# EDITORIAL

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AMTER WILL GET YOUR

MONEY BACK? campaign of the Communist Party bas not been without its funny side, even if with a growing response. The Opposithe joke has been at the expense of tion comes out the gainer from every Communism. This was to be expected encounter. with Israel Amter as the head of the ticket. Amter is the candidate for boro president of Manhattan. If he is not elected it will not be because he did not try; not because he stopped short of extravagant promises. The revolutionary Marxists have always regarded elections tion of tactics in a single action. In this as an opportunity for revolutionary pro- conflict of ideas which is at the bottom paganda Amter has been demonstrating of the factional division in the Communhow they can also be utilized for the ist movement, even the youngest and tion in the Y. C. L. for the past period most vulgar reformist vote-catching. We are well enough acquainted with the typi- Opposition have an incalculable advan- in membership, then this latest manifescal American bourgeois politician, among tage. The appalling ideological poverty tation is indeed insignificant. It proves whom the reformist socialists can be in- of the Centrist leaders is demonstrated that the Stalinist bureaucrats cannot cluded, who promise the voters anything on every occasion. and everything. It is a strange role for Communists, however, and not an edifying one.

The Daily Worker of October 27th reports the appearance of our candidate at and arguments regarding the policy in olution. a meeting of depositors of the U. S. Bank who are still whistling for their money. It was evidently an enthusiastic gathering. "A great ovation was given Amter when he was introduced", says the report. And the jubilation of his hearers did not stop there. "Several times during his speech he was loudly applauded." If these cheers were for Com, munism one could only be glad. But this, unfortunately, was not the case The depositors had something far more immediate in mind when they shouted ary party. They were simply excited at stronger than the hooligan's fist and veals a profound weakness. If this rethe prospect of the recovery of their will prevail over it. lost deposits, and were hailing the man

Amter as saying: "The Communist Party ed by the National Conference, the first pledges to you that if I be elected I'll fruitful results of which have already use all my official power as boro presi- been recorded. These activities and redent to organize all the 400,000 workers sults demonstrate that the adherents of able need for a youth paper of the Left with their understanding. and small depositors for a militant the Left Opposition are learning how fight to get their money back." Such are to conduct the political struggle. This the campaign arguments of Stalinist is not a secret art. It consists primar-

of the candidate, we do not think he of them. The Opposition is armed with could make good with this promise even an invincible platform which has been if he is elected boro president. We go verified in every concrete question by the further and say such promises should test of experience. It is this fact which not be made by a Communist in any case. gives the Opposition fighters such un-It would be far better and certainly for bounded confidence and assures them an more in keeping with the elementary increasing influence in the ranks of the conceptions of Communism to ex- proletarian vanguard in proportion to plain to the depositors that the ex- their activity and aggressiveness in expropriation of small owners by bank pounding the platform. swindles is just as much a part of the capitalist system as their ruin by competition, and that salvation lies in the revolutionary overthrow of the regime and not in the promises of a city official Published weekly by the Communist to halt its normal processes and restore that which existed yesterday.

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 Commun- Max Shachtman Maurice Spector ist. He can become one only insofar as he comprehends the hopelessness of the contest with centralized capital and adopts the property viewpoint of the proletariat. Communist propaganda among the members of these doomed classes should emphasize this idea all the time Such events as the bank failure create favorable opportunities for its reception. Therein lies their chief value to the rev-

olutionists. 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 samll owner the utilized owing to the absence of a Comillusion of security in his possessions. munist party. The ferment is so deep They even promise to restore that which and strong that not only the lower sechas already been taken away. And this, tions of the Kuo Min Tang are more mind you, under the existing capitalist pronounced dissatisfied with the policy regime in which the progressive expro- of the o cial Kuo Min Tang, not only a journal organizing workers. In Shangpriation of the small owners and the is the military grip to a certain degree hai, we are organizing anti-Japanese imsmall producer proceeds by a law of the slackened so that the masses are to a system itself. By such methods the pet- great extent free to write slogans, hold ty-bourgeois masses will not be won meeting and express views; but even in over to Communism, but the Party itself | the Nanking government, the strong bul- has been transformed from a semi-monthwill be dragged into the petty-bourgeois wark of reaction and counter-revolution, ly into a weekly, unfortunately in mimeo-

# THE OPPOSITION ON THE

OFFENSIVE The correspondence from the field in the Kuo Min Tang itself is guilty since the recent issues of the Militant tell a it cannot put the country in order. The convincing story of the increasing ac- masses need leadership. Provided with tivity and aggressiveness of the members correct tactics, the Comunist party would of the Communist League. The reports, show beyond all doubt that the systematic educational work, upon which our faction is grounded, is being supplemented more and more by direct partici- long period of disunity, no sooner had pation in the life of the Left wing labor achieved unity under the leadership ofmovement. The Oppositionists are pene- the International Secretariat and comtrating into the unions and non-party rade Trotsky, then the blows of the Kuo us. The Stalinists fail to compromise organizations. They appear at confer- Min Tang fell upon us. After the arrest us by expulsion; the public and the work-

ences, forums and other places where the radical workers come together and de-The New York municipal election fend there the ideas of Marxism on concrete issues of the class struggle. And

> Wherever we have forces they are on the offensive, and their confidence grows Marxist wing against Centrist empiricism, whether it be in a general discusgion of principles or in the considera-

down upon a single branch to expel two the mantles of official Communism and young Oppositionists whose questions the Mooney campaign they could not answer. The open forum conducted by the official Party in New York has been that it originates almost wholly on youth from above, will concern themselves with enlivened lately by the participation of "Trotskyites" who have gained ground in of the Party, it is not organizationally every discussion. It is true that the related to any group in the Party, nor bureaucrats revenged themselves by setting hooligans upon the young Marxists any Party current, as for example, the to beat them up as they left the meet- Left Opposition. While this demonstrates ing last Sunday But that is a poor re- the vitality of the Communist youth and compense. The Communist workers will augurs well for the future—the ability know how to pass judgement on this of the youth on its own initiative to fight form of "debate". The political line is for a correct regime-it at the time re-

What is needed to hasten this victory who dangled this prospect before them. is an intensification of the political ac-The report in the Daily Worker quotes tivity of the Opposition, as was indicatily in the assimilation of scientific Marx-With all due respect to the intentions ist ideas and the intransigeant defense

Manchurian Events and the Communists

# THE MILITANT

League of America [Opposition] at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon

Arne Swabeck

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(Contined from page 3)

certain opinions are expressed against

the random slaughter of Communists be-

cause they are vigorous youths, and that

Progress and Hardships of the

Left Opposition

The Chinese Left Opposition, after

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreigh \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy

# FORCLARITYANDACTION | Hail The Russian Revolution !

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

ago District of the Young Communist would reflect these developments from League were recently expelled from the their inception, influence them with its organization. All three comrades, Nor- advice and criticism, point out the necman Satir, Ruth Andras, and Nathan essary steps, and finally guide them into Gould were former members of the Dis- the Marxist channels of the Left Oppositrict Bureau. They were expelled be- tion, is the next link that the Communcause of the sharp criticism they lev- ist League of America must forge in its elled at the character of the regime that chain of steady progress. Our Young prevails in the Y. C. L. In essence it Spartacus must become a powerful inevery time they pit the platform of the was an attack on the strangulating bureaucratism in the Y. C. L.

The action of these comrades must be hailed as a progressive sign and a reawakening iny the ranks of the Y. C. L. When it is recalled that practically the one form of expression of dissatisfacmost inexperienced representatives of the has been an ever-accelerated turn-over rob all the young Communiss of a sense The whole district apparatus of the of self-reliance and capacity to think, I. L. D. in New York had to be brought though they may clothe themselves in usurp the traditions of the October rev-

> An interesting aspect of this latest regrounds. It does not assail the policies does it connect itself ideologically with stage, it would merely dissipate itself, and lose the real value it could contribute to the Communist movement.

### We Must Reach Y. C. L.

Three leading members in the Chic- Opposition is keenly felt. An organ that strument for the intensifications of the struggle against bureaucracy in the Y. C. L. and for genuine Marxist education.

The Young Vanguard, even were it to appear with unfailing 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 comthese burning issues, and have followed the shops has deteriorated. More, not volt against the bureaucratic regime is in blind faith the decrees handed down less, control, must be vested in the these problems, and will want to know mittees, their unions. Instead, manmore 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 Communists who realize the significance It is particularly when faced with of our project. We are confident that such developments that the unpostpon- their response will be commensurate

# 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 securtions. We are sure we have many comrades ready and willing to take up this work.

We list under this heading only such by the efforts of our comrades, not those Monday, November 9. Prospective stu- in the Soviet Union, but throughout the 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.

on May 21-22 of 13 comrades, one of

whom is a member of the standing com-

mittee, another important Opposition

worker was arrested on August 16th.

Despite the blows dealt to our organiza-

tion, we still march forward, publishing

perialism associations among the Kuo

Our central organ, The Spark, nov

graph form. Besides, there is a local

Shanghai semi-weekly for the workers;

we are planning to start another legal

and printed paper. The workers now

are beginning to move and we shall grow

with their movement. The sustenance

of the national movement hereafter will

chiefly depend on whether the workers

Japanese strikes and manifestations.

Min Tang workers.

preservation.

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

### N. Y. CLASSES BEGIN

held each Monday evening at the hear- its heart, the Party. quarters of New York Branch of the ing of renewals for the expired subscrip- Communist League (Opposition), 84 E. 10th Street. There is still opportunity which registration for this class is closed.

The class in "Marxism" to be con-

# STUDY GROUP

A study class in the Fundamentals of Communism, composed mostly of young 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 1118 West Madison Ave.

getting in touch through the Opposition readquarters.

(Continued from page 1) this living slogan as counter-revolution-"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 workerstheir 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 by

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 rades who hitherto have been oblivous to Stalinist practices. The regime within workers in their shops, their comagers, 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 capitalist powers who also signed it.

Martin Abern has begun, and classes are but Stalinism is eating at its roots and on a higher plane.

The Stalinist policy is the policy of isolation for the Soviet Union, an underestimation of the role of a Communist to enroll before the next class, after Party and the Communist International With the acceptance and espousal of the anti-Marxian theory of socialism in one new subscriptions and renewals secured ducted by Arne Swabeck will begin on country, it was inevitable that not only readers who on their own initiative dents should send in their names at C. I., social-democratic theories would in time take their hold.

### The Development of National Socialism

workers, is being conducted by the as the Left Opposition warned, national ities of Stalin-the entire essence of Philadelphia Branch of the Communist socialism developed among the Commun- which is contained in these few words: League of America (Opposition). For ist Parties in other countries (witness Repression of the proletarian nucleus, particulars, write to Leon Goodman, the German Party and the recent refer- fraternization with the compromisers of endum). The theory of "socialism in one country" became "internationalized". world bourgeoisie . . . . With it, to mention but this major cause, there followed the decline of the Comwithout relation and analysis to the current situation and burning issues of the bureaucrat's fist. . . . the day, the central slogans of the Communist Parties. Lip service was given to the fact that the best defense of the also a class in the Fundamentals of Com- Soviet Union and for the temporay stavmunism by comrade John Edwards at ing off of another world war, was best carried through by a consistent Chicago workers wishing to register struggle against one's own capitalism on in any of these classes may do so by 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 a world-wde campagn for the extension Congresses of the Communist Internaof large and long-term credits to the tional took place, as follows: First Con-Soviet Union by the capitalist countries. gress-1919; Second Congress-1920; Stalin and his stupid lackeys branded Third Congress-1921; Fourth Congress -1922. Lenin's death followed in January. It conflicted with the theory of ary 1924 and the Fifth Congress was in 1924; four years clapsed 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 Martynow, 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 Revoultion still is powerful in its own right-despite Stalinism. The fundamentals remain-which the second party and fourth international has been a wide departure from the advocates fail to see-: The prevailing the assistance of all those advanced carly days of Lenin, Trotsky and Chich- property relations are the socialized and erin. It is indeed a long journey from nationalized means of production and that period to the "diplomacy" of Stalin distribution; the monopoly of foreign and Litvinoff who finds it possible on trade by the State remains as a bulwark. behalf of the Soviet Union, to sign the The Proletarian Dictatorship stands; Kellogg Pact of the imperialists and to Soviet Russia is a WORKERS' GOVjustify this non-revolutionary action on ERNMENT. The education of the massthe ground that the Kellogg Pact en- es, the militancy and achievements of forces "moral" (sic!) obligations on the the workers and Bolsheviks during all the years of the Russian Revoultion, The Changes in the Communist Party have planted deep the roots of revolu-In the Communist Party of the Soviet tionary practice and the doctrines of Union there have been tremendous Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky. On an changes, which took on the speed of a international scale, in varying degrees, locomotive with the expulsion of Leon this is true also. Therefore, the Inter-Trotsky and the Left Opposition from national still lives and the Opposition the Party. The Party, in a fundamental calls for the policy of the regeneration sense, is non-existent; it is melted into and reform of the Communist Parties the masses by the method of mass infil- and the Communist International. The tration into the party by whole factories, Opposition and its ideas live and will etc. The actual role of the Party as conquer. The HERITAGE OF THE the leader of the masses is vitiated by RUSSIAN OCTOBER STILL REMAINS. the bureaucratic control of the Stalin- It is for us to be dedicated to the task ist apparatus which tolerates no critic- of preserving that heritage and in-The class in the "Fundamentals of ism or program other than its own. Thus, creasing its wealth. Stalinism destroys. communism", conducted by comrade the proletarian dictatorship still exists, but Leninism rebuilds again and again

### 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 sur-Theory has no boundary lines. Even render the October Revolution to the polall countries, capitulation before the

"The platform of the Opposition is on the table of the Party. The proletariat munist parties. The War Danger and thinks slowly, but it thinks strong. . . . Defense of the Soviet Union became, The decision lies in the last account with the political course, and not with

"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

will actively enter the arena with anti-(We reprint here the leastet address- open alliance with the landowners, mine- our power to obtain the reinstatement Despite the fact that the Stalinists continue to slander us and call us liquidators and counter-revolutionaries, the ruling Kuo Min Tang has a sober view upon ists). The previous issue of The Milling-class recognize us as Communists, tant mentioned this distribution of an just as we never fail to recognize Wang appeal at the time of landing of the sailors from British boats. We are glad Chang; Wel and Co. as Kuo Ming Tangists despite their expulsion by Chiang Kai-Shek. By the expulsions, the Stalinists only weaken Communism and on behalf of the working class.-Ed.) make possible their bureaucratic self-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 group. After the defeat of the Stalin- the attempts of British capitalism to shift the burden of the economic crisis, munist party will go over to the Trotsky- engendered by the capitalist system, ist tactle. In the near future, there will onto your shoulders and those of the inevitably be a split into two parties." British workers. They are cutting down The Kuo Min Tang indeed knows which the unemployment dole, reducing wages, of us is the more serious enemy. It is while the expenses for armaments, for a better answer to the Stalinist slander the preparations of a new war are con-

NIEL-SIH. Snowdens and Thomases-who made an AND NAVY. We all must do all in tion!"

ed to and distributed among the British owners, bankers and other big capitalists of all expelled Left Communists into the sailors on October 10th at Salonica, and militarists. The same dirty job is Greece by the comrades of the Left Op- committed against the British workers position in Greece, the organization of by the Hendersons, Maxtons and Kirkthe Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marx- woods who are agents of the possessing classes among the British proletariat.

"The post of these traitors is full of such treacheries against the working capitalists to retreat. You have learned to print the entire appeal as an evidence, class. In the General Strike of 1926 the from your own experiences that only of the policy of international solidarity same leaders betrayed the struggle of your organized and concerted action the British working class, with the colinist leaders of the British Communist

"When the Communist Party of Great Britain could have really become the and unmaskedd the treachery of the Mac-Donalds, Citrines, Purcells and Company, 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 "At the head of these efforts the capi- Communist Opposition, is going on. At "Long live the International Left Optalists of your country put the traitors the head of this task is Trotsky, the position and comrade Trotsky! of the Labor Party-the MacDonalds, organizers of the Russian RED ARMY Long Live the World Social Revolu-

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 secures victory. Your example revives laboration in this instance of the Stal- 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. Tovanguard of the struggling proletariat gether 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 Opposi-

"The Greek workers are whole-heart-

edly 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!

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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.

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YOUNG SPARTACUS

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Tang, sent to its local organizations, after analysing the controversy between the Stalinists and the Trotskyists, they reacted in the following words to the controversy: the tactics of the "Trotskylst" group towards China are more venomous

In the theses of the propaganda de-

partment of the C. C. of the Kuo Min

and dangerous than those of the Stalinist ist tactics of guerilla warfare, the Comthan any on our own part. We hope tinually increasing. only that the time is not far distant

when this "danger" will be turned into a real one. Shanghai, China, October 2, 1931