

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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The War in Manchuria

Chinese Masses Develop Struggle Against Exploiters

Japanese imperialism continues to trench herself more strongly in Manchuria, and pushes her military operations persistently and sharply. From the Chinese there is little or no resistance to the aggressions by the invaders. The slaughter of the victims of capitalist war increases. Tsitihar, center for the Chinese Eastern Railway, jointly operated by China and Soviet Russia, has been seized by the Japanese. The latter are now massing troops for an attack on Chinchow, center of the South Manchurian Railroad, owned by the Japanese. With the prospective occupation of Chinchow by Japanese troops, Japan will have direct control of every city of consequence in Manchuria, except Harbin.

Japan's position now in Manchuria is powerful and is reflected in her adamant attitude toward proposals for a cessation of hostilities and arrangement of terms between Japan and China. Japan has set out to dominate Manchuria, and to date is succeeding very well. The United States, though not a member of the League, and the powers dominant in the League of Nations—Great Britain and France—are having a trying time to save the face of the League, so obviously important in the present Far Eastern war. There is talk of invoking economic measures against Japan, America's attitude on this appears to be negative.

The International Commission of Inquiry

At the moment, the League of Nations Council is in session and is getting ready to submit another proposal to Japan and China; both turned down the earlier suggestions for a cessation of war-fare. The draft resolution calls for an International Commission of Inquiry into the Sino-Japanese war; it concerns itself also with the evacuation, to be started at once, of Japanese troops from China and immediate stoppage of military activities.

This Commission also has in mind an inquiry into the internal affairs of China, thus laying an additional base for the spoliation and dismemberment of China by the various imperialist powers. Thus far there's no indication whether any or all of the proposals in the League of Nations draft resolution will be acceptable either to Japan or China. The latter, as matters stand today, really has little choice in the matter, though stressing the evacuation of Manchuria as a *sine qua non* for the settlement of disputed issues. The *Militant* has gone into these issues before in detail.

The relations between Japan and the Soviet Union remain the same, despite the provocation by Japan with its occupation of Tsitihar. As a matter of fact, the other imperialist powers—the United States, Great Britain and France—actually encourage acts and gestures of hostility toward the Soviet Union, and continue to plan ways and means for a united front of the capitalist nations against the Workers' Republic. They hope in due time to be able to wage war upon the Soviet Union in an effort for the latter's destruction. The Soviet Union thus far has refused to allow itself to be provoked by the imperialist powers. She pursues a policy of peace.

Japan Achieving Objectives

In the main, Japan has achieved her objectives in Manchuria. Anti-Japanese elements have been removed from high post in Manchuria. Her economic interests, possessions and capital investments are on a more solid footing than ever before; Japan feels that any settlement of the disputes will be largely in her favor and that any existing or Chinese government of the bourgeoisie to-be will be tolerant of Japan's "rights" and interests and treaties.

The Chinese National Government continues to do nothing to stem the Japanese aggressions. There is much talk, but it signifies nothing, for there is only wind behind it all.

Dr. Alfred Sze, Chinese delegate to the League of Nations Council at Paris, knowing the flabbiness of his government, tries to pass the buck and wails at the bourgeois League because the "League has not lifted a finger in defense of covenants they have pledged to defend." The Nanking Government, knees bent in suppliance, complains before the League Council that the Japanese have expropriated Chinese lands, levied illegal taxes, disrupted Chinese communications, interfered with local municipal administration in Manchuria, etc. While China protests that she will not pay a political price for Japan's evacuation of Manchuria or again sign another treaty embodying the notorious 21 points of 1915, Japan and the imperialist nations only give a mocking answer.

Kuo Min Tang Uniting Bourgeoisie

From Chiang Kai-Shek, Chinese hangman of the proletariat, comes high talk about going to the war front to lead the

struggle against Japan. He exhorts the Kuo Min Tang Congress for unity of all shades of the Kuo Min Tang and achieves reinstatement of expelled elements, among them Gen. Fng Yu-Hsiang and Yen Hsi-Shan, now re-elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuo Min Tang. The Fourth Congress of the Kuo Min Tang—the association of Chinese bourgeoisie, land-lords and militarists—meets in a tense atmosphere, feeling and knowing the rising wave of indignation and protest of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry against them.

In China itself the situation has become more favorable for the Left wing labor and Communist movement. The Chinese masses are indignant and resentful at the almost total failure of the Chiang Kai-Shek government to resist the Manchurian invasion by Japan. They are beginning to feel more surely, and correctly so, that the bourgeoisie of China will capitulate before and compromise the historical interests of the Manchurian and Chinese masses to the Japanese. At the same time, they steadily receive the blows of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Chinese Tollers Organizing Resistance

The Chinese masses sharply resent the efforts of Japan to make what amounts to a colony of Manchuria. The proletariat is compelled to carry the brunt of the battles, not only its own, but that of its enemies and exploiters. As pointed out in *The Militant* hitherto, demonstrations and the economic boycott were involved at the outset of the present struggle. These are now on the increase, and the historical weapon of the Chinese, the economic boycott, in this instance of Japanese goods, is being linked up more and more with political manifestations against the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Class forces are once again more clearly aligning and realigning themselves, both internationally and in China. The bourgeoisie of other countries are compelled to condone the Japanese aggression because of their own imperialist objectives. They have not been able to find a way out of the world economic crisis; the Manchurian events are but an extension of this economic crisis on the political and military arena. The basic combination is that of the capitalist powers against the Soviet Union and the international working class which is gradually organizing its forces for the defense of the Soviet Union and against international capitalism.

In Japan there has been an increase of protest by workers and workers' organizations against the Japanese government and its depredations upon Manchuria.

In China the Chinese bourgeoisie are already calling upon "Left" fronts to mask their schemes and exploitation, in addition to attempting, as pointed out, to unify the Kuo Min Tang. The Kuo Min Tang of Canton, South China, is pressing Wang Chin Wei to the forefront as the "Left" representative. These maneuvers are some of the internal dangers that the Chinese proletariat faces and must meet.

Basic tasks remain as before: Unification of all the forces of Communism in China and internationally; revival and reorganization of the Chinese labor movement, oppressed mercilessly by Chinese capitalism; integration of the Communist forces in the United States in order to be able to develop a common and wide front of the American working class in struggle against the American bourgeoisie, and to achieve a mobilization of all possible forces in support and defense of the Soviet Union from aggressions from any quarter and against the growing menace of world war.

—M. A.

★ OPEN FORUM ★

What Next in England?

Friday November 27, 1931

Lecture by
JAMES P. CANNON
at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 CENTS
Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Audience: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

The Marine Workers Tortured in Jail

Defendants Plead Not Guilty to Charges in the New York «Dynamite Plot»

On Tuesday, November 17th, the New York newspapers came out with sensational stories about an alleged plot for "the wholesale bombing of barges in New York Harbor" which, it was claimed, had been frustrated by the arrest of five members of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union. From the very first we viewed the reports of the affair with the deepest suspicion, all the more so since it was being represented as a "Communist drive against capitalistically owned property and a campaign in a war of Communists against conservative labor." (*The Times*.) Since the opposition of the Communist movement—in all of its factions and groupings—to methods of individual violence and terrorism is clearly established and well known, this attempt to pass the affair off as a Communist action threw discredit on the whole story of the police. The fact that it is directed at the Boatmen's union was another suspicious feature. It had the bad smell of another "plant" such as has been encountered time and time again in the experience of the labor movement in America. In common with all class conscious workers we watched for further developments with the most intense interest.

Since we have had no association or direct acquaintance with the accused men we did not feel that the initiative in arranging a legal defense for them belonged to us, although we were of the opinion that they were entitled to that much in any case. The fact that the revolutionary labor movement does not advocate or practice the method of individual terrorism or sabotage is no reason to fly into a panic when the police find some dynamite or plant it. Neither should we take a police accusation against a group of workers as proof of guilt. And finally we should not turn our backs on workers in the hands of the police and leave them defenseless under any circumstances. These elementary principles of labor ethics and solidarity—to say nothing of the Communist class point of view—which ought to be taken for granted, are mentioned here only because they seem to have been forgotten in this case.

Therefore, when it became clear, after two days had elapsed since the arrest without anything having been done, the National Committee of the Communist League decided to come to the aid of the prisoners and make provisions for their legal defense. This was promptly accomplished, thanks to the help and cooperation of Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*. Since Wednesday a competent attorney has been looking after the legal interests of the accused marine workers. The facts are now coming to light and the fog of police propaganda in the capitalist press is beginning to lift. Everything that has happened since our investigation began has tended to confirm the first suspicions about the case.

Every working class organization, and above all the entire left wing of the movement, is duty-bound to support the defense of the arrested marine workers. As we see it, this is a principle question. The accused men have entered pleas of **not guilty**. The letter of Soderberg, printed in another column, shows that the police claim of "confessions" is the confession of their own stool-pigeon and provocateur. Even bourgeois justice grants a presumption of innocence until guilt has been proven at a trial. Can revolutionary workers do less?

From this point of view the strongest protest must be registered against the

outrageous comments of the *Daily Worker* on November 18th. There, instead of a protest against the attempt to convict the prisoners in the capitalist press before trial, we read a denunciation of them. Without lifting a finger to investigate the facts, without appealing to the workers to at least suspend judgment until the facts are known, they take the police announcements for granted and abandon the helpless prisoners to their fate, giving them a kick on the way. Of men who at that moment were being beaten and tortured by the police, they had only this to say:

"Soderberg, secretary of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union, whom the capitalist press calls a 'Red', was expelled from the Communist Party for being a suspicious element and also from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union for disruptive and anti-working class activities. Treiger, Rely and Bunker were expelled from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union as bad elements." They do not belong to our faction—do with them what you will! Shame on such people! They are without honor, without sentiments of solidarity, without even the labor ethics of an ordinary union member.

More than that. In their panic, in their rabbit-hearted cowardice, in their fool's delusion that they can save themselves by pointing the finger at others, they approach downright provocation against the I. W. W. and the Lovestone faction.

Consider this: "Treiger in his confession (who said he made a 'confession')?" stated that he was a member of the I. W. W. and was not a Communist nor did he believe in Communist political action, but in direct individual anarchist action."

And this: "The men arrested are not members of the Communist Party, and their actions are unknown to it, with the exception of one of them, who was expelled from the Party as a suspicious character and who has been since very openly working against the Party with the renegade Lovestone group."

It is not we who harbor dynamiters—it is the I. W. W. and the Lovestone group. You are welcome to blame it onto them, but leave us alone. With such a yellow and treacherous attitude we can have nothing whatever in common. Our differences with both the I. W. W. and the Lovestone faction are many and serious enough. We have spoken of them before and we will speak of them again. But these organizations cannot be accused, even by the remotest implication, of the advocacy or practice of individual terrorism. It is not true. And even if it were true we would not say so in such a moment. We are revolutionists, not informers.

We cannot believe that the Communist workers will let the position of the *Daily Worker* prevail as the policy of the Party. It is indeed a terrific revelation of the political and moral degeneration in the upper circles of the Stalinist faction. These processes of decay expose themselves with devastating swiftness in times of crisis and danger, when leaders have to act quickly; when they have no time to dissemble; when they have to show at once the contents of their minds and hearts. On the other hand the time of crisis and danger calls out the deepest class impulses of the revolutionary proletariat and impels them to assert their will in irresistible terms. An upheaval in the Communist ranks against the cowardly and treasonable attitude of the *Daily Worker* in the case of the marine workers will be the best thing that can happen for the good

of the movement and the honor of the Party. That will facilitate the organization of a strong working class front against the new "dynamite plot" and similar conspiracies of the ruling powers.

The militant workers must be aroused and organized to fight. The Communist League sees no factional issue in the case which involves the lives and liberties of the marine workers and endangers the entire Left wing labor movement. The matter necessitates the cooperation of all elements in the labor

movement, regardless of the differences which divide them, who are willing to stand together on this common class point of view. The labor movement shall not be terrorized and broken up by dynamite plots. The arrested marine workers shall not be abandoned and left defenseless. They shall not be railroaded without a fight. We hope to see the labor movement, and especially its entire Left wing and militant section, united in this fight.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

A Letter From One of the Defendants

The Tombs, City,
November 20, 1931

My dear Cannon:

Have just received your special delivery letter and have also seen Mr. Sabatino, the lawyer retained by you and others on our behalf. All four defendants, Bunker, Treiger, Rely and myself discussed your letter and arrived at the decision that I was to write informing you that we accept your choice of counsel, and I am further instructed by my comrades to express our unanimous appreciation to you and those others interested and associated with you in securing counsel for us.

Yours was the first and only offer of assistance received by us since our arrest. It is very gratifying to note that you and other comrades have done what you have in order to see what can be done in the matter.

All the defendants, except the agent provocateur Hoyle, have entered pleas of **not guilty**.

As to our case, I cannot go into it in detail due to the fact that the trial is still pending. I can, however, show the role of a stool-pigeon and agent provocateur of the first class. This animal could sit in the next room contentedly eating a sandwich and drinking his coffee while the police were beating me unconscious in their endeavor to force me to plead **guilty**. All known tortures were used by the police (beating of testicles with blackjacks, punching and squeezing of same, etc.) Yet this species of human degradation could sit there and laugh. He could go to Hickey (owner of the O'Boyle Towing Co. and complainant in the case) in open court in front of us all, ask for and receive \$10. on account for sending four men up the river for 40 years or more. This rat could do this and feel no pang of remorse. To such an extent is it possible for a human being to sink under this system of society.

Who is this Hoyle? What is his record? A conviction in Providence for larceny—not from anyone that could afford it, but from a worker. Fired off his last three jobs, not for organization activities but on account of drunkenness. Unable to get a job in the harbor he hit

on the idea of making easy money by trying to involve his own union comrades in some tangle. He came to me months ago with all kinds of propositions, insane proposals. I already once stopped him from committing a certain act that I considered would not be the thing to do.

This skunk—and as I write this in my cell, he paces the floor above, alone, shunned and despised by his fellow-prisoners—went to the police on Sunday afternoon and told them a tale of terror about to break loose on the waterfront, involving many others outside of those now in jail. He was told by the police to go back to the office of the union and watch for my appearance there because "if I was not arrested first I may be warned by other arrests, etc." (This statement admitted by the police.) On Monday noon, upon my arrival in the office, he came in, said "hello", went out around the corner where the dicks were waiting and conveniently got himself "arrested". Half an hour later I was arrested and in less than one hour Treiger was brought in and shown to me just long enough for me to see his swollen and blood-smeared face (which was shown me for effect). And shortly after that Rely and Bunker put in their appearance.

There is nothing quite as low, as miserable and despicable as an agent provocateur. He would stoop on his own mother's neck for a few filthy shekels. He would stoop to anything for gain. Take part of this rat's story. He stated, among other things, that the office since my election had taken the form of an armed camp, with me handing out guns to various bodyguards, etc. Yet, as far as I know, the only gun ever carried in that office was the gun of this stool-pigeon himself. And when I saw the gun I told him to leave the office and get rid of the gun. He later complained to me that his gun had been stolen. I merely mention this to show the character of this species of human degradation.

You are free to use all or part of this for publication in *The Militant*.
(Signed) John G. Soderberg,
Secretary-treasurer, I. T. B. U.

Swabeck Starts On National Tour

A national tour for comrade Arne Swabeck on behalf of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has just begun. Comrade Swabeck will cover the principal cities of the country, as far West as Kansas City. Public mass meetings as well as organization meetings with the Branches of the League will be held in the various localities. The tour is a result of previous plans of the Second National Conference and of numerous requests from the Branches to undertake such a tour immediately. The tour will begin in Boston with a lecture on "The Rise and Fall of the MacDonald Government" and will conclude in Philadelphia

on January 10th. The schedule of the national tour follows:
Boston, Mass. Nov. 27, 28, 29
Toronto, Ont. Canada Dec. 2, 3.
Detroit, Mich. Dec. 5, 6.
Chicago, Ill. Dec. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.
Springfield, Ill. Dec. 14.
St. Louis, Mo. Dec. 15, 16.
Kansas City, Mo. Dec. 18, 19, 20.
Minneapolis, Minn. Dec. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.
Chicago, Ill. Dec. 31, Jan. 1
Youngstown, Ohio Jan. 3.
Cleveland, Ohio Jan. 4, 5.
Philadelphia, Pa. Jan. 10.

EL SOVIET CONFISCATED

The third issue of *El Soviet* (10-29-31), weekly publication of the Left Opposition in Spain, has been confiscated by the Civil Governor of Barcelona. Numerous difficulties have been encountered in the distribution of *El Soviet* due to the suppressions by the reactionary socialist-republican government. 3,000 copies of the third issue had been printed when the confiscation occurred.

The first and second numbers were also delayed in distribution by interference of the authorities. Various subterfuges are employed to prevent Communist propaganda, such as refusal to stamp the copies, as required by law; at other times the governor delays authorization definitely.

Upon receipt of knowledge of the confiscation of *El Soviet*, the Communist League of America (Opposition), New York branch made arrangements for an entertainment for the benefit of *El Soviet*. This local affair will take place on Saturday, December 5th at 84 East 10th Street, the League headquarters. Workers are cordially invited to attend. Refreshments will also be served.

Urgent! Help The Militant

The regular appearance of *The Militant* this week is due to emergency relief on the part of the New York Branch of the Communist League. It is imperative that a greater financial response be received from other sections of the country. There has been a beginning, but insufficient to meet the requirements, already scaled down to the minimum, of *The Militant* budget.

We are compelled to continue our public appeal for financial assistance. Will YOU HELP to maintain *The Militant*? Our appeal this time is brief, but absolute.

SEND FUNDS IMMEDIATELY

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

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Rail Bosses Drive for Wage Cuts

Step by step the capitalist forces are mobilizing their heavy artillery to make certain of a wage cut on the railroads. This important industry is one of the remaining strongholds of the pre-crisis working class standard which now, in the view of the aristocracy of finance, must be battered down at all cost. Yet in face of this, there is no visible action whatever of the unions preparing to meet the onslaught.

Individually the railroad workers have long ago been gradually put on reduced rations by the "economies" effected by the roads. Increasing use of heavier material, heavier rolling stock and longer trains have brought about constantly reduced forces and a greater output per man. This is vividly substantiated by the reports of the unions. According to statements made by the president of the Brotherhood of Enginemen and Firemen before the La Follette Senate subcommittee, labor saving machinery during the last few years has displaced about 250,000 workers, and since the beginning of the crisis, the owners of the railroads have dropped an additional 500,000 employees. Many important regulations gained during years of struggle have long ago been lost in practically all of

the railroad crafts, and some of them have lost the eight hour day once in operation throughout the railroads.

How the Capitalist Pressure Works

The first direct step in the assault upon the present wages was taken by the railroad owners in their appeal to the Interstate Commerce Commission for a 15% rate increase. Their appeal was predicated upon a denial, which promptly followed, to lay the basis for a wage cut. No sooner had the denial been rendered, then several roads began some by directly announcing wage cuts; others by making a pretense of negotiations with the unions, with the stage all set of course and proper pressure provided. The Canadian National Pacific lines demanded a wage cut. The New York Central lines, the largest single system in this country demanded a 10% wage cut, to be voluntary and to remain in effect for one year; evidently to prepare for further cuts after that.

The New York Central Lines alone have reduced their working force from a total of 170,061 on January first, 1930 to 128,448 on February 15, 1931.

Finally there is now additional pressure

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT

The Tom Mooney Case

Walker and the Labor Fakers in Attempts to Derail the Class Issue

The New York Tammany Mayor is in California "pleading" for Tom Mooney. Sent off with the proper emotional touch, including a telegram from the aged mother of Mooney, he was hailed as "liberator" by "capitalist philanthropists," by smug labor "leaders" and by the Socialist Party officials. What a strange situation? Mayor Walker, the bosom friend of Tom Mooney's very jailors, or—maybe it is not so strange. Thus Tammany hopes to wash off the blood-stains of the innocent workers whom it and its vicious police have done to death or maimed.

Is the stage now all set for him to be released as a "magnanimous" act of his jailors and tormentors? We do not know. Perhaps they have finally noticed the power of Tom Mooney's cause to eventually kindle the smoldering flame of working class revolt. Perhaps they calculate that the best way to quench this smoldering flame would be to assume the role of "liberators." With a presidential election coming next year such a "noble" role could well serve the democratic party headed by the reactionary, corrupt Tammany Hall. But do they intend to extend this magnanimity to other class war prisoners? Not for one instant. Their only object is to try to grasp a popular issue and make it their own.

To complete the mockery all the friends of Tammany are scurrying to get on the band wagon. Wm. Green, evidently joined by the whole of the A. F. of L. executive council reaffirms the "belief in Tom Mooney's innocence." Wm. Green asserts that the California Federation executive council is the only labor body authorized to intervene and to receive funds for Mooney's release. But during these fifteen years which have passed, this galaxy of capitalist agents in labor's ranks have used every means possible to choke any effort on behalf of Tom Mooney. Hence his scorching condemnation of them.

To Whom Did Mooney Appeal?

Despite all this stage setting; despite all the capitalist mockery, if Tom Mooney is soon to step out of jail a free man, the working class throughout the world will have cause to rejoice. They will welcome Tom Mooney to their ranks. His fight was and still is their fight, and his cause belongs to them only. They in the first instance compelled his capitalist jailors to abandon the execution which had been planned. But there remains nevertheless a blot upon the American working class for its submission to all the deception and betrayal.

als which have helped to keep Tom Mooney in jail for so long. There remains especially a serious blot upon the leadership of the official Communist Party for its utter failure to rally to the recent clarion call of Tom Mooney, which pointed the way not only to his release by working class action, but also to that of a mighty movement toward the release of all class war prisoners. That failure has caused an indelible stain upon the Communist movement which can be eradicated only by being laid bare, by being honestly admitted and by being decisively condemned.

Tom Mooney's appeal was addressed to the working class and in particular to its most militant section, the Communists. Tom Mooney knew, as history has proven, that only that section can give the life needed to build a powerful movement on a class basis. But Tom Mooney also definitely asked for "a genuine united front." He named the organizations and groups which should be invited to participate in the movement. Among others he named the militant units of the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party and farmer labor parties, the Communist Party and the separate Communist groups, including the Communist League of America (Opposition).

The Heavy Price of Stalinist Failure
This genuine united front, the Stalinist bureaucrats of the official party feared. Their attitude was exactly that of the social reformists. From that decrepit gentry it could be expected; it should be otherwise with the Communist Party. The issue of a pardon for Tom Mooney was made a factional football. While the social reformists called their own conference, and, as for example in New York, excluded the Communists, the Stalinist strategists emulated that dastardly action in full. At a conference called by the New York I. L. D., to take up, among other issues, that of the liberation of Tom Mooney, delegates of the Left Opposition were expelled.

Such is the miscarriage of a golden opportunity. "Tom Mooney is an 'his torical symbol of the American workers'—of their weakness and failures of yesterday and today and their potential, dynamic power which alone will bring victory tomorrow." It was the opportunity to weld this potential, dynamic power and to set it into motion. But in this great duty the official party leadership has failed miserably. Thus they carry their heavy share of responsibility for having brought degradation to this issue so dear to the working class and for having played directly into the hands of its enemies.

Rail Bosses in Wage Cutting Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

ure for wage cuts on the railroads. The Investment Bankers Association at its recent convention demanded that all the roads immediately institute a 10% all-around wage cut. This association includes all the biggest banks of the country headed by the firm of J. P. Morgan.

What answer have the union leaders given to these onslaughts? It is reported that the "chiefs" of the four transportation brotherhoods recently attended a dinner jointly with the representatives of the biggest railroad magnates, ostensibly to discuss in a friendly manner. But, while this may satisfy their culinary tastes, it cannot give the slightest security to the position of the railroad workers. On the contrary, that is the particular method to prepare a sell-out. And today there is no organized Left wing force to effectively challenge such deals.

Will There Be A Repetition of the Past?
In 1921 and 1922 the policy of the railroad union leadership relied entirely upon the railroad labor board for adjustment of grievances. To the workers it proved a deep disappointment. The labor board became the very instrument to take away the conditions from the unions one by one. In 1921 the train service unions threatened to strike, but declared they would look out only for their own interests, leaving the shop crafts to their own fate. The latter were left to strike alone in 1922. They fought not the railroad systems as a whole, but merely single roads, and only those where their grievances were the most outstanding. The result became a settlement only with minor roads, a general defeat and decimation of the union forces from which they have not since recovered.

The railroad companies are now making their demands for wage cuts one by one. Their aim is to repeat the experience of the past, and all indications are that the unions will fall into the trap. As far as the union leaderships are concerned, there need be no doubt that it fits in well with their views. They have no other interests than to serve the companies by helping keep the workers divided and easy victims for defeat. That the dangers in the present situation have long ago been sensed by the workers is quite clearly evident from the rank and file pressure, particularly for a six hour day. That pressure came to a head last summer and culminated in a conference of large representation by the five main transportation unions held in Chicago. But in anticipation, the leaders—these

company lackeys—succeeded in side-tracking the general ferment into proposals to ask for legislation for the six hour day. This was but another repetition of relying upon the capitalist governmental machinery of "justice." It is doomed to disappointment and defeat.

What About the Left Wing Movement?
The situation growing out of the 1922 strike movements became also the beginning of a powerful Left wing movement, at that time inspiring great hopes among large section of railroad workers. At the railroad amalgamation conference held in Chicago in December 1922, over 400 delegates attended. Several of the railroad unions endorsed the proposals for amalgamation, despite the resistance of the high salaried officials. The Left wing movement experienced a growth until the dizzy "Third Period" tactics were inaugurated by the official party leadership. The results were the fatal mistake by the railroad workers Left wing movement—the adoption of the policy of building new "revolutionary unions" on the roads. Of course no new unions were built, but the Left wing movement received a death blow and has remained practically non-existent ever since.

So much for the Left wing movement officially under the leadership of the T. U. U. L. We have not noticed any admission on its part of this fatal policy. What the workers thought of it, however, they have clearly shown by losing confidence and remaining absent.

But there has been another ray of hope shown since; a beginning toward a correct rebuilding of the Left wing movement. The railroad workers of Minneapolis set this example by the methods and activities of their local railroad council. It became one of the effective instruments in promulgating the demand for the six hour day on the roads. Its activities enjoyed the support of most of the railroad locals in that center. It showed a way for the rank and file towards closer consolidation of the various crafts. This is precisely the first step needed in this present situation. The railroad workers constitute a powerful army. A consolidation of their forces, now divided in the sixteen standard unions; a united taking up of the fight to at least maintain the present standard, not by single unions or against single companies, but by recognizing all of the companies as the common enemy—only in that lies the hope for success.

—ARNE SWABECK.

These enemies, while now appearing in the role of liberators, may hope to choke the glowing spirit of Tom Mooney. We do not think we can. But their endeavor is to take his cause away from the working class in order to obliterate and crush it. The policy of the official party leadership has helped to make this endeavor an easy one. Thus once more is recorded a heavy price paid by the Communist movement for Stalinism. We will continue to bend all our efforts for its eradication in the future.

—A. S.

Mooney Meet at Staunton, Ill.

—STAUNTON, ILL.

For the meeting at Staunton on behalf of Tom Mooney, we distributed leaflets and had them posted on mine entrances, mine tipples and the walls of buildings on mine properties. A stool-pigeon approached a miner, whom he suspected of posting these leaflets, and threatened him with vague punishments. The burden of his remarks was: "Hey, you been hanging around with them Trotskyites. If I catch you posting any of these notices for their meetings, I'll fix you plenty!" Strange words for a capitalist lick-spittle about "counter-revolutionaries."

We were on guard against Party "pickets"; none appeared. The Stalinists, famous in this vicinity for their boycotts of the Belleville and St. Louis miners' conventions, apparently had recourse to this tactic again. Not only did they not organize any similar meeting, but they failed even to put in an appearance at the only Mooney meeting held in Staunton in a considerable time.

Some 40 miners were in attendance. They came from surrounding mining towns and from Staunton itself. They were among the most militant miners in the coal fields.

Charles Blome, president of the St. Louis Metal Trades Council and of the Molders' Defense Committee, spoke first. He reviewed Mooney's militant labor record and the facts in the frame-up, and spoke of the black record of the betrayers in the California Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. He called upon the militant working-class to fight for the freedom of Tom Mooney and all other class war prisoners.

Comrade Stamm of the Communist League of America (Opposition) established the connection of the fight to free Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, the Harlan miners, Morgenstern and Goodman, and other class war prisoners, with the fight for better conditions. He read from Mooney's appeal of August 20th and it made a deep impression. He called for a genuine united front conference which would include all working-class organizations irrespective of their political, economic, social or other views. The basis for participation in this united front, said Stamm, shall be a sincere intention to fight for Mooney's and other class war prisoners' release, which will be tested in the fight. He pointed out there should be no slander, but that everyone should have the freedom to criticize. This explanation of the United front as against the Stalinist approach impressed the miners. It is for the Communists and the I. L. D. to lead in the building of such a united front movement.

Elect Committee To Initiate Movement
In conclusion, Stamm proposed that a committee be elected to issue a call to all working-class organizations in and around Staunton to send delegates to a united front Pardon Mooney conference and that the task of this conference be to work out concrete plans for carrying on such a movement.

A committee of six was elected. On it are two Party members and a Party sympathizer—all miners. This is a good beginning. The committee met with comrades Blome and Stamm immediately after the meeting. Blome was elected secretary; a letter was drafted to all working-class organizations to send delegates to a meeting to be held in the Labor Temple, Lodge Hall, in Staunton, Ill., on Sunday, November 28th, at 3 P. M. A collection to get the letter out was taken up. This committee, made up of militant and best-known miners in the coal fields, organized itself, for obvious reasons into a Pardon Mooney Club. The Club also instructed its members to take up this question and to support the invitations in their local unions. They agreed to do this.

A beginning has been made. The Left Opposition will help in every way it can. It calls on the Party and I. L. D. to enter formally and actively into this united front in Staunton and in all other cities in order to win the leadership of the movement and to make it successful.

—JOHN SCOTT.

ALREADY RECEIVED

Extra Copies of the RUSSIAN BULLETIN—No. 23 and 24. Among the contents are:

"New Zig-zags and New Dangers" by L. Trotsky.
"On Workers' Control of Industry" by L. Trotsky and others.

Comrade Sylvia Bleeker is now in full charge of the sale and distribution of the Russian Bulletin and all subscriptions, bundle orders and requests for single copies should be sent to her.

Send orders at once, 25c per copy; 18c in bundles; subscriptions, \$2.00 per year. Order from: Sylvia Bleeker, for Russian Bulletin, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Build Communist Youth Movement

«Young Spartacus» to Work for Clarity and Action

♦♦♦

(We reprint the following statement and appeal of the Youth Fraction of the Communist League of America (Opposition) from the first issue of **Young Spartacus**. We feel sure that it will prove of interest to all readers of **The Militant**, and call upon them to give all possible support to **Young Spartacus** through donations, subscriptions, putting young workers and comrades in touch with the Youth Committee, etc. Readers who wish to obtain a copy of the first issue may do so by addressing **Young Spartacus**, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.—Ed.)

With this issue we introduce **Young Spartacus** to the Communist youth and young workers in the United States. There is a sore need for what the organ of the Communist youth of the Communist League of America (Opposition) sets out to accomplish.

What **The Militant** has been achieving in its tasks of regeneration of the official Communist Party, now under the domination of the American political underlings of Stalin, the youth of the Communist Left hope to carry through on an ever wider front among the members of the Young Communist League and youth in this country. **Young Spartacus** will be a spokesman and guide in this necessary work. The confusion and misleadership of the Y. C. L. and Y. C. L. have brought the official Y. C. L. to a sorry state of theory and practice. **Young Spartacus**, we hope, can cleanse this Augean stable with the fresh air of Marxism and Leninism. It is imperative again to begin the work of clarification and education of the American working youth along Marxian lines.

The Low Level of the Y. C. L. To-day

We but merely assert here, what **Young Spartacus** will have occasion again and again to prove; namely, that the Y. C. L. like the official Communist Party, having acquiesced in the expulsion, oppression and exile of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, led by Leon Trotsky and of countless hundreds of Bolsheviks in the other Parties and Youth Leagues, has fallen also into a theoretical swamp and adopted the pernicious practices of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The result has been that the Communist Parties and Y. C. L.s everywhere are but caricatures of what genuine Communist Parties and Young Communist Leagues should be.

By the printing and distribution of the writings and platform of the International Left Opposition and its sections, we shall in time demonstrate that the salvation of the International Communist movement, of the Comintern and Youth Comintern lies, first; in the abandonment of the false, anti-Marxian doctrine of "socialism in one country" the theory from which Stalin proceeds and from which flow the other incorrect doctrines and practices that prevail in the official movement of Communism; and, second; in the acceptance of the platform of the Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, and which, in a few words, is but the acceptance again of the original theories of Marx and Lenin and which enabled the Comintern during the first four congresses of its existence, to flourish.

The "Leadership" of Mineriches and Greens

We state plainly and unequivocally in here addressing ourselves to the membership of the Y. C. L.: Nothing can be hoped for from a leadership of acquiescent Mineriches and the tiny bureaucrats like the Greens. They epitomize the groveling type of "leadership." As they demand it from those below them, so they, like fawning lap-dogs whining for a bone, submit unquestioningly to the lash of those above them, to the party whip. Stalin and Stalinism are the source of the cancerous growth of political boot-lacking in the Party and Y. C. L. Will a thinking, red-blooded Communist youth in the Y. C. L. long accept such a situation? We think not, if the truth is laid before his eyes to read and judge.

The Dismal Y. C. L. Paper—"Young Worker"

The official organ of the Y. C. L. is the **Young Worker**. In its columns we can find the quintessence of the "ideas" and practices of the Greens and Mineriches. A paper should be one of the best, if not actually the best, means for the development of an educated, theoretically clear and militant Communist youth. In this fundamental task of education, of clarity to achieve correct actions, the **Young Worker** has signally and woefully failed. We believe that we are only stating what every honest member of the Y. C. L. thinks, when we say that the **Young Worker** is a crude and vulgar mish-mash of ideas and events. In it is to be learned—exactly nothing. It is a perfect reflection of the youth leadership that runs it and the Y. C. L.

The members of the Y. C. L. are expected to accept policies from above without question. Free discussion and democracy, as within the Party itself, is on the Catholic index, it does not exist. Genuine examination of the validity of theories and policies is not allowed; the practices and results are to be noted in the low ideological and numerical status and influence of the Y. C. L. Other columns of **Young Spartacus** tell the unpleasant story. What discussion takes place in the Y. C. L. membership is either in secret or in the secret cham-

bers of their minds.

Young Spartacus aims to assist in the reformation of the Y. C. L. The youth of the Left Opposition accept this policy and will work to revitalize the Y. C. L. in all respects. A Y. C. L. must have the spirit of youth, militancy and independent thinking. It must aim to be broad organizationally, to make it possible for young workers and youth who WANT TO LEARN COMMUNISM to be able to become members and to feel that they have full rights in the organization. In a Communist youth organization the first task is to learn, to become equipped with the theoretical weapons of Marx and Lenin which will best enable them to put them into practice in the shops, in the factories, in the unions, in the fields, among the student youth, wherever the youth is to be found. The field is broad and immense. A Communist youth organization must take this into consideration in outlining its tasks. A youth movement is a young movement, and there must be no fear about the youth who wants to learn. Let there be fearlessness in expression. The youth will learn through education, mistakes, practices. It is necessary to follow a route instead of the rut that is the Y. C. L. today. This is the road toward Communist CLARITY AND ACTION.

Trotsky on the Youth

Trotsky, in his famous letter, on **The New Course** to his Party nucleus, has this to say concerning the youth:

"The bureaucratism of the apparatus has its heaviest consequences in the intellectual-political growth of the young generation of the party. This explains the fact that the youth—the most reliable barometer of the party—react the most sharply of all against party bureaucratism. . . .

" . . . It is wholly inadequate that the youth should repeat our formulas. It is necessary that the youth should take the revolutionary formulas fighting, transform them into flesh and blood, work out for themselves their own opinion; their own personality, and be able to fight for their own opinion with that courage which comes from sincere conviction and independence of character. Passive obedience, mechanical drill, characterlessness, obsequiousness, careerism—away with these things from the party! A Bolshevik is not only a disciplined man; no, a Bolshevik is a man who, boring deep, has worked out for himself in each given instance a firm opinion, and courageously and independently defends it, not only in war with his enemies, but also within his own organization. To-day he may be in the minority in the organization. He submits

because it is his party. But that obviously does not always mean that he was wrong. . . ."

For Clarity and Action

The slogans of **Young Spartacus**, as in the early and best days of the revolutionary youth movement in the United States, the Young Workers League, are CLARITY AND ACTION.

Young Spartacus espouses the cause of the Left Opposition. It will, however, endeavor to be a youth paper, reflecting the attitudes and needs of the youth in the fields of education, sport, economic, trade union and political activity.

The youth of the Left Opposition regard themselves as the Left fraction of the Y. C. L., whether officially members or otherwise, and therefore endeavors to redress the organization of the Y. C. L. At the same time, recognizing the broad field of work before them, and the failure of the official Y. C. L. to reach even a fragment of the youth and young workers that properly belong in a Communist youth organization, the Communist Youth Opposition will try to draw every possible young worker into conscious, active, revolutionary work in the Communist movement. Through **Young Spartacus**, we hope to be able to achieve a measure of success.

Young Spartacus will no doubt not be all that we want it to be. Mistakes will be made—errors of initiative and lack of knowledge and experience. But that is not to be feared. The Communist Youth Opposition WANTS TO LEARN that it may be ABLE TO TEACH, organize and win the American youth to Communism.

The Course of the Communist Youth Opposition

In **Young Spartacus** will be reflected the policies and activities of the Communist Youth Opposition on all phases of youth work. This need not therefore be discussed here. In line with the program of the Communist League of America (Opposition), the Communist Youth Opposition and **Young Spartacus**, will steer its independent course on all youth and political issues before the Communist movement. Although a fraction of the Communist movement, the Communist Youth Opposition will endeavor, to the extent possible under the conditions, to develop its own independent activity wherever the official Y. C. L. fails, is negligent or persists in a false line.

Lastly, we have adopted the name **Young Spartacus** in honor of Spartacus, the great leader of the revolt of the oppressed slaves and gladiators in Rome; further, we take this name in an effort to follow in the traditions of the Spartacus League of Germany, organized by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in their revolt against the German Social-Democracy that trampled revolutionary theory and practices into the dust.

In the glorious name of Spartacus, Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Lenin, we pick up the banner of Communism now being besmirched by the Stalinist Comintern; under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, we will march forward to again win the Comintern and Y. C. L. to Leninism.

Upon this program we call upon the Y. C. L. members and class-conscious youth everywhere to support **Young Spartacus**.

—MARTIN ABERN.

The Record of A Party Bureaucrat

Soulounias, the editor of the Greek organ, **Empros**, of the Communist Party, is one of the most virulent bureaucrats in the attacks on the Greek members of the Left Opposition, and helped to expel them. It is indeed most fitting that Soulounias should be in the forefront in carrying out the dirty work of the Stalinist machine against the proletarian Left. We have no doubt that the workers and rank and file Communists will understand Soulounias's actions when they are acquainted with the "record" of Soulounias in the labor and revolutionary movement. A part of the "record" of the present editor of **Empros** is here given:

Soulounias's "Record" in Labor Struggles

1. In the 1922 strike of the crew of the Greek ship, **Acropolis**, Soulounias was a member of the **Strikers' Committee**. He deserted the strike and became a strike-breaker for unknown reasons.

2. In the fall of 1925 when the Joint Board of the Furriers attempted to organize the Greek furriers, Soulounias had to be pulled off the job by the Strike Committee.

3. During the Sacco-Vanzetti movement, when the Party appealed to the workers to strike in protest against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti Soulounias was at work in a fur shop until midnight.

4. In 1927 and 1928 he was working for **Empros**. But he thought it more profitable to leave this task in order to undertake the organization of the **Grange Fishermen's Cooperative** in Florida. His previous venture to supply the Soviet Union with sponges through his countrymen had failed.

5. When **Empros** was a daily paper, Soulounias was on a tour. In Pittsburgh he was scheduled to speak in a cafe. The same day he received a letter from the then editor, informing him that because of lack of funds, he could not send him his wages. Soulounias because of this refused to speak and left the workers waiting for him to appear.

The Decision of the Central Control Committee

Lastly, we now quote from the **Party Organizer** of District Two of the Party, New York, of April 9, 1931, which gives a decision of the Central Control Commission regarding Soulounias. From its contents our readers will note what kind of a Communist Soulounias is.

Central Control Commission Decision on:

"S. Soulounias (C. Solon), District 2, New York: formerly member of unit 3B, Section 2. Furrier by trade, now editor of the Greek paper, **Empros**; in C. P. since 1924; has not paid dues or

attended unit meetings since about August, 1929; apparently dropped from membership by the unit; has submitted a statement recognizing the impermissibility of his error and negligence, and explaining that at first he could not attend the unit meetings on Tuesday nights, then being unable to pay the dues, not getting salary regularly from **Empros** and having tried to straighten out the matter with the help of the Greek Bureau some time ago.

"Decision:

"To pass a severe censure upon comrade Soulounias; he is to be given a new membership book with this censure recorded in it, while his status shall remain that of an old member; he is instructed to attend unit meetings and pay dues regularly and to be active in unit work; and at the same time the C. C. C. criticizes those leading comrades in the unit and section, who are responsible for permitting a national functionary of the Party practically to drop out of the Party without the case being taken up to the District and Central Control Commissions."

From all the foregoing, it is plain to be seen that Soulounias is just the type of party bureaucrat to expel the supporters of the Left Opposition.

Canton Insurrection

(Continued from page 4)

chronic and lasting character. The greatest problem now is the renaissance of the Communist party as the organization of the vanguard of the proletariat.

These two conclusions are equally important. It is only by considering them simultaneously that the situation can be judged and the perspectives fixed. The Sixth Congress did neither the one nor the other. By taking as its point of departure the resolutions of the ninth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (February 1928) which assured us that the Chinese revolution "is continuing", the Congress slipped up in its flight to the point of declaring that this revolution has now entered into a preparatory phase. But this flight will not help anything. We must speak clearly and sincerely, recognize firmly, openly, brutally the breach that has taken place, adapt the tactics to it and at the same time follow a line of conduct which leads the vanguard of the proletariat through the insurrection to its preponderant role in the Soviet China of the future.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Soviet-U.S. Trade Relations

The Slogan for Long Term Credits

"... There is every reason to count that under the conditions of the present commercial and industrial crisis, particularly in case of its further aggravation, the Soviet government by a correct policy can gain an incomparably larger access to the resources of the world market. Unemployment is a factor of huge importance which can make its impression upon the whole politics of the near future... One of the most important slogans of the transition period can and must become the demand for economic collaboration with the Soviet Union." (L. Trotsky in "World Unemployment and the Five-Year Plan".)

The recent announcement by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, the Soviet commercial agency in the United States, that orders placed in this country had fallen off 52% during the first ten months of 1931, as compared with a similar period in 1930, raises the problem posed by comrade Trotsky once again in a very sharp and concrete form. On the question of economic relations between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries—between the Soviet Union and the United States—Trotsky's thesis today retains its complete validity.

The Campaign Against the Soviets

The reactionary business and political forces in the United States, led by the Matthews Wolls, Hamilton Fishes and Herbert Hoovers conduct a systematic, unceasing, bitter and relentless propaganda against the Soviet Union on the economic front as well as on the political. The stupid and ostrich-like policy of the American section of the Stalinist Comintern has played directly into the hands of these bitter opponents of the Soviet Republic and all revolutionary workers' movements.

Amtorg Asks For Better Credits

The Amtorg Trading Corporation, in its official statement, pointing out the decline of purchases in the United States for the ten month period mentioned, from \$102,800,000 to \$49,400,000, says: "Soviet commercial organizations are prepared to carry on and expand trade with the United States only on condition that long-term credits are extended comparable with those received by other countries in Europe, and on the further condition that the exceptional obstacles put in the way of the importation of Soviet products into this country are removed." The credit terms now extended in the United States, continues the Amtorg declaration, are not acceptable, and are the sole reason for the decline of trade relations with the United States.

Its purchases, it points out, have increased in England by 33% and have doubled in Germany, due to the more favorable credits established. In the United States, however, cash payments have been made in many instances. At the same time, all payments of bills have been made when they fell due.

The Department of Commerce of the United States, though acknowledging that the Soviet Union has made good on all its obligations, now advises officially business men to be "cautious" in their trade relations with Soviet Russia. The reactionary elements are speeding up their propaganda of hostility to the Soviets. Naturally there are protests from the friends of the Soviet Union, from itself and its trade agencies against the attitude of the American government on business relations with Russia. But what is being done, what policies are put forward to thwart these acts that hinder the development, to the greatest extent possible, of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Has the Soviet Union a political line on the immediate issue of credits to the Soviet Union and what is the line of the Communist International, the "policy" of Stalin?

The False Doctrine of Stalin

Most unfortunately, the Stalinist line has been the enunciation and propagation of the false doctrine that the Soviet Union can function as an isolated and self-sufficing economic and political entity—as a Workers' State within the capitalist world—and in time even build, barring military intervention, a complete socialist society. The Left Opposition condemned this theory of national socialism as inimical to the interests and needs of the workers of the Soviet Union and the international proletariat. The Stalinist policy has already broken

a leg on the hard rock of world economic facts, particularly aggravated in the world economic crisis of which the Soviet Union is a part, though a lesser one because of the methods of planned socialist economy.

To develop its natural resources to the utmost, to push construction ahead in this period of the immature development of Soviet economy, in the period of the beginning of the socialist revolution (in which Soviets Russia is the first of the fortresses established by the proletariat) and the international proletarian revolution, the Soviet Union must utilize the resources of the capitalist world.

Concretely this means that economic relations on a wide-scale must be established between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries. Since, as affairs stand now, the ready resources of the Soviet Union are insufficient to meet the demands of the capitalists in order to make the necessary purchases from them, it is plain that the extension of large and long-term credits to the Soviet Union is essential and imperative. Otherwise, the Soviet Union cannot obtain now the necessary industrial and machine equipment required for its purposes; the development of socialist economy is necessarily enormously hindered. It is an unavoidable contradiction between an economically undeveloped Soviet economy existing side by side with capitalist nations. Nor can credit extensions remove the contradiction; they can only temporarily soften it a bit, and at the same time permit the working class in other countries to develop its own revolutionary movement and struggle for political power.

The Stalinists have been blind to the obvious. The theory of socialism in one country is, after all, for magicians who pull rabbits out of a hat. The Comintern has been wholly wrong, politically and economically, in its neglect and failure, and the more so during this period of economic and social crisis, to raise the slogan of economic collaboration, of trade relations and the extension of long-term credits to the Soviet Union, and to call upon its sections to carry on a campaign for their realization. In the United States more than elsewhere, perhaps, could these slogans have taken hold among the masses of workers and been brought to some fruition.

Immediate Demands

It has been pointed out time and again in the columns of *The Militant* that these slogans, connected concretely with the issue of the millions of unemployed in the United States, could have and will yet make their way to the minds of the American workers, if properly carried out under the leadership of the Communists; and that pressure can be brought to bear upon the American bourgeoisie to extend to a far greater extent than now its economic relations with the Soviet Republic. For almost two years, the American Communist Party, led by the Browders, has ignored or derided this burning question, doing great harm both to communism in the United States and to the requirements of the Soviet Union. But facts have a way of making themselves seen and heard. In recent months, the American Party has smuggled the slogan of the extension of long-

term credits into its program, but has not yet grasped its full significance and carried on a wide campaign for its realization. The recent elections are an example of this failure.

Immediate demands can never be permitted to cloud or retard the main strategic line or principles of Communism in the struggle for political power by the workers. Immediate demands, as formulated and carried through by the liberals and socialists, are aimed to draw the workers into the field of reform as against that of the proletarian revolution. The Communists aim to serve the immediate and revolutionary needs of the working class, and to develop their demands in accordance with that line.

For Working Class Unity

It is necessary to point out to the workers that the slogans for broad economic collaboration with, and the extension of long-term credits to the Soviet Union can serve two immediate objectives: 1. To aid in the alleviation of unemployment in the United States through the employment of workers needed to make the products to be purchased by Soviet Russia; 2. To assist thereby in the development of the Five Year Plan in Soviet Russia and the development of socialist construction. Confidence and fraternal relations between the workers of the two countries are thereby increased. Support for the Soviet Union by the workers in all countries must be built upon the understanding and needs of the workers in the Soviet Russia; and, likewise the confidence of the workers in Russia in their tasks is increased by the knowledge that they can count upon the support of the workers in other lands. The spread of the ideas of internationalism is the best defense of the Soviet fatherland.

America remains for the Soviet Union the best market for its major needs: tractors, automobiles, electrical equipment, machinery, etc. The Communists must direct a propaganda to demand that the U. S. government make possible economic and political relations (recognition of the Soviet Union) with Soviet Russia. Already the engineer Dr. Walter N. Polakov has brought forward the suggestion for a billion dollar pool for the extension of credits to the Soviet Union. Business selfishness and greed for profits can make it easier for the masses to carry through the demands upon the capitalist government. The slogans of the Left Opposition retain their full validity and strength for the immediate interests of the American workers and for the development of their class conscious and revolutionary spirit; for assistance to the Soviet Union in its industrial and agricultural construction; for the development of international solidarity, understanding and the unity of the working class on immediate burning issues and ultimately for the international proletarian revolution. What will the official Communist Party in the United States and the Stalinist Comintern do? Will they correct and change their line, or continue the policy of isolated, national socialism in Soviet Russia and the repudiation in fact, if not in name, of the development of the international forces for Communism? —MARTIN ABERN.

Mechanical Reorganization of the I. L. D.

The I. L. D. is now undergoing a process of reorganization under the "group system". The structure of this new plan of reorganization up to date is as follows:—

The maximum number of members in any one given branch of the I. L. D. shall not exceed 50. These branches are to be subdivided into groups of 10. Each group of 10 is to be headed by a captain. The duties of the captains will be to make contact with each of the remaining 9 members of their respective groups, visiting them privately in their homes once a month to sell dues stamps, Labor Defenders, tickets, etc., and also to urge them to participate in a possible public demonstration. The 5 captains of the branch, together with the executive committee, are to hold one meeting a month to be known as a "functionaries meeting" at which all organizational activities are to be discussed and decided upon. The general membership, by means of a press notice, will be called together once a month for educational and propaganda purposes.

Just what does this new organizational plan mean in actuality? 1. Each group of ten will have no occasion to meet together to propose, discuss and enact organizational activities in the interest of the I. L. D., but instead, each member of the group will be personally told by the captain when, how, what to do, thus depriving the organization of the individual member's initiative so necessary in carrying on mass defense work. 2. By this new method the membership is deprived of opportunities to come together with their leadership and functionaries in meetings, where they can contribute and receive the necessary enthusiasm needed for carrying on defense

work. 3. The membership is prevented from influencing the organizational activities of the I. L. D. and for that matter also the educational phase of the activity of the branch, because the subject matter for discussion, as well as the selection of the particular member to lead the discussion, will all be brought to this one so-called educational meeting, already cut and dried by the functionaries.

The Meaning of the Re-Organization

This new organizational system is brought to us draped in all sorts of demagogic phraseology to make us believe that this new form will change the I. L. D. into a mass organization. Those of us, however, who realize that the plan as such carries with itself the exact contrary aims, must raise our voices to point out the resultant evils thereof, such as sectarianism, disintegration and finally demoralization of the forces.

Why is it that these petty bureaucrats were compelled to conceive this new plan of organization? Is it because of the criticism made on the American section by the I. R. A.? No, for to quote only the first two points of the criticism offered by the I. R. A. will suffice. "1. Lack of political life in the organization and insufficient international educational work performed." "2. Inability to enlarge its organizational strength by drawing in new members (stabilization and even regress of its membership)". What then are the ideas that are playing in the brains of these master minds in this re-organization? Protesting voices on the part of the rank and file of the I. L. D. membership have become effective in influencing the minds of the membership at the regular organized meetings, where contact with them was possible. So much so, that the petty

little bureaucrats have become terror-stricken in face of the healthy criticism exercised by the rank and file against their misleaders. This new re-organizational plan will well serve the aims of these bureaucrats to further mechanize the I. L. D., with an object in view of breaking that contact between membership, so that complete mechanical control of the organization can be easily attained.

Violations of the I. L. D. Constitution

Already have we had occasion to hear considerable protest from the rank and file against their misleaders for playing politics with the Morgans-Goodman case of Philadelphia, for maliciously sabotaging the defense work done by them from the I. L. D. as militant fighters in the class struggle, only, because these two comrades had the Communist courage to oppose the anti-Leninist course pursued by the Stalinist bureaucrats. This arbitrary action on the part of the National Executive Committee of the I. L. D. is in complete contradiction to Article II under Aims, of its Constitution which reads as follows—"The International Labor Defense is a broad non-Party organization based on the class struggle which aims to defend all workers who are being persecuted by the capitalist government and various other agencies of the employing class, for their participation in the class struggle, by rendering legal aid, moral and financial support to these workers and their dependents, by wide publicity, organizing mass demonstrations of support and protest, both here and abroad."

Such matters as constitutional rights mean but very little to a bureaucratic leadership, even though the Constitution of the I. L. D. under Article III Section 1, plainly reads,—"Every person, regardless of political affiliation, race or color, who signs an application card subscribing to the aims of the organization and agreeing to comply with its constitution, shall be entitled to membership in the International Labor Defense."

The results of such mechanical, eliminating and splitting processes, together with the arbitrary organizational proceedings, can best be illustrated by quoting a statement made by a Section Organizer at a general meeting, "that in one branch during its short existence, they had actually enrolled over 800 members and at the present time find themselves with 150 members on the books, 75 of whom are paid up and less than half that number are active." This particular statement characterizes this branch in question more as an example, than an exception, on the I. L. D.

Rank and File Protests

Already do we hear voices of protest on the part of the membership, so much so, that the bureaucrats were compelled to strike out of the minutes, motions of disapproval and constructive criticism of the sectarian policy exercised by the leadership of the I. L. D. in the Mooney campaign, motions demanding the correction of the mistakes in the mechanical handling of the united front activities, etc. These motions were arbitrarily eliminated from the minutes, disregarding the fact that they were actually voted for by the membership.

Nor can we afford to overlook the protests that have manifested themselves at the Mooney-Harlan United Front conference, coming from the A. F. of L. delegation and also from the delegation of the Workers' Circle, against the arbitrary actions from the I. L. D. branches, who, suspected of being non-Stalinists, were refused the conference floor in anticipation of a possible protest on the ejection of delegates duly representing working class political organizations, who came with no other motives than to give their best organizational aid to the Mooney United Front Campaign. The "Cut-Price Glory" of that day can well be distributed evenly between such "consistent" Communist leadership as Carl Hacker and Maurice Malkin.

It becomes the purpose and duty of every militant worker in the I. L. D. to be ever alert, utilizing every opportunity that presents itself to eradicate the demoralizing and bureaucratic actions exercised by the misleadership. The I. L. D. is indispensable as the organization for defense work in the class struggle at all times. It is doubly important now that the I. L. D. makes further inroads into the masses to enlarge its organizational strength by drawing in new members in order that it may be able to cope with its many tasks in face of the sharpening of the class struggle.

—R. ULCHIN.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

"Political Banditry In The French Communist Party" by Max Shachtman. Comrade Shachtman, Managing Editor of *The Militant* is at present on his vacation and is traveling in various countries in Europe. The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has authorized comrade Shachtman to give full assistance to the Opposition movements in Europe on behalf of the American Section. The first of a series of articles by comrade Shachtman is now in Spain and *The Militant* will receive very soon first-hand articles on the Spanish situation.

"The Canadian Trials—An Evaluation" by Maurice Spector is not printed in this issue because of technical reasons, and will appear in the following issue.

IN SPAIN

A Reactionary Gov't.

"The solution of the crisis", we said in a previous editorial, means the consolidation of the block of the bourgeoisie with the socialists at the expense of the democratic revolution." We added that the possibility was not excluded that, at a definite time, the bourgeoisie might permit the socialists to adopt an attitude of timid opposition.

The political events of the past week have fully confirmed this evaluation. One of the first acts of the new government was to put through the Constituent Assembly a "law for the defense of the Republic" which had no precedent in Spain, even in the periods of blackest reaction, and was openly directed against the proletariat. It also struck a death blow at the Catalan aspirations toward autonomy, favoring a formula with respect to section 48 of the constitution which practically reduces to zero the powers, sufficiently mediocre as it was, contained in the Statute. In this second matter, the government did not present a united front before the legislature; the socialists had placed themselves in opposition.

These two facts testify that the bourgeoisie is consolidating its position, and that the offensive against the democratic revolution will continue if the masses of workers and peasants do not intervene in time. The new government is therefore not a "typical petty bourgeois government", as "La Batalla" claims, but a typically bourgeois government. To compare it with the Kerensky government, as does the organ of the workers' and peasants' Bloc, is to understand absolutely nothing of the situation. The Azana government is rather a Miliukov government, representing the big bourgeoisie, which did not succeed in maintaining itself in Russia because there existed there what, unfortunately, we have not in Spain; soviets or other organisms representing the great revolutionary masses.

The Role of Demagogues and Charlatans

If anyone still has doubts on this

point, Lerroux himself (the Spanish Miliukov) took pains to dissipate them. In his speech at Santander, the Secretary of State said, "It is all very well to try one course and then another; the thing to do is to carry out policies to their logical conclusion, and for this we need a tactic of successive stages and of perseverance in action". We could not wish for greater clarity. The situation is not ripe enough for a bare-faced dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but we find ourselves in one of the preliminary stages, and one of the most important at that, leading to it. In reality, the master of the situation is Lerroux, that is, the big bourgeoisie. Yet the time has not arrived to tear off the mask, and to seize the reins of power in the name of those who see in Lerroux, as he himself said in the above-mentioned speech, "the life-buoy in which the shipwrecked man sees the hope of safety".

In this rapid evolution of the republic toward bourgeois reaction, the representatives of the radical petty bourgeoisie have shown once again their impotence and their inability to carry matters to a conclusion. Only four or five deputies voted against the law for the defense of Macia to the last deputy, gave it their entire approval.

There is nothing surprising about this for us, revolutionary Marxists, who know that the bourgeois reaction has no better allies than the demagogues and charlatans of petty bourgeois radicalism. In France, in 1848, Louis Blanc prepared the coming of Cavaignac. In Russia, Kerenski prepared that of Kornilov.

The lesson which the working class should learn from this historical experience is—to trust nothing but its own forces, solidly organized, and to struggle boldly both against the bourgeois dictatorship and against the petty bourgeois left, which paves the road for reaction. Objectively, Macia is even more dangerous for the revolution than Lerroux.

Barcelona, October 29, 1931.

Move for New Trial in Phila. Case

PHILADELPHIA.—Arguments were heard before Judge Reed of Cambria county in Philadelphia on November 21 on a motion for a new trial for Leon Goodman and Bernard Morgans, members of the Communist League of America (Opposition), who were convicted June 24 under the Pennsylvania sedition act for distributing an unemployment leaflet of the League. Decision on the motion was reserved for another date.

The argument was made by David Wallerstein, Philadelphia attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, which is supporting the effort to upset the conviction of the two defendants on the ground that the state sedition law, as applied to the leaflet, which led to their arrest, violates the guarantee of free speech and free press in the U. S. constitution. The defendants, through the Morgans-Goodman Defense Committee, is endeavoring to develop a wide mass movement of protest against the convictions.

In the indictment in this case, the grand jury cited as seditious a statement in the leaflet that "the solution of the unemployment problem can be found only in the proletarian revolution." Both comrades were tried before Judge Reed, who was then sitting specially in Philadelphia. On motion for a new trial the court fixed bail at \$1,000 each.

A single incident illustrates the "impartiality" of the capitalist courts and Judge Reed. A month ago the defendants received a letter from their attorneys informing them to appear in court on the following Saturday. Later we

were told to ignore the previous notification and that they would be called later. What had happened was this. The judge sent the lawyers a notice that the motion for a new trial was denied and refused the lawyer's brief. But no hearing on the motion had been held yet! The attorneys protested and the judge then apologized, promising to hear the arguments the following month.

No representative of International Labor Defense was present during the arguments for a new trial. The I. L. D. from the outset has refused to assist the defendants in any manner, solely because the defendants are members of the Left wing of the Communist movement.

BOOKS BY

Leon Trotsky

1. **THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION**
86 pages, two-colored paper cover, 25c
Introduction by Max Shachtman
 2. **THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**
A Criticism of Fundamentals
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
140 pages, hard paper cover, 35c
 3. **THE SPANISH REVOLUTION**
30 pages, paper cover, 10c
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Introduction by Max Eastman
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 7. **COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM**
The Trade Union Question
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
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48 pages, paper cover, 15c
SINCE LENIN DIED
By Max Eastman
158 page book, printed in London, 1924
50c
- Special Rates in Bundles of 5 or more.
- Order through

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84 East 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

GREEK MANIFESTO

The Greek Fraction of the Communist League of America (Opposition) have just issued a comprehensive manifesto and appeal to the Greek communists and workers, and have given it a wide distribution. Any workers who wish to obtain a copy may do so by addressing the Greek Fraction, Communist League of America (Opposition), 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

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EDITORIAL NOTES

THE MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

Twelve new members have been enrolled in the New York branch of the Communist League since the national conference. In this can be seen the first tangible result of the emphasis placed by the conference on the organizational side of our work. It is a gratifying manifestation, and it shows that our modest program for the enlistment of fifty new members by the first of the year has excellent prospects to be crowned with success. Every Oppositionist will set his heart on the attainment of this goal.

The American section of the International Opposition has conducted three years of solid propaganda work. By this an unshakable foundation of principle has been laid under the organization, and a fairly wide circle of sympathizers have been gained for the Marxist program. It is time now to begin a deliberate and systematic campaign to enroll at least a part of these sympathizers into the ranks of the Communist League. This is the next step. It stands first on the order of the day.

The discussion now taking place in the Spanish section of the Opposition on the character of the Left faction has an interest for us. The circumstances and the relation of forces are not the same here as there. In Spain the situation, as we see it, is such that the Left wing has exceptionally favorable opportunities to grow and expand as an independent force in the class struggle. For that reason all our sympathies are with the tendency for the organization of a "broad" faction, enrolling the revolutionary workers of Spain directly into its ranks without routing them through the needless detour of the Stalinist official party.

Our own experience over a period of three years, on a smaller and more limited scale, argues against ultra-conservatism on the question of recruitment. In the formative period of our movement, it is true, we made a somewhat strict and narrow selection of forces. And necessarily so. Without a firm kernel to begin with, one already trained in the Communist party principle, it would have been impossible to maintain a consistent line and work out a uniform policy for the conduct of the struggle. But, proceeding from that, we have already had a fruitful experience in the enrollment of revolutionary workers without previous party experience. In the New

York branch, especially, it can be said that a number of the best workers and defenders of our cause belong to this category. Lack of party experience undoubtedly has its shortcomings, and some very glaring ones. On the other hand it has compensating advantages. The worker who comes directly to the Opposition, skipping over the official party, has fewer distorted and perverted teachings to unlearn.

The strength of the Marxist Opposition lies first of all in the system of ideas which lie at its foundation. This has been said many times and cannot be repeated too often. From this it follows that the Communist League can by no means open its doors to anyone and everyone. Those with ideas directly prejudicial to Communism, or in serious conflict with the League on settled basic questions, cannot be regarded as proper candidates for membership. The admission of such people would only confuse the issues and compromise the principle struggle. The Left Opposition cannot be a debating ground of diverse tendencies. We do not speak for a "broad" faction in this sense.

The acceptance of unschooled but conscientious workers, who want to become Communists, does not present the dangers mentioned above. The League, for such workers, can and will become a school serving a double purpose wherein they will acquire their education in the elementary questions of Marxism at the same time they assimilate the standpoint of the Opposition on the more complicated problems which have divided the Comintern since Lenin departed from its leadership. The Opposition can teach them far better than the Stalinists can as has been concretely demonstrated already.

It is to be hoped that all the branches of the Communist League will see the question as the National Committee sees it and begin an earnest campaign for new members among the sympathizing workers. Every honest worker who has given practical indications of his friendship for our cause should be invited to join the organization. The accession of fifty new members by the first of the year will provide us with the necessary forces for an expanded program of activity. The gratifying results of the recruiting campaign in New York point the way and give the hope for success on a national scale.

—J. P. C.

The Reply of Trotsky to Weisbord

To Albert Weisbord
New York, N. Y.]

(Copy to National Executive Committee,
Communist League of America
(Opposition))

Dear comrade:

I have received a number of documents and letters from you. I apologize for answering so late and in German at that; to write in English would be too long and too ungrateful a task. Now to the point.

I cannot adopt your standpoint. Your criticism of the League seems to me one-sided, artificial and terribly exaggerated. You throw the League and the Right wing together, which shows that you utterly disregard the fitness of things. You make fun of the publishing activity of the League and contravene your "mass action" to it. Have you any mass activity behind you? Before one turns to the masses, one must construct a principle basis. One begins as a propaganda group and develops in the direction of mass action.

In addition, your international connections, sympathies and semi-sympathies speak against you. For even if I cannot claim to be an adept in present day American affairs, still I know well enough what the Landau group and the other similar groups in Europe mean. "Tell me with whom you go, and I will tell you who you are."

The International Opposition has no use for two organizations in America. Your group is new, has only recently split off from the Right, differs from the Left Opposition on a number of questions and flirts with those elements which split themselves off from the International Left Opposition. Can you ask us to prefer you to the Communist League of America?

You declare yourself obedient to the International Left Opposition. Organizationally this is not the case. This can therefore be understood only in the sense of a general solidarity of ideas. But now you must ask yourself a question, how this will be expressed organizationally. In your letter to the League Conference, you propose a united front but without the leading comrades. This is the famous united front from below which the Stalinists practice (in words) toward the social-democrats and the

trade unions. On top of this you attack the League for not applying the policy of the united front. This does not give the impression of being serious. If the solidarity of ideas with the Left Opposition really means anything to you, you must build a bridge back to the League in common. This by no means excludes internal criticism on the basis of a healthy revolutionary democracy.

With Communist Greetings,
L. TROTSKY.

Kadikoy, October 10, 1931

Militant Builders

More active workers have joined **The Militant** builders and our subscription list is growing. When one of our supporters secures a new reader for **The Militant**, he has rendered a service to the revolutionary movement and to his class. If he stays actively within the ranks of those building up **The Militant** circulation, his service will count that much more: it will give more power to our paper. Systematic building of our circulation is what is needed.

Below we record the subscriptions secured by the efforts of our builders. We do not record here those who sent in their own sub. or their own renewal.

C. Schechet, Boston	1
V. R. Dunne, Minneapolis	4
C. Skoglund, Minneapolis	1
J. D. Deutsche, Perth Amboy	1
R. Sacharow, Chicago	1
H. L. Goldberg, St. Louis	5
A. A. Buehler, Kansas City	1
L. Goodman, Philadelphia	1
Morris Lewitt, New York	1
H. Capelis, New York	1

From time to time we will make a comparison of results obtained by the various builders.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their own ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"—**Communist Manifesto.**

In November 1927, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese party decided that

"The objective circumstances existing at the present time in China are such that the duration of a directly revolutionary situation will be measured not by weeks or by months, but by long years. The Chinese revolution has a lasting character, but on the other hand, it has no stops. But its character, it constitutes what Marx called a permanent revolution."

Is this right? Intelligently understood, it is right. But it must be understood according to Marx and not according to Lomnadze. Bucharin, who showed up the latter precisely for having employed this formula, was no closer to Marx than the author of it. In capitalist society, every real revolution above all if it takes place in a large country, and more particularly now, in the imperialist epoch, tends to transform itself into a permanent revolution; in other words, not to come to a halt at any of the stages it reaches, not to confine itself to national bounds, but to extend and to deepen itself up to the complete transformation of society, up to the final abolition of class distinctions, consequently, up to the complete and final suppression of the very possibility of new revolutions. That is just what the Marxian conception of the proletarian revolution consists of, being distinguished by that from the bourgeois revolution, limited by its national scope as much as by its specific objectives. The Chinese revolution contains within itself tendencies to become permanent in so far as it contains the possibility of the conquest of power by the proletariat.

To speak of the permanent revolution without this and outside of it, is like trying to fill the cask of the Danaides. Only the proletariat, after having seized the state power and having transformed it into an instrument of struggle against all the forms of oppression and exploitation, in the interior of the country as well as beyond its frontiers, gains there with the possibility of assuring a continuous character to the revolution, in other words, of leading it to the construction of a complete socialist society. A necessary condition for this is to carry out consistently a policy which prepares the proletariat in good time for the conquest of power. Now, Lomnadze has made of the possibility of a permanent development of the revolution (on the condition that the broadest policy be correct) a scholastic formula guaranteeing at one blow and for all time a revolutionary situation "for many years".

The permanent character of the revolution thus becomes a law placing itself above history, independent of the policy of the leadership and of the material development of revolutionary events. As always in such cases, Lomnadze and company resolved to announce their meta-physical formula relative to the permanent character only after the political leadership of Stalin, Bucharin, Tchen Du-Siu* and Tang Ping Shan had thoroughly sabotaged the revolutionary situation.

After having assured the continuity of the revolution for many years, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, freed from any further doubts, deduces from this formula conditions favorable to the insurrection.

"... Not only is the strength of the revolutionary movement of the toiling masses of China not yet exhausted but it is precisely only now that it is beginning to manifest itself in a new advance of the revolutionary struggle. All this obliges the plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to recognize a directly revolutionary situation exists today (November 1927) throughout China."

The Objective Conditions on the Eve of the Insurrection

The Canton insurrection was deduced from a similar evaluation of the situation with a perfect inevitability. Had a revolutionary situation really existed, the mere fact of the defeat of Canton would only have been a special episode, and in any case, would not have transformed the uprising of this city into an adventure. Even in face of unfavorable conditions for the insurrection at Canton itself or its environs, the leadership had as its duty to all that was necessary to realize the revolt most rapidly in order thus to disperse and weaken the forces of the enemy and to facilitate the triumph of the uprising in the other parts of the country.

However, not after "many years" but after a few months, it had to be acknowledged that the political situation had declined abruptly, and that before the Canton insurrection. The campaigns of Ho Lun and Yeh-Pin were already developing in an atmosphere of revolutionary decline, the workers were separating themselves from the revolution, the centrifugal tendencies were gaining in strength. This is in no way contradictory to the existence of peasant movements in various provinces. That is how it always is.

Let the Chinese Communists ask themselves now: Would they have dared to decide upon fixing the Canton insurrection for December had they understood that for the given period the fundamental forces of the revolution were exhausted and that the great decline had commenced? It is clear that if they had understood in good time this radical break in the situation, they would in no case have put on the order of the day the appeal for the armed uprising in Canton. The only way of explaining the policy of the leadership in fixing and

The Chinese Revolution

The Permanent Revolution & the Canton Insurrection

By Leon Trotsky

The following is a chapter, "The Permanent Revolution and the Canton Insurrection", from the book on the Chinese Revolution to be issued in the near future by the Pioneer Publishers. We reprint this chapter now by L. D. Trotsky because of the general interest in

the subject, and particularly because December marks the anniversary of the Canton Insurrection. This material has never before appeared in the English language. Further information on the comprehensive book on the Chinese Revolution will be forthcoming in the next few days.—Ed.]

carrying out this revolt, is that it **did not understand the meaning** and the consequences of the defeats of Shanghai and Hupeh. There can be no other interpretation of it. But the lack of understanding can all the less excuse the leadership of the Communist International, since the Opposition had warned in good time against the new situation and the new dangers. It found itself accused for this by idiots and calumniators of having the spirit of liquidators.

The resolution of the Sixth Congress confirms the fact that an inadequate resistance to "putschistic moods" produced the fruitless uprisings of Hunan, of Hupeh, etc. What is to be understood by "putschistic moods"? The Chinese Communists, in conformity with the directions of Stalin and Bucharin, judged that the situation in China was directly revolutionary and that the partial revolts had every chance of being extended successfully to the point of becoming a general insurrection. In this way, the launching of these surprise attacks resulted from an erroneous estimation of the circumstances in which China found itself towards the second half of 1927, as a result of the defeats suffered.

The Duplicity of the E. C. I.

In Moscow, they could prattle about the "directly revolutionary situation", accuse the Oppositionists of being liquidators, while providing for themselves beforehand against the future (especially after Canton) by making reservations on the subject of "putschism". But on the theater of events, in China itself, every honest revolutionary was duty bound to do everything he could in his corner to hasten the uprising, since the Communist International had declared that the general situation was propitious for an insurrection on a national scale. It is in this question that the regime of duplicity divulges its deliberately criminal character.

At the same time the resolution of the Congress says:

"The Congress deems it entirely incorrect to attempt to consider the Canton insurrection as a putsch. It was a heroic rear-guard (?) battle of the Chinese proletariat, fought in the course of the period which has just passed in the Chinese revolution; in spite of the crude mistakes committed by the leadership, this uprising will remain the standard of the new Soviet phase of the revolution."

Here confusion reaches its zenith. The heroism of the Cantonese proletariat is placed in evidence as a screen to cover up the faulty leadership not of Canton (which the resolution casts off completely) but of Moscow, which only yesterday spoke not of a "rear-guard battle" but of the overthrow of the government of the Kuo Min Tang.

Why is the appeal to insurrection denounced as putschism after the experience of Canton? Because thanks to this experience, the inopportune nature of the uprising was confirmed. The leadership of the Communist International had need of a new lesson by example in order to discover what already appeared quite clear without it. But are not these supplementary lessons for behind-handed people, given in life, too costly to the proletariat?

Lomnadze, one of the infant prodigies of revolutionary strategy, swore at the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the Canton insurrection was necessary, right and salutary, precisely because it inaugurated an era of the direct struggle of the workers and peasants for the conquest of power. He met with agreement. At the Sixth Congress, Lomnadze recognized that the insurrection did not inaugurate an era of triumph but concluded one of defeat. Nevertheless, just as before, the uprising is considered necessary, right and salutary. Its name has simply been changed: from a clash between the vanguard of the forces at hand, they made a "rear-guard battle". Everything else remains as in the past.

The attempt to escape the criticism of the Opposition by hiding behind the heroism of the Cantonese workers has as much weight as, let us say for example, the attempt of General Rennenkampf to take shelter behind the heroism of the Russian soldiers whom he drowned by his strategy in the Masurian swamps. The proletarians of Canton are guilty, without having committed mistakes, simply of an excess of confidence in their leadership. Their leadership was guilty of having had a blind confidence in the leadership of the Communist International which combined political blindness with the spirit of adventurism.

The False Comparison Between Moscow, 1905 and Canton, 1927

It is radically false to compare the Canton insurrection of 1927 with that of Moscow in 1905. During the whole of 1905, the Russian proletariat rose from one plane to the other, wresting concessions from the enemy, sowing disintegration in its ranks, concentrating around its vanguard ever greater popular masses. The October 1905 strike was an

immense victory, having a world historical importance. The Russian proletariat had its own party, which was not subordinated to any bourgeois or petty bourgeois discipline. The self-esteem, the intransigence, the spirit of offensive of the party, rose from stage to stage. The Russian proletariat had created Soviets in dozens of cities, not on the eve of the revolt but during the process of a strike struggle of the masses. Through these Soviets, the party established contact with vast masses; it registered their revolutionary spirit; it mobilized them. The czarist government, seeing that each day brought a change in the relationship of forces favorable to the revolution, passed over to the counter-offensive and thus prevented the revolutionary leadership from being able to gain the time needed for continuing to mobilize its forces. Under these conditions, the leadership could and should have staked everything so as to be able to test by deeds the state of mind of the last decisive factor: the army. This was the meaning of the insurrection of December 1905.

In China, the events developed in a directly opposite way. The Stalinist policy of the Chinese Communist Party consisted of a series of capitulations before the bourgeoisie, accustoming the workers to support patiently the yoke of the Kuo Min Tang. In March 1926, the party capitulated before Chiang Kai-Shek; it consolidated his position while weakening its own; it discredited the banner of Marxism; it converted itself into an auxiliary instrument of the bourgeois leadership. The party extinguished the agrarian movement and the workers' strikes by putting into practice the directions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the bloc of the four classes. It renounced the organization of Soviets so as not to disturb the situation at the rear of the Chinese generals. It thus delivered to Chiang Kai-Shek the workers of Shanghai, bound hand and foot. After the crushing of Shanghai, the party, in conformity with the directions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, placed all its hopes in the Left Kuo Min Tang, the so-called "center of the agrarian revolution". The Communists entered the Wuhan government, which repressed the strike struggle and the peasants' uprisings. They thus prepared a new and still crueler devastation of the revolutionary masses. After all this, an instruction entirely penetrated with the spirit of adventurism, was issued, ordering an immediate orientation towards the insurrection. It is from this that was first born the adventure of Ho Lun and Yeh-Pin, and the even more painful one of the Canton coup d'Etat.

No, all this does not resemble the insurrection of December 1905 at all.

An Inopportune Insurrection

If an opportunist calls the events of Canton an adventure it is because it was an **insurrection**. If a Bolshevik employs the same designation for these facts, it is because it was an **inopportune insurrection**. It is not for nothing that a German proverb says that when two men say the same thing it does not mean the same thing. The officials a la Thalman can continue, on the subject of the Chinese revolt, to recount to the German Communists the "apostasy" of the Opposition. We will know how to teach the German Communists to turn their backs on the Thalmanns. In actuality, the question of evaluating the Canton insurrection is the question of the teachings drawn from the Third Congress, in other words, of a lesson where the life of the German proletariat was at stake.

In March 1921, the Communist Party of Germany sought to engage in an insurrection by basing itself upon an active minority of the proletariat in the face of the passive spirit of the majority, which was tired, distrustful, expectative, as a result of all the preceding defeats. Those who directed this attempt at this time also sought to take shelter behind the heroism of which the workers gave proof in the March battles. However, the Third Congress did not congratulate them for this attempt when it condemned the spirit of adventurism of the leadership. What was our judgment in those days of the March events? "Their essence," we wrote, "is summed up in the fact that the young Communist party, alarmed by a manifest decline in the workers' movement, made a desperate attempt to profit by the intervention of one of the most active detachments of the proletariat in order to 'electrify' the working class and, if possible, to bring matters to a decisive battle." (L. Trotsky, **Five Years of the Communist International**, page 333.) Thalman has not understood a thing of all this.

From July 1923 on, we demanded, to the great astonishment of Clara Zetkin, Varski and other old, very venerable but incorrigible social democrats, that the date of the insurrection in Germany be fixed. Then, at the beginning of 1924, when Zetkin declared that at that mo-

ment she envisaged the eventuality of an uprising with much "more optimism" than during the preceding year, we could only shrug our shoulders.

"An elementary truth of Marxism says that the tactics of the socialist proletariat cannot be the same in face of a revolutionary situation as when this situation does not exist." (Lenin, **Works**, Vol. XV, page 499.)

Today, everybody acknowledges this A B C verbally, but how far they still are from applying it in reality!

The Tasks of the Leadership

It is not a question of knowing what the Communists must do when the masses are rebelling of their own accord. That is a special question. When the masses arise, the Communists must be with them, organizing and instructing them. But the question is posed differently: What did the leadership do and what should it have done during the weeks and months that immediately preceded the Canton insurrection? The leadership was duty bound to explain to the revolutionary workers that as a consequence of defeats, due to an erroneous policy, the relationship of forces had veered entirely in favor of the bourgeoisie. The great masses of workers who had fought tremendous battles, dispersed by the encounters, abandoned the field of battle. It is absurd to believe that one can march towards a peasant insurrection when the proletarian masses are departing. They must be grouped together again, fight defensive battles, avoiding a general battle, which obviously does not hold out any hope. **In spite** of such a work of clarification and education, contrary to it, the masses of Canton had rebelled (which is very unlikely) the Communists would have had to put themselves at their head. But it is just the reverse that happened. The uprising had been commanded in advance, deliberately and with premeditation, based upon a false appreciation of the whole atmosphere. One of the detachments of the proletariat was drawn into a struggle which obviously held out no hope, and made easier for the enemy the annihilation of the vanguard of the working class. Not to say this openly, is to deceive the Chinese workers and to prepare new defeats. The Sixth Congress did not say it.

Does all this signify that the Canton insurrection was **only an adventure**, allowing of but one conclusion, that is, that the leadership was entirely incompetent? No, that is not the sense of our criticism. The Canton insurrection showed that even after enormous defeats, with the manifest decline of the revolution, even in non-industrialized Canton, with its petty bourgeois traditions of Sun Yat Senism, the proletariat was able to rise in revolt, to fight valiantly and to conquer power. We have here a fact of enormous importance. It shows anew how considerable is the weight of the proletariat in its own right, how great is the political role which it can eventually play, even if the working class is relatively weak in numbers, in a historically backward country, where the majority of the population is composed of peasants and scattered petty bourgeois. This fact, once more after 1905 and 1917, completely demolishes the phillistines a la Kuusinen, Martinov and consorts, who teach us that one cannot dream of speaking of the dictatorship of the proletariat in "agrarian" China. Yet the Martinovs and the Kuusinen are at the present time the daily inspirers of the Communist International.

The Canton insurrection showed at the same time that at the decisive moment, the proletariat was unable to find even in the petty bourgeois capital of Sun Yat Senism a single **political ally** having a distinct form, not even among the debris of the Kuo Min Tang, of the Left or the ultra-Left. This means that the vital task of establishing the alliance between the workers and the poor peasants in China devolves exclusively and directly upon the Communist party. The accomplishment of this task is one of the conditions for the triumph of the coming third Chinese revolution. And the victory of the latter will restore the power to the vanguard of the proletariat, supported by the union of the workers and the poor peasants.

Rebuild the Chinese Communist Party

If "apostasy" must be spoken of, the traitors to the heroes and the victims of the Canton insurrection are those who seek to rid themselves of the teachings of this uprising in order to conceal the crimes of the leadership. The lesson to draw is the following:

(1) The Canton insurrection showed that only the proletarian vanguard in China is capable of carrying out the uprising and of capturing power. The revolt showed, after the experience of collaboration between the Communist party and the Kuo Min Tang, the complete lack of vitality and the reactionary character of the slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasant, opposed to the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat drawing the poor peasants behind it.

(2) The Canton insurrection, conceived and executed contrary to the course of development of the revolution, accelerates and deepens the decline of the latter, facilitating the annihilation of the proletarian forces by the bourgeois counter-revolution. This stamps the inter-revolutionary period with a painful,

* Tchen Du-Siu since then has acknowledged the incorrectness of his position, and accepted the viewpoint of the Left Opposition. His statement has been printed in **The Militant**—Ed.

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