

The MILITANT

Semi-Monthly Organ of the Opposition Group in the Workers (Communist) Party of America

"It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand."—Lenin

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L E N I N D A Y

"Marx's doctrines are now undergoing the same fate, which, more than once in the course of history, has befallen the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for their emancipation. . . . At the present time . . . the opportunists within the labor movement are cooperating in this work of adulterating Marxism. They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teaching, its revolutionary soul. . . ."—Lenin.

LIKE Marx, Lenin has been unable to escape the distortions and revisions of his "disciples." The five years that have passed since his death have witnessed the corrosive effects of adding to the sound metal of Bolshevism the base alloys supplied by the epigones. The revolutionary content and essence of Leninism has been diluted to conform with the theoretical needs of the ruling opportunist bureaucracy in the movement. The task of Bolshevism at the present time is to maintain the banner of Lenin in the face of the open and concealed attacks of the revisionists in every guise.

What was national in Lenin—his decades-long struggle to conquer power for the Russian working class and maintain it—was an integral and subordinate part of his internationalism. More than anyone else Lenin led a relentless battle against international social democracy and chauvinism, firing into its ranks the mighty artillery of Marxism, until he was able to build upon its defeat the basic structure of the international revolutionary movement, the Communist International. It was visualized by him not as an instrument whose main task it would become to defend the first workers' state from the military intervention of the capitalist wolves encircling it so that a national socialism might be "successfully" erected there, but as a world proletarian army which, while ardently and unyieldingly defending the Soviet republic as its first victory and fortress, doggedly subordinated everything to the main problem of learning and applying successfully the art of insurrection against the bourgeoisie in the rest of the world. The timely aid of the proletarian revolution in Europe, America and the East was for Lenin and remains for us the extension of the revolutionary front beyond the borders of Russia as the surest guarantee of the victory of socialism.

The genius of Lenin gave the Communist movement the weapon of the united front as a method of mobilizing the proletariat in a struggle against the bourgeoisie and its social democratic and nationalist agents, not as an excuse for alliance with these bourgeois lieutenants so that the Communist Party is converted into a brake upon the revolutionary temper of the masses, as occurred in Germany in 1923, in England in 1926 and in China in 1927. Fortunately are those false "disciples" of Lenin, the authors of the Berlin and Paris agreements of the Anglo-Russian Committee, the capitulators to Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Chin-Wei, who by their policies robbed the Communist Parties of their revolutionary independence and deprived the struggle of its genuinely revolutionary content! Lenin alive would have branded them with the same vigor and contempt that he lashed the faint-hearts and worse than faint-hearts on the eve of the Russian October.

Lenin's revolutionary wisdom gave the New Economic Policy to the young Soviet republic as an instrument of strengthening the socialist elements in the country in a period of a retarded world rev-

olutionary movement, of binding the alliance of the proletariat with the masses of the toiling peasantry. Under the regime of the epigones it is becoming a chart for steering the course of the revolution towards the right, towards the fatal magnet of the "economically powerful peasant"—the Kulak, towards a policy of concessions to foreign capital which Lenin new only to oppose.

Lenin's dictum that socialism and capitalism cannot live side by side is substituted by "assuring" conference speeches by Russia's representatives that there is no reason why these two systems cannot work together peacefully. His masterful *Theses of Instructions to Our Delegation at the Hague*, so characteristic of him in its incisive laying bare of all pacifist illusions, is discarded for the new diplomacy of Russia's agreement with the Kellogg pact which only hampers the Communist struggle to expose its hypocritical pacifist-imperialist purpose.

Lenin cautioned the Party a thousand times that the chief enemy of the working class—of which the Communist Party is an inseparable part—is opportunism. His mightiest blows were delivered against it. In the struggle against it Bolshevism took shape and developed. Today the arsenal of the temporary leaders of the Communist International is not only not directed against opportunism but against the Leninist Left, and opportunism itself has been installed in high places.

After the death of Marx, the opportunists in the Second International denounced the revolutionary fighters who remained true to Marxism as Blanquists and Bakuninists. After the death of Lenin, the opportunists in the Communist International denounced the banner-bearers of Leninism . . . as Trotskyists. Behind this sham cry the Stalins and Bucharins conceal their own vulgarization of Lenin's teachings. Lenin said about Marx and other great

Cleveland Meeting Great Success

By Telephone to The Militant

CLEVELAND, Ohio, January 13.—An enthusiastic and interested audience of more than 200 workers gathered in a hall here remained until after midnight listening to a lecture by James P. Cannon, leader of the Communist Opposition, on "The Truth About Trotsky and the Russian Opposition," despite the unsuccessful attempt of the Party right wingers to disrupt the meeting and create a riot.

When the workers had quietly listened to Comrade Cannon for half an hour, the hall was suddenly invaded by upwards of 60 rowdies led by the Party district organizer, Israel Amter, champion Party wrecker of the Lovestone faction, and Schaeffer, expelled from the Party a few years ago for corruption and stealing of Party funds, who came to repay his debt to Lovestone who reinstated him into Party leadership in Cleveland.

Chairman John Foley urged everyone to maintain order but under Amter's direction the 60 rowdies began to sing at the top of their voices: "Hail, hail, the gang's all here, To hell with Trotskyism, To hell with Trotskyism" and shout their college yell: "Down with Cannon! We want Amter!" For a while pandemonium reigned.

Then the brawlers made a mass rush towards the platform, hoping to break up the meeting by pulling down the speaker. Schaeffer hit the Opposition Communist Keller on the head with the leg of a chair. The workers' guard at the meeting led by our comrade Elmer Boich, finally decided that these fakers' tactics had gone far enough and a flying wedge put the entire 60 of Amter's gang outside the hall in short order. By 9:30 P. M. the hall was cleared of the gang whom the Cleveland revolutionary workers had thus given an impromptu lesson in workers democracy. It was one of the worst defeats the Party right wing has suffered in a long time.

Comrade Cannon then continued to speak for more than 2 hours to the scores of workers who had come to hear our point of view. All questions were answered, and the interest of the workers kept the meeting going until after 12 o'clock at midnight. A strong group of Opposition Communists and supporters were consolidated at the meeting, and a good collection taken.

(The report of the meeting in the Daily Worker of January 19, 1929, is false. The Stalinites tried to cover up the chagrin of their bad defeat by wholesale lying. Workers will soon be asking in greater numbers why the "correct" position of the Stalinites has to be bolstered up by the twin pillars of falsification and gangster methods which lead to the destruction of the movement).

revolutionaries: "After their death, however, attempts are usually made to turn them into harmless saints, canonizing them, as it were, and investing their name with a certain halo by way of 'consolation' to the oppressed classes, and with the object of duping them; while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge." This is now true of Lenin himself.

The real essence of Lenin's revolutionary theories will not be emasculated for the Opposition led by Trotsky are their vigilant guard and most unyielding defenders. The opportunists have been unable to convince the revolutionary fighters of the world that these Bolsheviks "have betrayed Lenin", for there is no proof in existence with which to convince revolutionists.

Those who cannot defeat Trotsky and the Opposition on the basis of their present struggle are forced to resort to the miserable subterfuge of digging in the ash-heaps of history to find differences that Lenin had with Trotsky twenty years ago. And it is true that Lenin had differences with Trotsky and that Trotsky came to Bolshevism. But it is the literal truth that Lenin's differences with Trotsky prior to the October revolution and even afterwards, added all together and doubled, are as nothing compared to the divergence between Leninism and the policies and line of the present leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

Those who fight for Lenin's teachings, who are the remorseless opponents of all opportunism and revisionism, who remain international revolutionaries, are expelled from Lenin's Party, denounced and slandered. In the Soviet Union, they are imprisoned and exiled, and at the head of the exiles stands, unvanquished and still triumphant, the living leader of world Bolshevism, Trotsky.

Trotsky in exile today is Lenin in exile! Trotsky expelled is Lenin expelled!

It is our shame that the Lenin memorial meetings this year are transformed by the official Party apparatus into a mobilization of the revolutionary workers against "Trotskyism", against those who really defend the power and the teachings of Lenin. The opportunists have now their brief moment of mastery.

We are fortified in our convictions and in our struggle by the knowledge that the wisdom and strength of Lenin lies in the fact that he was chosen by history to make history; that he was the highest expression of the struggle of the world's most progressive class which liberates all humanity by freeing itself; that his teachings and his work have been written into the final chapter of a centuries-long world epoch. Those who fight for Leninism, for the victory of the proletarian revolution, are clearing the road that leads to a new era of history. Those who fight for the Opposition, in spite of contumely, persecution and temporary set-backs, are building the permanent, living memorial to Lenin.

The triumph of the Opposition is the triumph of Leninism!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ORDERS ANOTHER BURGLARY!

As we go to press! The house of comrade James P. Cannon, during our temporary absence, was again burglarized on Monday, January 14, 1929, and a number of old private and personal documents, letters, bound lectures and books stolen. In addition money orders, bank and receipt book, and postage stamps were stolen. The responsibility for this criminal work rests directly with the Central Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party from which neither faction is exempt, either for participation or silent acquiescence. More details in the next issue of *The Militant*.

THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

The thesis to be presented to the forthcoming national convention of the Workers (Communist) Party by the expelled Communist Opposition group will be published in full in the next issue of *The Militant*. It will deal with the present world situation, its relation to the condition of American imperialism, the situation in the United States, and the tasks of the Communist Party. It will be the first platform drawn up independently by the Opposition in the American Party.