**WORKERS** OF THE WORLD. UNITE

# EMILITA!

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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ist ideology considerable divergences have steps to be taken on matters of concern been for some time developing in the to all." Socialist party. At its just concluded convention these difference, came to stand out quite clearly. It was not a matter of revolutionary views strugaction with the Communist movement Socialist party. Yet these divergences reflect the pressure of a working class moving toward the Left.

Essentially the differences were expres-

clearly crystallized. There are, on the working class aims as steps to the necone hand, the "militants" who appear to essarily revolutionary objective. This have hopes that the S. P. can be made is one of the particular tasks of the Comto play a progressive role as a social munist party. democratic party. They speak of achieving a "social and economic system for demand imperatively that the Communist mand that social reformist ideology be PENDS DIRECTLY ON THEIR RE the benefit of the workers", which would party take up this task in earnest. The defeated. justifiably put down counter-revolution within a Socialist state through the use tatorship. Hillquit characterized them as young, sincere and impatient—that is sincere to Hillquit's "ideals"—people who will soon settle down to more "sane" the truth. Secondly there is the group Toronto, Canada. The statement speaks Ed. of futile petty bourgeois liberals whose for itself. It is an unequivocal declaraoutstanding representative is Norman tion for the political views represented Thomas. It sees ever greater opportun- by the Left Opposition. Comrade Mac- not only in retrospect of the pre-October the official "true Leninist" rebuttal from ities for its particular brand of "salva- Donald has arrived at this position as polemics and activities of Bolshevism and the leading scribes of the International. tion" and conceives of the S. P. as a good a result of his experiences over a period the literature and general ideological instrument to further petty bourgeois lib- of years in the labor and revolutionary activity of the Communist International, eration on a grand scale expecting it to movement as well as the serious study particularly up to the death of its found- leadership unimpaired and who therefor be reinforced by the workes. Thirdly which he has made o the views pre- er and leader-Lenin and the opening resent and reject any suggestion of burothere are the socalled practical socialists, sented by the various factions of the of the struggle against "Trotskyism", but cratic intrigue, falsification or degenwhom Hillquit also quite truthfully char- Communist movement. acterized as to their "noble" goal of building new sewers. Lastly, there is favorable record of struggle and achieve- Germany, China, Spain, etc., and the of- ingly; search with the official microscope, the old guard led by Hillquit and O'Neal. ments within the labor movement and ficial C. I. programs, strategy and tac- flaying and uprooting in the name of This is the most conscious group with a within the Communist movement. Be- tics therein, I have become convinced Communist discipline and democratic party can ill afford to ignore certain consistent program, deeply saturated with ginning with his poining the Social Demhostility to revolution. A group which ocratic Party in Scotland at the age of criticism of the "Left Opposition" under suspects that would weaken or dilute the immedate future of the movement. cleverly manipulates reformist demands, 17, his activities and efforts have shown the brilliant, untiring and courageous the revolutionary movement in the face 1. The Communist Party of Germany clothed, when necessary, in Marxian consistent continuity in many leading leadership of comrade Trotsky are funda- of its class enemies. In this socialed has not yet succeeded in mobilizing the phraseology, but as treacherously reac-positions. He became one of the foundtionary as its European brethren and as conscious in preparing the social reformits national secretary, and one of its custodian of true Marxist-Leninism.

of responsibility and error and admit its Fascism. The latter has not only leaped ist instrument to serve capitalism. With outstanding leaders, participating in its deep seated hostility to the proletar- several Congresses of the Communist In- have no intention of reviewing at length logical crimes have been committed in German Communism, but the staunchest ian revolution it can pursue no other ternational up until the point of the ex- the attitude of the Canadian Party dur- the name of discipline! course. This group prevailed at the con-

ship of 8,000 in four years to a total technical charges. We are citing these of 25,000. In that is reflected in a sense brief points of comrade MacDonald's retraditional bourgeois parties to social democracy. It shows also that what is not immune. This found its expression in the two extreme wings. In the "militants" striving for a new, a better rethis writing, is assembled at Milwaukee vention. But this dishwasher radicalism all in an unblushing alliance with the to nominate their presidential standard had already shocked the convention, and petty bourgeois liberalism of Thomas bearers, and to cogitate over the "rev- when a resolution appeared on the floor Next it found its expression in the old "militants" (the would-be Left wing). the delegates threw up their hands in pulating a few extra safety valves of tant" this is to be a decisive convention Norman Thomas—who threatened to deconcessions in phraseology. But above all, a large share of this growth must all, a large share of this growth must be laid at the doors of the Centrist zigzag blunder policy of the official Communist party leadership and its failure to give proper direction to workers moving away from bourgeois ideology and allegiance.

The adopted S. P. declaration of principles, for example, again contains lip a good weathercock, he made a bold midst a rising vote. service to a recognition of the class struggle. It declares: "Freedom, equal- shown as a miserably failure. It has colity and plenty for the workers can thereownership and control of the productive wealth which is now held as capital."

What is meant by such a declaration done? Not a word about the vain enbecame clear when a credulous Cali-deavors of his European brother parties peaceful demeanor of the pacifist provalue, moved that the S. P. declares for confiscation of property. His proposal should the socialist party be called upon, wingers": Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee! went down to defeat under the com- they will valiantly perform their "pabined thunderclap of horror stricken triotic" duties to help stem the tide of Hillquit again rises to the occasion and reactionary bureaucracy.

in Russia (?!); (2) in Fascist coun- warm place in his heart for Dewey, American social democracy is another tries.a union of both parties to overthrow Holmes and Co. Fascism by any means possible; (3) in erties Union and other similar organizaorganized to bring them together in in- they are emphatic for the defense of the party program.

Within its shell of moribund reform-| formal conferences to consider practical

The recent years of experience have amply proved that the social reformists, now a distinct anti-revolutionary force, MITTINGLY BUT THEY ARE AC- MOST SERIOUS EFFORTS TO RAISE fore the Soviet Union and the Commun- ment has not succeeded in mobilizing do not at all intend to unite the work- CUMULATING JUST A LITTLE FAST- MONEY. FIRST OF ALL HE MUST ist International—and more specifically them for action to counter the plans of gling against reformist encumbrances. ing class, not even for reformist object ER THAN WE CAN MEET THEM. WE TAX HIMSELF TO THE LIMIT. WE before its American section—once more imperialism. No, if it had been, their proponents tives, But pursuing their cunning de- HAVE MADE ALL POSSIBLE RE. CALL UPON OUR SUPPORTERS TO bring sharply to the fore the acute prowould be obliged to find new fields of sign they do intend to utilize the popular TRENCHMENTS AND NOW EXPECT MAKE THIS SACRIFICE TO SAVE blem of the Communist unity in our have joined our party in the recent perexpression in some form of common unity slogan to deceive the workers into OUR SUPPORTERS TO DO THEIR THE WEEKLY MILITANT. AND party and the class struggle. These support of their instrument deliberately PART. not within the polluted waters of the destined to serve and preserve capitalism. This cannot be defeated by mere denunciation. It must be exposed in the open. This can be done effectively only by YOU! NO ONE SHOULD DELAY, THE counterposing the policy of a genuine sed in the groupings which have quite united front to attain the immediate THAT. WE MUST HAVE MONEY AT SITUATION EXACTLY AS IT IS. WE munist movement in Germany and else- Central Committee, a 100 percent turn-

# The «Socialists» and their Line of Action Russin Full For the Communist Unity of Our Party! Weekly!

OUR CRITICAL SITUATION STILL! UNTIL WE HAVE WEATHERED

EVERY ONE WHO SEES THIS AP-STAND IT TO READ—THIS MEANS SITUATION IS TOO PRESSING FOR NO AMOUNT IS TOO SMALL.

PREVAILS. NOT ONLY DO BILLS THIS STORM EVERY COMRADE AND CONTINUE TO PRESS ON US UNRE-SYMPATHIZER MUST MAKE THE FESSED ANY SYMPATHY FOR THE as follows: PEAL FOR HELP SHOULD UNDER- LEFT OPPOSITION MUST BE AP-PROACHED FOR HELP.

ONCE. NO AMOUNT IS TOO LARGE; HAVE STRAINED EVERY NERVE TO where and a setback for the proletarian over in the membership, that is, an an-RAISE MONEY. THIS IS OUR LAST revolution for a long time to come, but nulment of the organizational gains made HOPE. EVERY COMRADE AND SYM. would also render imminent a direct as- throughout this period. This situation PATHIZER MUST RESPOND NOW. The future working class perspectives revolutionary objectives first of all de- OUR WEEKLY MILITANT DE- olution, the Soviet republic.

Honest comrades, with their faith in

the revolutionary integrity of the central

To the C. E. C. of the C. P. U. S. A To the Members of the Communist

sault upon the fortress of the world rev- becomes ever more serious when it is

repartition of subjugated China.

3. The deepening of the crisis in the United States, out of which the bourgeoisie has not yet succeeded in emerging, but which continues to offer to the Communists hitherto non-existing opportunities for crystallizing the extensive sympathy prevailing among broad sections of the workers for the most resolute section of the proletariat.

In considering these developments, our

bulwark of capitalist "democracy", the For some time I have had occasion to party of Wels-Scheidemann-Hilferdingcompare these "excerpts" as published Grzezhinsky, continues to exercize an unwritings of Trotsky. Many are complete- of the proletariat.

2. In spite of the increasingly mani-

Comrades!

EVERYONE, WHO HAS EVER PRO- developments may be summed up briefly the crisis, they have not only represent-1. The growth of the Fascist menace possible by the whole situation, but in in Germany which, if it ends in the seiz- addition, the inner life of the party has WE ARE NOT ALARMISTS, WE DO ure of power by Hitlerism, would mean NOT EXAGGERATE. WE PUT THE not only the bloody crushing of the Com-

2. The events in the Far East, where Socialist party has been able to register the already established Japanese inter- in the same period. vention in Shanghai, the establishment The Left Opposition an inseparable of a Japanese puppet government in part of the Communist movement, can-Manchuria right on the border-line of not permit itself to pass over these facts the Soviet Union and the danger of an without candidly expressing its views to

in Japan itself, all serve to indicate how the lines of imperialist policy are approaching the breaking-point. bulletins from the C. I. containing al- the Soviet Union is running a mad race leged excerpts from the writings and with the danger of the workers being After a careful and extensive study speeches of Trotsky, counter-posed with flung into a new imperialist war for the

fest threat of imperialist war upon the Soviet Union, and the undoubted popuothers correct in text are presumably

### of violence, but strictly dissociated from class rule through the Proletarian Dic- lass rule through the Proletarian Dic-Statement of the Former National Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada

ers of the Communist Party of Canada,

We are publishing herewith a state-i and decisively expressed, should count consisted of the scant distribution among views. That evidently, is not far from ment by comrade Jack MacDonald of seriously with thinking revolutionists—the membership of occasional official danger of a direct intervention against

> also of the more immediate and pressing eration, accept these official communica-Comrade MacDonald has a long and situations and struggles of today, viz., tions at their face value and act accordthat the position program and general centralism any tendencies deviations, or of their aspects which directly concern mentally correct; and that the Left Op ideological campaign (if self-criticism masses of the German workers for efposition is the historical bearer and is still in vogue) I accept my full share fective resistance to the advances of

In this necessarily brief statement I travesty. What organizational and ideo. ahead at a far greater speed than has pulsion ravage, when he was arbitrarily ing my association with its leadership put outside the party organization or my personal attitude during the "dis-The S. P. claims a gain in member- charged with "conciliation" and other cussion" and subsequent fight against in official bulletins, with the actual shaken influence over decisive sections "Trotskyism".

Suffice it to say, that the ideological the fact that some sections of the work- cord of activities because of our convic- campaign against Trotskyism—charged are deliberately misinterpreted; while ers have taken the step away from the tion that his position, herewith clearly with the attempt to revise Leninism-

## at the basis of such growth reflects a pressure from which even the S. P. is not immune. This found its expression The National Convention of the S. P.

olutionary" profundities raised by the for the forcible confiscation of property, To the mind of many an S. P. "mili- horror. Amidst the empty thunders of

This much however is certain. The the reactionism of Hillquit, Oneal and 166 to 14. Co. The convention was opened by Hillquit. True to type, and reflecting the keynote address. Capitalism has been sequent doom.

evitable fate. Only an intimation that we hear the alternative of the "Left "respectability" and the weight of the proletarian resentment, where the republicastigates Hoan and Co. for the "modern lican and democratic twins are unable sewer" socialism which he himself has A survey of the S. P. convention, how- to shine in the signal achievement of advocated for years. ever, cannot leave out of account the deception and perfidy. But this time has It is said that the "deep seated" difnew use to which the old guard of Hill- not yet arrived. Hillquit can still afford ference between Thomas and Hillquit is quit and O'Neal put their ability of to be the "Marxist" and deliver a with- determined by their attitude toward Socrafty maneuvering. Their new plan ering blast against the advocates of a viet Russia. After reading the Blanof organization contains two "united third party, those who want to fritter shard resolution on this question we can front" proposals. There is one for in- away the important services the S. P. come to no other conclusion than that ternational "unity" professing to attempt may in time render American capitalism, it is merely a difference of terminology to "bring together the Socialist and by flirting with the non-descript liberals. -six of one and a half a dozen of the Communist Internationals (1) on the This is an underhanded attack at Norbasis of democracy and civil liberties man Thomas who is known to have a tween these treacherous leaders of the

But Thomas was not to be outdone as the socialist party remain the reformist countries where there still is democracy a "revolutionary." The resolution of the traducer of the American working class (sic!), a union of both parties in an at- "militants" counter-signed and amended (Hillquit) or shall it become an outtempt to change the present system by by Thomas, on the Soviet Union, which right third liberal party of capitalism peaceful means and by other means, if the New York Times characterizes as (Thomas). In this sense the pleadings necessary." The "unity" proposals for "friendly neutrality" is the supposed re- of Maurer to avoid a split are beside the the home sector reads: "In cities where tort to Hillquit. It tells us that while point at present: there is not yet a strong Socialists, Communists, the L. I. D., the they don't endorse all the policies of third party movement afoot. Hillquit is Friends of the Soviets, the Civil Lib- the Soviet Union, and the proetarian dic- reelected and Thomas is biding his time. al sense, not to mention the alarming gime of terror and starvation inaugurtatorship peculiar to Russia, and while Of course we need a humorous touch. burocratic growth since in virtually evpolitical prisoners should be released, This is provided by the mountebank, ery section nor the tragedy of the intertions exist, a permanent committee be and civil liberties restored—nevertheless Broun, who insists on a wet plank in nal party situation in the Soviet Union.

and Leningrad and the havoc and starvation it would wreak in New York and

In spite of the new "Left wingism" of

other. The real issue, as we see it, beone that has been indicated above. Shall

The Socialist party, at the time of Soviet Russia against capitalist inter-

lapsed and a new social order must be prevails over clarity of principles they able to be present wired the C E. C. The usual regime of terror has been agitation and activity, we have never fore be obtained only by socializing the ushered in to save capitalism from con- aligned themselves with Thomas to oust to record his vote against Trotsky, but inaugurated. Workers are being picked attached any conditions to our collabora-Hillquit from the national chairmanship. protested lack of information. Brave words. But how is this to be The convention went into a furor. Ac- In brief the so-called question of cusations of anti-Semitism stirred the Trotskyism was approached in a purely and his wife to Mexico. Arrests of the front conferences of the party, in the fornia delegate, who took it at face to save dying capitalism from the in- ponents. Amid all this froth and rage was in the days prior to deportations. From the frying pan into the fire. Here must be obvious to all sincere comrades.

#### Leninist theory. I recall the first appeal which came to the C. E. C. of the Canadian Party to Aid Beet Strike! record itself against the Russian Party

questions at issue. No liaison was in ers, who are also striking against a wage pressure of the economic crisis has Chicago, the convention voted down this imbibe the latest on tap through "Lenin" in the beet fields. smoked out a rankling protest against revolutionary pretension to the tune of students, etc. This honest unschooled conditions and moods in the country like whole and nominated him for president by them. The Canadian center fell into miners, buy on credit against their fu- Communist International. very bad grace over this incident. They ture pay. The store owners extend this In all the attempts we have made since At the same time, to show that their might at least have adopted the course credit on the say-so of the employing our expulsion to work by the side and "militancy" on organizational questions of one C. E. C. member, who, being un- farmer. In the case of a striker no such in support of the party, in all our public

ly false; others torn from their context

demolished with the dud bombs of anti-

exiles, etc. How far the regime has

It is positively criminal in the best tested bolsheviks on the pretext of some discovered heresy in writing or speech, but in reality to make way for a substantial prop for the present regime; the stifling of initiative and discussion; the parody of workers' universities where "leaders" are molded and manufactured to standard current pattern, izational and limited sense, of the truth pill for them to swallow. In future isof this criticism.

One had only to attend the Sixth Congress of the C. I. and that was several years ago, to have proof of the opposition's contention in its broad internation-

(Continued on page 4)

Opposition. This was during a session

case a worker is being sent to Spain trade unions, in strikes, in the united superficial and burocratic manner. This leading militants are a daily occurence. International Labor Defense, etc., etc., developed burocratically since these days held in jail for a time without charges with the other Communist workers, and then released.

It will take more than this petty persecution to break the strike. The miliagainst the Left Opposition's trenchant tancy of the strikers is everywhere in for its unification by the re-admission of against the Left Opposition's trenchant evidence. At the trial of eight workers the members of the Left Opposition, we a bureaucratic regime in the C. I. The in La Junta their brothers, 2,000 strong, again put no conditions whatsoever. We autocratic and mechanical removal and overflowed the court room and by their stand for the unconditional defense of superimposition of leadership on sections insistence converted the trial into a mass of the Comintern; the hounding of old and meeting. The trial was resumed only land, the test for every revolutionist, when they were through. So strong was their protest that the obviously biased vention and counter-revolution is becomjudge postponed sentence.

The strike is flung over a large area A comprehensive picture of it is difficult to get. The official capitalist press plays it down. The A. F. of L. press has thus future. These paramount questions take far preserved silence. The leadership precedence with us and determine our of the T. U. U. L. in the strike is a bitter sues of The Militant we will attempt to give an analysis of the background of the strike and a more comprehensive pic ture of it.

What is needed now is relief to enable the strikers to hold out against the reated by the gowers in conjunction with rushed to the United Relief Committee at 2736 Lawrence Street, Denver, Colo.

larity which the latter's policy of peace must arouse among the world's workers, it remains a fact that the broad masses of the workers have not yet been made The developments in the international to realize the acuteness of the danger situation and the tasks they place be- and, what is more, the Communist move-

3. Although thousands of workers iod, particularly since the unfolding of ed a small percentage of the gains made been of such a nature that it has caused. according to the official reports of the contrasted with the growth which the

ultra-reactionary military coup d'Etat the party. We consider this all the more necessary in face of the fact that negotiations have just been undertaken be-The tween party representatives and representatives of the Lovestone Right wing looking towards the reintegration of the latter into the party. The antagonism which these negotiations have aroused among the party members is an additional indication that the burning pro. blem of the unity of the Communist party cannot be solved in this manner. It is in the interest of a genuine solution of this problem, rendered more urgent by the events to which we refer, that we address ourselves once more to the Central Committee and the membership of our party.

The unity of the party can be achieved only in the open. Any attempt to realize it by secret negotiations behind the scenes not only brings confusion and uneasiness into the ranks of the party, but creates the danger of dealings of an unprincipled nature which wipe out the lines of demarcation and make harder the achievement of that clarification which must be a part of any movement for unity. The object of any negotiations must be made plain and visible from the very outset. They must be conducted before the eyes of the whole party. This method is the main guarantee against painful surprises, demoralization and unprincipled solutions.

It is this method we support in our present proposal that the party immediately take up the question of re-admitting into its ranks the members of the Left Opposition.

We, of the Left Opposition have no desire to conceal the fact that we do not share the views upon which The spontaneous strike of the Colorado the present line of the party is based. of the Enlarged Executive of the C. I. beet workers against a 40 per cent wage We could declare that we abandon our -a Canadian delegate being in attend- cut has grown to such proportions under standpoint only by deceiving the party ance. The delegate had recorded himself the leadership of the T. U. U. L. that and ourselves. Our views relate to against. Why not? There are few ex- it is now one of the largest strikes of fundamental questions of Communist ceptions. A cable was dispatched to agricultural workers in the history of principle, of Communist strategy and Canada requesting the C. E. C. to solidar- the American labor movement. It ap- tactics, and we stand now as before on ize itself with the majority. Little if pears that more than 12,000 workers are the basis of the teachings of Marx and anything was known by the Canadian out on strike. Their ranks have been Lenin. In spite of the differences of Party of the theoretical substance of the swelled by the strike of the onion work- opinion existing between us and the present course of the party, we are conexistence in these days where one could cut and in sympathy with their brothers vinced that the best, most profitable way of settling these differences and re-es-The growers are replying to the strike tablishing Bolshevik discipline on the proletarian center dispatched a return with the usual repertoire of capitalist basis of the prevailing opinion, is not cable withholding decision until adequ- persecution. The merchants have re- outside the ranks of the party, but inthe "militants", they swallowed Thomas ate information pro and con was received fused credit to the strikers who, like the side of them, as loyal members of our

up and held for deportation. In one tion and support. In the struggle, in the Approximately 100 workers have been ar- | we have merely asked for the opportunrested on various charges. Others are ity to work as Communists side by side posing no conditions and asking for no special consideration or privileges. In putting before the party now our request the Soviet Union, the workers' fatherespecially now when the danger of intering more acute. We stand for the unconditional support of our party, which we built and defended in the past and are ready to build and defend in the (Continued on page 4)

DON'T FORGET THE PICNIC

The Place: Tibbetts Brook Park-Take Lexington Ave. Subway I. R. T .--Woodlawn-Jerome to last stop. Woodlawn. From there one can take a trolley to the Park. Comrades will meet at the Woodlawn station at 10:00 A. M. Plot 8. Time: Sunday, May 29th from 10:00

A. M. till dusk. 

### ETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

NEW YORK, N. Y.

conference of a labor political organiza- Communist movement in the U.S. The tion consisting of 655 delegates represent- speaker wound up with the very "reving 300 organizations, that endorses un- olutionary" slogan of a Workers' and animously every proposition and a poli- Peasants' - pardon - Farmers' Governtical platform put before them without ment for the U.S.A. even a semblance of discussion? This is The resolutions committee followed precisely what happened at the New York with its report. It read a resolution in Communist Election Conference held last imperialist war and did not forget to Sunday at Manhattan Lyceum. Whether warm everybody to be on guard against the magic personality of the great Amter the internal enemies—the Trotskyites and his wonderful oratorial talent held and the Lovestoneites (a violation in the them spellbound, or whether the present orthodox Stalinist liturgy was noticeable leadership of the Stalinist school has found the secret of writing a political platform with such precision and crystal clarity that it is enough to hear it read to become convinced, I do not know. discussion, but none of the delegates Still there are some sceptics in this sinful world who don't believe it possible, had to appeal to someone to break the and who venture to say that this fact only demonstrates what Stalinism has United Front Committee in the needle done to the movement. It either para- trades took the floor finally and deliverlyzed the minds of the delegates and ed a harangue against capitalism and made them incapable of thinking or else the social Fascists. Then the stampede terroized some of them to such an extent that they did not dare to question any- gate had any criticism whatsoever to

The above occurrence would have been impossible under Leninist leadership. A whole day, perhaps, would have been to discuss, write and correct resoluof the Stalin crew.

The conference started with the usual man, a Schlesinger or even a Kaufman blush. And it was made in such a cross manner that even a nitwit could see through all the machinations.

tion, he turned the chair over to comrade Steuben, read off the names of a comitalready appeared on the platform (The Daily Worker writes that the presidium was elected-well, that is the strange way it was elected). The appointed But their worries are not over. Lacking chairman announced that the presidium confidence in themselves, already preparwould retired to work out an order of ing to repudiate what they so ardently business. And here we realized what preach today in the avalanche of "selfwonders the Stalinist bureaucracy is criticism" that will surely follow after capable of. (Houdini had nothing on the election campaign, feeling the ground them). Not more than five minutes ex- shaky under their feet, they are ever obpired after the presidium had retired sessed fith fear of somebody or somewhen they reappeared on the platform thing. But they dread no one more than with an order of business and more than the Left Opposition. Despite the dam of that, with full slates for a credentials and for a resolution committee. One of the delegates, representing the Workmen's Circle, objected to this mode of and influencing the minds of the revoluprocedure and moved to proceed with nominations and elections from the floor. and everything was well again. The chairman explained that all this was done to expedite matters.

In short talk of about an hour and a administration forced an agreement on the nomination and election of a confer- wants to dictate to the political office half, the recently celebrated Amter ex- the workers which up to-date has result- ence committee.

#### MILITANT BUILDERS

drive and for the period of the entire agreement made last year. campaign. No one has qualified yet for About two weeks ago our manager and with a small majority of twenty votes. to correct their office boys' "excess the prizes offered for the final month of nounced in the press that a conference Then our "democratic" chairman of the spending". When the capitalist robbers the drive. But several comrades are was held with the manufacturers in or- union who is a leading spirit in the fight each other they want us to help moving up on these prizes and we feel der to review the agreement which exsure that by next week when the drive pires June 1st. At this conference the against the Left wing of the union. He foolish to help one section of the capitalcloses several will have gone by the manufacturers demanded the following refused to give the floor to others who ist robbers against another section on board. This is as it should be. We will of the union: (1) a reduction in the opposed the administration. When our the question of war, taxes or any other

from his leading position by comrade tem; (3) to do away with the unemploy-Sacharow of Chicago. Will comrade ment insurance fund; (4) readjustments mittee, the membership did not want to Rather, our problem is to expropriate tions. Hedlund fight back? Will the other com- a la Hillman on the top of reorganizarades permit them to make it a personal tion and what not. The writer of this should speak first, and that the manager contest or will they have something to article pointed out in The Militant of should be the last speaker. The chair-

In the list below we put the figures for the final month of the drive in parentheses and they are quoted in dollars. from our "Fraternal Club" administra-The other figures are subs for the entire campaign which began in March. later.

R. Sacharow (11 1-2)-10; L. Nagy (7 1-4)—8; C. R. Hedlund (6)—11; V. R. Dunne (6)—9; J. Weber (5)—2; G. Duell (5)—M. Lilly (5)—L. Roseland (4 1-2)-6; J. Sifakis (4)-2; L. Gleisser (4)—2; M. Koehler (3-4)—5; M. Dunne (3)—8; C. Forsen (2 1-2)—3; A. Buehler (2) — 2; M. Rosen (2) -2; O. Coover (2)—3; A. Ehrlich five day week, which is necessary in order sibility for the threat. Another leading (2)—1; S. Frank (1 1-2)—2; L. Basky to relieve somewhat the unemployment "Fraternal Club" member got up and (1 1-2)—5; T. Vaszily (1)—1; R. Ruskin situation in the industry; (2) no reor-also made a statement that brother Dick, (1)-2; W. Curran (1)-2; S. Zalaman- ganization clause in the new agreement; off (1)-1; P. Carlson (1)-1; C. Cowl (1)-5; P. Schulman (1)-1; F. Barach (1)-4; C. Johnson (1)-2; S. Lessin (1)-2; B. Houman (1); S. Gendelman (1); N. Berman (1); G. R. Herman (1); H. Ross (1); H. Milton (1-2)-1; T. Drobny (1-2)—1; J. Carr (1-4)—3; C. Club" administration introduced a reso-treacherous agreement with more wage Skoglund-3; F. Cheloff-2; G. Ray-2; lution to express full confidence in the cuts, reorganizations and readjustments, M. Gottlieb-1; M. Koehler-1; W. conference committee. When the resolu-second, the administration is bulldozing Wynne-1; J. Carter-1; H. Capelis-1; tion was taken to a vote the administra- and terrorizing active workers with W. Herman-1; A. Swabeck-1; A. Glot- tion received 273 votes, 261 voted against. strong arm gangs like in the good all zer-1; L. Logan-1; A. Kaldis-1; M. The administration won by a small maj- days of Wolinsky, Shiplacoff and Co. Sterling-1.

NEW YORK, ATTENTION! with a small majority of twelve votes employers and the misleaders to force a

a good time is assured to all.

Picnic grounds at Tibbetts Brook Park, took place for such a committee and misleaders. elsewhere in The Militant. not one of the other groups accepted for

ing election campaign, which will, ac-Have you ever witnessed an election cording to him, be epochmaking for the

> -the Trotskyites were not dubbed this time: the "vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie").

The chairman then opened the floor for seemed to care to speak. The chairman ice. One of the functionaries of the of the parrots began. Not a single delemake on the platform while the present writer remained there.

After I left, I met some of the delegates, members of the party, and they wasted and paper, ink, labor, spent just boasted that only one delegate, representing the Communist League of Amertions and propositions that would have ica (Opposition) was not seated. When come from the delegates. But not under asked how they explain the fact that the the efficient and impeccable leadership same credentials committee seated delegates from such manifestly Fascist and social Fascist organizations as the A. F. steam roller mode of procedure carried of L. and the Workmen's Circle and out so that it would have made a Hill- refused to seat a representative of a Communist organization, some of them admitted that they cannot understand that and that if somebody from among the delegates had objected to the recom-The Daily Worker informs us that the mendation of the credentials committee, comrade who opened the meeting was they surely would have supported him. Stevens, District Election Campaign In reply to the question why he doesn't Manager. After delivering a brief ora- take the floor, one of the delegates said "A person has got to be crazy or a martyr. Besides I don't want to serve as tee and of the presidium. Before he was a target for the bureaucrats. I would even through reading off the names, they also like to see how far this 'self-criticism' will lead".

The bureaucrats must have heaved a sigh of relief at the end of the conference. slander and calumny built up by the Stalinites, the stream of the ideas of the Opposition appears to be leaking through

Opposition.

-A DELEGATE FROM THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE.

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#### The steering committee soon got busy Situation in Pocketbook Makers' Union

Pocketbook Workers Union is deplorable. group. It was decided to call another section of the capitalists wants the other plained the C. P. platform for the com- ed in wage-cuts, and the reorganization of the workers, despite the fact the place at Stuyvesant High School. At the industrialists and the industrialists the union remains today, a few days bethe administration had changed their lords, who all hope to shift it to the and charged with spreading false rumfore the expiration of the agreement, in mind that they were determined not to Our Militant builders are still hot foot a most desperate condition, due to the allow a new conference committee to All the capitalists would like to shift York City. after the prizes we offered for the high- fact that our administration allowed the be elected. They maneuvered, and fili- it to the workers but are unsuccessful est standing for the final month of the employers not to live up to the rotten bustured as they always do. When the in this task, at least they desire to rally

Comrade Hedlund has been displaced the introduction of the piece work sysoffer of the union of ten per cent wage tion a 30 per cent wage cut a few months

> On Thursday, May 12, a membership meeting took place at Stuyvesant High School. Our manager outlined the deemployment insurance fund. The union is not responsible for his actions. should also mobilize the workers for a

ority of twelve votes. Our manager Lub- The rank and file committee must be liner then made a speech and said that on guard and resist every effort of the All Comrades Out to the Picnic Sunday he and the conference committee cannot sell-out. Come and bring your friends to cele- negotiate a new agreement with the embrate the release of our class war prison- ployers. He challenged the rank and file together and unite against their enemies ers, comrades Morgenstern and Goodman of the union to elect a new conference the employers and the "Fraternal Club" of Philadelphia. The two comrades will committee. One of the Left wingers, administration who are agents of the be on hand and tell of their prison ex- made a motion that a committee of 15 bosses. Only through militant leader-

The present situation in the New York | it. The Lefts nominated ten of their

On Tuesday, May 17, a meeting took be happy to see more of them go, too. wage scale of 30 and 35 per cent; (2) chairman introduced the manager to struggle. The capitalist robbers as a hear him. They demanded that others the expropriators. March 26 that the employers rejected an man refused to recognize others. At the same time one of their gang started a cuts because they knew they could get fight, the mass of people ran to defend the workers from being beaten up. The which nearly resulted in a free for all.

mands of the employers to the union. the Joint Council then made a state-Brother Black, an active member of The meeting was a very stormy one. The ment to the effect that he was threatened workers not only rejected the demand of by one of the strong arm gang to leave the employers, but it was decided that the meeting hall. He accused the manthe union should demand: (1) a 40 hour, ager and one of his henchmen of responwho threatened Black, is one of the "re-(3) that the bosses contribute to the un- gular fellows, you know"; therefore, he

The last two meetings of the Pocketstrike if the employers do not grant our book Workers Union have proved first, that our corrupted administration is At the same meeting the "Fraternal preparing to force on the workers a

It is not too late for all groups to get

#### tionary workers. That is why they were so afraid to seat the delegate of the Left The Bosses' Tax Problem and the Workers perialists to retrench in order to produce cheaper commodities to enable her to defeat the competitors on the world mark

able remedy for the crisis. To no avail. duce the cost these political crooks are Now they hope to find a lever to raise piling upon our shoulders." We did not their profits by lowering taxes. The say that workers do not pay taxes. We campaign to lower taxes has swept the say the workers have no interest in helpbourgeois world like wildfire. Through ing the bosses cheapen their government. every avenue at their command the cap- What the workers pay as taxes is only italists and the landlords are clamoring a small part of the funds collected for for economy in government. They want taxes. It is not the task of the workers "cheap government" and the support of and our party to fight for "cheaper govthe working class to force a curtailment of expenses.

are bankrupt, the national government speak later. For the sake of argument, million a day. Congress is struggling to the workers, on our cost of living. The make a two and a half billion income capitalist economists tell us that taxes meet a four and two-thirds billion ex- amount to ten per cent of the cost of pense for 1932. The capitalists say the living? What if we would help the bosses government bureaucracy is excessive and reduces this to five per cent of the cost of the increase of the cost of government living. The fall of the cost of living by has kept far ahead of the increase of five per cent would be a signal for the proven their ability. They have proven wealth. However a comparison of value bosses to reduce wages from ten per produced in America with other indus-cent upwards. Wages always fall faster trial countries and the taxes paid will than the cost of living and always rise show that the British, German and other slower that the cost of living and wages capitalists pay far in excess the taxes only rise, no matter how the cost of the American capitalists pay.

The cost of the American government, | for more real wages. city, state and national, amounts to twelve billion a year and the total in- guns at the point of consumption, at the debtedness of the government is thirty bil- cost of living, etc. Our main struggle lion with the Federal government hold | must be at the point of production. The ing sixteen billion of this debt. All sec- tax question enters into the struggle as tions of the capitalists are hit by the an auxiliary problem. However, no endeepening crisis and each section is try- emy is defeated by concentrating forces ing to shift the burden to the other sec- in auxiliary struggles. We participate tions and all are trying to shift the in elections but do not advocate parliaburden to the workers. As far as the mentary action like the Second Internacrisis is concerned, the capitalists are constantly shifting the burden (unem- class struggle. The tax question under ployment, wage-cuts) to the workers special consideration must also be on but their attempt to shift the tax burden to the workers will not succeed. Each section of capitalist robbers in attempting to shift the tax burden to the other the standard of living by indirect wage sections of their class is endeavoring to cuts. line up the workers on their side.

The recent attempt to put through the sales tax in the form presented to the House of Representatives was an attempt to shift the tax burden to the ist class. Even when we have inflation, petty bourgeoisie. The small capitalist rise in prices or tax shifting in sections was able to rally sufficient forces to we do not aim our class guns at the throw the bill back and now they are point of consumption to remedy this profighting to see who will pay the increased taxes. The different sections of capital- in the capitalist defense. ism are well represented in the lobby and behind the politicians' closed doors. The curtailment of production and the fall- plus value which the capitalist divide they are turning over now and still make ing off of the capitalist incomes has reduced the income tax, forcing the bosses' office boys in Washington to find another way out.

The first year of the crisis showed a This small number paid two-thirds of the paying the tax bill did not object so under. loudly, but now we hear a different tale. In this struggle to hold up profits each boys, what to do. The financiers desire | To the Greek Party members to push the burden on the shoulders of

small capitalist. vote was taken the administration won the workers behind them in an attempt "Fraternal Club" made a violent speech them. We workers would be more than speak on the question of giving a vote whole rob the workers and the robbers' of confidence to the old conference com- division of the spoils is not our problem.

The bosses have tried every imagin-jes and will enter the campaign to reernment". The tax question enters in our problems, in the class struggle, as an Chicago and the other leading cities auxiliary problem on which we will living goes up, providing our class fights

It is futile to point our main class tional. It is only an auxiliary for our our agenda depending upon conditions. Inflation, price rise and taxes are used by the bosses at certain times to reduce

We must be prepared for such moves, but the present campaign to reduce expenses of government is aimed at something far more important for the capitalblem. We strike at the more vital points

We workers are robbed as producers, robbed of the surplus labor, of the surest and to pay their office boys' (governwho rob the robbers.

The crisis has forced the American im-

perialists to retrench in order to produce defeat the competitors on the world market. For the last three years an intense retrenchment through discharge and speed up of the remaining workers has been the result. Now the third year finds the capitalist class endeavoring to cut down in other fields. Their office boys are due for a cut too. The campaign against the workers will not decrease by this move. On the contrary, the campaign against the workers takes on new forms and more intense forms. The cheapening of the government is only another way of saying—cut the workers wages. Contracts for City, State, and Government jobs ride roughshod over the "union wages and union hours." The is running in red at the rate of seven suppose all the taxes were shifted to workers must help cheapen the government! Join the campaign and take a wage cut? The Federal employes just had a cut.

The Socialists are out for a cheap office boy than those of the undisguised capitalist parties. The capitalists are cheapening their government and increasing the means of suppression of the working class. Are we to help the capitalists make a cheap government to suppress the workers? Smash strikes by a cheap government? Deport the foreign born at less cost? Legally lynch the Negro in a more economical way. Give the workers and Communists, bullets instead of bread, it is all "cheaper". Such is the campaign for cheap government. Would a same worker take part in such a game?

Each year the government spends over a billion dollars to pay interest and retire debts from the last war and each year they spend about a billion dollars to prepare for the next war. A billion for the last war and a billion for the coming war each year. Do they mean cheaper government in this sense? Of course not. The capitalists have no intention of reducing military expenses. They tell us government expenses must come down but we know the capitalists system is built upon waste. The capitalist mode of production is so organized that billions of dollars worth of the necessities of life are destroyed each year while millions go without necessities.

Capitalism in America has a tremendous surplus means of production and consumable articles and when pressed in war of struggle can turn over in taxes to their government ten times the amount among themselves as; profits, rent, inter- big profits. It is not a question of scarcity of material wealth the capitalists ment) and for the gangster racketeers speak of, it is a question of reorganizing and preparing the minds of the One aim of the present tax campaign workers to the song that they cannot add fair return from income tax but the pre- is to reduce the bureaucracy. The im- another penny to taxes. Why do they sent year tells another story. In 1930 perialists need a more "efficient appar- want the workers to think they cannot the forty-five million gainfully employed atus". There are too many small office add to taxes? Why do they say taxes (workers and capitalists, etc.) listed boys repeating like parrots the fable must be reduced or they will go bank-2,411,000 million liable to income tax. that "we" must keep out of Asia and rupt when some European capitalist are Europe and stay in our own back yard. | paying ten times as much? Because 1930 Federal government expenses. When American imperialism has no choice. It millions are starving and millions are the profits were rolling in the capitalists must move out into deeper waters or go moving for struggle for immediate relief and unemployment insurance. **⊣**H. O.

#### Now a treat was kiven the delegates. Pocketbook Workers Union is deplorable. group. It was decided to call another section to pay the tax, yet each section to pay the tax yet each section to pay the tax yet each section to pay the tax yet each section to pay the t

and sympathizers:

The hearings at the Magistrate's Court The Magistrate's court ended the hear-

the trial to the Special Sessions Court where a few weeks ago the trial began. We learn now that the charges were dismissed.

The Empros of April 30th mentioned in an obscure corner that the trial was banks play in this rotten capitalist sysended without any appreciable explana-

This case represents a great victory Many workers will say, "I do pay tax- for the Empros and for the entire Com-

munist movement of America against the capitalists who always try to frame up Last August the editor and business working class organs, organizations and of the workers, despite the fact the place at Stuyvesant High School. At would like to place the taxes on the land-workers voted against it. As a result the meeting everybody could see that lands who all home to shift it to the the Greek Stalinist bureaucrats agree ors against the Athens Trust Co. of New with us in this point: If so why the silence about this matter.

The comrades ought to demand from lasted for whole weeks and the minutes the bureaucrats to announce to the Greek of the court were printed in the Empros. workers and to the working class of America at large this great victory of our ing last fall and ordered the transfer of organ the Empros against the Athens Trust Co.

This victory of ours should be hailed in heavy type and the case should be reviewed in every detail in order to educate the workers on the role that the tem. This is a duty that must be performed immediately.

After a half-hearted retreat by the bureaucrats on the question of the Greek newspapers, we see in the Empres of May 7th that the Atlantis is leading all the other lackeys of capitalism in their role of exploiting the Greek workers, in As this issue reaches our readers the on after the drive is over. Newark likeumns of Communistes and we were ac-But the point is that we are still a cused of supporting the National Herald

> In Greece, the party members demand the Greek Left Oppositionists, in order On this last week-end, let us give a to fight effectively against the attacks concrete expression of our support of of the Greek bourgeois government, but our press, which is striving so determin- the bureaucrats still obstruct the applicaedly against such heavy odds to fulfill tion of this united front with all the its historic mission. Let us make a col- means at their disposal. The Greek lective pledge that the press of the Am- party members observe the militant reverican section of the International Left olutionary activities of the Archio-Marx-Opposition, the voice, in this country, of lists in their every day life and are conthe revolutionary internationalism of vinced that their differences with the Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky will oppositionists are only ideological and therefore demand from the bureaucrats to consider them as ideological opponents and not as enemies.

The same procedure, we are sure, will take place here once you will force the Stalinist bureaucrats to give you an account of their irresponsible activities, and force them to undertake a discus-Maurice Spector sion of theoretical questions. Slanders and calumnies against ideo-

November 28, 1928, at the Post Office a | Every sincere worker revolutionist will New York, N. Y. Under the act of demand a free discussion of the disputes between the Left Opposition and the Stalinists. That is the only way to clear the ground for united Communist

> -EDITORIAL BOARD OF COMMUNISTES

### Finish the Press Drive with Donations!

lights were turned out several times This is due to the fact that we go to wise increased its total. press in the middle of the week before When order was finally restored our all the records are at hand. What in- long way from our goal. As we see it because we attacked the one sidedness manager made a provocative speech formation we have shows that the drive the only way to reach it now is to get of the bureaucrats. The correctness of picked up last week. The quotas and donations. Subs will help. But that our views in this specific question is press drive officially will be over. Our alone will be insufficient. As his final proven to every comrade who has heard records, however, will be behind a little. results show that.

Quotas Results

New York	\$ 325	\$ 80.25
Minneapolis	200	40
Chicago	100	44.70
Foronto	70	
Cleveland	40	4
Duluth	10	
Philadelphia	40	
Boston	40	<b>2</b>
Newark	35	7.25
Kansas City	30	2.00
St. Louis	25	
Los Angeles	20	6
Youngstown	10	5.25
New Haven	10	б
Montreal	10	
Springfield, Ill	10	
W. Frankfort, Ill	10	
Pittsburgh	40	4
Trenton	10	
Miscellaneous		10.50
Total	\$ 1,000	\$ 211.95

This is a considerable increase over last week's total. Very encouraging is periences. Refreshments will be served, rank and file workers should be elected ship under the control of the rank and the result of the house party held in as a conference committee. This motion file can the pocketbook workers come out Chicago for the benefit of our press. Look for directions, how to get to the was passed by the members. Nominations victorious over the employers and their More than thirty dollars were raised in donations and subs. Youngstown also -N. DAVIS. | increased its total and promised to carry

contribution to the press drive let every both views calmly. comrade and sympathizer send in a donation. Let the amount be whatever a united front with the Archio-Marxists,

continue to appear regularly.

THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th St., N. Y. EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannen Max Shachtman

Arne Swabeck Entered as second class mail matter logical opponents serve only our enemies. March 3, 1879.

SATURDAY, MAY 28, 19<sub>C</sub>2 Vol. 7, No. 22 (Whole No. 118) Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy.

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

# The Half-Turn in the German Party

Rote Fahne of Monday, April 25, 1932 decisive Comintern circles. confined itself merely to publishing Sunday's election results, and similarly the Tuesday number of the R. F. also reresults without commenting on their received the task of setting down the unthe following:

votes. The Social Democrats have lost Pravda—the Editor). approximately 800,000 votes while the Socialist Labor Party (the S. A. P.) National Socialists have gathered practitogether funderstand" how to tically their entire mass following in the out, it recommends: period since 1928 as the comparison indicates. They have become by far the strongest party.

elections with the last parliamentary offensive, against the fascist assaults, Lovestone sheet have devoted not a few ist Party is worthless and the Central with lots of 'optimism'. Then I underelections (of Sept. 1930) the picture ap- for the unfolding of its program of so- columns to an abrupt renewal of the Committee of the German C. P. is alleged- stood that this man did not know how showed the really surprising progress pears even more unfavorable for the cial and national liberation of the Gerworkers' movement. The Communists man people." lost more than 300,000 votes. So also did the Social Democrats. These more trophic policy become even more coarse, than 600,000 Communist and social democratic votes must have gone principal-R. F. actually underscores heavily shows! stated not to discourage but to spur on to sharpest struggle against the visible the present retardation of the growth of bosom of Stalinism, and was manifestly danger. Since the parliamentary elective revolutionary forces of the German calculated to impress upon the party tions the Centrists have won more than proletariat will last very long. The leaders the fact that, at least when it to create. But there is more. Lovestone 300,000 votes, mainly from bourgeois-lib. whole situation shows that a new turn eral circles. The so-called borgeois part- of the broad masses to the Communist tion and pegging mud at it, the Loveies of the middle as well as those of Party is possible very quickly. The stoneites take second place behind no- 1923, before the October days, in which the right are in a dying state as devel- Communists must summon forth all their body. With the zeal of a Lodovico be- he dealt with the problems of the im- speak lightly of "political trickery, unopments since Sept. 1930 indicate even power to hasten this turn." (From fore the doubting Borgia.—"Have I not pending German revolution. In them more strikingly than before. The Ger- Pravda). man Nationalists have lost a total of So: not the Party but rather the mass-400,000 votes while they had previously es must make a turn!!! The sole logic drugs in wine-horns? Let me but try, already lost more than one million votes. that comes forth from such comprehen- excellent lord!"—our Lovestoneites have Finally the National Socialists have sion, since accordingly the K. P. D. doubled their vote since the last parliamentary elections.

of the Prussian Landtag elections with those of the presidential election—a com- that the German fascists will seek to with comrade Trotsky, the Brandlerites from the ultra-Leftists a la Maslov, who Trotsky) did try to make Brandler and our country. parison which must be made with caufortify their election success by force in and principle. Lovestone is expert on made virtually the same arguments ad- Thalheimer the solitary scapegoats for tion since the presidential election is order to throw aside the obstacles to a all three matters, especially on the last-vanced by the Menshevik Martinov be the October 1923 defeat. Was it not Loveof a different character—it immediately quick, open dictatorship. In the strug- named, for few people in the Comintern fore the December 1905 uprising in stone (or was it Wolfe? Or Roy? No than ever before, we are firmly convinced to the people in the Comintern fore the December 1905 uprising in stone (or was it Wolfe? Or Roy? No than ever before, we are firmly convinced ment that the Communists have partially Fascist dictatorship the Communist Party word than he. In his latest piece, he posed by Lenin. regained the great losses suffered in the of Germany does not identify indeed the sets about, in the interests of truth, to they did not reach the first presidential vote, let alone surpass it.

What the heart of the political and industrial life of Germany, Greater Berlin, decided in yesterday's elections, is of decisive importance. In this connection it must be set down that in Berlin also the Communists lost 90,000 votes since the parliamentary elections while the Social Democrats gained nearly

Even the most malevolent burocrat would not suspect the "Welt am Abend" of "Trotskyist slanders". The facts revealed by the Prussian Landtag elections are really staggering. For instance, the Social Democrats have won back 60,000 ism" is right, but in the struggle against German October (1923). Since the creain Berlin since 1930, which means since the carrying through of the Fascist diction of myths has played such a prominite group, is not the subject for Lovethe time of the sharpest emergency de tatorship one cannot consider as iden- ent part in the struggle to discredit and sponsible, while the K. P. D. has lost though both bring about the Fascist dic- our while to expose this new myth. 90,000 votes. In Hamburg the Party lost nearly 50,000 votes as compared with 1931, the S. P. D. gained 12,000 votes. From first place in Berlin the Communist Party slid down to third. In the most important industrial centers we see a similar backsliding of Communist voters. Only in the South of Germany and es. under the pressure of the masses of ber legend." pecially in agrarian Bavaria, did the party members. Under the pressure of Party show gains. The Nazis emerged events and party moods, the C. C. of the In other words, Lovestone, who is from the elections as the most powerful K. P. D. has already taken some steps, simply trying to present Trotsky as he, estimation of Brandler only when I be will show that it was over the protests given for the change? We do not know party and their vote indicates that the they, however, are only the initial ones, Lovestone, would have acted under the Fascist tide is far from being stemmed.

It should be clear now to every party comrade to what a pass the Party has been brought by the leadership of Thaelmann-Remmele-Neumann. Through the events of the recent weeks and months the criticism of the Left Opposition has received vindication and confirmation such as could not possibly have been looked for so quickly and so extensively. The critical, decisive phase of the struggle is reached as we predicted in the Left Opposition as being counter
In its appeal of April 26th the C. C. makes the statement: "We are ready to join for a common struggle with every organization of the workers that is actually willing to fight against reductions in wages and the dole. Well said: ready to join with every organization for a common struggle, so it goes today. Only after the critical, decisive phase of the struggle, so it goes today. Only a few weeks previously Muenzenberg report of the conference of the Russian Community of the C. C. makes the statement: "We are ready to join the basis of Brandler's actual position during the German events but only after Trotsky had failed to make a factional ally of him. Unfortunately for this legend, incontrovertible evidence exists as to what comrade Trotsky's position actually was before the catastrophic results of Brandler's actual position on the basis of Brandler's actual position of the workers that is actually willing to fight against reductions in wages and the dole. Well said: ready to join with every organization for a common struggle, so it goes today. Only as to what comrade Trotsky and Stalin's policy as well!) were fully clear. In the "Material on the Conference of the Russian Community or the Conference of the Russian Community It should be clear now to every party gle is reached as we predicted in the the Left Opposition as being counter- the Conference of the Russian Communlast issue of the P. R. Within the Party the dissatisfaction of its members has assumed such an extent and character that the leadership is forced to a more or less radical turn. This turn stands on the order of the day. That this is clear to the C. C. is indicated by the appeal of the C. C. and the R. G. O. "to all German workers" published on the first page of the R. F. of April 26th.

The turn stands on the order of the day, yes, it is already in process. The most important thing is however, what changes is the Party capable of bringing about! Never before has a political action of such significance to the Party as well as to the Comintern, been taken without a clear statement by the E. C. C. I. as to its position. Such a statement has not appeared altho the R. F. of April 27th published a leading editorial from the Prayda which must be

Although the special edition of the taken as reflecting the official views of is forced (editorial of April 26th) to

"The results of the Prussian Landtag election permit clear recognition of the all the class forces of the proletariat and peculiar situation in which Germany now the working masses in the red united corded in a leading article only the bare finds itself, and how in the face of the front and again go into an offensive extremely sharp industrial crisis the against the capitalist dictatorship and meaning, the official Communist press has Social Democrats have succeeded in defeat Fascism". drawing away the attention of the masses pleasant, the defeats and their scope. from direct open struggle against capital newspaper the appeal of the C. C. and This has been done in the "Welt am ism and directing it to the peace of Ver- the R. G. O.-Committee in which the Abend" of April 15 which we cite in sailles, the national yoke weighing down party and the R. G. O. express their Germany and using this for the streng-"If we compare yesterday's Landtag thening of their dictatorship. Herein functionaries and shop-committee-memelections in Prussia with the last Landtag is the peculiarity of present political bers, with all organizations which wish son from the Prussian election. elections in 1928, it appears that the developments in Germany as clearly in to fight honestly against reduction in Communists have won nearly 600,000 dicated in the last elections." (From

The portrayal of the situation is correct. Only we permit ourselves to point could scrape painfully together about out that the diverting action of the Ger-80,000 votes (and not one mandate). The man bourgeoisie was assisted by the "nabourgeois parties from the State Party tional and social liberation program" of to the German Peoples' Party are nearly the K. P. D. for which the E. C. C. I. is wiped out. The German Nationalists also answerable. It would be correct have suffered the loss of more than half now, since the consequences are ready their votes, over 1 1-2 millions; yet it to one's hand to grasp, to finally wind is clear that they have emerged from up this "liberation-program" Wide of their retrograde movement. The Centrists the mark! After Pravda records furwon around half a million votes. The ther on what the K. P. D. did not al- Principle!", the current number of the session of the Central Committee (at the 1923, he understood his lack of capacity. fingers of one hand. The material research committee (at the 1923, he understood his lack of capacity.

"If we compare yesterday's Landtag for mass struggle against the capitalist the last half a dozen numbers of the the leadership of the German Commun. me of 'pessimism'. He looked upon 1924 surpassed all our hopes. The National

One need not be surprised if the catas-

"There is no occasion to believe that

should hold fact to its previous "line". But the height of confusion is reached prospective Comintern bosses. "If, finally, we compare the results by the Pravda in the following lines:

"Further the danger becomes stronger gle against the carrying through of have juggled more successfully with the Moscow when the same question was matter!) who denounced the "Trotsky- that the road taken by us has been con-National Socialists with the Social Dem. reveal that "nothing is more threadbare, ocrats, although the latter as well as the nothing is more fraudulent than the manbring about Fascist dictatorship. The if their differences of opinion are small unprincipledness and intrigue." and do not spring from decisive differ-

ences in nature."

tion demands will be undertaken only itical associates. It was at this time others must follow.

In its appeal of April 26th the C. C.

write:

"The main thing now is to assemble

"We publish today at the head of our willingness to join with all lower union wages, to carry through common meas ures for the struggle for workers' demands in the shops.

"While we are in sharpest struggle against the government of Braun-Severing, against the policy of emergency appeals be followed by real actions. measures dictatorship and their clearing

will do everything with the help of proletarian class forces in order to block its way to government power, in order to break its terror and through a new red it a decisive blow".

These are only the first steps on the way which the Left Opposition advocated for a long time. Until now we have only words, only appeals. Real actions must follow. The K. P. D. must have a revolutionary prospective. It was defeated only because it had none. The problems of the day must be posed concretely. "We must force on the social-democracy the bloc against fascism". This is the les-

We greet every step on the road to Leninist united front policy and urge all party members to turn the half-meas ures of the C. C. into complete ones Party members demand that words and

-PERMANENTE REVOLUTION.

# the road for Hitler, we Communists stand as mortal enemies of Hitler fascism. We The Conference of the Spanish Opposition

The National Conference of the Span-i movement in our country. The political the conference is forthcoming. The article below is a message from comrade

When, in June of last year, we came together as the followers of the International Left Opposition in Spain, we constituted not more than a small group of militants ready to fight enthusiastically for the creation of a real Communist

Finally, Lovestone's assertion that in

by the latter's support to the Opposition

Bloc was to be bought by an unprincipled

white-washing of the Brandlerists--we

can confidently brand as a lie which

Lovestone cannot begin to prove by

Lovestone and Brandler

principledness and intrigue"—that is, of

The Lovestone who defends Brandler

"Our party has pursued an energetic

But since Lovestone has made bold to

authentic material.

Spanish Left Opposition,

advance of the working class to give ish Left Opposition was recently held at stupidity of the official party, the irre-Madrid. Comrades from all parts of the sponsibility of its leaders-typical procountry were represented, reporting or- ducts of Stalinism-which has caused so ganizational and ideological progress in much ruin in the international revoluevery locality. Theses for future work tionary movement, had discredited even were adopted and preparations made to the idea itself of Communism in the eyes expand the activities of the Spanish of the working masses. The Workers' section of the Left Opposition. Among and Peasants' Bloc, the birth of which these, the benewed publication of Ei is due principally to the profound mis-Soviet, the weekly organ, is being plan- takes of the party and the International, ned at Barcelona. A detailed report of had transformed itself into an opportunist organization, typically petty bourgeois which constitutes a big obstacle, with its Andres Nin, one of the leaders of the innate confusionism, to the development of a strong Communist movement in Catalonia. Finally, anarcho-syndicalism, thanks to the impotence and incapability of the Communist organization, had been able to exercise an enormous influence over the broad masses of the proletariat. The Opposition had to start an ex-

tremely difficult fight on these three fronts. For this fight it was not equipped with more than a monthly theoretical magazine of a very small circulation and the ardent enthusiasm of the handful of Spanish Oppositionists. The organized group could be counted on the carry Workers Age drops another stink-bomb September 1923 Plenum, that is, a month He himself told me repeatedly that he sources were very limited. The point of in its recently revived campaign against before the decisive October days in Ger- was unable to find himself again in a view of the Left Opposition was unknown

In spite of all this, the results obtained in the ten months of struggle have Conference, recently held in Madrid has campaign in which they must be acknow- ly permeated with fatalism and sleepy- to distinguish the face of the revolution achieved in less than a year. The balance of the work achieved is highly encouraging. The Communist Left Opposition is no longer a nucleus of isolated militants as it was a year ago, but a real Communist movement, with branches in every part of the country, alive, active, combative, intimately attached to the working class and to its struggles. The danger of the Opposition becoming transformed into a circle of critics, into a sterile sect, into a ready refuge for the lazy, the cowards and the disillusioned has been victoriously overcome. The best, the most conscious, the most selfsacrificing fighting militants have joined our ranks. Today the Communist Left Opposition is really the vanguard of the German party leaders later justified with who knows anything about the past of vanguard of the Spanish proletariat.

The National Conference has given a program, a tactic and a structure to our movement. The Communist Left Opposition has clearly showed the way for the Spanish working class to follow and has constructed the basis upon which a big Communist movement will develop in

The Communist Left Opposition has made a big step forward. Now more ists" for their "alliance" with Brand- firmed as correct and that only the Oplerism? Let us not merely make charges position is the heir to the traditions of but quote from documents. In his "Pages revolutionary Marxism, the faithful ex-Further: Lovestone asserts that in the from Party History", written on the evel ecutor of the work of the International the weapon which the Spanish proletar iat needs in order to obtain victory over the bourgeoisie: a big Communist party.

The progress achieved in the last ten months, in spite of our meagre material resources and with the enormous difficulties under which we have been fighting, is the surest guarantee of the success which the future has in store for

But we do not know how much time is left to us by history in the exceptional circumstances in which we live today. We have not a moment to lose. We must redouble our efforts, intensify our propaganda and our organizational work, consecrate all our energy to the immense task we have started to solve in order to equip the proletariat with the weapons necessary for its triumph. -ANDRES NIN.

When did Lovestone change his mind ulent" is not a new term with Love about the need of combatting Brandler stone!—S) of Bedacht against comrades as a Right winger? Why did Lovestone Gitlow, Lovestone, Wolfe, that they pro- change his mind? Just when and why posed to establish relations with Brand- | did he "establish connections with Brandintern as a whole. I reached a negative ler and Thalheimer. The party records ler"? What explanation has he ever came convinced that he did not for a of both Bedacht and Foster that the and we confess to being little concerned. circumstances, accuses him of having single moment want to, nor could he, first resolution against Brandler and Lovestone, who worships principle and Thalheimer was adopted by the Amer- recoils from intrigue and trickery (as is discover that Brandler, after all, always

-SHACHTMAN.

#### Trotsky and Brandler; or Lovestone and Principles

Under the heading "That Gibraltar of Comrade Trotsky, before leaving the Brandler would learn. In the fall of "The Communist Party will draw the "Trotskyism" in general and comrade many.—S.), made a speech which greatly revolutionary situation. Yet, after he to the big majority of the workers. conclusion from this election that with Trotsky in particular. After a lengthy excited all the Central Committee mem- had missed the situation, he became exall its power it must improve its work period of silence about the Opposition, bers. He declared in this speech that ceedingly haughty. He began to accuse ledged as specialists, as people trained headedness, etc. Comrade Trotsky de- from its rear". for just that kind of activity. The clared further that under these condireason for this "turn", which puzzled so tions the German revolution is condemned 1926 Trotsky sought to make a Lovemany people for a while, has of course now become quite clear. The campaign astounding impression. . . . coincided with the negotiations they Were conducting for a return to the comes to calumniating the Left Opposibeen engaged in proving their skill at the game of "anti-Trotskyism" to their

#### An Expert on "Principle'

The latest Right wing effusion deals Trotsky loves to clothe himself! . .

tatorship. Higher than this they cannot Lovestone, who knows better, now prego! That a correct change is to be tends that only "after the rejection of made by the E. C. C. I. need not be these overtures by Brandler, Trotsky awaited going by the lead of the Pravda. made a right-about-face and began a The complete change that the situa- venomous attack upon him and his pol-

invented his criticism of Brandler not revolutionary-fascistic. Today the R. F. ist Party, January 1924," it says:

# to failure. This speech produced an stonean horse-trade with Brandler where-

This citation alone would suffice to reveal the shabbiness of the myth which Lovestone and Brandler are now trying is quite well aware of the series of articles written by comrade Trotsky in stabbed men from behind? And poisoned were already outlined those critical views qualities which have become so inseparwater in the fountains? And mixed fatal which the policy of the Russian and able from his own name to everybody such disastrous results. Particularly the party—it will not be amiss to inquire was this true with regard to his article, a little into Lovestone's relations to "Is It Possible to Fix the Date of the Brandler. Insurrection?" which encountered the charge of Blanquism and general op- with such affecting ardor was for years position not only from the Rights in the in the vanguard of precisely that fac-German and Russian parties, but even tion in the International which (unlike

#### Trotsky on Brandler

former, even if with different methods, the of stern principle with which L. D. January 1924 theses of Trotsky, Radek of the 1929 party convention, Lovestone of Lenin and Trotsky, capable of forging and Piatakov, "the course and conduct boasted: Communist Party makes use of those dif- What has happened to this unbending of hte Brandler Central Committee were ferences that exist between these two pillar of political rectitude? Even Stachel thoroughly justified". Nothing of the policy in the struggle against Brandler organizations of the bourgeoisie, even can learn from him in political trickery, sort is true or possible. Comrade Trot- and Thalheimer and other Right wingers sky's position after the capitulation in and conciliators in the German party. In The basis for this delicate piece of Germany was clearly established in his the Fifth Plenum of the Comintern, the vilification is a number of "facts" which "The Lessons of October", which evoked comrades representing the viewpoint now The line of the E. C. C. I.—a diver- Lovestone presents in defense of Brandler a rabid campaign against him, not so held by the majority of the party were gence of opinion with that of the Pravda and Co. to "prove" that Trotsky created much because of his criticism of the Ger- amongst the most aggressive in the is unthinkable—is therefore, the "na- a "legend" about them and attacked man party leadership but primarily be- struggle against Brandler, Thalheimer, tional and social liberation program" is them only after he had failed to win cause of his criticism of the Russian Bubnik and the Trotskyist deviators to stand fast and wait for a turn of them for his faction by offering them party leadership which was mainly rethe masses And, as the last citation various bribes-promises to whitewash sponsible for the calamity in October. informs us, the "Theory of social-Fasc- the Brandlerists for their conduct in the The manner in which Trotsky "justified" (and "thoroughly", at that!) the Brandstonean "revelations" today, for public tical social democrats and Nazis, al. crush the Left Opposition, it is worth documents exist on the matter. Three vears ago, in a letter to Souvarine which he made public, Trotsky wrote:

"After the frightful collapse of the German revolution of 1923, I gave Brandler a qualified protection; I declared it undeserved to put him up as the scapegoat when the responsibility for the catastrophe in Germany lay with the Zinoviev-Stalin leadership of the Comlearn from the great events. His retrospective estimation of the German situation of 1923 is quite similar to the criticism that the Mensheviks developed on the 1905 revolution in the years of the

which the latter had urged in 1923 that did not share them." the German Communists "be restrained and not spurred on" and that the Fasc-

from the Leninist line. . . In his "Appeal to the Comintern", after his expulsion from the party, Lovestone fulminated indignantly against any charges of alliance with Brandler. On May 14, 1929, this Galahad of purity in principle, this St. George slaying the dragon of political trickery, this gentle St. Francis who abhors intrigue, wrote: "We do not believe that the Communist International will be fooled by the fraudulent accusation (as we see, "fraud-

reaction." (April 25, 1929.)

an effort, in 1924, to persuade Brandler responsible for the October disaster. He of the falsity of his position not only in was then calling upon all true believers the October days, when the revolution to spurn the Brandlerist, Bedacht, and BOUND VOLUMES OF THE was there and Brandler failed to see it, to join with the genuine anti-Brandlerist, but of his position after the defeat, when Lovestone. And when this paragon of Brandler did "see it" after it had al- virtue had lined up his followers on an The Militant are now ready for sale. was known before Lovestone's "revela- painless degrees to lead them on to the Vol. 1, No. 1 to Vol. 4, No. 12—the last tions", and known without his base in- pro-Brandler platform which he defends issue of the olr format. terpretations. In a letter published by today. It is quite evident now that Trotsky, dated June 12, 1929, he relates Lovestone is just the man chosen by God, (not for the first time) that he "did not nature and history to denounce Trotsky come to this annihilating conclusion at for unprincipledness, political intrigue money order must accompany the orders. one stroke. I had rather hoped that and trickery.

#### ican Political Committee. Furthermore well known), is the sort of politician who it was Bedacht who proposed in Moscow denounces "Trotskyism" as the "crassest to comrades Gitlow, Lovestone and Wolfe expression of the Right wing" one day, to establish connections with Brandler as 'ultra-Leftism" the next day, and as and to keep a permanent representative anything else you please the day after. That there was justification for this in Berlin. This was instantly rejected Yesterday, Brandler was one of his favrefusal, as far back as 1924, to make by the comrades and it comes with bad orite targets for the same vile slanders Brandler a scapegoat and the insistence grace from Bedacht to try to ascribe he now hurls at Trotsky; today, he has upon placing the responsibility where it his proposals to others. When he is really given Brandler that white-washing belonged, was adequately revealed in making his confessionals, it would be which he dishonestly alleges that Trot-1926 when Zinoviev made public a letter well for him to confess his own errors sky was ready to give him; tomorrow, if sent him and Bucharin by Stalin, in lin place of ascribing them to others who he is called upon to do so, he will re-Isn't this a gem of the purest water? was an agent of the bourgeoisie. Lovestone was then still peddling the Just think of it; for years this man

ists be allowed to come to power first! real October legend, that is, the legend was the leader of the American party, There is no doubt that Trotsky made that Brandler and Thalheimer alone were and one of the leaders of the Comintern! ready slipped into the past. But this anti-Brandler platform, he proceeded by They include seventy-two issues—from

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# Welcome Back, H. M. Wicks!

Expert on Renagacy Returns from Long Absence

One of the big events of the month in | man and Ben Reitman would not dare American Party circles is the triumphant to carry on the propaganda in Russia return of H. M. Wicks after a long so- which they did carry on here. If they view inside the party, to seak for it in journ in foreign parts. This return of did it would be a firing squad for them. a hero has been fittingly celebrated by the publication of an aticle from his pen day is not democracy. They want the made for such discussion by the statutes in the Daily Worker of May 18th, in the rule of the militant minority. Mr. Wicks course of which he excoriates the "rene- charged that Syndicalism had been taken in accordance with the principle of demgades" in his own characteristic and in-

There is one thing to be said for Wicks: when he writes on the subject of renegacy he knows what he is writing about. said he knew Foster personally and was In contrast to those bungling amateurs who denounce the "renegades" in routine not abandoned any of his syndicalist befashion, without any real knowledge or conviction, Wicks brings to the task the ease and assurance and the cunning touch that derives from a practical experience in the business. Wicks knows the game from the inside; on the subject of renegacy, he is an expert.

In the article referred to above Wicks returns once again to the battle against us which he first began in the early days of the American Communist movement. Twelve years ago, when some of the present leaders of the Left Opposition were in jail as a result of the Palmer terror and others were organizing the underground groups of the future party on the outside, Wicks distinguished himself in the red-baiting campaign of that time. Originally a prominent leader of the Left wing of the Socialist party, and later of the C. P., he passed over to the other side under pressure of the terror and attacked his former comrades with no less venom than he I have a vivid recollection of this "cor- to blast and damn the theory of Trotsky's has shown in the anti-Trotsky campaign of recent times. The dates and some of the names are different, but the essential content is the same

In the Militant for September 15th, 1929 we printed the record of Wicks' renegacy. Shortly thereafter he disappeared from the country and nothing was differences existed, ran the declaration Czar!" Up with the Labor Government!" heard from him for a long time. Now he is back again, and back to the old job of denouncing the "renegades". What and Bucharin. Hardly had the delega- the revolution. But since Lenin died his better way to greet his return can there be than to print that record again? Here it is; a verbatim reproduction of the report of his speech from the Gary, isted. And this after the lie had been Indiana, Post (now the Post-Tribune) of Thursday, March 25, 1920, pages 1 BARES UNDERHAND 'RED' PLOT TO

#### USE UNIONS TO RUIN UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

"H. M. Wicks of Chicago, a reformed Socialist, spoke on the revolutionary the blows of the opposition,—a period tendencies of the times to some forty that has apparently passed into history Gary men last evening. Mr. Wicks established a Socialist local in Gary sev- the creation of a "fourth" period; the eral years ago; he said he helped select Oscar Anderson as the leader of the Gary the non-party workers organizations in der the leadership of the proletariat. strike; therefore he did not appear to the slogan of the "united front from bebe an entire stranger.

wholly the work of the syndicalist move- cial Democratic and reformist trade unment. Violent minorities in the steel ion organizations; the tragic and catasunions forced the strike against the wishes of the majority, he said. The ist policy in China, with its complete majorities did not want to strike but subordination of the Communist Party were howled down by the leather-lunged to Chiang Kai-Shek and its corollary of minorities whose only argument was that subsequent adventurist and putschist inthe opponents of the strike were agents

#### **BREAKS WITH PARTY**

Previous to that time he had served as with its glaring legalistic and parliaa member of the National Executive Com- mentary activity, just as the world ecomittee of the Party. He said he was familiar with the work and attitude of parties isolated from the consequences all revolutionists.

the radicals are not Americans. Most of the Socialists are people of foreign of the present regime. birth and citizenship and many of them do not evn speak the English language. WORK FOR AMERICAN LEGION

"Bill Haywood and his satellites should not be tolerated in this country, Mr. Wicks said, he had been advising American Legion members not to permit these vermin to talk to them, but to knock them down. That, he said, is the only language they understand.

"The speaker charged that the Socialist Party was thoroughly pro-German during the war and is today controlled by the pro-German Victor Berger. He said Berger richly deserved the 20 year sentence meted out some time ago and he hoped the Milwaukee man would be forced to serve his time. He said if there ever was a traitor to his country Berger was it.

#### NO USE FOR "REDS"

Mr. Wicks has no respect for Social ists or radicals of any sort. Having associated with them intimately for years munist Press. In the Canadian "Workhe claims to know them exactly as they are and he says that they are all selfish opportunists who are simply after something for themselves.

"He commended the deportation proceedings that have rid the country of Firstly, the opposition was "disarmed" foreign trouble makers be given the same treatment. He urged an Americanization program for the foreign speak. stated. Secondly, finally and primarily, ing workers and he said the American the most outstanding and significant recountry which is doing good Americanization work.

#### EXPELLED FOR DEFEAT

the brand of democracy that the various so far as I am aware. organizations subscribe to. He said when Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit were defeated by the Party vote they simply is something that no worker or student

of the Communist Party in Chicago where events of today. Here in the opposition tional working class movement, on the by use of a caucus about one-fourth of press and literature every question is solid bed-rock of the theories of Marx

the delegates controlled the meeting.

up in many instances by unions. He said there is no question about the syndicalism of Foster, who was secretary of the Steel Strike organization. He positive that the late strike leader had liefs. He also stated that the radicals were simply biding their time to call another strike.

"The speaker could not find words to describe his disgust for the I. W. W He charged them with being cowards

and the scum of the earth. "Mr. Wicks is preparing to tour the country on the Chautauqua platform this summer in order to let the American peo ple understand the true situation. has given several years study to Sociology and is preparing to write two books on the problems of the hour.

"He has broken away from the Social ists so recently that this may be the first notice some of them will have of his apostacy."

#### For Communist Unity

(Continued from page 1) appeal for re-admission. The differences which we have with the present party policy can, we repeat, and should be settled within the framework of one single organization, the Communist party. We aspire only to defend our point of the proper manner and at the proper "The purpose of the revolutionists to- time, in accordance with the provisions of the party and the International, and ocratic centralism.

Our inability to agree with the methods pursued in the negotiations conducted with the Lovestone group does not in any way eliminate our conviction that the unification of the party is now more imperative than ever. We are quite prepared to go all the way towards making this unity a reality, a reality which we are sure will give our party a new impetus and added effectiveness in the of the situation obliges every revolutionary worker to weigh his decisions and actions, for what is involved is the whole future of our cause.

we urge it to make a prompt reply so that we may be able to act quickly upon

In presenting our appeal to the party,

With Communist greetings, National Committee, Communist League of America (Opp.)

#### Jack Macdonald Statement of

(Continued from page 1)

ridor" congress. I recall the session of Permanent Revolution with an arsenal of the Standing Committee where the Pol- quotations given to us by Bucharin. How claration, drawn from it, in its own and Trotsky were magnified. How Trotwords because the delegations were "spe- | sky underestimated or denied the role culating" on the rumored differences of the peasantry. How he would leap within the Bureau. No such principal across historical stages. "Down with the signed by all members of the bureau How during Lenin's leadership he was and implemented by remarks from Stalin held in check and did great service for tions reached home before news broke old false theories had cropped up again, out that not only were there principal his old Permanent Revolution which was differences, but that actual factions ex- the sources of all evil. given to delegates who had probed beneath the surface of official declarations and factions. The creation of the "third period" at

the Sixth Congress, as justification for the left about-face, unquestionably under or been conveniently forgotten to avoid rejection of the united front tactic with low", as an apology for the unprincipled "He charged that the steel strike was maneuvering with the leaders of the Sotrophic caricature of a bolshevist-Leninsurrection; the eclectic and mechanical creation of the "war danger", which led leader of the subjugated nation, above all the parties to orientate their activities "Mr. Wicks has been a socialist in solely on the imminence of war from nomic crisis broke, only to find the ported by the poor peasants. the Socialists, I. W. W., Communists and to a great extent of the third period tactics; the acrobatics on trade union With very few exceptions, he said, policy, etc., etc.,—all this is at least ample proof of the zig-zag centrist policy

The appalling debacle of the Communist forces in the recent German presidential election with the enormous growth of the Fascist forces; the almost government, farmers political complete isolation of the party from the trade unions; its insignificant influence over the social-democratic workers, despite the deep internal crisis in Germany; the theory of "social Fascism"; as contrary to all the teachings of Marx the flirting, to put it mildly, with cer- and Lenin. The inevitable social patriotic tain Fascist leaders; the apparent devel- errors that the Left Opposition warned oping theory that a Fascist victory with against are strikingly evident today. The its demagogic program and slogans means appeal to the international proletariat rapid disillusionment of the workers, against Japanese Imperialism, in its genwhich will be followed by a flocking to eral formulation is a recent indication the Communist standard, Italy, Poland, etc., notwithstanding; all this in the the advancement by the Dally Worker of German situation if nothing else must the justification (based on an article in impel a general stocktaking and inner! Izvestia of an alliance between the Sosearching in the ranks of Communism.

of these phenomena in the official Com- paganda and agitation surrounding the er" after the first presidential vote in Germany, there appeared a leading editorial that for trifling, irresponsible, poltroonish approach is, I believe without parallel. Two main points were made many agitators and urged that other with the assertion many times repeated that the "renegades" would possibly find cause to rejoice. Just why, wasn't a million Commnist votes over last election. What humbug! The second vote with its loss of over a million Communist "Mr. Wicks was especially severe of votes, still remains to be "explained"

Left Opposition from the pen of Trotsky particularly to the works of Trotsky. approached and analyzed, clearly, fear-"Lenin is a dictator, and Emma Gold- lessly and dialectically. I recollect how

in certain so-called discussions we used

Every worker today can read Trotsky's us understand what the "differences" beand reported the existence of groupings tween Lenin and Trotsky were on the role of the peasantry, the "democratic dictatorship", etc. Acquire a knowledge of the re-arming of the Party on the return of Lenin to Russia before October -in short have done with fabrication

and misrepresentation and read history. The theory of the Permanent Revolution is not an attempt at a leap of the proletariat over definite historical stages, but the transformation of the nation un-Here I may quote section two of the fundamental thesis of the Permanent Revolution; "With regard to the countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semicolonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the dictatorship of the proletariat as the realized not before October, not in the "dual power", but by October-through the dictatorship of the proletariat sup-

It will be instructive at some other time to retrace the directives to the Canadian Party, given by the opponents of the permanent revolution in their desire to find historical stakes might not be "skipped over". These against the British monarchy, demand tion. for constituent assembly, farmer-labor national independence, etc., etc.

I reject the theory of national social ism-of socialism in one country-evolved in the struggle against Trotsky in 1925, of this. A still more recent example is viet Union and American Imperialism One looks in vain for any keen analysis against Japanese Imperialism. The proslogan of "Defend the Soviet Union" is saturated with pacifism. All this is the logical outcome of the false theory of

"socialism in one country". This statement is made in support of the Left Opposition after thoroughly probing all doubts and slowly, calmly and deliberately. I make it with the sincere hope that any influence I may have with the workers, through my association with and work in the working class movement in this to a critical examination of the Communist movement today, in all its rami fications, theoretical, organizational strategical and otherwise; and to an examination of the literature and theor. The wealth of literature issued by the etical position of the Left Opposition and

From this I am convinced there wil expelled many of the Socialists who of Marxism or Leninism can affiord to inevitably come again another "re-armvoted against them and retained control. ignore or neglect. One listens in vain ing" of the movement—a reestablishment "He told of attending the congress for the voice of Stalin on the outstanding of the advance guard of the interna-

-J. MACDONALD.

# entrism «in General» and the Centrism of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

by LEON TROTSKY

men are capable of stupidities, especially when young. But, as Heine counselled, this privilege should not be abused. When, however, political stupidities of a simply stupidies and become tendencies. What sort class struggle. We make this appeal to of a tendency is this? What historical necessities does the party at a moment when the gravity it meet? What are its social roots?

Ultra-Leftism has a different social foundation in different countries and at different periods. The most itically from left to right, clashing with other layers thoroughgoing expressions of ultra-Leftism were to who are just beginning to evolve to the Left. Difbe found in anarchism and Blanquism, and in their different combinations, among them the latest one: anarcho-syndicalism.

The social soil for these trends which have spread primarily through Latin countries was to be found in the old and classic small industries of Paris. Their stability added an indubitable significance to the French varieties of ultra-radicalism and allowed them to a certain degree to influence ideologically the workers' movements in other countries. The development of large scale industries in France, the war and the Russian revolution broke the spine of anarcho-syndicalism. Having been thrown back, it has become trans-Bureau of the C. P. S. U. made its de | the polemical differences between Lenin | formed into a debased opportunism. On both of its stages French syndicalism is headed by one and the same Jouhaux: the times change and we change with

> Spanish anarcho-syndicalism preserved its seeming revolutionary character only in the environment of political stagnation. By posing all the questions point-blank the revolution has compelled the anarchosyndicalist leaders to cast off their ultra-radicalism and to reveal their opportunist nature. We can rest definitely assured that the Spanish revolution will drive Permanent Revolution for himself. Let out the prejudice of syndicalism from its last Latin hide-out.

The anarchist and Blanquist elements join all kinds of other types of ultra-Left trends and groups. On the periphery of a great revolutionary movement there are always to be observed the manifestations of putschism and adventurism, the standard bearers of which are recruited either from backward and quite often semi-artisan strata of the workers, or from the intellectual fellow way-farers. But such a type of ultra-Leftism does not ordinarily attain to independent historical significance, retaining, in most ir tances, its episodic character.

In historically backward countries, which are compelled to go through their bourgeois revolutions within the environment of a full-fledged and world-wide workers' movement, the left intelligentzia often introduces complete and genuine solution of their the most extreme slogans and methods into the semitasks, democratic and national emancipal elementary movements of the predominantly pettytion, is conceivable only through the bourgeois masses. Such is the nature of petty-bourgeois parties of the type of the Russian "Social-Revolutionof the peasant masses". The tasks of aries", with their tendencies toward putschism, ingood standing until last fall when he which the proletarian revolution would letariat and peasantry" were completely the Communist parties in the West, the independent importance of the Russian Social-Revolutionaries. But on this account the young Communist parties of the West may include within themselves the elements of adventurism. As regards the Russian S. R.'s, under the influence of the evolution of bourgeois society, they have become transformed into the party of the imperialist petty bourgeoisie and have taken a counter-revrun the whole gamut, from the fight olutionary position in relation to the October revolu-

> It is entirely self-evident that the ultra-Leftism of the Comintern, the C. P. S. U., wittingly leans upon the rainbow. the industrial proletariat, and operates for better or for worse from the revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism. The majority of other sections of the Comintern are proletarian organizations. Are not the as a whole. Centrism reflects the processes of the very differences of conditions in various countries, in which the ultra-Left policies of official Communism are raging simultaneously and in the same degree, tokens of the fact that there are no common social roots underlying this trend? Indeed, the ultra-Left course, which is also one and the same "in principle", is being put through in China and in Great Britain. But if so, where are we then to seek for the key to the new ultra-Leftism?

The question is complicated, but at the same time is also clarified by one other, extremely important circumstance: Ultra-Leftism is not at all an unvarying or fundamental trait of the present leadership of the Comintern. The same apparatus, in its basic composition, held to an openly opportunistic policy until 1928, and in many of the most important questions switched over completely onto the tracks of menshevism. During 1924-1927 agreements with reformists Legion is the one organization in the sult of the election was the gain of half country, may lead the advanced workers were not only considered obligatory but were permitted if thereby the party renounced its independence, its freedom of criticism, and even its proletarian foundation\*. Therefore the discussion concerns not at all a particular ultra-Left trend, but a prolonged ultra-Left zig-zag of such a trend that has demonstrated in the past its capacity for launching into profound ultra-Right zig-zags. Even these outward symptoms suggest that what we are dealing with is

Speaking formally and descriptively, centrism is composed of all those trends within the proletariat and on its periphery which are distributed between re-

The errors of the leadership of the Comintern and formism and Marxism, and which most often represent consequently, the errors of the German Communist various stages of evolution from reformism to Marx-Party pertain, in the familiar terminology of Lenin, to ism-and vice-versa. Both Marxism and reformism the category of "ultra-Left stupidities." Even wise have a solid social support underlying them. Marxism expresses the historical interests of the proletariat. Reformism speaks for the priviliged position of proletarian bureaucracy and aristocracy within the capgiven type are repeated systematically in the course italist state. Centrism, as we have known it in the of a lengthy period, and moreover in the sphere of past, did not have and could not have an independent the most important questions, then they cease being social foundation. Different layers of the proletariat develop in the revolutionary direction in different ways and at different times. In periods of prolonged industrial uplift or in the periods of political ebb-tide, after defeats, different layers of the proletariat shift polferent groups are delayed on separate stages of their evolution, they find their temporary leaders and create their programs and organizations. Small wonder then that such a diversity of trends is embraced in the comprehension of "centrism"! Depending upon their origin, their social composition and the direction of their evolution, different groupings may be engaged in the most savage warfare with one another, without losing thereby their character of being a variety of

> While centrism in general fulfills ordinarily the function of serving as a left cover for reformism, the question as to which of the basic camps, reformist or Marxist, a given centrism may belong, cannot be solved once for all with a ready made formula. Here, more than anywhere else, it is necessary to analyze each time the concrete composition of the process and the inner tendencies of its development. Thus, some of Rosa Luxemburg's political mistakes may be with sufficient theoretical justification characterized as left-centrist. One could go still further and say that the majority of divergences between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin represented a stronger or weaker leaning toward centrism. But only the bullies and ignoramuses and charlatans of the Comintern bureaucracy are capable of assigning Luxemburgism as an historical tendency toward centrism. It goes without saying that the present "leaders" of the Comintern, from Stalin down, politically, theoretically and morally do not come up to the knees of the great woman and revolutionist.

Critics, who have not pondered the gist of the matter, have recently accused me more than once of abusing the word "centrism", by including under this name too great a variety of tendencies and groups within the workers' movement. In reality, the diversity of the types of centrism originates, as has been already said, in the essence of the phenomenon itself and not at all in an abuse of terminology. We need only recall how often the Marxists have been accused of assigning to the petty bourgeoisie the most diverse and contradictory phenomena. And actually, under the category "petty bourgeois", one is obliged to include fact, ideas and tendencies which at first glance appear entirely incompatible. The petty bourgeois character pertains to the peasant movement and to the radical tendencies of urban reformism; both French Jacobins and Russian Narodniki are petty bourgeois; Prudhonists are petty-bourgeois but so are Blanquists; petty-bourgeois are: the French anarcho-syndicalists, adventuristic groups will hardly attain there to the the "Salvation Army", Gandhi's movement in India, etc., etc. If we turn to the sphere of philosophy and art, even a much more polychromatic picture obtains. Does this mean that Marxism indulges in playing with terminology? Not at all, this only means that the petty-bourgeoisie is characterized by the extreme heterogeneity of its social nature. At bottom it fuses with the proletariat and extends into the lumpen-proletariat, on top it passes over into the capitalist bourgeoisie. It may lean upon old forms of production but it may rapidly develop on the bases of most mothe present Comintern does not fall under any one of dern industry (the new "middle estate"). No wonder the above specified historic types. The chief party of that ideologically it scintillates with all the colors of

Centrism within the workers' movement plays in a certain sense the same rôle as does the petty-bourgeois ideology of all types in relation to the bourgeois society evolution of the proletariat; its political growth as well as its revolutionary set-back conjointly with the pressure of all other classes of society upon the proletariat. No wonder that the pallette of centrism is distinguished by such irridescence! From this it follows, however, not that one must give up trying to comprehend centrism but simply that one must needs discover the true nature of a given variety of centrism by means of a concrete and an historical analysis in every individual instance.

The ruling faction of the Comintern does not represent in itself centrism "in general" but quite a definite historical form, which has social roots, rather recent but powerful. First of all, the matter concerns the Soviet bureaucracy. In the writings of the Stalinist theoreticians this social stratum does not exist at all. We are only told of "Leninism", of incorporeal leadership, of the ideological tradition, of the spirit of Bolshevism, of the imponderable "general line"; but you will not hear a word about a functionary, breathing and living, in flesh and bone, who manipulates this general line like a fireman his hose.

-L. TROTSKY. (To Be Continued)

(From WHAT NEXT-Vital Questions for the German proletariat)

<sup>\*</sup> A detailed analysis of this opportunistic chapter of the Comintern that lasted a few years is given in our books, The Draft Program of the Comintern-A Criticism of Funnentals! The Permanent Revolution; Who Is eLading the Comintern Today, etc.