the southern provinces of China, declared, "The Chinese revolution, betrayed, crushed and drained of its blood, gives us proof that it is alive. Let us hope that the time is not far off when it shall once again lift up its proletarian head." Further on, it says, "The far-flung flood of peasant insurrections will undoubtedly provide the impulse for the revival of political struggles in the industrial centers. On this we bank firmly."

Your letter bears witness to the fact that under the influence of the crisis and of the Japanese intervention, against the background of the peasant war, flares up once again the struggle of the city workers. In the Manifesto we wrote on this score with the requisite circumspection, "None can foretell beforehand whether the bulwarks of the peasant uprisings will maintain themselves without a break through the course of that extended period which will be required by the proletarian vanguard in order for it to gather its own strength, to lead the working class into the battle, and to bring into accord its struggle for power with the general offensive of the peasants against their most immediate enemies". At the present time, it is obvious, there are substantial bases for

(Continued on page 4)

**Banquet** On Saturday Evening, OCTOBER 15  
Friends and sympathizers are cordially  
invited. Come and bring your fellow

**New Headquarters**

126 EAST 16th STREET  
New York City

ADMISSION

**50c**



# Letters from Militants

## The Strike of the Embroiderers

NEW YORK—

On Tuesday, October 4th at 4 P. M., Local 66 of the ILGWU called a general strike of the industry.

At the meeting in Bryant Hall, McGrady of the A. F. of L. spoke to the strikers in flowery words of how he will stand at the head of the strike and will lead us on to victory. He told of how he fought side by side with us in the strike that was carried on by this local last March.

What was the purpose of this strike? Did you hear in the strike hall talk of the exploitation of the workers? Did they talk about the organizing of the open shops? Did they talk about the forty-hour week which was promised to the workers long ago? No! There were a few words spoken about getting back pay from the bosses who broke their agreement on Sept. 1 by not giving their employees, who were working below the minimum wage scale, a ten per cent increase in wages. There were a few words spoken about time and a half that the bosses were supposed to give workers for overtime.

The meeting was divided into three sections, and sent to three different strike halls. When we came to the hall that we were assigned to we were surprised to see our bosses there before us. Our leaders, Leon Habbot, Quickstein and Heasel, then got up and told us that a meeting between the union officials and the bosses will take place that evening in the Hotel New Yorker, to come to an agreement on the strike. Meanwhile, we are to elect a committee from our shop to go to the hotel. After these small committees were elected from the various shops a member of the executive board came over to discuss with the committee what was to be taken up. The executive board member had a list of the workers that were working in the shop and they collect the back dues. Each member of the shop owed from \$5.00 to \$45.00. The wanted to straighten out the lists and the longest organized branch of the trade owed the very large sums. These workers haven't had a full week since March. The workers were not asked when they would or could pay up. The question simmered down to the following: you cannot (speaking direct to the bosses) get the workers back in your shops unless you pay their dues for them. We will leave it to you (bosses) as to how to collect the money from your workers.

Many bosses paid the union as high as \$50.00, that night and in the morning the workers reported back to work. The bosses deducted the money from the workers' pay. Some workers owed \$18 a week all they earned was \$18 so the bosses kept the whole pay. Other bosses were kinder, they deducted only one-third of the amount due the union and will deduct the rest in the following two weeks.

This was a fake strike of the first water. Not many union officials have the workers so well hoodwinked that they can do a thing like that without being afraid. This was a united front of the union officials and the bosses to make the workers pay their dues. Many of the workers had not worked one single day since the beginning of June and that was their first week or so back on the job. Most of the workers could ill afford to have sums deducted from their pay.

Workers, you must organize yourselves so that things like this should not be repeated. We must have a real union that is willing to fight for our demands and not one that will unite with the bosses, get drunk with them and then

come to us with pretty stories.

Organize so that you will be able to get your minimum wage scale, so that you will have a forty-hour week and that you will get time and a half for overtime when there is work.

—STITCHER.

## Elections in Pocketbook Makers Union

NEW YORK—

Eight months ago the discredited Walinsky-Shiplacoff gang with all kinds of fake promises during an election campaign succeeded again in fooling the workers, and elected a majority of the administration in the Pocketbook Workers Union. The workers have paid the price and will pay if they do not defeat the betrayers in the coming election that will take place Saturday, October 15.

The present "Fraternal Club" administration slogan during the campaign was, first, a job to every worker; second, they will bring back the out of town shops; third, a vigorous leadership is needed to deal with employers and negotiate a new agreement whereby the workers will get back the best conditions, which their predecessors gave to the employers without a struggle.

As soon as the "Fraternal Club" administration took office the workers convinced themselves that not only did they not fulfill one of their promises, but they brought matters to a situation where conditions became deplorable since they took office.

Now let us analyze and see what are the achievements of the S. P. gang on the "Fraternal Club" administration in the Pocketbook Workers Union for the last eight months. The misleaders signed a treacherous agreement last June with the employers. They raved they had a victory over the employers; only once a year 5 percent reorganization will take place instead of twice a year, they claimed.

What actually happened was this: in the agreement there is a clause that only 5 percent of reorganization will take place once a year, but the rank and file pointed out at the meetings that the employers will have a right of readjustment which is far more dangerous than reorganization. This, our leaders said, is untrue, and Communist propaganda. It did not take long and the workers convinced themselves. They also brought a gang to the meeting and terrorized the workers. That's how they put over the agreement.

The Chuck Bag Company have thrown out 50 or 60 workers from their shops. Mexik's shops have thrown out the same amounts, and many other employers have done likewise. Wages under the present administration were reduced to about fifty percent. The 40 hour week which was so vital to introduce in the pocketbook industry in order to relieve somewhat the unemployment situation was given up without a fight.

The "Fraternal Club" administration have promised to bring back the out of town shops and give every worker a job. These promises they kept...more or less. The workers in New York under the present administration work as cheap as the out of town workers do. About giving every worker a job—well, they give jobs to their own clique, but not to workers who are idle for a year or two.

In New York there are about 200 non-union shops in the pocketbook industry. The rank and file always demanded an organization campaign in order to organize the open shops, which undermine the conditions of the workers; but it always fell on deaf ears. Finally the Joint Council decided to start an organization

campaign. Who was the head of the organization campaign? Abe Fine, who scabbed in the Binen shop when the workers were on strike. The administration claims they organized 48 shops, which I doubt. The significant thing is that in not one of these shops the workers gained any better conditions, with the exception that they will have to pay dues and taxes. We can imagine what workers think of such unions. Let our misleaders deny it.

Another thing—we have an unemployment insurance fund; for the last five months not a cent was paid out to the workers. The only one who is making a living from the fund is the S. P. faker, Dr. Hendlin, and his wife. He still gets 75 dollars a week and his wife \$35. Recently the trustees decided only workers who have books from 1932 will be entitled to unemployment insurance, although the majority of the trustees are the labor group. Which means that workers who are unemployed for a year or two will be deprived of unemployment insurance—and who is to get unemployment insurance?—the clique, of course! The unemployed workers should be deprived and driven out from the industry altogether.

The "Fraternal Club" administration's accomplishments are wage-cuts, reorganization, readjustments, a reign of terror to keep the workers in submission, and

above all to work with the employers hand in hand against the interests of the workers. This is the "Fraternal Club" administration's achievements since they are in power.

On the other hand the rank and file carried on struggle against wage-cuts, against reorganizations, readjustments, etc. The rank and file always fought for a militant policy in the union. Therefore every worker should vote a straight rank and file ticket and not let themselves be terrorized by the "Fraternal Club" gangsters. Workers, be on guard! Do not let yourself be misled by the "Fraternal Club" fake progressives or the L. W. society. They are all united for the purpose of defeating the rank and file who fought and will continue to fight for a militant union for the interests of the workers, not the interests of cliques and the bosses.

Pocketbook workers! A vote for the rank and file is a vote against wage cuts, reorganization, readjustments, against terror, against gunmen, and for the union in the interests of the workers. Vote a rank and file ticket. These are the rank and file candidates: for manager, H. Gufer; secretary-treasurer, U. Kassman; business agent, Ch. Shapiro; organizer, C. Mehlman; recording secretary, M. Lyons; chairman, M. Drevnowitz.

—N. DAVIS.

## Right Wing Wins at Gillespie

(Continued from page 1)

that the convention was not made up of delegates at least a majority of whom were directly from the pits and knew the question involved. Undoubtedly even the majority of those 98 who voted for the retreat were rank and file working miners. The convention was an affair mainly observing the rules of working class democracy. We gather that it particularly felt the weight of a situation essentially created by the traitorous action of the Lewis-Walker sell-out. But there were two aspects to the question which influenced the convention decision, deserving some special attention.

### The Opportunists Favor Retreat

First of all, the opportunist elements within the leadership, who glaringly showed their timidity and lack of moral courage were essentially animated by fear of courting the displeasure of capitalist society. Their cry was: "We must not soil our hands with the Reds". The logic of their position drew the conclusion to avoid any sharpening of the struggle by any means. Their arguments showed clearly that they did not even approach this question from the point of a temporary retreat compelled by a situation over which they had no control and to be overcome again by a renewed and strengthened offensive under more favorable conditions. No, their position was rather the one of admitting defeat in advance for the sake of collaboration with the enemy at all costs, and to remain respectable in his estimation.

Such was the essential character of the position taken by Pearcey, Keck Jones, Pieck, Humphries and others. By this they were marking out further their Rightward course. They were speaking to a young movement, as yet inexperienced in conducting its own union, and the false position carried its weight in influencing the decision for a retreat. There should be little doubt, however, that the miners in general will look upon it only as a temporary one and turn their attention toward speedy preparations for a new offensive to regain what has been lost.

But there was another factor of at least equal importance playing its part in the decision. It was expressed in the numerical weakness of the Left wing. Those among the delegates in agreement with the position we have advocated, had to make the fight alone. The com-

rades of the Left Opposition proposed to the leaders of the official party, who were on the spot, a united front for the Left wing program of militant unionism, including a fight against proposals to accept a wage cut retreat. The party leaders refused this offer. They thus bear the responsibility for the weakening of the Left wing.

### To the Right or to the Left—Which?

The new union is now starting out with a handicap. Only fools would contend that it cannot be overcome, or that what is lost cannot be regained. But the success of this depends entirely upon the course the new union will steer in the future. So long as the Lewis-Walker machine will be able to maintain the remnants of the U. M. W. A. intact and bolstered up by the favors of the Peabody company, so long will the new union be in a position of a rival union. There should in that very position be many factors at work which will press it in a Leftward direction. As far as the objective conditions are concerned such is undoubtedly the case, but the union course is not decided by the objective conditions alone. Much depends upon the union leadership. And it is time to say with all possible emphasis that the degree to which the opportunist elements are permitted to hold sway in the leadership to that degree the danger of a backward direction increases. A sentiment, as expressed by them today, for collaboration with the operators rather than struggle will tomorrow become a sentiment for rapprochement and collaboration with the Lewis-Walker clique as well.

It is in this respect particularly that the miners must watch themselves on the road of retreat which they have chosen. With a militant union leadership, one step backward, which sometimes may become unavoidable, will mean only preparation to gain two steps forward later. Given this condition the Progressive Miners of America will be able to perform its duty. But a militant leadership is still to be created and the experiences which will inevitably flow from this retreat will help the rank and file miners in making their selections.

—A. S.

## Shachtman in Boston

Two lectures will be delivered in Boston and vicinity by Max Shachtman, editor of the *Militant*, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The first lecture on "Communism or Fascism in Germany?", analyzing all the factors and parties in the present situation in that country, will be held at Otisfield Hall, corner of Blue Hill Ave., and Otisfield Street, Roxbury, Mass., on Friday, October 21, 1932, 8 P. M. Admission to the hall will be fifteen cents.

The second lecture, on the same topic, will be held in Lynn, Mass., 235 Summer Street. Admission to the Lynn meeting is free to all, and a silver collection will be taken to defray the expenses.

All workers interested in the burning problems created by the German situation today are cordially invited to attend.

### LITERATURE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

The reading material required and suggested for the courses offered by the International Workers School can be had from Pioneer Publishers. List and prices will be supplied on request.

This applies not only to students locally, but to out-of-town students as well. The school is preparing correspondence courses. The necessary texts will be indicated in the outlines and most probably will be unavailable in smaller cities and towns. This is where we come in.

For some time now we have been supplying the "Communist Manifesto" and other Marxian works to our propagandists in the field. We are making these works staple items in our stock.

### ATTACK IN UNION SQUARE

NEW YORK—

It has been brought to my attention that certain dubious characters, who pose as members of the Communist party

## MILITANT SUB DRIVE

### Our Club Plan

WANTED—\$1.00

Comrade Hamilton of Chicago sent us a dollar with the following words: "This being the notable day of the P. M. A. convention in Gillespie, I feel moved to celebrate by sending you the sum of a dollar to put a couple of miners on the list as per your liberal offer in the current *Militant*. I regret that this contribution is no larger but, as you have, no doubt heard, the spirit is what counts anyway. Chiefly I am writing to express my extreme gratification at the excellence of the material on the miners in the current, special miners' edition. Such work justifies the claim of the Left Opposition to be the expression of the true Marxian line, and should make every member of the L. O. enthusiastic all the more for his affiliation with this group."

Now who will watch this spirit and donation so we can make up a complete club plan of four subs for two dollars? Who will send us another dollar for this purpose?

WANTED—\$2.00

Who is going to give the snowball another push on its way? Who will send us two dollars to start four more subs rolling on their way to the mine fields? In New York we have seen a number of comrades with their club plan blanks half filled out, looking for workers to sign up in the blank spaces. They have promised to report in a day or two. We dropped them a hint about the mine field sub idea and they rushed off hot foot. Watch next week's issue.

GOOD NEWS

Just as the issue was about to be closed the postman brought in some of the best news we have seen in a long time. Here it is, comrade Ruby of the Chicago Friends of the Militant Club reporting: "At the last meeting of the Friends of the Militant Club we collected the following sums: donations for the *Militant*—\$2.50; for four new six month subs on the new club plan—\$2; one new six month sub at the old rate and one six months renewal."

And listen to this from comrade Vom-

was in Pittsburgh: "Enclosed you will find \$2. for four subs for the miners. The subs were given by Nick Leperis—\$1; L. Fotimos—\$.50; and a worker—\$.50" Boy! It's not going to be a snowball rolling downhill, but an avalanche. Come on. Who's Next?

### MILITANT BUILDERS

With our plan beginning to hit on all six cylinders we are now able, for the first time, to give a standing of the staff.

H. A.	\$2
P. Vomvas	2
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	2
J. Hamilton	1

Keep your eye on the Chicago Friends of the Militant Club. We'll tell you all about it in the next issue or so. Here's the record by cities.

Chicago	\$5
Pittsburgh	2

How about it New York, Minneapolis, Philadelphia and the other hives of Left Opposition activity? Are you going to take a licking lying down? Or are you going to stand up and fight?

### JUBILEE ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

As the *Militant* announces elsewhere we have made a change in plan for the Jubilee Anniversary Issue. Instead of devoting the issue of November 12 to this celebration we are moving it up to the issue of November 5 and combining it with a celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the October revolution.

We are going to put out an 8-page issue. It will carry documents on the Russian revolution never before published in the English language. As previously announced we expect to carry greetings from comrade Trotsky and our brother sections. We will also carry a page of greetings from our comrades, sympathizers, friends, and workers' organizations. The premium we offered to the *Militant Builder* who stands highest at that time, "The Proletarian Revolution in Russia" by Lenin and Trotsky still holds good. But as one week has been lopped off the time, get busy. Use the blanks below for subs and greetings.

## MILITANT BUILDERS CLUB PLAN BLANK

A \$1 HALF YEAR SUB of 26 ISSUES for 50c in CLUBS of FOUR or MORE. THE MILITANT, 84 E. 10th Street, New York City.

Enclosed find \$2 for which send the MILITANT for 26 weeks to the following:

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

MILITANT BUILDER ..... Address .....  
City ..... State .....  
Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

## A Double Anniversary

After the Paris Commune, 1905. After 1905, 1917, the March days, the July days and finally November 7, the victory of the workers supported by the peasants, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks at whose head stood Lenin and Trotsky.

Intervention, counter-revolution, civil war, the blockade, famine. But the aroused and victorious masses following the policies of Bolshevism hammered out by Lenin and Trotsky, fought their way through to a second victory against the imperialist brigands and their brothers at home.

The dark days of Lenin's sickness, the mole-like work of the disloyal Stalin in gathering into his hands the apparatus of the party, the campaign against Trotsky; finally the birth of the Opposition.

The fight for the policies of Lenin against the revisionism of Stalin and the Rights. The ultra-Left zig-zag, the capitulations, the banner of the Left Opposition carried into the prison camps, into exile—throughout the Comintern.

In the United States a handful of comrades, "three generals without an army," raised their voices for the Left Opposition. They founded the Communist League of America (Opposition). They issued the *Militant* as the clarion of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism against the American and International Stalinist regime.

The publication of *The Militant* is a direct continuation of the fight for Bolshevism. It is an extension of the Bolshevik October. It floats the banner of the great traditions of revolutionary internationalism.

For four years it has raised its voice, loudly and consistently for these ideas. It has stung the Stalinist leadership of the party and the Comintern with its

Marxian criticism of their opportunist policies and blunders. It has put forward the policies of the League concretely in opposition to the caricature of Marxism that pass for policies and programs in the Stalinist Comintern today.

November 15 will be the fourth anniversary of the appearance of the *Militant*. It comes close to the 7th of November, the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Both days are ours. What more fitting than a joint celebration? We have decided to put out the November 5 issue, which falls closest to the November, as a joint anniversary number of the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution and as the fourth year of the *Militant*.

It will be an 8-page issue. We will print historic documents of the Russian Revolution never before published in the English language. The issue will carry other appropriate material on the two great events.

The back page will be a page of greetings from comrades, sympathizers, friends, and workers' organizations. If you want to greet the *Militant* make use of the blank below. The rate for single names is 25 cents. The rate for a one-inch one-column wide greeting is \$1.; for a two-inch, one-column wide greeting \$1.75; for a five-inch, one-column wide greeting—\$3.00. The rate for two-column widths is double the other rates.

This issue marks a significant day in the history of the League. It should be distributed and sold widely. We want our comrades and friends to help us in this sale by ordering bundles now, in advance. The rate is three cents a copy. Orders must be accompanied by remittance in full. Use this blank:

THE MILITANT  
84 EAST 10th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed find.....for which please enter my greeting in the Jubilee Anniversary issue, November 12, 1932.

Name ..... Address .....

City ..... State .....

and circulate in and about Union Square, where thousands of workers congregate daily, try to incite to riots by picking first on the issue of "Trotskyism" and gradually took the discussion into a physical fight.

Last Saturday night one of our comrades was attacked and mauled about by a bunch of such hoodlums, and only the interference of some workers who happened to be around prevented a more serious clash. Sunday, one of our sympathizers was threatened.

We warn all class conscious workers and Communists to refuse to be provoked by such provocateurs and clear away from them. We must not by any means give an "excuse" to the police to interfere and attack workers in the Square. Instead, we must unite our forces, expose the capitalist tools, who try to bring about confusion amongst the masses by picking on "Trotskyism", and strengthen our forces thereby to be able to fight more efficiently against the whole capitalist system.

—P.

## 'United Labor' or Communist Ticket?

(Continued from page 1)

objective. It is definitely circumscribed by the limits of the existing capitalist society and conforms to the rules of the capitalist state. It cannot step beyond these limits because that would lead to a conflict with the state power and lead to revolutionary conclusions, which is something the social reformists would never permit. The logic of the class struggle, however, presses inexorably beyond these limitations and the social reformists, fearing the revolutionary conclusions, betray the interests of the working class and give up even the struggle for reforms.

### What is the Right Wing Position?

The revolutionary policy, on the other hand, does not at all reject the struggle for necessary reforms. On the contrary, considering reforms as by-products of the revolutionary struggle, it takes the every-day needs of the working class as the basis of its immediate demands. But it sets for itself the objective of change in the class relationships, the objective of replacing the capitalist power with the working class power, the objective of revolution. Only when this is made clear in political elections by the revolutionary party, will it fully perform its duty and only on that basis can it fully justify its participation in them.

It should follow from this, that the Communist party in a political election is also duty bound to appear before the working class directly under its own banner, planted solidly upon a revolutionary platform. With this, the Right wing Lovestone group is in total disagreement. True to its opportunist position in every respect, this group proposes a "united labor ticket" for the New York mayoralty elections. The fact that it is advocated for New York should not

deceive anybody for if it is correct for that city there should be no particular reason for its being wrong elsewhere.

In the *Workers Age* of September 24, a leading editorial, in addition to waxing extremely indignant at the "tin box" corruption of Tammany Hall and in the City Hall, gives precisely such advice. To make sure of no misinterpretation, we quote directly from this editorial:

"The job of the labor movement in this situation is clear: to unite all its forces and all its organizations in support of a UNITED LABOR TICKET (emphasis in original), standing foursquare for the interests of labor and determined and able to make a clean sweep of the whole dirty mess."

Which labor movement is here referred to? Perhaps the trade unions are taken into account. Be that as it may, there need be no doubt that the editorial aims at the Socialist party and the Communist party as both are mentioned in this connection—a united election ticket of the reformist party and the revolutionary party. Only from a politically degenerated group could such a proposal emanate, despite its attempt at still covering itself with the name of the Communists.

A United Front or a Reformist Sham?

We have often in these columns commented upon and emphasized the necessity of a working class united front for specific and limited objectives of struggle. We have important historical experiences of working class unity of action in the sense of revolutionary and reformist organizations or parties joining forces to attain specific and limited aims upon which members of both were in accord and which were of general interest to the broad mass movement. The threatening Fascist menace in Germany still demands the united front of the

Communists, the social democrats and the trade unions to defeat that menace. A united front in this country for the struggle for freedom of political prisoners is a vital necessity. A united front of the Communist forces, the socialist forces and the trade unions in the struggle for the immediate needs of the unemployed would be entirely correct, and help to put the social reformists as well as the reactionary leaders of the trade unions to the test on their professed claim of favoring actual relief measures from capitalist society. But political elections are an entirely different matter. None of these issues is decided by elections. They are decided only by actual struggle.

Where is the common point of interest between the two parties in an election? To propagandize and to rally the workers for the attainment of reforms or for the working class revolutionary objectives? To win expression of support for the candidate voicing the reformist program or for the candidate voicing the aspirations of the revolutionary program? To educate the working class in an election campaign, to obtain reforms under capitalism or to educate to the concept of the struggle for power? Obviously there can be no point of common interest between the two.

Among the brethren of the various reformist stripes there would be no obstacles in the road to unity in elections. Their objectives in essence coincide. The Lovestone group should therefore have confined its proposal to that camp where they could find full harmony. Their group would only complete the circle, that is, with the exception of the workers within it who still see the revolutionary objectives, who will separate from it and march with the revolutionary sections.

—A. S.



# The Power Trust and the Elections

Without electricity modern capitalism would not be writing history in its present form. Modern capitalism rests upon economic relations which have been accelerated, and the exploitation heightened by the use and control of electric power. Electric power grips the entire modern industrial structure. The electrification of the capitalist tools of production has not been completed and will not be completed under capitalism, but in America there are still prospects for forward steps in this line by the capitalist class.

## Problem of Power Control

The control of power becomes a burning problem of the ruling class, not only between imperialist nations but also between sections of the capitalist class within the nation. The control of electric power, like other important capitalist industries has evolved and now confronts the "people" as the Power Trust. It is an octopus of modern capitalism, more powerful in control of life than many other capitalist trusts and more menacing to the "people"—say those out of office to those in it.

The capitalist, private-owned power utilities are centralized into about a dozen gigantic holding companies. These power combines are "regulated" by State Utilities Commissions, but like the Sherman Anti-Trust Act or the Interstate Commerce Commission they are of no value to the "people" but only cloaks for further concentration of industries.

The State Utilities Commissions have, without a doubt proven bankrupt in safeguarding rates for the consumers or protecting the small investors. No wonder the small investors, the middle class, have their representatives in Congress clamoring for revenge. No wonder they want to make "Power" an issue in this election campaign.

The Federal Trade Commission, like all government commissions have conducted several costly investigations of the Power Trust, and as in all other investigations "abuses" and "startling" information have been unearthed—but nothing, absolutely nothing has been done about it, except as political capital for the outs against the ins, and as middle class campaign material.

The Federal Trade Commission unearthed many abuses liable to criminal action. For example, watered stock or arbitrarily "writing up" the valuation of the utility property, was found prevalent. This enabled the trust to increase the rate base. The books show a "fair return" and "normal rates" but facts prove (for the thousandth time) a tremendous return and robber rates.

## Fictitious Capitalizations

The Federal Trade Commission found the following fictitious capitalizations:

American Gas and Electric Company	\$88,492,000
American Power and Light	74,000,000
Electric Power and Light Company	70,103,600
Miss. Electric Power and Light	10,000,000
Buffalo Niagara and Eastern	53,000,000
La. Power and Light	10,000,000

The inflation of only those investigated showed padding running into billions of dollars. This increased the consumers' bill by millions. Monopoly prices are the order of the day.

The present crisis has hit the Power Trust too. The Tri-Utility System has gone under. The Middle West Utilities, the Insull economic and political organization with ramifications in 31 states, is in the hands of receivers. They are still investigating the company.

The consumers have no voice. The trusts control part of the government and, with the other financiers and monopolists, control the whole government. The middle class investigations never complete the rounds and in the long run help let off steam, while profits continue to roll in. The shareholders have less say-so. The shareholders should, according to

"fair ethics", have a voice, but the ramifications of the holding companies, of separate classes of bonds, prevent all this. It is well known that the great mass of "unfortunate" and "discontented" investors are disfranchised and have no voice in the actual business. But these investors need not worry. Norman Thomas of the Socialist party has come to their rescue. Norris and Roosevelt are "doing" their share. So, all in all, the middle class is . . . well protected, while the monopolists move forward.

The Muscle Shoals war project has not been of service to the middle class in spite of the "public sentiment" and the fight of the middle class and farm interests.

## The Power Projects

The Power Trust told Washington what to do—and orders are orders. But in spite of this the Power Trust is a good campaign issue and will be used as such. Roosevelt pulled a fast one on Hoover over the discussion of the St. Lawrence project. The St. Lawrence project for navigation and power, is vital for a whole section of the American capitalists all the way over to Chicago and the two parties of the capitalists and their reformer brothers, the socialists, know this well enough. He who serves his master on this big waterway and power project will obtain his just reward, because it has great value for American imperialism in the coming period.

The economic and political organization of the Power Trust is great. Muscle

Shoals was an early test of strength and the monopolist won. The urban and rural middle class are reorganizing for a fight in the present campaign. The four great power projects under way in one degree or the other in the United States are vital for the capitalists and the financiers; the industrialists and the middle class are endeavoring to obtain their sectional interests now. Muscle Shoals, the Hoover Dam, the St. Lawrence dam and the Columbia River dam will lay the basis for a vast electrification. It will in turn accelerate the centralization and concentration of wealth. That is the reason the forces are again testing their strength in the present election. Certain control gained now will go a long way for future domination.

## The Insull Collapse

Insull is down but not out of the race. Years ago the Senate investigation proved that Samuel Insull was a campaign contributor to the Republican and Democratic parties in the Illinois fight for U. S. Senator. He gave the greater part of both campaign funds. Col. Smith accidentally happened to be chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission which regulates utilities in the state as well as a candidate.

The fall of the Insull interests in the middle West, has transferred control directly to the other financial capitalists. The "prosecution" of the Insulls will not alter the process. The Morgan United Corporation, with assets above six hundred million, through stock ownership

and interlocking interests, dominates the Eastern field. Three groups, the Morgans in the East, the banks which took over the Insull interests in the middle West and one in the West are utilizing the depression for further domination of the electric power.

In Montana the Power Trust and the Anaconda Copper Company struggle for power. The two control the state. Wheeler, who had the backing of Anaconda, made a heroic "middle class" fight against the Power Trust. Similar examples can be multiplied manifold. Many prominent politicians, national committeemen and state officials are officers of Power Companies. The reformers object to this. The reformer seems to think that private capitalist ownership is alright providing these same robbers keep out of politics!

The Power Trust, the holding companies, the monopolists and financiers have their sectional class interest, just like the industrialists, who need a large supply of cheap power. They have their objections to the monopolist prices as well as the middle class, urban and rural, who by all means want cheap power—and the mass of consumers who can be lined up to fight the trust. The Republicans represent this standpoint Roosevelt's interest. The Democrats and Trusts are not a bit better, but have their own sectional class interests. The progressives and socialists are the champions of the middle class. They want government ownership. Only the Communist party has a program suitable for the working class. The solution of the Power Trust like other Trusts is only possible through the proletarian revolution.

—HUGO OEHLER.

# Some Lessons of the Gillespie Convention

(Continued from page 1)

Belleville sections were getting impatient and would go back to work under Lewis unless something was done. There is a doubt whether this was true and even if this was true, by mass demonstrations, by mobilizing relief, by correct strategy and tactics these miners could have been strengthened. At the same time it would be necessary to continue the drive to bring the West Frankfort section out on strike and the miners of Illinois could have been able to negotiate a much better wage-scale. The yellow opportunism within the leadership is directly responsible for this present wage-cut.

The miners must learn a lesson from this experience and in the future they must take more initiative in the affairs of their new union. The miners at all times must continue a ceaseless struggle against the coal-operators and their bosses because if this is not done then more wage-reductions become natural and inevitable in circumstances like the present situation under the decaying system of capitalism. The object of the capitalist system is to maintain profits. And under the capitalist system the purpose of the coal-operators and their bosses is not to provide fuel but to make profits and the purpose of the railroads is not to transport people and commodities, but to transport gold into the pockets of the capitalists. Further the miners of Illinois have learned by the experiences in Franklin County, Taylorville, Canton and other places that in order to maintain their profits the capitalists are protected by all the forces of the state, the courts, the legislatures, and aided by the church. Only by a class-conscious organization, only by a united front of the coal-miners against the united front of the bosses can the coal-miners defeat the onslaughts of the coal-operators and their bosses.

The miners must watch closely such men as Claude Pearcy and Joe Pickel who on the floor of the convention said that,

"the coal-operators are good friends of the Progressive Miners of America and that they will help to build the new union."

After all these years of struggle the

miners know that the coal-operators' interests have always been diametrically opposed to that of the miners. The whole

## The Demonstration of Solidarity

After the splendid demonstration of solidarity in the face of terror and starvation, the Progressive Miners union is writhing under the realization that they have been defeated in their fight against the wage-cut.

The mass demonstration in Gillespie previous to the opening of the convention was estimated to be over 5,000 strong. Then in executive and closed session on the discussion on the wage demands. Dan McGill, of Springfield moved that the \$5.00 wage-scale be accepted. The wage-reduction was strongly supported by Joe Pickel, of Bend, the reactionary Musteite who even voted and spoke against the preamble adopted by his own local union, which embodied the demand for the full social value of labor; this noted expert on economics from Brookwood voted for a minority report submitted by another pseudo-expert of Industrial unionism which asked for an equitable share. This is exactly the way that the pious William Green of the A. F. of L. and his good friend John Walker puts it. But militant unionists fight for all that is due labor. This whining opportunist and pious student of Brookwood, according to his conduct seems to have ignored intentionally his duty as he voted against the mandates of his local union.

The miners are not satisfied and the leaders are realizing it is not so easy to keep the confidence of the rank and file when they could have made a more strenuous effort to obtain a wage higher than the Lewis-Walker wage-scale. The coal-operators have signed so as to fill their winter contracts and next year they will demand another reduction. The Progressive Miners of America led by militant leadership could have gained a higher wage-scale than what was accepted. —JACK AYRSHIRE.

history of the coal miners of this country, is a history of struggle against the coal-operators. How can the coal-operators be a friends of the miners union when they are sitting on the back of the miners. When men like Pearcy and Pickel get up in the councils of the P. M. A. and advocate a policy of class-collaboration as they have done they are bringing rotten pus over from the old United Mine Workers Union that was inoculated and corrupted by the Lewises, Farringtons and Walkers. The new union must make a complete break with the past, and clean out from their midst all those practices of the past.

In order to accomplish this the rank and file miners must be trained to a realization of the need of militant, class-conscious industrial unity. This is the work of the Left wing within the union. There is a large sentiment through the state of Illinois for a Left wing program and this sentiment must be crystallized into an organization. There was a small group of Left wingers in the convention and they raised their voices on many progressive matters pertaining to the affairs of the new union. If the Left wing was organized their voices would have been louder and the Progressive Miners Union would have been strengthened tremendously to cope with the every-day struggles. The task of the immediate present must be the organization of the Left wing within the union for purpose of carrying out the strivings and protecting the interests of the rank and file miners.

—JOSEPH ANGELO.

## THE MILITANT

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

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

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Vol. V, No. 42 (Whole No. 138)  
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1932

most entirely in peasant households. The exacting labor for their production goes almost totally unchanged, the peasant relying on the small sum of money paid him for this "extra" commodity to make

## Raw Silk in Foreign Trade

up for the losses sustained in farming. Japan does not use her raw silk for manufacturing but exports 88% of it, by value, to the world's richest market, the U. S. The reason for this lies in the protective tariff set up by the U. S. (amounting in 1930 to about 70% ad valorem) which acts to strangle Japan's attempts to establish a silk industry. Raw silk forms 40% of the value of all exports so that when "prosperity" gave way to the world economic crisis, Japan was placed in an extremely precarious position, the burden falling most heavily on workers and peasants.

## The Cotton Industry

At the present time the competition for the cotton piece goods markets among the exporting countries is at the very forefront of the imperialist struggles on the economic field. Cotton cloth is a staple in great demand in densely populated lands with little industrial development. Design and quality are of little importance in the largest markets (China, India) which buy the cheapest goods obtainable. The cost of labor is a vital part (more than 1-2) of the cost of the finished product, so that Japan, with its lower paid workers, has a great advantage over England and the U. S. in competitive markets. Thus England is in danger of being ousted from the Indian market, particularly with the Hindus boycotting British goods. Each year from 1923 to 1929 Japan exported considerably more cotton tissues and yarns to British India than did Great Britain. Similarly, in these years Japan practically controlled the Chinese market. This has had far-reaching results of such tremendous significance for world economy that it is worth digressing into a short history of the cotton industry in general.

## Cotton and Opium—A Study in Historic Materialism

Although known in ancient times, cotton was virtually discovered for Western Europe by the East India Company in its trade with the Orient. In the latter half of the 16th century the company bought Indian cotton piece goods for England where a large market was created. Soon the enterprising merchants decided to do their own manufacturing and they began to import raw cotton. Expert Hindu weavers were engaged to teach the English workers their art. At the same time cotton seed were carried to the new colony in Virginia (1650) and shortly this colony became a more important source of supply than India.

## Mercantilism and Money

The early stages of capitalism were marked by a shortage of the money medium which was in great demand. This shortage gave rise to the mercantilist theory of a favorable balance of trade, the exports to be greater than the imports so that money would flow into a country rather than out. In its trade with the East, the India Company was under the constant necessity of shipping large sums of money out of England to pay for its purchases of spices, cotton goods, etc. This raised so loud an outcry from other English merchants that the company's charter was twice withdrawn and the export of silver coins was forbidden. The India merchants were thus forced to cast about for some means of securing gold and silver elsewhere with which to finance their trade, particularly in cotton. China appeared to be a fabulous source of wealth, with its accumulations of ages.

(To be continued)

# Highlights at Gillespie

## Observations at the Convention of the Illinois Miners

### SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

The report I give here is based upon an incomplete convention. I was in and around the convention from Monday until Thursday afternoon, and even though the convention was not finished, I believe the next two days would not basically alter my report.

The Constitutional Convention of the Progressive Miners of America was called for one month after the preliminary, provisional convention. The events that preceded these meets are well-known—the months-long strike, —Lewis' agreement with the operators for a slash from \$6.10 to \$5 a day in the basic wage rate, the referendum and Lewis' insolent stealing of the miners' ballots marked overwhelmingly with "No" and his amazing nerve in stating that the miners supported his wage-cut. Then came the gigantic wild-cat movement, the march upon Taylorville and the forcing of the operators and state out of the pits. Then the epochal crusade on Franklin county of 35,000 miners, the ambush and the shattering of the army but not morale of the northern and central Illinois miners. The result of all this was a resolve never to go back to the mines at \$5 a day and that Lewis had committed his last act of betrayal—the miners were going to form a rank and file controlled militant union.

The crucially important convention, which was to lay the plans for the winning of the strike, as the miners hoped, and lay the foundation of the new union, was called for Monday October 3, 1932 at Gillespie. A miner upon arriving in this little coal-mining center would have seen the city bedecked with stars and stripes as if for a convention of some Bahitt organization. The flag was everywhere and over a main street was a sign of "WELCOME PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA."

## Two Conflicting Currents

The flags, I believe, represented the crossing point of two antagonistic currents: the outside forces including the operators who were united with the tight wing of the convention (possibly the latter were unconscious of this) and who together wanted to psychologize the P. M. A. into becoming a class-collaborationist, anti-radical, "American" union; and travelling in an opposite direction, the militant miners, Leftward bound, who in their first steps towards radicalism unconsciously attempt to hide behind legality, and mask their developing radicalism from a possibly hostile public opinion and even themselves.

The parade of 3,000 people, in which much in evidence were 750 members of the ladies' auxiliary, was full of pep. The women, with their cheering and singing gave all to know that the female of the species was as deadly as the male—a fact which has been proven even on the picket-line. The Lewis machine never aroused this dormant section of the class. The youth are also conspicuous for their part in the movement. The parade was led by the democratic mayor of Gillespie, who is a coal miner and a delegate to the convention.

A preacher-delegate invoked the help of the celestial powers for the convention at the rap of the gavel. While a majority or even a substantial minority of the miners are not as yet militant materialists, many who were far above this application for heavenly succor arose and bowed their heads for the sake of the protective coloration that this would lend the movement. This has been explained above.

Pearcy, temporary president of the organization, gave a report on the month's term in office since the provisional convention. He raised the point of suing Franklin County for damage done the persons and property of the miners during the ambush that ended the first march on Franklin County. This is a piece of faith in the capitalist courts awe-inspiring in its conviction. More important, he discussed the loss of spirit in Franklin County which had remained at work—explainable—although Pearcy did not point this out—to the white terror there and not to the desire of the miners to scab, if such it can be termed.

Pearcy also placed forward for discussion in connection with the southern Illinois fields, the question whether sectionalism was springing up in the Illinois mine fields. The answer was to be given later in a most unexpected manner. This about summarizes his report.

## A Jagged Course

There seems to be a jagged, uneven development of the movement. Sections once noted for their militancy, like Franklin County, have become passive, while regions once inert are full of vigor. The reasons for this will be discussed later. An important task will be to restrain those champing at the bit, and the urging of those behind forward for the grand united counter-blow. The evening-out of this unevenness by raising the backward elements up, will be a condition for a victory of the counter-offensive, otherwise the weight of the lagging ones will drag, hinder and defeat the more advanced.

Greetings to the convention were given by the before-described mayor of Gillespie. A movement of this scope sweeps all varieties of individuals along, who become and have become the Right wing of the movement: job-seeking ex-Lewis men who hasten to desert the sinking ship but still retain the ideas and traditions of Lewisism, and politicians and ward-healers of various sorts.

While the credentials committee deliberated, George Scherer, secretary of the West Virginia Miners' Union addressed the convention. The organization led by Keeney is typically Musteite. Scherer told the story of the West Virginia miners, of Van Bittner's (Lewis' tool) trail of wreckage in a once pow-

erful district of the U. M. W. A., of the present bitter conditions and low wages, so low that after working a week, the miners, in order to reach an existence standard, must appeal to the Red Cross and county relief for help. Against determined opposition of all non-working class elements such as the petty business men, Scherer reported 24,000 members behind the West Virginia Miners' Union.

Politically, the movement there has reached the "height" of a labor party, formed by and based upon the miners. Scherer is a candidate for sheriff on the Labor Party ticket in one of the coal mining counties of West Virginia.

His speech was saluted with great applause. The instinct of national and international solidarity, choked to hardly glowing embers by a half decade of separate agreements and Lewisism generally has been fanned into a blaze by the present struggle. The miners' eyes glowed with enthusiasm as they rose to give Scherer a vote of thanks, to pledge his organization and the miners everywhere unity.

Later a telegram from an organization with a similar history, in Nova Scotia, was received with the same sentiments.

The credentials committee then reported. There were 199 delegates representing 29,000 men. The Central and Northern Illinois miners were represented by the old U. M. W. A. locals who had changed affiliations as a group.

Contrast this convention with a Lewis convention! There the delegates on per diem and expenses, sleeping and dining in the finest hotels, riding Pullmans, smoking expensive Havanas. Here rolling Bull Durham, freighting, walking, hitchhiking, pressing into service trucks and old Fords whose days from the junk heap are numbered, eating in the relief kitchen and sleeping with miners' families and on floors. But here virility, power, staunchness, comradeship and courage, while there decadence, impotence, cowardice, bureaucracy, and thuggery. (To Be Continued)

# International School to Open

The drive for a school and headquarters is lagging on the financial end. We have not yet succeeded in obtaining the \$300 fund needed. We have another week to complete this drive and we are urging all of the comrades and sympathizers who are going to contribute, to send in their contributions at once. Those who are contributing now and are going to put their names on the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL sustaining fund list, should send in their pledges now.

Next Saturday night we are holding a banquet and house warming party for the opening of the new headquarters and school at 126 East 16th St. The following week our classes and forums will start. The first lessons will be:

Monday, October 17th—8 P. M.

The History of the American Communist Movement by J. P. Cannon.

Primitive Society, by J. Weber

Wednesday, October 19th—8 P. M.

Origin of the Third International by Max Shachtman

Dialectic Materialism by Hugo Oehler

Friday, October 21st—8 P. M.

Open Forum of the N. Y. Branch of the Left Opposition

Watch for announcement

Registration fee \$1.00 per course. J. Weber, Administrator, 84 East 10th St., New York City.

## Zinoviev Expelled

(Continued from page 1)

the hierarchy, have been expelled with the others. How critical must Stalin's position be at the present time if he is obliged to resort to the expulsions even of such abject capitulators as Zinoviev and Kamenev! How critical the whole situation must be, how pregnant with terrific, imminent consequences, when even Zinoviev and Kamenev dare to conduct themselves in a manner which brings about their expulsion!

But where is the party in all this? It has not been informed, it has not discussed the question, it has not decided—in a word, it has not acted like an independent proletarian party. And for cause! There is no such party in the Soviet Union—the Stalinist bureaucracy has demoralized, disoriented, strangled and crushed it! Only the disconnected and scattered component parts of Lenin's party are still in existence. These parts must be welded together again, and that can be done only by ideas of Bolshevism and its banner-bearers, the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists). Stalin is leading the October revolution into the abyss. Only the resurgent party can check his fatal course and steer the revolution back to solid terrain.

Now more than ever before must Lenin's last counsel to the party be heeded: **REMOVE STALIN!** Restore the party to itself and to its rights and powers! Convene a democratically elected special congress of the party, with a genuine preliminary discussion, and with the unhampered participation of L. D. Trotsky and the whole Left Opposition!

The revolution is at a critical stage, and time is precious. "Bolshevik-Leninists, forward!" —S.

# JAPAN

## Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)

### Present Status of Japanese Manufacturing

In the Western sense of the term, Japan, with all her speed of development, far from being advanced industrially, is still in the handicraft stage. Not more than 10% of her population (workers and their families) depend for their livelihood on the factory system. Small scale industry is still the rule with higher factories the exception. In 1928 the largest number of factories (29,116) employed only from 5 to 9 workers; 2,283 factories employed from 100 to 500 workers and over. Three industries have passed entirely beyond the domestic stage and are concentrated in factories or establishments employing more than 500 workers. These are cotton spinning (95%), shipbuilding (91%) and the primary metal industries (73%), the percentages representing the number of workers in the large establishments.

### The Textile Industries

The textiles industries form the line of least resistance in Japanese development. They require relatively inexpensive plants and light machinery, using little power. Above all they represent an intensive exploitation of cheap labor.

Textiles engage 50% of the factory workers; they represent some 45% of the total value of all manufactures; they absorb 26% of the total capital investment in partnerships and stock companies; they use 24% of the total power con-

sumed by industry; and finally they form 68.7% of the value of all exports. These figures do not include household production which is extremely important. Thus, silk reeling, the most important industry, employs 395,000 workers in 3,500 flatulates (20% of all factory workers) but there are, in addition, 62,000 peasant households engaged in reeling raw silk.

### The Contract System

Just as in England before the industrial revolution, contracting is resorted to on a vast scale by wholesaler and jobber. Almost every farm household does some weaving as a necessary adjunct to the farm labor. The women, the very old and the very young are used for this work at sweatshop piece rates. Women earn about 30c per day—50c if 12 hours). This home-sweatshop system applies to a large number of industries they work steadily all day (more than besides weaving of cotton or silk. Where the articles are complicated they go into a number of separate homes, the final assembling or finishing being done by the entrepreneur in a "factory". Thus lanterns are made by 6 different families, each one specializing in some part of the work.

Nothing illustrates better the poverty of Japanese agriculture than the willingness of labor to keep alive so parasitic an industry as the production of cocoons for the manufacture of raw silk. 81% of the cost of producing raw silk is due to the cost of the cocoons, produced al-

most entirely in peasant households. The exacting labor for their production goes almost totally unchanged, the peasant relying on the small sum of money paid him for this "extra" commodity to make up for the losses sustained in farming.

Japan does not use her raw silk for manufacturing but exports 88% of it, by value, to the world's richest market, the U. S. The reason for this lies in the protective tariff set up by the U. S. (amounting in 1930 to about 70% ad valorem) which acts to strangle Japan's attempts to establish a silk industry. Raw silk forms 40% of the value of all exports so that when "prosperity" gave way to the world economic crisis, Japan was placed in an extremely precarious position, the burden falling most heavily on workers and peasants.

## The Cotton Industry

At the present time the competition for the cotton piece goods markets among the exporting countries is at the very forefront of the imperialist struggles on the economic field. Cotton cloth is a staple in great demand in densely populated lands with little industrial development. Design and quality are of little importance in the largest markets (China, India) which buy the cheapest goods obtainable. The cost of labor is a vital part (more than 1-2) of the cost of the finished product, so that Japan, with its lower paid workers, has a great advantage over England and the U. S. in competitive markets. Thus England is in danger of being ousted from the Indian market, particularly with the Hindus boycotting British goods. Each year from 1923 to 1929 Japan exported considerably more cotton tissues and yarns to British India than did Great Britain. Similarly, in these years Japan practically controlled the Chinese market. This has had far-reaching results of such tremendous significance for world economy that it is worth digressing into a short history of the cotton industry in general.

## Cotton and Opium—A Study in Historic Materialism

Although known in ancient times, cotton was virtually discovered for Western Europe by the East India Company in its trade with the Orient. In the latter half of the 16th century the company bought Indian cotton piece goods for England where a large market was created. Soon the enterprising merchants decided to do their own manufacturing and they began to import raw cotton. Expert Hindu weavers were engaged to teach the English workers their art. At the same time cotton seed were carried to the new colony in Virginia (1650) and shortly this colony became a more important source of supply than India.

## Mercantilism and Money

The early stages of capitalism were marked by a shortage of the money medium which was in great demand. This shortage gave rise to the mercantilist theory of a favorable balance of trade, the exports to be greater than the imports so that money would flow into a country rather than out. In its trade with the East, the India Company was under the constant necessity of shipping large sums of money out of England to pay for its purchases of spices, cotton goods, etc. This raised so loud an outcry from other English merchants that the company's charter was twice withdrawn and the export of silver coins was forbidden. The India merchants were thus forced to cast about for some means of securing gold and silver elsewhere with which to finance their trade, particularly in cotton. China appeared to be a fabulous source of wealth, with its accumulations of ages.

(To be continued)



# The Road to Socialism

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC BLIND ALLEY; THE SOVIET SUCCESSES AND THE GERMAN SITUATION; ECONOMIC COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE U. S. S. R. AND GERMANY. THE UNITED FRONT WITH THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AGAINST THE PAPEN MILITARY-BONAPARTIST DICTATORSHIP

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

**K**AUTSKY and Hilferding, among others, have declared more than once in recent years that they never shared the theory of the collapse of capitalism which the revisionists once ascribed to the Marxists and which the Kautskyans themselves now frequently attribute to the Communists.

The Bernsteinians outlined two perspectives: one, unreal, allegedly orthodox—"Marxian", according to which, in the long run, under the influence of the internal antagonisms of capitalism its mechanical collapse was supposed to take place; and a second, "realistic", according to which a gradual evolution from capitalism to socialism was to be accomplished. Antithetical as these two schemas may be at first glance, they are nevertheless united by a common trait: the absence of the revolutionary factor. While they disavowed the caricature of the automatic collapse of capitalism attributed to them, the Marxists demonstrated that under the influence of the sharpening class struggle, the proletariat would carry through the revolution much sooner than the objective contradictions of capitalism could lead to its automatic collapse.

This dispute was carried on as long ago as the end of the present century. It must however be acknowledged that the capitalist reality since the war, approached, in a certain respect, much closer to the Bernsteinian caricature of Marxism than anyone might ever have assumed, above all—the revisionists themselves: for they had only portrayed the spectre of the collapse in order to bring out its unreality. Nevertheless, capitalism proves in actuality to be closer to automatic decay the more delayed is the revolutionary intervention of the proletariat in the destiny of society.

The most important component part of the theory of collapse was the theory of pauperization. The Marxists contended with a certain caution that the sharpening of the social antagonisms need not necessarily be equivalent to an absolute sinking of the standard of living of the masses. In reality, it is this latter process which is experiencing its unfoldment. Wherein could the collapse of capitalism express itself more acutely than in chronic unemployment and the destruction of social insurance, that is, in the refusal of the social order to feed its own slaves?

The opportunistic brakes in the working class have proved to be powerful enough to grant the elementary forces of outlived capitalism additional decades of life. As a result, it was not the idyl of the peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism which took place, but a state of affairs infinitely closer to social decay.

The responsibility for the present state of society, the reformists sought for a long time to shift upon the shoulders of the war. But in the first place, the war did not create the destructive tendencies of capitalism, but only brought them to the outside and accelerated them; secondly, the war would have been unable to accomplish its work of destruction without the political support of reformism; thirdly, the hopeless contradictions of capitalism are preparing new wars from various sides. Reformism will be unable to shift the historical responsibility from itself. By paralyzing and curbing the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, the international social democracy invests the process of the capitalist collapse with the blindest, unriest, most catastrophic and bloodiest forms.

Of course, one may speak only conditionally of a realization of the revisionist caricature of Marxism, applicable to a definite historical period. The way out of decaying capitalism, however, will be found, even if after a great delay, not upon the road of the automatic collapse but upon the revolutionary road.

The present crisis has swept aside with a final flourish of the broom the remnants of the reformist utopias. The opportunist praxis at the present time possesses no theoretical covering whatsoever. For in the long run it is pretty much a matter of indifference to Wels, Hilferding, Grzesinski and Noske as to the number of catastrophes that will still hurtle down upon the heads of the masses of the people, if only their own interests remain immune. Only, the point is that the crisis of the bourgeois régime strikes at the reformist leaders, too.

"Act, state, act!" the social democracy still cried a short while ago, as it fell back before Fascism. And the state acted: Otto Braun and Severing were kicked into the street.—Now, wrote the *FORWAERTS*, everybody must recognize the advantages of democracy over the régime of dictatorship.—Yes, democracy has substantial advantages, reflected Grzesinski while he made the acquaintance of prison from the inside.

From this experience resulted the conclusion: "It is time to proceed to socialization!" Tarnow, yesterday still a doctor of capitalism, suddenly decided to become its grave-digger. Well, where capitalism has turned the reformist ministers, police chiefs and lord lieutenants into unemployed, it has manifestly exhausted itself. Wels writes a programmatic article: The hour of socialism has struck! There only remains for Schleicher to rob the deputies of their salary and the former ministers of their pension—and Hilferding will write a study on the historic rôle of the general strike.

The "Left" turn of the social democratic leaders startsles one with its stupidity and deceitfulness. This by no means signifies, however, that the maneuver is condemned in advance to failure. This party, laden with crimes, still stands at the head of millions. It will not fall of its own accord. One must know how to overthrow it.

The Communist party will declare that the Wels-Tarnow course towards socialism is a new form of mass deception, and that will be correct. It will relate the history of the social democratic "socializations" of the last fourteen years. That will be useful. But it is insufficient: history, even the most recent, cannot substitute for active politics.

Tarnow seeks to reduce the question of the revolutionary or the reformist road to socialism to the simple question of the "tempo" of the transformations. Deeper a theoretician cannot sink. The tempo of the socialist transformations depends in reality upon the state of the productive forces of the country, its culture, the extent of the overhead imposed upon it for defense, etc. But socialist transformations, the speedy as well as the slow, are possible only if at the summits of society stands a class interested in socialism, and at the head of this class a party which does not dupe the exploited, and which is always ready to suppress the resistance of the exploiters. We must explain to the workers that precisely in that consists the régime of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only, even this does not suffice. Once it is a question of the burning problems of the world proletariat, one should not—as the Comintern does—forget the fact of the existence of the Soviet Union. With regard to Germany, the task today does not lie in commencing a socialist construction for the first time, but in tying together Germany's productive forces, its culture, its technical and organizational genius with the socialist construction already in process in the Soviet Union.

The German Communist Party confines itself to the mere eulogizing of the Soviet successes, and in this connection commits gross and dangerous exaggerations. But it is completely incapable of linking together the socialist construction in the U. S. S. R., its enormous experiences and valuable achievements, with the tasks of the proletarian revolution in Germany. The Stalinist bureaucracy, on its part, is least of all in a position to render the German Communist Party any assistance in this highly important question: its perspectives are limited to one single country.

The incoherent and cowardly state capitalistic projects of the social democracy must be countered with a general plan for the joint socialist construction of the U. S. S. R. and Germany. Nobody demands that a detailed plan should be worked out instantly. A preliminary rough draft suffices. Foundation pillars are necessary. This plan must as speedily as possible be made the object of action by every organization of the German working class, primarily of its trade unions.

Into this action must be drawn the progressive forces among the German technicians, statisticians and economists. The discussions about planned economy so widespread in Germany, reflecting the hopelessness of German capitalism, remain purely academic, bureaucratic, lifeless-pedantic. The Communist vanguard alone is capable of drawing the treatment of the question out of the charmed circle.

The socialist construction is already in progress—to this work a bridge must be thrown over the state frontiers. Here is the first plan: study it, improve it, make it concrete! Workers, elect special planning commissions, charge them with entering into contact with the trade unions and economic organs of the Soviets. On the basis of the German trade unions, the factory councils and other labor organizations, create a central planning commission which has the job of entering into contact with the Gosplan of the U. S. S. R. Draw into this work German engineers, organizers, economists!

This is the only correct preliminary to the question of planned economy, today, in the year 1932, after fifteen years of the existence of the Soviets, after fourteen years of convulsions of the German capitalist republic.

Nothing is easier than to ridicule the social democratic bureaucracy, beginning with Wels, who has struck up a Song of Solomon to socialism. Yet, it must not be forgotten that the reformist workers have a thoroughly serious attitude to the question of socialism. One must have a serious attitude to the reformist workers. Here the problem of the united front rises up once again in its full scope.

If the social democracy sets itself the task (in words: we know that!), not to save capitalism but to build up socialism, then it must seek an agreement not with the Center but with the Communists. Will the Communist party reject such an agreement? By no means. On the contrary, it will itself propose such an agreement, demand it before the masses as a redemption of the only now exhibited socialist change.

The attack of the Communist party upon the social democracy must proceed at the present time along three lines. The task of demolishing Fascism retains all its acuteness. The decisive battle of the proletariat against Fascism will signify simultaneously the collision with the Bonapartist state apparatus. This makes the general strike an indispensable fighting weapon. It must be prepared. A special general strike plan must be worked out, that is, a plan for the mobilization of the forces to carry it out. Proceeding from this plan, to unfold a mass campaign. On the basis of this campaign, to propose to the social democracy an agreement for the carrying out of the general strike under definite political conditions. Repeated and made concrete at every new stage, this proposal will lead in the process of its development to the creation of the Soviets as the highest organs of the united front.

That Papen's economic plan, which has now become law, brings the German proletariat unprecedented poverty, is recognized in words also by the leaders of the social democracy and the trade unions. In the press, they express themselves with a vehemence they have not voiced for a long time. Between their words and their deeds lies an abyss, we know that well,—but we must understand how to pin them down to their word. A system of joint measures of struggles against the régime of emergency decrees and Bonapartism must be elaborated. This struggle imposed upon the proletariat by the whole situation cannot, by its very nature,

## LEON TROTSKY

# Proletariat and Peasant War in China

(Continued from page 1)

expressing the hope that—under a correct policy—it will be possible to fuse the workers, and the urban movement, in general, with the peasant war; and this would constitute the beginning of the third Chinese revolution. But meanwhile this still remains only a hope and not a certainty. The most important work lies ahead.

In this letter I should like to pose only one question, which appears to me, or at any rate from the distance, to be important and acute to the greatest degree. Once again I must stress that the information at my disposal is altogether insufficient, accidental and disjointed. I would indeed welcome all amplifications and corrections.

## THE PEASANT ARMY AND THE INDUSTRIAL CENTERS

The peasant movement has created its own armies, has seized upon great territories, and has placed at their head its own institutions. In the event of further successes—and all of us, of course, passionately desire such successes—the movement will become linked up with the urban and industrial centers and through that very fact it will come face to face with the working class. What will be the nature of this encounter? Is it certain that its character will be peaceable and comradely?

At first glance the question might appear to be superfluous. At the head of the peasant movement stand Communists or sympathizers. Is it not self-evident that in the event of their coming together the workers and the peasants must unanimously unite under the Communist banner?

Unfortunately the question is not at all so simple. Let me refer to the experience of Russia. During the years of the civil war the peasantry in various parts of the country created its own guerilla detachments, that sometimes grew into whole armies. Some of these detachments considered themselves Bolshevik, and often had workers at their head. Others remained non-party and most often had at their head former non-commissioned officers from among the peasantry. There also was an "anarchist" army under the command of Makhno. So long as the guerilla armies operated in the rear of the White Guards, they served the cause of the revolution. Some of them were distinguished by exceptional heroism and trustworthiness. But within the cities these armies often came into conflict with the workers and with the local party organizations. Conflicts also arose during the encounters of the partisans with the regular Red Army, and in some instances they took on a painful and an acute character.

The grim experience of the civil war demonstrated to us the necessity for disarming peasant detachments immediately after the Red Army occupied those provinces that were purged of the White Guards. The best, the most class-conscious and disciplined elements were on the occasion absorbed into the ranks of the Red Army. But a considerable portion of the partisans strived to maintain an independent existence and often came into direct armed conflict with the Soviet authority. Such was the case with the anarchist, entirely kulak in spirit, army of Makhno. But that was not the sole instance; many peasant detachments, which fought splendidly enough against the restoration of the landlords, became transformed after victory into the weapons of counter-revolution.

## PEASANTS' OUTLOOK AND THE WORKERS

The conflicts between armed peasants and workers, no matter what their origin was in each isolated instance, whether called forth by the conscious provocation of the White Guards, or the tactlessness of the Communists or by an unfavorable concatenation of circumstances, had underlying them one and the same social soil: the difference between the class position and the bringing-up of the workers and of the peasants. The worker approaches questions from the socialist standpoint; the peasant's viewpoint is petty bourgeois. The worker strives to socialize the property that is taken away from the exploiters; the peasant seeks to divide it. The worker desires to put to common use palaces and parks; whereas the peasant, insofar as he cannot divide them, leans toward burning the palaces and cutting down the parks. The worker strives to solve problems on a national scale and in accordance with a plan; the peasant, on the other hand, approaches all problems on a local scale, and is inimical in his attitude to the plans from a center, etc., etc.

It is understood that a peasant also is capable of raising himself to the socialist viewpoint. Under a proletarian regime ever larger masses of peasants become educated and brought up in the

## A Letter to the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists

socialist spirit. But this requires time, years, even decades. When one deals with the initial stages of the revolution, then the contradictions between proletarian socialism and moudjik individualism often take on an extremely acute character.

But is it not a fact that at the head of the Chinese Red Armies are none other than Communists? Doesn't this alone exclude the possibility of conflicts between the peasant detachments and the workers' organizations? No, that does not exclude it. The fact that individual Communists stand at the head of the peasant armies does not at all transform the social character of the latter, even if the Communists at the head bear a definite proletarian stamp. And how do matters stand in China? Among the Communist leaders of the Red detachments there are indubitably to be found many declassed intellectuals and semi-intellectuals who have not gone through the severe school of proletarian struggle. In the course of two or three years they live the lives of partisan commanders and commissars, they wage battles, seize territories, etc. They absorb the spirit of the environment that surrounds them. Meanwhile the majority of the rank and file Communists within the Red detachments consists, indubitably, of peasants, who assume the name Communist in all

## The Lytton Report

(Continued from page 1)

vers for an invasion of Manchuria have been reposing in the Tokyo war offices for several years, is not even considered by these august gentlemen. But then again, Japan may have to take a leading part in the attack against Communism for it to be harshly dealt with.

Interesting are the remarks on the question of the boycott. England still remembering the successful boycott against itself several years ago, and faced with one at the present time in India, and America constantly faced with the same threat, cannot bring themselves to ignore the question. In very diplomatic language, they question the right of one country to institute a boycott against another in times of peace.

The Soviet Union is mentioned twice. The report, as is to be expected, calls for an international conference, and suggests that the Soviet Union be included in the call. In the words of *Pravda*, they look upon the USSR as but another imperialist power. The inclusion of the Soviet Union may have some hidden purpose behind it. This only the future can tell. But of greater danger are the references to the strategic Chinese Eastern Railway. Here they speak very boldly of the inclusion of the Sino-Soviet owned Chinese Eastern into a greater Manchurian system. The designs of the imperialist powers are too obvious to be ignored.

The report concludes with the repetition of the necessity of the establishment of law and order, again stresses the danger of the growing Communist movement and the spread of the "Soviet territory", and repeats the demand for the creation of an international gendarmerie, as opposed to Japanese troops alone.

Manchukuo, puppet state of Japan, remains yet unrecognized by the major imperialist powers (except Japan). American imperialism has been instrumental in delivering this left-handed slap to Japan in the form of the Lytton report. The western bourgeoisie are withholding official recognition of Manchukuo in the hope that they will thereby be able to get a share in the booty. The working class however looks upon Manchukuo as being but the tool of the Japanese in their attempt to exploit the Chinese masses. It is therefore with great satisfaction, that we read of the official denials by Moscow of the rumors that it intended to grant official recognition to the new state. The Lytton report has attempted to lump together the Soviet Union with the imperialist powers. Now by means of a sharply defined policy exposing the aims of the American, British and Japanese bourgeoisie the workers' republic can give the lie to the above implication, and come forth as the defender of the rights of the Chinese peoples.

—H. S.

## VOTE COMMUNIST!

(To Be Continued)

honesty and sincerity but who remain in actually revolutionary paupers or revolutionary petty proprietors. He is lost who judges in politics according to denominations and labels and not according to social facts. All the more so when the matter deals with politics in which hands are equipped with weapons.

## THE DANGER OF PEASANT-WORKER CONFLICTS

The true Communist party is the organization of the proletarian vanguard. One must not forget that the working class of China during the last four years has been held in an oppressed and amorphous condition and only recently does it evince signs of reviving. It is one thing when the Communist party, firmly leaning upon the flower of the urban proletariat, strives through the workers to lead the peasant war. It is an altogether different thing when a few thousand or even tens of thousands revolutionists assume the leadership of the peasant war and are in reality Communists or take on the name, without having serious support from the proletariat. This is precisely the situation in China. This acts in the extreme to augment the danger of conflicts between the workers and the armed peasants. In any event, there will be no dearth, one may rest assured, of bourgeois provocateurs. In Russia, in the epoch of civil war, the proletariat was already in power in the greater part of the country; the leadership in the struggle was in the hands of a strong and tempered party; the entire commanding apparatus of the centralized Red Army was in the hands of the workers. Notwithstanding all this, the peasant detachments, incomparably weaker than the Red Army often came into conflict with it, after it victoriously moved into the sector of peasant partisan-ship.

In China the situation differs radically, and thereto entirely to the disadvantage of the workers. In the most important regions of China the power is in the hands of bourgeois militarists. In other regions, in the hands of armed peasants. Proletarian power is as yet nowhere. The trade unions are weak. The influence of the party among the workers is insignificant. The peasant detachments flushed with knowledge of victories they have achieved stand under the wing of the Comintern. They call themselves, "The Red Army", i. e., they identify themselves with the armed forces of the Soviets. What results consequently is that the revolutionary peasantry of China, through the medium of its ruling stratum, seems to have accrued to itself beforehand the political and moral values which should by the nature of things belong to the Chinese workers. Isn't it possible that things may turn out so that all these values will be directed at a certain moment against the workers?

Of course, the peasant poor—and in China they constitute the overwhelming majority—to the extent to which they think politically—and these compose a small minority—sincerely and passionately desire alliance and friendship with the workers. But the peasantry, even when armed, is incapable of directing an independent policy.

## BOURGEOISIE LEADS OR PROLETARIAT

Commonly occupying as it does an intermediate, indeterminate and vacillating position, the peasantry, in decisive moments, can follow either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Its road to the proletariat the peasantry does not find so easily and only after a series of mistakes and defeats. The bridge between the peasantry and the bourgeoisie is composed by the urban petty bourgeoisie, chiefly by the intellectuals, who commonly come forward under the banner of Socialism and even Communism.

The commanding stratum of the Chinese "Red Army" has no doubt succeeded in cultivating in itself the psychology of commanders. The absence of a strong revolutionary party and of mass organizations of the proletariat make control over the commanding stratum factually impossible. The commanders and commissars appear in the guise of absolute lords of the situation and upon occupying cities will be rather apt to look down from above upon the workers. The demands of the workers might often appear to them either inopportune or ill-advised. Nor should one forget such "trifles" as the fact that within cities, the staffs and the offices of the victorious armies are established not within the proletarian slums but within the finest buildings of the cities, within the houses and apartments of the bourgeoisie; and all this facilitates the inclination of the upper stratum of the peasant armies to feel itself as a part of the "cultured" and "educated" classes, nowise the proletariat.

(To Be Continued)

be conducted within the framework of democracy. A situation where Hitler possesses an army of 400,000 men, Papen-Schleicher, besides the Reichswehr, the semi-private Stahlhelm army of 200,000 men, the bourgeois democracy the half-tolerated Reichsbanner army, the Communist party the proscribed Red Front army—such a situation by itself lays here the problem of the state as a problem of power. A better revolutionary school cannot be imagined!

The Communist party must say to the working class: Schleicher is not to be overthrown by any parliamentary game. If the social democracy wants to set to work to overthrow the Bonapartist government with other means, the Communist party is ready to aid the social democracy with all its strength. At the same time, the Communists obligate themselves in advance to use no violent methods against a social democratic government insofar as the latter bases itself

upon the majority of the working class and insofar as it guarantees the Communist party the freedom of agitation and organization. Such a way of putting the question will be comprehensible to every social democratic and non-party worker.

The third line, finally, is the fight for socialism. Here too the iron must be forged while it is hot and the social democracy pressed to the wall with a concrete plan of collaboration with the U. S. S. R. What is necessary on this point has already been said above.

Naturally, these sectors of struggle, which are of varying significance in the strategical complete perspective, are not separated from each other, but rather overlap and merge. The political crisis of society demands the combining of the partial questions with the general questions: precisely therein lies the essence of the revolutionary situation.

PRINKIPO, September 10, 1932