

# Vote Communist!

The municipal elections to be held next month in New York City confront every worker with the necessity of expressing his opinions at the polls and voting in the interests of his class. Under capitalism, all the election machinery is in the hands of the workers' enemies and cannot be utilized to free labor from the rule of the capitalist class. Before the revolutionary working class could obtain a "legal majority" by means of the ballot, the ruling class would resort to every conceivable instrument of force to prevent its slaves from coming to power. Working class candidates are systematically counted out at the polls. Their campaigns are frequently interfered with and they are handicapped from the start by the overwhelming superiority of the agitational machinery of the masters. In the very least critical moment, their legislative representative are unseated, and in many cases their Parties are simply made illegal and a reactionary armed dictatorship takes the place of the "democratic" system which is permitted to function in ordinary times in order to deceive the workers about the class nature of government. That the workers will achieve their liberation only by organized power and not by the ballot alone is shown by scores of examples throughout the world: the Fascist governments in Italy, Spain, Jugo-Slavia, etc.; the unseating of socialist legislators in Albany, in Washington, and Toledo, Ohio, during the war.

In spite of this, the workers conscious of their interests must utilize every opening existing under the present system to mobilize their opposition to capitalism, to test their strength, to weaken the political Parties of capitalism, to get their representatives before the legislative tribunes where they can reach the ears of hundreds of thousands of other workers. The elections, even on a municipal scale, offer such an opening.

To vote, in the coming New York elections, for the twin Parties of capitalism, the Democratic and the Republican, is to vote for the rival representatives of capitalist exploitation, of imperialist war, of piratical colonial oppression, of strike-breaking and political corruption. Walker, LaGuardia and their Parties carry the banner of the bosses who employ them. Neither can the worker vote for the Socialist Party and its candidate Thomas for whom the question of the gambler Rothstein's murder has been raised to the height of a working class issue! The Socialist Party is today the Party of capitalist reform and not of working class revolution. Its aim is to make capitalism "more tolerable" for the working class, to cover up some of the more hideous scores of system, to restrain the development of militancy in the workers. The American Socialist Party is a member of the Second International. It is blood-brother to the strike-breaking government of MacDonald which serves its imperialist masters in India, China, Egypt and Palestine as well as Baldwin and Chamberlain; of the French Socialist Party of Boncour and Co. which is grooming the French working class for imperialist war; of the German Social Democracy of Mueller and Zoergiebel, which mowed down the Berlin proletariat on the First of May; of the Russian Mensheviks who are the allies of capitalism against the First Workers' Republic.

There is only one Party in the New York elections for whom the worker can cast his vote: the Communist Party. Despite our differences with the leadership of the Party and the course it has adopted, it remains today the only revolutionary Party in the elections. We have criticized sharply the vacillating policies of the Party leadership, and we will continue to fight stubbornly against them and the Stalinist regime throughout the world. But we remain as before fighters for Communism and the Communist Party, for there lies the cause of every revolutionary worker and not of their accidental and temporary leaders. This Party is today the target of reaction, in Gastonia, in New York and elsewhere. Let every worker deliver a blow at reaction and cast his vote for the ticket of the Communist Party. Demonstrate your opposition to the Parties of capitalist oppression and corruption, and their socialist train bearers. VOTE COMMUNIST!

National Committee

Communist League of America (Opposition)

## THE MILITANT

Published twice a month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Address all mail to: P. O. Box 120, Madison Square Station, New York, N. Y.

Publisher address: 332 E. 18th Street, New York, N.Y.

Subscription rate: 1.00 per year. Foreign \$1.50  
5c per copy Bundle rates, 3c per copy.

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman,  
Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck.

VOL. II OCTOBER 15, 1929. No. 16

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

# Holland Bars Trotsky

The press carries the news that the Dutch government has added its name to the list of those who refuse the request for political asylum and medical treatment to comrade L. D. Trotsky, at present a virtual prisoner under the reactionary regime of Kemal Pasha in Constantinople. Holland finds asylum and a castle for the German ex-Kaiser at Doorn, but it does not grant entry for the proletarian revolutionist Trotsky. M. Briand, we suggest, now has a fine common basis for the formation of a United States of Europe. The government that have rejected comrade Trotsky's application now form a very broad united front. Against the "counter-revolutionary" Trotsky, there have lined up the "socialist" government of Germany, a bloc of reactionaries and Communists in Norway, the democratic Labor government of England and leading them all, the bureaucratic Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union. Russia is now safe, and the *Daily Worker* should announce that Stalin, Kemal Pasha, Baldwin, MacDonald, Thomas, Stresemann, Mueller, Hilferding, Briand, King Haakon VII, and Queen Wilhelmina are now in an unbreakable revolutionary united front "from above" to protect Soviet Russia from the "danger of counter-revolution," from Trotsky.

## C-A-B-A-R-E-T & DANCE

For the Benefit of the Weekly Militant on SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1929, at 8 p. m. at the

HUNGARIAN HALL, 323 East 79th Street  
Excellent Musical Program—Dancing—Entertainment  
Admission: 50 cents in advance, or 60 cents at door.  
AUSPICES: Communist League of America (Opposition) New York Branch and the Proletarian (Hungarian Opposition)

# Party Plenum Opens

As we go to press, the Plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has opened. The sessions are being held in unprecedentedly "strict secrecy", that is, practically every one but the Party membership knows about it. The first flurry of the Plenum was the arbitrary refusal to admit to the meeting Ben Lifschitz, a member of the C. E. C. Although not removed from that body, the rejection was based upon the fact that he is accused of being a conciliator towards Lovestone. Previous to the Plenum, all dissenters were neatly removed from the C. E. C. In brief, every possible precaution was taken to have the Plenum meeting in idyllic unanimity. Nevertheless, it assembles under the menacing pall of a Stalinist commission (as usual nowadays, composed of barely known tenth-raters who learned their "Bolshevism" yesterday and vent it today with the greatest profundity. No one at the Plenum dares to speak without first finding out what is the opinion of these receivers. In order to intrench himself, a C. E. C. member must try to outdo his neighbor in proposals as far to the "Left" as possible. By some accident, Weisbord sneaked into the Plenum and astounded the elders by a terrible heresy on a Labor Party slogan for the South. We will endeavor to have a fuller report in the next issue. In the meantime, the reader of the *Daily Worker* will soon find a new set of Party theses printed there in which the condition of the Party is set forth as having never been so splendid as today, with the added solemn assurance that from now on there will not only be no more factionalism but that the Party (for the twentieth time in four years) is at last on the verge or the road to becoming a genuinely Bolshevized Mass Party. All this by grace of Stalin, his special infallible emissaries, the new Party leadership, plus liberal applications of the Third Period and New Line.

## STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF THE MILITANT, published twice a month, at New York, N. Y. for Oct. 1, 1929

State of New York ss

County of New York ss

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Martin Abern, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Communist League of America (Opposition) 332 East 18th St. New York, N. Y.

Editor: James P. Cannon, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor: Max Shachtman, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y.

Business Manager: Martin Abern, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: Communist League of America (Opposition), 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. Martin Abern, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. James P. Cannon, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. Max Shachtman, 332 East 18th St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

MARTIN ABERN, Business Manager.  
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of Sept. 1929.  
HENRY J. Freedman, Notary Public  
(My commission expires March 30, 1930)

# Hoot! MacDonald

Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, prime-minister of His Royal Majesty's Christian government of Great Britain, has arrived in the United States to confer with President Hoover on how to establish peace and good will among the English speaking peoples of the world. Since his socialist comrades in the United States have announced his arrival here with messianic enthusiasm and hailed him as the peerless leader of the British working class, it will not be without value to sketch MacDonald's record briefly, to outline his magnificent services to the cause of the oppressed, so that the American workers may know how to welcome him properly.

MacDonald was born with an opportunist spoon in his mouth. For years during his pre-war membership in the Independent Labor Party of England, his opportunist strivings had to be constantly curbed by Kier Hardie. He dragged the I. L. P. further and further along the road of revisionism, and was the chief representative in England of Eduard Bernstein.

In the word war, his position was that of a purely bourgeois pacifist, and he achieved thereby a cheap martyrdom at the hands of British chauvinism akin to that "suffered" by Victor Berger and William F. Kruse in the United States. But that did not prevent him from giving support to the war, by his notorious letter of endorsement to a recruiting sergeant, much in the same way as Morris Hillquit did here.

After the war, this "pacifist" and "socialist" came out for indemnities to be paid by Germany, and his criticism of the Versailles Treaty instead of being a denunciation of this murderous peace, was indistinguishable from that of an advanced liberal. He was already grooming himself for a cabinet position, if not for the premiership itself.

To make his way towards a Labor ministry, he fore-sware every elementary principle of socialism acknowledged by its founders for scores of years. He pledged himself to "continuity of policy", that is, of the policy of the Tories and the Liberals. He swore fealty to the monarchy and prevented an anti-monarchical resolution from being adopted by his Party. His record in office during the first Labor government was so "strong" that it turned the stomachs of many of his own Party members. It was only by a narrow margin that he averted a condemnation of his record at an annual conference of the I. L. P.

The first Labor government under MacDonald was black enough to delight the heart of the most ruthless Tory die-hard. His attitude towards the Soviet Government could hardly have been worse under Lord Curzon. Under his regime, British battle-ships were sent to China to mow down the Chinese workers and peasants who were beginning their battle for national liberation. The workers and peasants of India and Egypt were given to understand that a new government had come into power in England only by the fact the bullets and whiplashes used against them were this time stamped with the legend: Made by the Labor Government. The workers of England found that "their" government intervened in every struggle, not on their behalf, but as a "mediator" between the workers and bosses. The workers of Germany had the bitter consolation of knowing that the chains of the Dawes Plan were welded and sealed by Owen D. Young, J. Pierpont Morgan and J. Ramsay MacDonald.

MacDonald was one of those who helped drag the British miners' strike to an ignominious defeat and to strangle the British general strike in 1926. Quite in keeping with his entire political role, he sold the revolutionary aspirations and interests of the working class he presumes to represent for a mess of parliamentary pottage.

His record in the second Labor Government is more pitiful than in the first. The infamous Trade Union Act of the Baldwin government has not been and will not be repealed. Under MacDonald, Snowden took a position at the Hague conference that earned him the enthusiastic cheers of every British reactionary, a demand for an increased share of the reparations at the expense of the German working class (and, it may be added, of the British as well). MacDonald's attitude towards the Soviet Union has not differed an essential particle from that of any other imperialist government. Under his regime, the bloody heel of the British lion remains ground in the faces of the Egyptian, Arabian, Irish and Indian masses. At this very moment, a trial is taking place in Meerut, India, in which Indian rebels are being prosecuted by the representatives of the Crown and loyal government of MacDonald. Under the cloak of Labor, in his own way, he is a bulwark of imperialism and a foe of working class progress.

MacDonald comes to these shores on no working class mission. He comes to bargain with the great, respect-commanding Dollar for a let-up in armaments competition—not so as to "end war", but to permit British capitalism to divert some of the golden life stream from battleships and cruisers into its own sick economic body. The militant workers will not greet him. When he sees Hoover, there will be a meeting of the representatives of two different social orders, or two different social classes, but of two competing imperialist powers. Hoover does not yet need to take the protective coloring provided by the magic cloak of a "Labor Party", he serves his class openly and frankly. But MacDonald uses that cloak to work in the interests of the British empire and against the proletariat. And they also serve who only deceive and betray.