

EDITORIAL NOTES

WHERE IS THE MOONEY MOVEMENT?

It is nearly three months since Tom Mooney issued his memorable appeal "To All Militant and Revolutionary Labor Organizations and Groups" for united action in his behalf.

The protests of the Communists so long as these protests are not supported by wider masses of the workers. This is the crux of the question.

What does this mean, concretely, now? It means for the Communist Party and the I. L. D. to make direct, formal proposals to all the organizations and groups mentioned in Tom Mooney's letter.

And this is not because there is no basis for the issue. All the elements for a truly gigantic movement, one that can reach into the very depths of the most conservative labor organizations.

Tom Mooney's letter of August 18th is a remarkable presentation of the question in every respect. All the saboteurs justify themselves on the ground that "Mooney is in jail and doesn't understand the situation".

The open letter of Tom Mooney was and yet remains a great opportunity for the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense.

It is bad that the leaders of the Party didn't understand this, and still worse that they do not understand it yet. They are people to whom the obvious is always a mystery sealed with seven seals.

But is it not equally clear that the protests of the Communists and their close sympathizers alone—a mere handful of the American working class—scare nobody, and least of all the stiff-necked and class-conscious persecutors of Mooney?

THE ECONOMIC MONTH

The long-expected wave of wage-cuts broke in the first week of October, initiated by the Steel Corporation, and quickly followed by Bethlehem, the Aluminum Co., Allied Chemical, etc.

American capitalism needs low wages, first to meet the aggravated competition of England and Germany, second, to enable it to create new fixed capital at low costs based on low wages plus low raw material costs.

The recently-announced decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission denying the application of the railroads for a 15% flat increase in freight rates, and suggesting instead a 3 to 4% increase, whose proceeds are to be pooled among the weaker roads, shows again how hard is the way of the demagogue and the social reformist in times of crisis when a showdown is called for.

The flood of gold out of the country, and the tendency to hoard bank notes, have both subsided sharply, and Monday, Nov. 2, for the first time in six weeks, there was an actual gain of some \$25,000,000 of gold.

The price of wheat has recovered from 48 cents a bushel early in October to 67 cents; cotton and petroleum have also been strong. The bourgeois press, with its indubitable optimism, sees the beginning of an upswing.

in which the Mooney case is tacked on to a number of other issues, and in which its special appeal is lost—the other cases will not lose by this temporary segregation of the Mooney issue; they will gain a hundred-fold by the sweep of the broader Mooney movement which can be created.

This is the way to blow the breath of life into the Mooney movement. This is the tactic of the united front as Lenin taught it, and as Mooney appealed for in his letter. The reformists are doing everything in their power to make this letter remain a scrap of paper.

—J. P. C.

the price of commodities; that is, credit and paper values have been created at a more rapid rate than physical goods. The outstanding illustration is the fact that the Federal Reserve banks, on Oct. 28, 1931, had outstanding in the form of rediscounted paper and bills bought in the open market, 1 1/2 billion dollars, against less than a billion six weeks ago.

Senator La Follette is sponsoring a bill to create a national economic advisory council. In this worthy effort he is seconded by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the A. F. of L. After all, why not? Why should not capitalism be able to plan as well as communism?

Capitalists are being kept busy these days, when they have no business of their own to attend to, by taking the place of nice young ladies from the settlements in doing social service for the working classes.

Very Significant Facts! -- by Alfa

Even the bureaucratic shiftings can be of great significance. When Orjonikidze was transferred to the All-Union Council of People's Economy, Yaroslavsky undoubtedly expected the appointment to the post of chairman of the Central Control Commission; but the appointee was Andreyev, one who is much younger and who, it would seem, "earned" it incomparably less.

As a matter of fact the leadership of the G. P. U. has been concentrated in recent years in the hands of Yagoda. He seemed to be the natural successor of Menzhinsky. Suddenly Yagoda is demoted to the post of second assistant, and the little known Akulov is advanced to first place.

These people, Yaroslavsky and Yagoda, could be assigned any sort of commission, without the risk of meeting with their refusal. Who but Yaroslavsky could be commissioned to bring about the suicide of pure Glazman? Who but Yagoda could have been capable to starve out the innocent Boutov? And what other pair could better carry out "the soviet and party order"—the shooting of Blumkin? One could consider quite probable that the alleged article by Trotsky on the Five Year Plan was suggested third hand to the reactionary press by Yagoda, after which Yaroslavsky, who is connected with him through co-participation, revealed in Pravda Trotsky's counter-revolutionary crusade against the Soviets. We do not affirm

as necessary ideologically to the capitalists as his profits and his power. The same broad social vision is applied to relief activities for busted and misguided bankers by the Hoover Banking Plan. True, the bankers who need relief have to come with hat in hand and three different kinds of security before they can get a loan, and there is no telling but that some of the relievers will need relief themselves before long.

—B. J. F.

YOUNG SPARTACUS OUT THIS MONTH!

The National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is speeding the work of publication of the first number of Young Spartacus. The announcement of the proposed publication of a youth paper of the Left Opposition in the United States met immediately with an enthusiastic response.

The first issue of Young Spartacus will go to press in less than one month. The present editorial committee consists of Joseph Carter, M. Abern and George Ray. Send donations, bundle orders and subscriptions to Young Spartacus, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

The Opposition Forum

On Friday, November 6, at the Open Forum of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), comrade Arne Swaback spoke on "Fourteen Years of the Russian Revolution." The comrades felt that this forum and anniversary celebration was worthwhile, for one of the best methods for joining in solidarity with our Russian comrades, is to understand the nature and significance of the October revolution, to appreciate its great achievements, to know the dangers that threaten it from without and within so that we can be armed to fight against them.

At the next forum, the chairman announced, comrade James P. Cannon will speak on "The Haymarket Martyrs". The workers of today can learn many valuable lessons from the great 8-hour day movement that culminated in the Haymarket events of the '80s, particularly now when the tremendous unemployment puts on the order of the day—the 6 hour day. The lecture promises to be an interesting one, and takes place on Friday, November 13 at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Ave.

The Meaning of the Elections

(Continued from page 1) The Communist Party Vote

An interesting feature in this connection is that appeal to the secondary or cancer growths of capitalism,—corruption, gangsterism, etc.—had no effect on the voters who overwhelmingly returned Tammany politicians or their blood-brother Republicans to office. Fundamental education on principle questions of socialism, the class struggle, etc. was naturally missing, with the exception here and there of a socialist candidate who spoke for "socialism" in the socialist manner.

And what was the case with the Communist Party and its election campaign. To cite one example, I. Amter, Communist candidate for Borough President of Manhattan, received the miserably, incredibly low vote of 1,789. Add what votes were stolen or uncounted, as the Party claims, and it is still far beyond legitimate expectations. The living issue were there: the economic crisis and unemployment, around which the Communists have centered their agitation for two years. Why the pitiful showing in the elections?

We do not over-emphasize the counting of noses at election time, but its value as a partial barometer of working class development has been indicated. For Communists, election time offers a special opportunity to intensify the continuous, all-the-year-round campaign to reach the workers with the message of communism, to explain the class struggle and the solution. Even actual election to office, unlike with the socialists, is for Communists essentially but a chance to use the parliamentary tribunal for Communist education, to point out why the capitalist machinery of government cannot be used to achieve fundamental gains for the working class, and why a complete class change of government and social system is the only bona-fide solution.

Did the official New York Communists carry out the tasks of Communists during election time? The answer is NO. If it is true that the Communist Party and movement has an influence greater than its organizational expression, it failed indeed to consolidate its strength and influence at the ballot box. Actually, however, misleadership and false policies of the Party in the trade unions and in strikes reflected themselves also at the polls, in the failure of unionists and strikers to vote Communist.

The Militant has dealt before with the crying weaknesses of the party program in the New York elections, which found similar manifestations in Philadelphia and other points. There was first and foremost a program of immediate demands with no less than 75 demands, good and correct ones mixed, like chopped herring or chop-suey, with demands of the most reformistic and petit-bourgeois kind, a mish-mash that left everyone bewildered as to what it all meant. These demands concerned themselves with cheaper milk, ex-service-men's demands, a limit of \$3,000 salary for police captains (! Yes, it is said, but true), the return of money to mulcted bank depositors, for unemployed relief, against the war danger, defense of the Soviet Union, and, lastly, the 75th demand, for a Workers' and Farmers' Government. We are given to declare that no Socialist Party local in American history ever put together such an enormous list of demands without real examination as to meaning or purpose in regard to class content or reality to the situation.

The masses, it is true, again voted overwhelmingly for the capitalist system. But there were some thousands who, thinking a little more clearly, voted for the first time for what they regarded as a "vote for socialism". They voted either for the Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party. Why not for the Communist Party, the official representative of the future society communism?

Because the Communist Party campaign was scarcely distinguishable from a stupid, near-sighted campaign such as one expects from reformists and socialists. Under the conditions of a volume of reformist demands, why should any worker choose particularly the Communist as against the milder-toned Socialist, is just one way a worker could reflect in making his decision.

What Kind of Demands Should be Raised We are for immediate demands. But they cannot be 75, or 50, or 25 or even 15. They must be a few clearly and definitely selected and centralized demands which fit a given situation. Immediate demands are not permanent; nor are the same ones always emphasized. These selected demands must appeal to and

meet the vital needs of the workers at the moment; but, moreover, they must be linked with and be capable of causing agitation against, difficulties for, and exposure of the capitalist class and capitalist government who will and can not carry out or concede to fundamental demands of the working class. Our object in a class sense, in presenting immediate demands in connection with our ultimate program, is WORKING CLASS EDUCATION AND ORGANIZATION for the principles of Communism.

Under the conditions, where king hunger held dominion in New York City with an approximate million unemployed, the issue of IMMEDIATE RELIEF, came first. As natural corollaries to achieve real immediate relief, there followed the demand for unemployment insurance, at the expense of the bosses and government, agitation for a six hour day and five day week, and, from a broader but correct political class angle, the agitation for the widest possible economic collaboration between the capitalist United States and the Soviet Republic through the medium of the extension of large and long-term credits to the Soviet Union. These immediate demands, in election campaigns and NOW, remain the immediate demands and issues for the Communists to present. These demands, alive and comprehensible, if intelligently presented, more than adequately cover the sum total of the actual working class demands set forth in the 75 demands by the Party. But it is even far more important to present clearly in the election campaign that there is no lasting way out for the working class but the Social Revolution.

Win Workers to Communist Principles The object of the Communists in election times and at all times, is to teach, to develop and to organize Communists. This is simple, but primary. If the Communist Party had really had this object in mind during the campaign, the results, votes or no votes, would have been better from a Communist viewpoint.

Far better to go to the extreme of alleged revolutionaries as the Socialists Labor Party, and put forward only the demand for the realization of the Social Revolution, than like the Communist Party to put forward 75 demands which smother the main task of Communist education. The Communists cannot compete with the reformists or capitalists on the matter of amelioration of conditions of the workers; to do so means only to sink into the quagmire in which socialist weeds flourish, or into the quicksands in which the revolutionary outlook is buried.

The Central Committee on the Elections

On the day before the elections, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Daily Worker, 11-2-31) said, in its appeal to the workers to vote the Communist ticket: "Our party . . . is the party of class war . . . It organizes the proletariat on the basis of class against class, working class against capitalist class, for the struggle for power."

What a pity it is that the Communist election campaign was not conducted on the lines of this basic appeal. At least then some workers would have understood the basic distinctions between the Communists and the Socialists, not to mention the capitalist parties. But it is this same Stalinized Central Committee that formulated the election program of 75 immediate demands. The result is that the election campaign witnessed another brand of "socialist competition". That is, the Communists "competed" with the socialists on the platform and arena of the socialists and the socialists naturally won this "competition" hands down.

The Communist Party forgot the main issues in this campaign. In trying to understand the workers, it fell to the level of outlook of the, in the class sense, uneducated worker. The Party dealt too much with the manifestations of capitalism, and too little indeed with the causes and cures for capitalism.

In brief, capitalism in America held its ground, though getting ready to switch the personnel of its political committee, the government; it made no concessions and holds the fort. The Socialist Party, weak toe, nevertheless developed its main ideology of reform and politics for capitalism, and laid the ground a little better for the period when capitalism will need to seek them out and use them as their cover and protectors.

The Party Pays the Price of Wrong Theory

The working class as a class is still capitalist-minded. It must yet take its first steps as an independent political force. The Communist Party had great opportunities to make forward strides for Communism, but failed almost totally. In a principle manner, there is only one answer to the failure of the official Communist Party. The Communist Party must once again set both feet on solid theoretical ground; it must examine its past and present. If it will look straight, it will find that, wittingly or unwittingly, it has been under the insidious and corrupting effects of Stalinist theory and practices, sinking, even as other Communist Parties, into national reformism and even local provincialism, coupled as yet with a general outlook and comprehension of communism. The elections are but an outstanding example. The Communist Party is paying the heavy toll of being wrong in theory and principles. Party ignorance receives payment in kind from the workers.

If the Communist Party will then examine a little further, they will see the Left Opposition standing by and offering the original Communist program of Lenin. Will, the elections help the Party to learn, and to redress and reform itself before it is too late?

—MARTIN ABERN.

ATTEND «MILITANT» ANNIVERSARY DANCE

On Saturday, November 21, 1931, the third annual Militant Ball will be held in New York at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and Second Avenue. This will be a grand get-together of all friends, sympathizers and members of the Communist League of America (Opposition). Each year the attendance at this annual affair has measurably grown, and an even larger turnout is expected at this year's dance and entertainment.

The committee in charge is utilizing every means to have the Militant Ball a spirited and happy gathering of the comrades. There will be good music for the dancers and listeners, and at the tables good food will be served. Comradeship, good fellowship will abound.

Keep this date open. Come to the Militant Ball on November 21, at Stuyvesant Casino.

THE DATE: NOVEMBER 21

Read! Subscribe! TO 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