

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR
Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Soviet-U.S. Trade Relations

The Slogan for Long Term Credits

There is every reason to count that under the conditions of the present commercial and industrial crisis, particularly in case of its further aggravation, the Soviet government by a correct policy can gain an incomparably larger access to the resources of the world market.

The recent announcement by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, the Soviet commercial agency in the United States, that orders placed in this country had fallen off 52% during the first ten months of 1931, as compared with a similar period in 1930, raises the problem posed by comrade Trotsky once again in a very sharp and concrete form.

The Campaign Against the Soviets
The reactionary business and political forces in the United States, led by the Matthew Woolls, Hamilton Fishes and Herbert Hoovers conduct a systematic, unceasing, bitter and relentless propaganda against the Soviet Union on the economic front as well as on the political.

Amtorg Asks For Better Credits
The Amtorg Trading Corporation, in its official statement, pointing out the decline of purchases in the United States for the ten month period mentioned, from \$102,800,000 to \$49,400,000, says: "Soviet commercial organizations are prepared to carry on and expand trade with the United States only on condition that long-term credits are extended comparable with those received by other countries in Europe, and on the further condition that the exceptional obstacles put in the way of the importation of Soviet products into this country are removed."

Its purchases, it points out, have increased in England by 33% and have doubled in Germany, due to the more favorable credits established. In the United States, however, cash payments have been made in many instances. At the same time, all payments of bills have been made when they fell due.

The Department of Commerce of the United States, though acknowledging that the Soviet Union has made good on all its obligations, now advises officially business men to be "cautious" in their trade relations with Soviet Russia. The reactionary elements are speeding up their propaganda of hostility to the Soviets. Naturally there are protests from the friends of the Soviet Union, from itself and its trade agencies against the attitude of the American government on business relations with Russia.

The False Doctrine of Stalin
Most unfortunately, the Stalinist line has been the enunciation and propagation of the false doctrine that the Soviet Union can function as an isolated and self-sufficing economic and political entity—as a Workers' State within the capitalist world—and in time even build, barring military intervention, a complete socialist society. The Left Opposition condemned this theory of national socialism as inimical to the interests and needs of the workers of the Soviet Union and the international proletariat. The Stalinist policy has already broken

a leg on the hard rock of world economic facts, particularly aggravated in the world economic crisis of which the Soviet Union is a part, though a lesser one because of the methods of planned socialist economy.

To develop its natural resources to the utmost, to push construction ahead in this period of the immature development of Soviet economy, in the period of the beginning of the socialist revolution (in which Soviets Russia is the first of the fortresses established by the proletariat) and the international proletarian revolution, the Soviet Union must utilize the resources of the capitalist world.

Concretely this means that economic relations on a wide-scale must be established between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries. Since, as affairs stand now, the ready resources of the Soviet Union are insufficient to meet the demands of the capitalists in order to make the necessary purchases from them, it is plain that the extension of large and long-term credits to the Soviet Union is essential and imperative. Otherwise, the Soviet Union cannot obtain now the necessary industrial and machine equipment required for its purposes; the development of socialist economy is necessarily enormously hindered. It is an unavoidable contradiction between an economically undeveloped Soviet economy existing side by side with capitalist nations. Nor can credit extensions remove the contradiction; they can only temporarily soften it a bit, and at the same time permit the working class in other countries to develop its own revolutionary movement and struggle for political power.

The Stalinists have been blind to the obvious. The theory of socialism in one country is, after all, for magicians who pull rabbits out of a hat. The Comintern has been wholly wrong, politically and economically, in its neglect and failure, and the more so during this period of economic and social crisis, to raise the slogan of economic collaboration, of trade relations and the extension of long-term credits to the Soviet Union, and to call upon its sections to carry on a campaign for their realization. In the United States more than elsewhere, perhaps, could these slogans have taken hold among the masses of workers and been brought to some fruition.

Immediate Demands
It has been pointed out time and again in the columns of THE MILITANT that these slogans, connected concretely with the issue of the millions of unemployed in the United States, could have and will yet make their way to the minds of the American workers, if properly carried out under the leadership of the Communists; and that pressure can be brought to bear upon the American bourgeoisie to extend to a far greater extent than now its economic relations with the Soviet Republic. For almost two years, the American Communist Party, led by the Browders, has ignored or derided this burning question, doing great harm both to communism in the United States and to the requirements of the Soviet Union. But facts have a way of making themselves seen and heard. In recent months, the American Party has smuggled the slogan of the extension of long-

Mechanical Reorganization of the I. L. D.

The I. L. D. is now undergoing a process of reorganization under the "group system" The structure of this new plan of reorganization up to date is as follows:—

The maximum number of members in any one given branch of the I. L. D. shall not exceed 50. These branches are to be subdivided into groups of 10. Each group of 10 is to be headed by a captain. The duties of the captains will be to make contact with each of the remaining 9 members of their respective groups, visiting them privately in their homes once a month to sell dues stamps, Labor Defenders, tickets, etc., and also to urge them to participate in a possible public demonstration. The 5 captains of the branch, together with the executive committee, are to hold one meeting a month to be known as a "functionaries meeting" at which all organizational activities are to be discussed and decided upon. The general membership, by means of a press notice, will be called together once a month for educational and propaganda purposes.

Just what does this new organizational play mean in actuality? 1. Each group of ten will have no occasion to meet together to propose, discuss and enact organizational activities in the interest of the I. L. D., but instead, each member of the group will be personally told by the captain when, how, what to do, thus depriving the organization of the individual member's initiative so necessary in carrying on mass defense work. 2. By this new method the membership is deprived of opportunities to come together with their leadership and functionaries in meetings, where they can contribute and receive the necessary enthusiasm needed for carrying on defense

term credits into its program, but has not yet grasped its full significance and carried on a wide campaign for its realization. The recent elections are an example of this failure.

Immediate demands can never be permitted to cloud or retard the main strategic line or principles of Communism in the struggle for political power by the workers. Immediate demands, as formulated and carried through by the liberals and socialists, are aimed to draw the workers into the field of reform as against that of the proletarian revolution. The Communists aim to serve the immediate and revolutionary needs of the working class, and to develop their demands in accordance with that line.

For Working Class Unity

It is necessary to point out to the workers that the slogans for broad economic collaboration with, and the extension of long-term credits to the Soviet Union can serve two immediate objectives: 1. To aid in the alleviation of unemployment in the United States through the employment of workers needed to make the products to be purchased by Soviet Russia; 2. To assist thereby in the development of the Five Year Plan in Soviet Russia and the development of socialist construction. Confidence and fraternal relations between the workers of the two countries are thereby increased. Support for the Soviet Union by the workers in all countries must be built upon the understanding and needs of the workers in the Soviet Union; and, likewise the confidence of the workers in Russia in their tasks is increased by the knowledge that they can count upon the support of the workers in other lands. The spread of the ideas of internationalism is the best defense of the Soviet fatherland.

America remains for the Soviet Union the best market for its major needs: tractors, automobiles, electrical equipment, machinery, etc. The Communists must direct a propaganda to demand that the U. S. government make possible economic and political relations (recognition of the Soviet Union) with Soviet Russia. Already the engineer Dr. Walter N. Polakoff has brought forward the suggestion for a billion dollar pool for the extension of credits to the Soviet Union. Business selfishness and greed for profits can make it easier for the masses to carry through the demands upon the capitalist government. The slogans of the Left Opposition retain their full validity and strength for the immediate interests of the American workers and for the development of their class conscious and revolutionary spirit; for assistance to the Soviet Union in its industrial and agricultural construction; for the development of international solidarity, understanding and the unity of the working class on immediate burning issues and ultimately for the international proletarian revolution. What will the official Communist Party in the United States and the Stalinist Comintern do? Will they correct and change their line, or continue the policy of isolated, national socialism in Soviet Russia and the repudiation in fact, if not in name, of the development of the international forces for Communism? —MARTIN ABERN.

little bureaucrats have become terror-stricken in face of the healthy criticism exercised by the rank and file against their mis-leaders. This new re-organizational plan will well serve the aims of these bureaucrats to further mechanize the I. L. D., with an object in view of breaking that contact between membership, so that complete mechanical control of the organization can be easily attained.

Violations of the I. L. D. Constitution

Already have we had occasion to hear considerable protest from the rank and file against their misleaders for playing politics with the Morganstern-Goodman case of Philadelphia, for maliciously sabotaging the defense work due them from the I. L. D. as militant fighters in the class struggle, only, because these two comrades had the Communist courage to oppose the anti-Leninist course pursued by the Stalinist bureaucrats. This arbitrary action on the part of the National Executive Committee of the I. L. D. is in complete contradiction to Article II under Aims, of its Constitution which reads as follows—"The International Labor Defense is a broad non-Party organization based on the class struggle which aims to defend all workers who are being persecuted by the capitalist government and various other agencies of the employing class, for their participation in the class struggle, by rendering legal aid, moral and financial support to these workers and their dependents, by wide publicity, organizing mass demonstrations of support and protest, both here and abroad."

Such matters as constitutional rights mean but very little to a bureaucratic leadership, even though the Constitution of the I. L. D. under Article III Section 1, plainly reads,—"Every person, regardless of political affiliation, race or color, who signs an application card subscribing to the aims of the organization and agreeing to comply with its constitution, shall be entitled to membership in the International Labor Defense."

The results of such mechanical, eliminating and splitting processes, together with the arbitrary organizational proceedings, can best be illustrated by quoting a statement made by a Section Organizer at a general meeting, "that in one branch during its short existence, they had actually enrolled over 800 members and at the present time find themselves with 150 members on the books, 75 of whom are paid up and less than half that number are active." This particular statement characterizes this branch in question more as an example, than an exception, on the I. L. D.

Rank and File Protests

Already do we hear voices of protest on the part of the membership, so much so, that the bureaucrats were compelled to strike out of the minutes, motions of disapproval and constructive criticism of the sectarian policy exercised by the leadership of the I. L. D. in the Mooney campaign, motions demanding the correction of the mistakes in the mechanical handling of the united front activities, etc. These motions were arbitrarily eliminated from the minutes, disregarding the fact that they were actually voted for by the membership.

Nor can we afford to overlook the protests that have manifested themselves at the Mooney-Harlan United Front conference, coming from the A. F. of L. delegation and also from the delegation of the Workmen's Circle, against the arbitrary actions from the I. L. D. branches, who, suspected of being non-Stalinists, were refused the conference floor in anticipation of a possible protest on the ejection of delegates duly representing working class political organizations, who came with no other motives than to give their best organizational aid to the Mooney United Front Campaign. The "Cut-Price Glory" of that day can well be distributed evenly between such "consistent" Communist leadership as Carl Hacker and Maurice Malkin.

It becomes the purpose and duty of every militant worker in the I. L. D. to be ever alert, utilizing every opportunity that presents itself to eradicate the demoralizing and bureaucratic actions exercised by the misleadership. The I. L. D. is indispensable as the organization for defense work in the class struggle at all times. It is doubly important now that the I. L. D. makes further inroads into the masses to enlarge its organizational strength by drawing in new members in order that it may be able to cope with its many tasks in face of the sharpening of the class struggle.

—R. ULCHIN.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

"Political Banditry In The French Communist Party" by Max Shachtman. Comrade Shachtman, Managing Editor of THE MILITANT is at present on his vacation and is traveling in various countries in Europe. The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has authorized comrade Shachtman to give full assistance to the Opposition movements in Europe on behalf of the American Section. The first of a series of articles by comrade Shachtman is the above-mentioned. Comrade Shachtman is now in Spain and THE MILITANT will receive very soon first-hand articles on the Spanish situation.

"The Canadian Trials—An Evaluation" by Maurice Spector is not printed in this issue because of technical reasons, and will appear in the following issue.

IN SPAIN

A Reactionary Gov't.

"The solution of the crisis", we said in a previous editorial, means the consolidation of the block of the bourgeoisie with the socialists at the expense of the democratic revolution." We added that the possibility was not excluded that, at a definite time, the bourgeoisie might permit the socialists to adopt an attitude of timid opposition.

The political events of the past week have fully confirmed this evaluation. One of the first acts of the new government was to put through the Constituent Assembly a "law for the defense of the Republic" which had no precedent in Spain, even in the periods of blackest reaction, and was openly directed against the proletariat. It also struck a death-blow at the Catalan aspirations toward autonomy, favoring a formula with respect to section 48 of the constitution which practically reduces to zero the powers, sufficiently mediocre as it was, contained in the Statute. In this second matter, the government did not present a united front before the legislature; the socialists had placed themselves in opposition.

These two facts testify that the bourgeoisie is consolidating its position, and that the offensive against the democratic revolution will continue if the masses of workers and peasants do not intervene in time. The new government is therefore not a "typical petty bourgeois government", as "La Batalla" claims, but a typically bourgeois government. To compare it with the Kerensky government, as does the organ of the workers' and peasants' Bloc, is to understand absolutely nothing of the situation. The Azana government is rather a Miliukov government, representing the big bourgeoisie, which did not succeed in maintaining itself in Russia because there existed there what, unfortunately, we have not in Spain; soviets or other organisms representing the great revolutionary masses.

The Role of Demagogues and Charlatans

If anyone still has doubts on this

point, Lerroux himself (the Spanish Miliukov) took pains to dissipate them. In his speech at Santander, the Secretary of State said, "It is all very well to try one course and then another; the thing to do is to carry our policies to their logical conclusion, and for this we need a tactic of successive stages and of perseverance in action". We could not wish for greater clarity. The situation is not ripe enough for a bare-faced dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but we find ourselves in one of the preliminary stages, and one of the most important at that, leading to it. In reality, the master of the situation is Lerroux, that is, the big bourgeoisie. Yet the time has not arrived to tear off the mask, and to seize the reins of power in the name of those who see in Lerroux, as he himself said in the above-mentioned speech, "the life-line in which the shipwrecked man sees the hope of safety".

In this rapid evolution of the republic toward bourgeois reaction, the representatives of the radical petty bourgeoisie have shown once again their impotence and their inability to carry matters to a conclusion. Only four or five deputies voted against the law for the defense of Macla to the last deputy, gave it their entire approval.

There is nothing surprising about this for us, revolutionary Marxists, who know that the bourgeois reaction has no better allies than the demagogues and charlatans of petty bourgeois radicalism. In France, in 1848, Louis Blanc prepared the coming of Cavaignac. In Russia, Kerenski prepared that of Kornilov. The lesson which the working class should learn from this historical experience is—to trust nothing but its own forces, solidly organized, and to struggle boldly both against the bourgeois dictatorship and against the petty bourgeois left, which paves the road for reaction. Objectively, Macla is even more dangerous for the revolution than Lerroux. Barcelona, October 29, 1931.

Move for New Trial in Phila. Case

PHILADELPHIA.—Arguments were heard before Judge Reed of Cambria county in Philadelphia on November 21 on a motion for a new trial for Leon Goodman and Bernard Morganstern, members of the Communist League of America (Opposition), who were convicted June 24 under the Pennsylvania sedition act for distributing an unemployment leaflet of the League. Decision on the motion was reserved for another date.

The argument was made by David Wallerstein, Philadelphia attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, which is supporting the effort to upset the conviction of the two defendants on the ground that the state sedition law, as applied to the leaflet, which led to their arrest, violates the guarantee of free speech and free press in the U. S. constitution. The defendants, through the Morganstern-Goodman Defense Committee, is endeavoring to develop a wide mass movement of protest against the convictions.

In the indictment in this case, the grand jury cited as seditious a statement in the leaflet that "the solution of the unemployment problem can be found only in the proletarian revolution." Both comrades were tried before Judge Reed, who was then sitting specially in Philadelphia. On motion for a new trial the court fixed bail at \$1,000 each.

A single incident illustrates the "impartiality" of the capitalist courts and Judge Reed. A month ago the defendants received a letter from their attorneys informing them to appear in court on the following Saturday. Later we

Jewish Paper Activities

The announcement in the last issue of THE MILITANT that the Communist League of America (Opposition) is projecting the publication of a semi-monthly paper in Jewish, had the expected response. Many workers have sent in inquiries as to details; some localities have responded in a more concrete way. Some have even sent in their bundle orders. We can report progress, but the drive for the necessary three hundred dollars has only begun.

The crisis has hit our members and close sympathizers hard. Many of them are in no position to contribute what they would like to. We must, therefore, spread our appeal to a broader circle. We invite all those Jewish workers who have been on the periphery of our organization, to join us in the execution of this task, to work with us towards the publication of the paper which will be the Jewish tribune of the Left Opposition.

The New York Jewish-speaking group of the League has called a meeting which all those interested in the success of our project for a Jewish paper are urged to attend. The meeting will be held on Saturday, December 5th, 1931, 2 P. M., at 84 East 10th Street.

BOOKS BY Leon Trotsky

- 1. THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION
86 pages, two-colored paper cover, 25c
Introduction by Max Shachtman
2. THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
A Criticism of Fundamentals
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
140 pages, hard paper cover, 35c
3. THE SPANISH REVOLUTION
30 pages, paper cover, 10c
4. THE SPANISH EVOLUTION IN DANGER
64 pages, paper cover, 15c
5. THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA
Introduction by Max Eastman
304 page book, formerly \$2.00; now \$1.00
6. MY LIFE (Autobiography)
600 pages, \$5.00
7. COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM
The Trade Union Question
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
64 pages, paper cover, 15c
PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R.
48 pages, paper cover, 15c
SINCE LENIN DIED
By Max Eastman
158 page book, printed in London, 1924
50c
Special Rates in Bundles of 5 or more.
Order through
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84 East 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

GREEK MANIFESTO
The Greek Fraction of the Communist League of America (Opposition) have just issued a comprehensive manifesto and appeal to the Greek communists and workers, and have given it a wide distribution. Any workers who wish to obtain a copy may do so by addressing the Greek Fraction, Communist League of America (Opposition), 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

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