

# Expansion Program Headway

Our Program of Expansion is on the way. The results so far are very gratifying and testify to the vitality of the Left Communist Opposition movement.

Its central object is, of course, the one of building and strengthening this movement. In substance, it provides the organizational measures of progress intended for coordination with our advance in a political sense.

Are we making any such advance? Undoubtedly everyone of our comrades and supporters can notice a perceptible upward turn in several respects. General political steps taken cannot, of course, be disassociated or considered separately from organizational ones and certainly not within the Communist movement having a definite political object and requiring an organization to carry it into life. Therefore we may start in recording an advance on the basis of a very healthy increase in the activities of our various branches. There are definite reasons for this. First, there is a growth of opportunities in the slowly rising activity of the working class. Our numbers are gradually increasing and several of our branches have been better consolidated. But above all there is the strengthened conviction of our membership as to the correctness of the position which we have taken. Proofs of this correctness, are multiplying daily in the experiences of the class struggle. Gradually we are also succeeding better in carrying our platform into life in the sense that in its every day application, we translate it more firmly into a positive position for our movement. We are not merely Oppositionist critics but learning step by step to give our Left Communist views concrete form and make them stand out more clearly against those of the revisionists.

The unemployment question, for example, which is now the most important one before the working class, is also one in which we have succeeded to make a commendable beginning toward presenting an objective revolutionary estimate of the situation. This has enabled us to draw definite conclusions for the road which the Communist movement as a whole will have to follow if it is at all to fulfill its historic tasks. While the official party may reject these definite views today it will not be able to do so tomorrow.

Just by way of another example we may mention the article in this very issue dealing with present developments in the Illinois mine fields. It contains definite proposals made by our National Committee to the miners' Left wing union movement for a correct attitude towards these developments and for the necessary conclusions which must flow therefrom. This makes one more advance in translating our platform into real life. Organizational steps must not only keep progress with such advances but must by all means proceed in the same tempo. On this side of the ledger, in addition to the increased activity displayed by our branches, we may again remind our comrades of the progress made in our literature publication. Today we have the following pamphlets by Trotsky already in circulation: *The Program Criticism—The Strategy of the World Revolution—The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation—World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan—The Spanish Revolution—Communism and Syndicalism*. In preparation we have *"The Permanent Revolution"*. All of this is splendid revolutionary propaganda material destined to become the future text books of the revolutionary movement alongside of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The completest possible harmony between the tempo of political advance and organizational progress is essential and in this lies the significance of our Program of Expansion. Each step contemplated becomes one of additional strength. We will just repeat again these steps. First, the organization of the publishing company, secondly

## WATCH YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NUMBER!

This issue of *The Militant* is No. **66**. If the number on your wrapper is less than 66, you should send in your renewal. All expirations are cut off the mailing list unless the renewal is received before the next issue goes to press.

**THE MILITANT**,  
84 East 10th St.,  
New York City

Enclosed please find \$.....for.....renewal

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the weekly publication of the *Militant*, thirdly the second National Conference of our League, and fourthly the strengthening of the staff and the publication of a theoretical monthly.

The organization of the publishing company will naturally mean much greater extension of our propaganda possibilities. It will facilitate both the publication of more Marxian literature as well as extend its avenues for circulation. But this, important as it is, will be small compared with the next step to follow, the establishment of the *Militant* permanently on a weekly basis. Through a weekly paper we can so much more seriously think of becoming a factor in the general working class movement and wield actual influence with our views. A weekly *Militant*, reflecting our platform in every day life, becoming a guide in struggles and speaking regularly to the workers; this, together with an actually functioning organization will spell real advance and simultaneously lay the foundation for yet bigger tasks.

Our second National Conference is to be held soon. Our National Committee is preparing the theses and preparing for the discussion to take place. For us preparations of such theses do not mean merely to arrive at formulations of problems and tasks to be used for quotation purposes or to be scrapped when the whims of a new turn arrive. We expect our theses particularly to supplement our platform in the sense of drawing the necessary conclusions from developments since it was written. We expect them to be a means of greater clarity within our own ranks and to give concrete direction to the working class movement. Our second conference, the third step of our Program of Expansion, should on this basis again record a further advance. From this, the necessity of reaching the fourth step, the building and strengthening of a functioning staff, and the publication of a theoretical monthly, become perfectly obvious.

To recapitulate: The greatest significance in our Program of Expansion, we believe, lies in the fact that it becomes a means of coordinating the necessary organizational progress with political development and advance. Its fulfillment means talking in dollars and cents. From the reports elsewhere in this issue our readers will notice that we are well on the way to making the first hurdle but as soon as it is made we will hope to advance yet faster to the second and third and on to the completion of the program.

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

Of *The Militant*, published twice a month at New York, N. Y. for April 1, 1931. State of New York: County of New York.

Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared Max Shachtman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of *The Militant* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, 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) 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

Editor: None.  
Managing Editor: Max Shachtman, 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

Business Manager: Rose Karsner, 84 East 10th St., New York City.

2. That the owner is: Communist League of America (Opposition), 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. J. P. Cannon, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. Max Shachtman, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. Maurice Spector, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. Arne Swabeck, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

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

4. 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

# - Organization Notes -

## The Sub Drive

### FOR 500 NEW SUBSCRIBERS AND RENEWALS

*The Militant* does not scare you with screeching headlines about the "danger of suspension" unless you do thus and thus and thus.

This does not mean however that *The Militant* comes out of magic. Only YOUR CO-OPERATION makes it possible.

The National Executive Committee has followed the policy of working within the limits of the possibilities of the organization. Forward steps have been taken when it was felt that the membership and sympathizers in the field were ready for them.

A review of the organization for the past two and a half years shows a positive, steady, solid growth—even if a slow one. YOUR CO-OPERATION made it possible.

Now, we have reached a point where we feel confident that the circulation of *The Militant* can be substantially increased. YOUR CO-OPERATION is needed.

### WILL YOU HELP?

**IF YOU ARE A READER OF THE MILITANT — SUBSCRIBE!**  
**IF YOU ARE A SUBSCRIBER—GET ONE NEW SUBSCRIBER!**  
**IF YOUR SUBSCRIPTION HAS EXPIRED — RENEW!**

Thus far we have received only 31 new subscriptions and renewals. They came from the following branches: New York—8; Chicago—8; Minneapolis—8; Boston—2; Cleveland—1; St. Louis—1; Miscellaneous—3. This is a slow beginning but we feel sure that the next report will be much bigger.

Rebecca Sacharow of the Chicago Branch leads with individual results. If comrade Sacharow continues to send in the subscriptions as fast as she has up to now, she will soon be entitled to the prize of "My Life" by L. Trotsky.

### SPECIAL OFFERS

To stimulate the drive for 500 new subscriptions and renewals, we are making the following special offers, good only for the duration of the drive.

**With every 1 year sub. for \$2.00 FREE**—either one of the following Trotsky pamphlets:

**Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International.**  
**Strategy of the World Revolution or Since Lenin Died** by Max Eastman

**With every 6 mos. sub. for \$1.00 FREE**—any of the following Trotsky pamphlets:

**World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan**  
**Communism and Syndicalism**  
**The Revolution in Spain**

**Trial subs.—3 months for 25c**  
**With 5 yearly subs.—\$10.00**

**FREE**—1 copy of Trotsky's *My Life*

**With 3 yearly subs.—\$6.00**  
**FREE**—1 bound volume of *The Militant* for 2 and a half years.

**With 3 yearly subs. \$6.00**  
**FREE**—1 colorful beaded watch fob, made by comrade Malkin while in prison.

## THE SYMBOL MUST BE PROTECTED!

Mahatma Gandhi, who recently quit the Lovestone group to join hands with MacDonald, is having an exceedingly uncomfortable time of it in India. Despite the fact that Lovestone announced a while ago that Gandhi was the "symbol of the revolution" in India, there seems to be a large number of Indian revolutionists who, according to press dispatches, are violently opposing the treasonable pact between Gandhi and Britain. At Karachi, Gandhi almost had his skull laid open. It appears to us that for the sake of Auld Lang Syne, and for the bodily protection of the "symbol of the revolution", the Lovestone group should have the decency to send, let us say, Ben Gitlow to India as Gandhi's bodyguard. It is true that Gitlow has an overpowering inclination to being kidnapped from time to time, but we feel that even this danger should be risked to protect a so much abused "symbol"

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; 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.

Max Shachtman, Managing Editor.  
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March 1931.

Geo. Lorch, Notary Public.

(My Commission expires March 30, 1931.)

## Expansion Program

Since our last report of progress on our Program of Expansion we have received further definite word from various branches, The Minneapolis branch definitely pledges to raise \$500.00. The Boston branch pledges \$100.00. Two of our small branches, one in Montreal, Canada and the other in New Haven, Conn., pledged one certificate per number. The Chicago branch estimates that it will be able to raise about \$2,000.00 its first definite pledge amounting to about \$35.00.

The Boston Branch has forwarded \$25 as the first installment on this pledge. From the Kansas City Branch we have received \$50 as a first contribution to further the program.

During the last two weeks we have been circularizing a number of sympathizers and supporters endeavoring to explain just what we have in mind with our program of expansion and asking for their support. It is yet too early to expect definite replies but past experience leads us to believe that the appeal to such comrades will bring results. However, there are many more such supporters throughout the country who may not be on our mailing list. It is therefore important that our comrades, where we have branches, make a canvass of their city and bring this program before sympathetic elements and follow up with a planned campaign asking for definite support.

From the National Office we are following up to carry out our part of the program. The formal launching of the publishing company only awaits the completion of the first \$500 contribution, all the preparatory arrangements being ready.

Contributions received since the last report are as follows:

### ROLL CALL ON THE PROGRAM OF EXPANSION

Contributor	Amount
G. Saul	\$ 1
G. Clarke	4
Glotzer	5
Lewitt	5
H Stone	25
Gutringer	4
Friedman	2
Sterling	5
Swabeck	10
Berensmeyer	10
M. Fisher	10
Anonymous	1
Boston branch	25
Kansas City Branch	50
Previously reported	157.00
Total to date	\$346.00

## What Has Happened in Ill.?

(Continued from page 1)

of the *American Miner*, is not for any real interests of the miners, but either to form an independent Illinois miners union with Frank Farrington at the head or else to lull the militancy of the miners to sleep and then drive them into Lewis' union. Playing up the name of Frank Farrington in the last two issues of the *American Miner* would seem that Ameringer is heading in the first direction. Regardless of what Ameringer attempts to do, his influence among the miners is small and he will not get very far which every way he turns.

The most potent force in the present struggle is the rank and file movement, especially the Educational Body at Staunton, where for the last two Sunday meetings, miners from all parts of Illinois and even Indiana have gathered together, endorsed the calling of an international Miners Union to meet in St. Louis and further went on record for the following: For division of work; shorter work day; power to the pit committees to settle local grievances; Union control of the loading machines; organize the unorganized; etc.

The calling of the convention for the purpose of organizing a new international Miners Union is a healthy sign and should meet with the approval of the rank and file miners of this country. It is now the duty of the Left wing, especially the Communist miners to clear out of the ranks of the miners the last remnants of reaction and elect men from the pits as officials of the new miners' organization, to adopt the demands of the Staunton Educational Board