

# The

# MILITANT

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## 12 YEARS OF RED RUSSIA!

**T**HE greatest achievement of the proletariat of the world is the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet Republic established by the Russian workers in November 1917. With a spirit of solidarity, firmness and self-sacrifice that history has never before known, the Russian working class has maintained itself in power for twelve years, and its 12th anniversary this Seventh of November will be celebrated by every militant worker in the world. Twelve years—in which the surrounded fortress of the world revolution has successively overcome one "insurmountable" obstacle after another, beaten back the armies of the most powerful imperialist countries, defeated the subsidized adventurers who tore the country with the ravages of civil war, triumphed over such catastrophes of nature as the famine and the drought, reorganized its economic life, and made possible the rebirth and growth of the international movement of the revolutionary working class that was temporarily destroyed by the treason of the socialist leaders during the World

The seizure and maintenance of power by the Russian workers remain the most powerful answer to the lying spokesmen of the capitalist class who teach the workers that capitalism is a permanent system of society and that the workers can never hope to rule their own destinies. The victory of the Bolsheviks in the face of all the dismal croakings and warnings of their enemies, is a living refutation of the predictions of defeat made by the socialists of all varieties, an answer to those who deceive the workers into thinking that capitalism will "evolve peacefully" into the cooperative movement commonwealth through the application of petty reforms.

While the Russian working class, in spite of all the difficulties and mistakes, continues to march forward, and is today more firmly entrenched power than in the beginning of the revolution, the balance sheet of the socialist record shows a big deficit for the working class. In Germany, the socialist-coalition ministry has become the official agency for reborn German imperialism. In England, the MacDonald government has not brought the British worker a single step closer to socialism or lifted an ounce of the imperialist burden from the backs of England's colonial slaves. In Austria, the "Left" socialists, who scorned the "barbaric Asiatic" methods of Bolshevism and promised the workers a socialist republic by the "reasonable"

method of voting capitalism out of existence, are paralyzed before the threat of an increasingly arrogant and determined Fascist movement.

Where the social democracy has universally failed, the Russian workers, under Bolshevik leadership, have succeeded in establishing the first Workers' State.

But the Russian victory only opened a new epoch of revolution and did not end it. The workers of the Soviet Union will be able to establish socialism and complete victory ONLY with the aid of the victory of the workers in other countries. The Soviet power cannot always exist in a hostile capitalist environment. It can hold out for a long time, as it has, but its really great progress will come only when the workers of more highly developed countries come to its aid. Those who, like Bucharin and Stalin, teach the workers otherwise are deceiving them.

The victory of the Russian proletariat, has not proceeded in a straight upward direction. It is still confronted with many enemies. Its most powerful foe is world imperialism, which rightly sees in the Soviet power its mortal enemy. Imperialism threatens the workers' republic not only with armed intervention from the outside, but even more with the capitalist elements inside Russia that work persistently to undermine the proletarian state. These elements are the Kulak (rich peasant), the private capitalist and the

corrupted sections of the Soviet bureaucracy, linked by a thousand invisible bonds to their foreign allies. These are the elements that express themselves politically through the Right wing of the Russian Communist Party, the faction of Bucharin-Tomsky, Rykov-Kalinin and their supporters.

The Right wing, in close bond with the vacillating Centrist faction of Stalin, has carried on a six years' struggle against the Bolshevik Opposition led by Trotsky which represents the interests of the proletarian elements in the country. It is the Bloc of the Center and the Right that invented the slogans and theories for that period of reaction and back-sliding in the Soviet Union. It was the pressure of the classes alien to the proletariat that delivered systematic, heavy blows to the workers' power by attacking the Opposition. Each blow against the Opposition and the movement for which it stood marked another forward step of the forces of capitalism.

But they all underestimated the tremendous resources for revolutionary resistance still possessed by the Russian proletariat. The hounding imprisonment and exile of the Opposition, did not settle the question at all. The stubborn resistance of the Opposition to the encroachments of the forces hostile to the workers, found an echo in the Russian proletariat.

The workers, passive for years under the lulling influence of Stalin and Bucharin, are again awakening and assuming the offensive. The present struggle—demanded for years by the Opposition—against the Kulak and the Right wing for concentration upon heavy industry and for the industrialization of agriculture, is a victory for the Leninist Opposition. It is carried on with slogans and arguments which the workers forced Stalin to borrow from the Opposition.

### Class Justice and Revenge in the South

The seven Gastonia strike leaders, Beal, Miller, Harrison, McGinnis, Hendrix, Carter and McLaughlin, have been convicted and sentenced in Charlotte, N. C. to such terms as signify for most of them their whole future life in a Southern prison. At virtually the same time, a Cabarrus county jury set free four mill boss thugs who were charged with kidnapping and flogging the three union militants, Wells, Saylor and Lell. In Gastonia, the grand jury refused even to find a true bill against the men charged with the cold-blooded murder of Ella May Wiggins. At Marion, the legalized thugs of the mill owners, led by sheriff Adkins, are still at large, despite their massacre of six textile workers and the wounding of many more.

The young capitalist class of the South has shown itself not one whit different from its brother of the North. The decisions of the various courts have given legal approval to the murder, the shooting, the kidnapping, the flogging and the armed raiding of the workers. It has been made plain that even the most ruthless acts of violence against them can be committed without fear of punishment. It has also been made clear that every worker, Communist or not, who dares to fight for the improvement of his conditions, is subject to the frame-up, to a vicious sentence of imprisonment, and even the electric chair.

The farcical trial of the Gastonia workers was conducted by the darling of the liberals, the much-praised "exemplary" Judge Barnhill. We pointed out that the "fairness" of Barnhill was only a cloak under which he was preparing to repeat the cruel game of Judge Landis in the trial of the I. W. I. We warned especially against the illusions fostered by Norman Thomas when he wrote: "Hats off to Judge Barnhill for his remarkable fairness thus far to the Gastonia defendants. At least North Carolina is to be spared the disgrace of a Webster Thayer." It was this remarkably fair judge who ruled: "If he is a Communist, he should

not demand to be tried as a loyal citizen of the U. S."

The seven men were framed up! Not a scintilla of evidence was produced during the whole trial to show that a single one of them had shot at Aderholt. The whole trial proved that these men were convicted solely because they were fighting for the workers and against the bosses, that the witnesses against them were already fixed, and that the predominantly farmers' jury would be true to its role.

We had no expectations of a "fair trial" and the release of the men from either Barnhill or his court. The only hope for the men was the formation of a mass movement throughout the country sufficiently broad and strong to prevent their being railroaded to the penitentiary. The mill bosses and their courts and juries were determined before the trial starts to convict the defendants. Only such a movement could have saved them. Such a movement was not organized to its full possibilities, and we say plainly that the responsibility rests not only upon the leaders of the official American labor movement, from whom nothing but sabotage could be expected, but in large part upon the sectarian policy of the present leaders of the Communist Party, who deliberately rejected the offers of aid of other groups of workers, and organized the movement on so narrow a basis that it could not express the widespread sentiment of the working masses in favor of the defendants.

It is not yet too late. The mill owners and their government are still subject to working class pressure. Our obligation to the men in prison is now greater than ever before. They must be set free. The warm, militant spirit of labor solidarity can force open the prison doors even now. This solidarity must be organized immediately, upon the widest foundation. The united front of labor must be established in reality and not on paper. Every working man, every labor organization—Unite to free the prisoners!

It is true that Stalin seeks to restrain this struggle, to prevent its transformation from a bureaucratic apparatus fight into a movement of the masses. It is true that in borrowing bits from the Opposition, he continues to distort and water down its essential ideas in theory and application. That is because he represents the Centrist bureaucracy. For a consistent line, the victory of the Opposition is required.

The Russian workers will attain that victory too. They still possess enormous powers of resistance. They remain the inspiration of labor.

### Next Number of the Paper Is the First Issue of the WEEKLY MILITANT

**I**N the face of tremendous difficulties, in spite of the Stalinists and the Right wing, who whistle songs in the dark about our "disintegration", we are achieving our goal. The next issue of the *Militant* will be the first issue of the *WEEKLY MILITANT*! The loyal group of pioneer fighters in the ranks of the Communist League have made it possible to transform the paper from a semi-monthly to a Weekly exactly one year after the first issue of the *Militant* was published. That is our answer to the bureaucrats who keep up their courage by announcing our "death" every two months.

We regret that the technical work involved in establishing suitable headquarters and making proper arrangement for the printing of the *Weekly Militant* will make it impossible to get out the first issue on the stipulated date of November 7th. But we have estimated definitely that it will be off the press on or about November 15th, 1929, and we appeal to all comrades to make the necessary arrangement for the widest possible distribution.

est possible distribution.

We have made the grade through the staunch spirit of our comrades and sympathizers. But the Weekly must not only be begun but also maintained. That is the big job before us. Our only source of support is the group of workers throughout the country who sympathize with our cause. Many of them have not yet been reached and they have not responded. It is the workers who must maintain the Weekly and guarantee its regular publication. It is they who can make it a weapon of struggle against the deceivers and betrayers of labor, for the regeneration and rebuilding of the revolutionary movement, for the victory of the proletariat.

The *WEEKLY MILITANT* will be able to analyze and report every event of importance to the working class. Besides the general political articles of a high standard which will be maintained, the *WEEKLY* will survey the field of the daily class struggle in the United States and report the outstanding happenings

of the week accurately. In addition to this, we have arranged to obtain regular articles and information from some of the best writers in the international movement and a standing section of the paper will be devoted to informing our readers of the important occurrences in world politics and labor.

We can publish the *Militant* regularly and improve it with each issue only with YOUR aid. We are raising a Sustaining Fund that will guarantee the appearance of the paper every week. Such a fund will establish a firm foundation under our feet. If you can give an outright donation of money, send it in immediately. If you can make a pledge to send in a sum of money each week or each month towards the Sustaining Fund, no matter how large or small the pledge may be, let us know right away. Send all funds and inquiries to

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