

EDITORIAL NOTES

AMTER WILL GET YOUR MONEY BACK?

The New York municipal election campaign of the Communist Party has not been without its funny side, even if the joke has been at the expense of Communism.

The Daily Worker of October 27th reports the appearance of our candidate at a meeting of depositors of the U. S. Bank who are still whistling for their money.

The report in the Daily Worker quotes Amter as saying: "The Communist Party pledges to you that if I am elected I'll use all my official power as boro president to organize all the 400,000 workers and small depositors for a militant fight to get their money back."

With all due respect to the intentions of the candidate, we do not think he could make good with this promise even if he is elected boro president.

Communism is the doctrine of the socialization of property, including the banks. The small proprietor engrossed with his little store, his little farm or his little bank deposit is not a Communist.

The Stalinists, who stand everything on its head, have not made an exception of this question. In their frenzied endeavors to mobilize the petty-bourgeoisie for the election they do not stop at holding out to the small owner the illusion of security in his possessions.

THE OPPOSITION ON THE OFFENSIVE

The correspondence from the field in the recent issues of the Militant tell a convincing story of the increasing activity and aggressiveness of the members of the Communist League.

ences, forums and other places where the radical workers come together and defend there the ideas of Marxism on concrete issues of the class struggle.

Wherever we have forces they are on the offensive, and their confidence grows every time they pit the platform of the Marxist wing against Centrist empiricism, whether it be in a general discussion of principles or in the consideration of tactics in a single action.

The whole district apparatus of the I. L. D. in New York had to be brought down upon a single branch to expel two young Oppositionists whose questions and arguments regarding the policy in the Mooney campaign they could not answer.

What is needed to hasten this victory is an intensification of the political activity of the Opposition, as was indicated by the National Conference, the first fruitful records of which have already been recorded.

THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Communist League of America [Opposition] at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swaback 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.

Manchurian Events and the Communists

utilized owing to the absence of a Communist party. The ferment is so deep and strong that not only the lower sections of the Kuo Min Tang are more pronouncedly dissatisfied with the policy of the official Kuo Min Tang, not only is the military grip to a certain degree slackened so that the masses are to a great extent free to write slogans, hold meetings and express views; but even in the Nanking government, the strong bulwark of reaction and counter-revolution, certain opinions are expressed against the random slaughter of Communists because they are vigorous youths, and that the Kuo Min Tang itself is guilty since it cannot put the country in order.

Progress and Hardships of the Left Opposition The Chinese Left Opposition, after a long period of disunity, no sooner had achieved unity under the leadership of the International Secretariat and comrade Trotsky, than the blows of the Kuo Min Tang fell upon us. After the arrest

FOR CLARITY AND ACTION

«Young Spartacus» to Appeal to Membership of Y.C.L.

Three leading members in the Chicago District of the Young Communist League were recently expelled from the organization. All three comrades, Norman Satir, Ruth Andras, and Nathan Gould were former members of the District Bureau. They were expelled because of the sharp criticism they leveled at the character of the regime that prevails in the Y. C. L. In essence it was an attack on the strangulating bureaucraticism in the Y. C. L.

The action of these comrades must be hailed as a progressive sign and a reawakening in the ranks of the Y. C. L. When it is recalled that practically the one form of expression of dissatisfaction in the Y. C. L. for the past period has been an ever-accelerated turn-over in membership, then this latest manifestation is indeed insignificant. It proves that the Stalinist bureaucrats cannot rob all the young Communists of a sense of self-reliance and capacity to think, though they may clothe themselves in the mantles of official Communism and usurp the traditions of the October revolution.

An interesting aspect of this latest revolt against the bureaucratic regime is that it originates almost wholly on youth grounds. It does not assail the policies of the Party, it is not organizationally related to any group in the Party, nor does it connect itself ideologically with any Party current, as for example, the Left Opposition. While this demonstrates the vitality of the Communist youth and augurs well for the future—the ability of the youth on its own initiative to fight for a correct regime—it at the time reveals a profound weakness. If this revolt were not to transcend its present stage, it would merely dissipate itself, and lose the real value it could contribute to the Communist movement.

We Must Reach Y. C. L.

It is particularly when faced with such developments that the unopposable need for a youth paper of the Left

Opposition is keenly felt. An organ that would reflect these developments from their inception, influence them with its advice and criticism, point out the necessary steps, and finally guide them into the Marxist channels of the Left Opposition, is the next link that the Communist League of America must forge in its chain of steady progress. Our Young Spartacus must become a powerful instrument for the intensifications of the struggle against bureaucraticism in the Y. C. L. and for genuine Marxist education.

The Young Vanguard, even were it to appear with unflinching regularity in the Militant could not possibly have that appeal for young Communists that a separate opposition youth paper would undoubtedly have. The appearance of Young Spartacus will unquestionably arouse widespread interest in the ranks of the Y. C. L. It will immediately pose in the minds of numerous Y. C. L. members the fundamental questions that separate the Left Opposition ideologically from the Stalinist and Lovestone factions. For the first time young comrades who hitherto have been oblivious to these burning issues, and have followed in blind faith the decrees handed down from above, will concern themselves with these problems, and will want to know more about them.

Our Young Spartacus must become a positive factor in saving for the Communist movement those innumerable young workers who are lost in the astounding turn-over in the Y. C. L. Our paper will explain to them the causes for their unfavorable reaction to the life of the Y. C. L. and show them the way which will lead to a Leninist regime in the Y. C. L.

But in order to transform our good plans into better reality, we must have the assistance of all those advanced Communists who realize the significance of our project. We are confident that their response will be commensurate with their understanding.

Activities in the Ranks of the Opposition

We have mentioned in a previous issue our intention of organizing a group of active Militant builders. This is now taking form and has already some results to show. We named already in our announcement some comrades upon whom we relied to make this a live item. This depends entirely upon their activities. We have heard directly only from two of these comrades mentioned by name. Meanwhile a number of others have already made their application and become accepted in the group.

The qualifications for membership are very simple. Just hustling for Militant subs. and in this manner building the circulation to make the Left Opposition organ a much more powerful medium, a much more powerful organizer for our movement. This includes also the securing of renewals for the expired subscriptions. We are sure we have many comrades ready and willing to take up this work.

We list under this heading only such new subscriptions and renewals secured by the efforts of our comrades, not those readers who on their own initiative sent in their sub or their renewal.

During the last two weeks the following comrades have results to show for their efforts by way of actual subscriptions secured.

- C. Shekett, Boston 3 Joseph Carter, New York 2 H. Capelis, New York 1 P. Shulman, New York 1 M. Kent, New York 1 Sylvia Bleeker, New York 1 Jack Carmody, New York 1 D. Plarinos, Youngstown, O. 1 L. Brayer, Cleveland 1 C. Shekett, Boston 2 C. R. Hedlund, Minneapolis 1 Leon Goodman, Phila. 1

N. Y. CLASSES BEGIN The class in the "Fundamentals of Communism", conducted by comrade Martin Abern has begun, and classes are held each Monday evening at the headquarters of New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition), 84 E. 10th Street. There is still opportunity to enroll before the next class, after which registration for this class is closed.

STUDY GROUP A study class in the Fundamentals of Communism, composed mostly of young workers, is being conducted by the Philadelphia Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). For particulars, write to Leon Goodman, 327 So. 11th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

CHICAGO CLASSES A class in the Fundamentals of Communism is being conducted by comrade Charles Curtiss on Thursday evenings at the headquarters of the Chicago Branch of the Communist League (Opposition), 1435 No. Western Ave.

Additional study classes are being conducted by comrade Hugo Oehler in the form of a Marx-Lenin study group, and also a class in the Fundamentals of Communism by comrade John Edwards at 1118 West Madison Ave.

Chicago workers wishing to register in any of these classes may do so by getting in touch through the Opposition headquarters.

Hail The Russian Revolution!

(Continued from page 1) a world-wide campaign for the extension of large and long-term credits to the Soviet Union by the capitalist countries. Stalin and his stupid lackeys branded this living slogan as counter-revolutionary. It conflicted with the theory of "socialism in one country".

The Conditions in the Factories

It is axiomatic from a revolutionary standpoint and the aspect of the development of workers' control, that for every increase in the productivity of labor in the Soviet Union, there must result an approximately corresponding increase in the standard of living of the workers—their wages, working conditions, etc. The industrial proletariat particularly, the carriers of the future hopes of humanity, must participate in every gain made by industry and agriculture.

But under Stalin, there has been and large a policy of production for the sake of production, a false concept of socialist construction; productivity has increased at the expense of the working class; that is a damning indictment of Stalinist practices. The regime within the shops has deteriorated. More, not less, control must be vested in the workers in their shops, their committees, their unions. Instead, managers, trade union officials and State and party bureaucrats increase their domination over the workers. Dissatisfaction naturally arises with this non-proletarian policy; workers shift from job to job, hoping for betterment; shop control and discipline become weakened, which the Stalinist bureaucracy thinks can be overcome by decree. A principle of Communist management and workers' control is involved in these prevailing Stalinist methods in the Soviet Union.

In the field of foreign policy, there has been a wide departure from the early days of Lenin, Trotsky and Chicherin. It is indeed a long journey from that period to the "diplomacy" of Stalin and Litvinoff who finds it possible on behalf of the Soviet Union, to sign the Kellogg Pact of the imperialists and to justify this non-revolutionary action on the ground that the Kellogg Pact enforces "moral" (sic!) obligations on the capitalist powers who also signed it.

The Changes in the Communist Party In the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there have been tremendous changes, which took on the speed of a locomotive with the expulsion of Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition from the Party. The Party, in a fundamental sense, is non-existent: it is melted into the masses by the method of mass infiltration into the party by whole factories, etc. The actual role of the Party as the leader of the masses is vitiated by the bureaucratic control of the Stalinist apparatus which tolerates no criticism or program other than its own. Thus, the proletarian dictatorship still exists, but Stalinism is eating at its roots and its heart, the Party.

The Stalinist policy is the policy of isolation for the Soviet Union, an underestimation of the role of a Communist Party and the Communist International. With the acceptance and espousal of the anti-Marxian theory of socialism in one country, it was inevitable that not only in the Soviet Union, but throughout the C. I. social-democratic theories would in time take their hold.

The Development of National Socialism Theory has no boundary lines. Even as the Left Opposition warned, national socialism developed among the Communist Parties in other countries (witness the German Party and the recent referendum). The theory of "socialism in one country" became "internationalized". With it, to mention but this major cause, there followed the decline of the Communist parties. The War Danger and Defense of the Soviet Union became, without relation and analysis to the current situation and burning issues of the day, the central slogans of the Communist Parties. Lip service was given to the fact that the best defense of the Soviet Union and for the temporary staying off of another world war, was best carried through by a consistent struggle against one's own capitalism on living issues. The Communist Parties have in the main become reduced to auxiliaries for the Soviet Union.

During the period of Lenin's life four Congresses of the Communist International took place, as follows: First Congress—1919; Second Congress—1920; Third Congress—1921; Fourth Congress—1922. Lenin's death followed in January 1924 and the Fifth Congress was in 1924; four years elapsed between the Fifth and Sixth Congress of the C. I. in 1928; three years have since passed and there is not yet a word about a Seventh Congress. Thus loudly, but without words, shouts Stalin his contempt for the Comintern.

Here we will only mention that Stalinism, carried over into many other countries, as in Great Britain, hoped to jump over the inevitable step of the development of a British Communist Party, and thus helped to carry out the mangling of the British proletariat and Party through the "actions" of the now dead, but unlamented Anglo-Russian Committee. And the manner in which Stalinism aided by Mensheviks like Martynov, helped to strangle for years to come the Chinese Revolution. Need we mention how the Communist International ignored, and Parvda lamented, that the Spanish Revolution, still in mighty motion, might hurt the preservation of the peace of Europe; forgot the cause of revolution and clung instead to that pitiful reed of peace by agreement with capitalism, "of collaboration peacefully of the Soviet and capitalist world." (Litvinoff).

Soviet Russia — The Fortress of World Revolution

Despite all, Soviet Russia remains the fortress of the world revolution, its prelude. The Russian Revolution still is powerful in its own right—despite Stalinism. The fundamentals remain—which the second party and fourth international advocates fail to see—: The prevailing property relations are the socialized and nationalized means of production and distribution; the monopoly of foreign trade by the State remains as a bulwark. The Proletarian Dictatorship stands; Soviet Russia is a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. The education of the masses, the military and achievements of the workers and Bolsheviks during all the years of the Russian Revolution, have planted deep the roots of revolutionary practice and the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky. On an international scale, in varying degrees, this is true also. Therefore, the International still lives and the Opposition calls for the policy of the regeneration and reform of the Communist Parties and the Communist International. The Opposition and its Ideas live and will conquer. THE HERITAGE OF THE RUSSIAN OCTOBER STILL REMAINS. It is for us to be dedicated to the task of preserving that heritage and increasing its wealth. Stalinism destroys, but Leninism rebuilds again and again on a higher plane.

The Platform of the Opposition—And the Future

With comrade Trotsky and the Russian Opposition, we say, even as it was said to the Stalinist Central Committee on October 23, 1927:

"We stand at the helm of Bolshevism. You will not tear us away from it. We are going to hold it true. You will not cut us off from the party. You will not cut us off from the working class. We are familiar with repressions. We are accustomed to blows. We will not surrender the October Revolution to the policies of Stalin—the entire essence of which is contained in these few words: fratricidal with the proletarian nucleus, fraternization with the compromisers of all countries, capitulation before the world bourgeoisie. . . .

"The platform of the Opposition is on the table of the Party. The proletariat thinks slowly, but it thinks strong. . . . The decision lies in the last account with the political course, and not with the bureaucracy's list. . . .

"Your persecutions, expulsions, arrests, will make our platform the most popular and the closest and dearest document of the international workers' movement. Expel us. You will not stop the victory of the Opposition—the victory of the revolutionary unity of our party and the Communist International."

—MARTIN ABERN.

Greek Left Opposition in Appeal to British Sailors

(We reprint here the leaflet addressed to and distributed among the British sailors on October 10th at Salonica, Greece by the comrades of the Left Opposition in Greece, the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Archie-Marxists). The previous issue of The Militant mentioned this distribution of an appeal at the time of landing of the sailors from British boats. We are glad to print the entire appeal as an evidence of the policy of international solidarity on behalf of the working class.—Ed.) The appeal follows:

THE APPEAL TO THE BRITISH SAILORS

"To the British Sailors. "To the British Working Class and the world proletariat.

"Comrades: "A month ago 12,000 sailors of the British Navy struck in protest against the attempts of British capitalism to shift the burden of the economic crisis, engendered by the capitalist system, onto your shoulders and those of the British workers. They are cutting down the unemployment dole, reducing wages, while the expenses for armaments, for the preparations of a new war are continually increasing.

"At the head of these efforts the capitalists of your country put the traitors of the Labor Party—the MacDonaldis, Snowdens and Thomases—who made an

open alliance with the landowners, mine-owners, bankers and other big capitalists and militarists. The same dirty job is committed against the British workers by the Hendersons, Maxtons and Kirkwoods who are agents of the possessing classes among the British proletariat.

"The post of these traitors is full of such treacheries against the working class. In the General Strike of 1926 the same leaders betrayed the struggle of the British working class, with the collaboration in this instance of the Stalinist leaders of the British Communist Party.

"When the Communist Party of Great Britain could have really become the vanguard of the struggling proletariat and unmasked the treachery of the MacDonaldis, Citrines, Purcells and Company, in the British Communists worked hand in hand with them in the Anglo-Russian Committee and on instruction from the Communist International from which the best Bolsheviks, among them Leon Trotsky, the collaborator of Lenin, were expelled.

"Comrades! Today, in the whole world, in your country also, the great work to redress the Communist Parties, with the assistance of the International Left Communist Opposition, is going on. At the head of this task is Trotsky, the organizers of the Russian RED ARMY AND NAVY. We all must do all in

our power to obtain the reinstatement of all expelled Left Communists into the Communist Parties.

Proletariat Greets Sailors' Strike

"Comrades! Your strike frightened world capitalism and met with great enthusiasm from the world proletariat. You, by your action, have forced the capitalists to retreat. You have learned from your own experiences that only your organized and concerted action secures victory. Your example revives the history of the Russian comrades hoisted the flag of the Revolution and aided in the destruction of czarism. Hence, the world proletariat considers your action as a good beginning and blow against the British money bags. Together with the proletariat of your country, you must accomplish the destruction of your capitalist regime, under the leadership of the Communists and the International Left Communist Opposition.

"The Greek workers are wholeheartedly with you.

"Long live the British Sailors!

"Long live the British Red October!

"Long live the Soviet Socialist Workers' Republic of Great Britain!

"Long live the Soviet Union!

"Long live the International Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky!

"Long Live the World Social Revolution!"

Read! Subscribe! Out Young Spartacus Soon Watch For It Published by the National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) YOUNG SPARTACUS official organ of the Communist youth opposition in the United States, prints news, articles, educational material and editorials on the economic and political situation in the United States and elsewhere, particularly as related to the youth and young workers in industry. It prints also the writings of Leon Trotsky and other leaders of the International Left Opposition of the Communist movement. Published Monthly 84 East 10th Street New York, N. Y. Fifty (\$0.50) cents per year (Canada and Foreign \$0.65) 5c per copy. YOUNG SPARTACUS 84 East 10th Street New York, N. Y. Enclosed please find fifty (\$0.50) cents for one year's subscription: Name Address City State