

# Marine Workers' Defense Is Organized

(Continued from page 1)

signed have taken the initiative to form a defense committee. Legal counsel has been retained and a campaign of publicity and agitation has been mapped out. The Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union, three weekly labor papers and several organizations are already represented in the defense committee and backing its fight. This is only a beginning.

It is the aim of the committee to broaden its membership to include representatives of all tendencies in the labor movement. The defense committee invites the cooperation and support of all workers, of all organizations, parades and groups regardless of the differences between them on other questions, who are willing to stand together in solidarity with Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer in a common fight against a brazen frame-up.

Address all communications and send all funds to:

**MARINE WORKERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE**  
 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.  
 Carter Hudson, Chairman  
 Carlo Tresca, Secretary  
 James P. Cannon  
 James Gilday  
 Ben Gitlow  
 Norman Hawkins  
 Sylvan A. Pollack  
 A. Ribarich  
 I. Zimmerman

## A LETTER FROM THE DEFENDANTS

Dear Comrade Cannon:

We want to make it clear to all those concerned that not one of us, the undersigned, is guilty of any part of the crimes charged against us and have contended so throughout the whole case, no matter what the daily press may have said to the contrary. We are framed and accused by one William Hoyle, a member of the union whom the police are using against us. Our stand has been, is now and always will be one of not guilty.

Our only crime has been that of organizing workers in an industry where exploitation has reached its very limit. If this is a crime then we are criminals and we will continue to be criminal, but we most emphatically deny guilt of the matter charged to us by the police.

We hope that the workers of the union of which one of us is Secretary will see through the whole miserable frame-up and will redouble their efforts to organize and fight those responsible for the miserable conditions existing in our industry. We further trust that our union members individually and collectively will give the Committee all their support financially and otherwise to fight this frame-up to the bitter end. This is a fight, not of one or two or three individual members but a fight of the whole working class, organized and unorganized, and just as the political opinions of those in here may differ somewhat, our common cause still binds us; so must all class conscious workers on the outside sink all their political differences and get together as one with the Committee and do their bit in the struggle.

We also wish to make it clear to all concerned that we leave our case fully and unconditionally in the hands of the Committee founded by yourself and comrade Tresca at the beginning and now further augmented by other workers. We leave all details as to our defense, selection of attorneys, methods of defense, collection of money necessary for the defense and any other matters pertaining to the case entirely in your hands and we are satisfied to trust to the Committee's judgment in all matters in the case or pertaining thereto.

We hope and trust that the Committee will be successful in its endeavor, but successful or not, we want you to know that we appreciate all you have tried to do and we realize your tremendous efforts. We expect no gratitude or mercy from the boss class. We ask for none, but we ask the workers to organize, organize and fight to the bitter end.

(Signed) J. Soderberg, Wm. Trajer,  
 T. Bunker, Members of the  
 I. T. B. U.

# The N. Y. Forum

"What Next in England" was the topic discussed by J. P. Cannon at the New York Forum of the Communist League of America (Opposition) last Friday, November 27. The defeat of the Labour Government, the betrayal of MacDonald, the poor showing of the British Communist Party in the elections and the perspectives for the Communists were dealt with by comrade Cannon. A preliminary review of the economic situation in Britain accompanied the speech. The role of the United States, which has superseded Great Britain as the leading imperialist power, was discussed. The effect of the Stalinist policy on the British working class and the Communist Party was set forth, particularly as arising from the Anglo-Russian Committee, which made ineffective the independent role of the Communists. Questions and discussion followed, after which the meeting adjourned.

At the next Forum, Friday evening, December 4th, at the Labor Temple, 13th St., and Second Avenue, comrade Cannon will talk on the New York "Dynamite Plot", its significance and the necessity for all workers to rally on behalf of the defendants. Workers are urged to come early in order to get a seat. The lecture starts at 8 P. M.

# Stalinist Attack on Greek Worker

**NEW YORK.**—At a recent meeting of the Greek Spartacus Workers Club in New York, comrade Pappas, formerly a Party member and now a member of the Spartacus Club, protested vigorously against the Stalinists for the expulsion of supporters and sympathizers of the Left Opposition from the Club.

He also assisted the Left Opposition comrades in the distribution of the Manifesto of the Greek Opposition and the leaflets advertising the Opposition forum.

As a result he was summoned on November 19th before the executive committee of the Club and reprimanded for the distribution of the leaflets. On Sunday, November 22 he distributed the Manifesto and was threatened with physical attack. On the next day, Monday, while comrade Pappas was sitting around and discussing the Manifesto with other workers, a member of the Greek District Bureau of the Party tried to incite others to beat up comrade Pappas. A sympathizer protested strongly against such methods and advised the district bureau members not to employ such "ideological" weapons against Opposition sympathizers. But after this sympathizer left the hall and comrade Pappas descended the steps of the Club, he was attacked by five Party members.

Comrade Pappas was indignant at such cowardly attacks and proposed to retaliate, but the comrades of the Opposition cooled him down. The Opposition comrades warn the Party members against these fascist methods of discussion as against ideological arguments, and will defend themselves against any future attacks of the Stalinists if they will not learn better nor desist from such practices.

# Illinois Miners on the Go for Tom Mooney

**STANTON, ILL.**—The campaign for the release of Tom Mooney has broken ground in the coal fields of Illinois. On the initiative of the St. Louis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and thru the instrumentality of the St. Louis United Front Mooney Conference, twenty-six delegates, from eight U. W. M. A. locals representing approximately 5,000 miners, the Communist League of America (Opposition) and the Communist Party, responded to the call of the Stanton Mooney Club and met in the Stanton Mooney Temple, Lodge Hall, on Sunday, November 29, at 2 P. M.

After disposing of preliminaries, the conference buckled down to business. The conference elected its officers and committees then proceeded to a discussion on methods for the beginning of systematic mass activity for the release of Mooney. The main speech in the discussion was made by comrade Stamm of the St. Louis Communist League of America (Opposition) who, basing himself on Tom Mooney's appeal of August 20, stressed the importance of a genuine

# Illinois Miners on the Go for Tom Mooney

united front; the broadening of the conference to include other organizations in the vicinity of Stanton; mass meetings, demonstrations, etc. Elected on the resolutions committee were Tash of the Communist Party, Clarke of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and Hede (U. M. W. A.).

The committee presented two resolutions. Both were adopted unanimously. The resolution referring to the criminal syndicalist law was amended following a heated discussion but the spirit of the document remained unchanged. Telegrams were sent to Governor Roldph, demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Tom Mooney; to the Prosecuting Attorney of Franklin County, Ill., demanding the quashing of the indictment of the seven victims recently arrested, and their release; to Tom Mooney greeting him and pledging a struggle on his behalf.

A motion introduced by a U. M. W. A. delegate, placing the conference on record as denouncing a malicious slander which appeared in the Illinois Miner of November 28 to the effect that Tom Stamm in the name of the Communist League of America (Opposition) was to debate with Chas. Blome against the release of Mooney, and demanding that the Illinois Miner print a correction, was unanimously carried.

An executive committee representing each local union, the Communist Party, the Communist League of America (Opposition) was elected and will work out plans to broaden the conference and extend its activity. We would like to inquire of the Communist Party as to whether its participation in this conference is a change of policy, and why the I. L. D. and the N. M. U. were conspicuous by their absence?

The conference was a success from many points of view. The delegations were representative ones, and militancy was outstanding.

—GEORGE CLARKE.

# A Letter to A Comrade -- by Leon Trotsky

Dear Comrade:

One of my English friends wrote to me on the 9th of October, prior to the parliamentary elections, about the fast growth of the Communist Party, and of a certain approach of the rank and file members in the I. L. P. towards Communism. My correspondent speaks also of a regrowth of the Minority Movement in the trade unions and the growing leadership of the same Minority in the sporadic strike movements. These isolated strikes in the background of the world crisis and the national crisis which England is going through allows us to accept the idea that in the last two years there has been a strengthening of the Communist Party. The elections brought an absolute disillusionment in this respect. Of the many hundreds of thousands of votes which the Laborites lost, the Party at best swung to its support 20,000, which is, in consideration of the increased total number of voters, an invalid conjunctural fluctuation, and not by any means a serious political conquest. Where is the influence of the Party among the unemployed? Among the coal miners? Among the young generation of workers who, for the first time, voted? Actually, the election results are a horrible condemnation of the policies of the Party and the Comintern.

I have observed very little the tactics of the British Party during the last year and I do not want to give judgment about what it learned, or whether it really learned anything. However, it is clear to me that independent from its recent and latest errors, the Communist Party is paying by its impotence of the past year, for the shameful and criminal politics of the Comintern, bound up with the Anglo-Russian Committee and later with the "Third Period". These errors were ruinous especially for England.

**Traditions of the English Proletariat**

It surprises one anew, what a terrible load of humiliation, conservatism, bigotry, conciliation, respect to the summits, to titles, to riches, to the Crown drags in its thought the English working-class which is at the same time capable of grand revolutionary insurrections (Chartism, pre-war movements of 1911, movements following the war, the strike movements of 1926).

The English proletariat, the oldest, with the most traditions, is, in its thinking methods, most empirical, carries in its chest two souls, and turns, as it were, with two faces to historical events. The contemptible mercenary and servile bureaucrats of the Trade Unions and the Labour Party give expression to all that is rotten, humiliating, serf-like and feudal in the British working-class. Against this, the tasks of the Communist Party consist in giving expression to the potential revolutionary qualities of the British working-class, which is very great and capable of developing immense explosive powers. But in the very critical period of British history, 1925-1927, all the politics of the British Communist Party and the Comintern consisted in the slave-like assimilation of the Trade Union leadership, its idealization, blotting out its treason, and fastening the confidence of the working-class to it. The young British Communist Party was because of this deeply demoralized. The whole authority of the October Revolution, U. S. S. R., Bolshevism, was in this year attached to the support and solidification of the conservative and servile tendencies of the British working-class.

**The Laborites Use the Stalinites**

After the Laborites had utilized the Stalinites to the end and kicked them aside, the chapter of Trade Unionism was mechanically substituted under the caption of the ultra-Left jump to the glory of the "Third Period". The slogan of "Class Against Class" was now issued, interpreted as a slogan of the struggle of a handful of Communists against the "social-fascist" proletariat. When yesterday Purcell and Cook were friends and trustworthy allies of the Soviet Union, today the workers who vote for Purcell and Cook transformed themselves into class enemies. This is the political orbit of the British Communist Party, or, rather, of the Communist International. Can we expect another surer way to trample the prestige of Communism and to undermine the confidence of the Party by the awakening workers?

The Moscow bureaucracy of the C. I. at every step runs against a blind alley with its nose, commands a turn either to the Left or to the Right. That is not difficult. All these Kuznests, Manuilskys, Losovskys, etc., are apparatus men, free not only of serious Marxian training and revolutionary horizon, but also—and this is the important thing—from every control of the masses. Its politics has a pure chancery character. A tactical turn is for them only a new circular. The C. C. of the British Communist Party, according to its strength, carries out the orders. But all of these circulars, through the corresponding politics, transport themselves into the con-

sciousness of the workers. The bureaucratic bankrupts believe that one can mechanically fasten our leadership, onto the working class: on the one side with the aid of cash and repression, on the other side with the help of abrupt leaps, the blotting out of traces, with lies and calumnies. But this is totally untrue.

The English workers think slowly, since their consciousness is filled with the rubbish of centuries. But they think. Single articles, appeals, slogans, generally pass them by unnoticed. However, whole periods of politics (Anglo-Russian Committee, "Third Period") in no respect pass without a trace, at least, with the most progressive, militant, critical and revolutionary section of the working class. When one imagines the education of the revolutionary consciousness as the cutting of threads on a screw, one must say that the leadership of the Comintern, at each time, does not employ the proper tool nor proper caliber, and not in the direction necessary, thereby breaking the grooves, crumbling and demoralizing. Without the smallest exaggeration one can confirm that from 1923, (for England especially from 1925) we had the Comintern not existed, we would have today in England an incomparably more important revolutionary party. The last elections illustrate with power that fruitful conviction.

**Tasks of the British Left Opposition**

Here begins the task of the Left Opposition. The English Communists, among whom are naturally many devoted, honest, self-sacrificing revolutionaries, cannot be discouraged with the results of a decade of activity, and that in the exclusively opportune conditions. Pessimism and indifference can also take hold of very good revolutionaries when they do not understand the causes of their own weaknesses, nor find the way out. Criticism, i. e., in the light of Marxism that openly illuminates the path of the Party, its zig-zags, its errors, the theoretical roots of these errors—that is the foremost and necessary condition for the regeneration of the Party. It is especially necessary, when this has not been done, to begin the publication of the most important documents of the International Left Opposition concerning the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee. This is the point of departure for the English Left wing.

The Left Opposition in England, just as Communism generally, has the right to count upon a promising future: British capitalism falls from great historical heights to an abyss—that is clear to all. One can, with assuredness, say that the recent elections represent the last gigantic rise of the national "grandeur" of the British bourgeoisie. However, it is the rise of a dying lamp. For these elections, official English politics will in the coming period pay heavily.

The bankruptcy of the great national heroes of the three parties, just as the bankruptcy of British capitalism, are absolutely inevitable. Despite all obstacles from the C. I., the mole of the British revolution borrows much too good its earthly path. One has every right to hope that these elections are the last rise of reliance of the millions of workers on the capitalists, lords, intellectuals, educated and rich persons, those united with MacDonald and the Sunday Pudding. These gentlemen will find no secret. The real secret is this: the Proletarian Revolution. Just as the actual elections prepare the smash of the conservative and servile soul of the

English proletariat, it will be followed by the powerful blossoming of their revolutionary soul.

Yet, immediately the victory of the conservatives brings heavy trials for the English proletariat and the deepening of international dangers. Especially does this endanger the U. S. S. R. Here we can see what little aid was brought to the U. S. S. R. through the uninterrupted cry for her "defense". For a period of two or three years, one expected this defense from Purcell, Hicks, Citrine and later this defense was taken by the Communist Party against the "social-fascist" proletariat. And now, it has in the defense of the U. S. S. R. all in all received 70,000 votes. All that the Left Opposition demanded, the rupture of the shameful block with Purcell, was charged by Stalin as a refusal to defend the U. S. S. R. from British imperialism. Now we can draw the balance: Nobody has given such service to the expiring British imperialism as the Stalin school. Of course, the chief of this school earned two orders of the Garter.

The British Left Opposition must begin systematic work. You must establish our staff-center, though a small one. You must build your own publication, even on a modest scale. . . . It is necessary to have a steady, uninterrupted activity, analysis, critique and propaganda. It is necessary to educate our cadres, although in the first stages few. The fundamental power of history is in our favor. When, in England, more so than elsewhere, Communism in a short time can conquer the consciousness of the wide masses, so can conquer, in the same short time, within the Communist movement, the supremacy of the ideas of the Left Opposition, that is, the ideas of Marx and Lenin. I sincerely wish our British friends success in this path.

With best Communist greetings,  
 Yours,  
 L. TROTSKY.

Kadikoy, November 10th, 1931

# Chicago Lectures

The Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has organized a number of mass meetings and open forum meetings, since the opening of its own headquarters. The following is a partial list of scheduled meetings:

Sunday, December 6th, at 2:30 P. M.  
 Subject: "The Imperialist Contradictions in Manchuria" by Hugo Oehler.

Thursday, December 10, at 8 P. M.  
 Subject: "The Left Opposition and the Economic Crisis" by Arne Swaback.

Sunday, December 13th, at 2:30 P. M.  
 Subject: "A Bourgeoisie Or Soviet United States of Europe," by O. Carlson.

Sunday, December 20th, at 2:30 P. M.  
 Subject: "Socialism in England," by John Edwards.

Sunday, December 27th, at 2:30 P. M.  
 Subject: "Can Capitalism Solve The Economic Crisis," by John Mehley.

The meetings will be held at the headquarters hall, 1435 No. Western Ave. Admission is free. All workers are invited to attend.

# CHINESE COMMUNIST GETS TEN YEARS

**SHANGHAI**—Nov. 1st—(Fenprecor)—Zi-Ah-mei, Communist and trade union leader, received particularly merciful treatment from the Chinese authorities here this week. He was sentenced to a mere ten years and six months for his participation in a recent strike of the tramway operators and conductors in the Shanghai French Concession. "Inclinating documents" found in his quarters were Communist pamphlets and notes concerning the labor situation here. Zi loses civil rights, whatever they may be in China, for twelve years in addition to his sentence. Ordinarily Communism is punishable by death.

# COMMUNIST BEHEADED

**PEIPING**—Nov. 1st (Fenprecor)—out here to see young Sung Hou-mei, 21 years old, and officially listed as a "noted huge crowds of morbidly curious tormented orators," publicly beheaded with a two-handed sword. In cool and bold reply to the howls of the mob Sung announced his death would be worth while if it helped to lead to the establishment of the Soviet system in China.

# TIENTSIN—Nov. 1st—(Fenprecor)

Military and political authorities are feverishly preparing precautionary measures here in view of a report that Chinese Communists are planning to hold a congress on November 7, in honor of the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

# JEWISH WORKERS ATTENTION

The New York Jewish group of the Left Opposition is calling upon all workers in sympathy with the project of a Jewish paper to come to a meeting on Saturday, December 5th, 2 P. M. The meeting will be held at the headquarters of the Communist League, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

# EXPIRATION OF SUBSCRIPTION

If the number of your wrapper is 93 or under, your subscription has expired. To ensure that you do not miss a single issue of *The Militant*, send in your renewal immediately to *The Militant*, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

# BOSTON MEETING

Excellent interest was manifest among workers who attended Arne Swaback's lecture in Boston on November 27 on the results of the British elections. Numerous questions were asked of the speaker even after the close of the lecture, by close party sympathizers, including a couple of Negro comrades. A good collection to defray the expenses of the meeting was taken up.

# NOTES FROM ENGLAND

**LONDON**—Many workers were intimidated into voting for a "Nationalist" candidate by a warning enclosed in their pay envelopes. It was stated that unless a nationalist government was returned, the mills or works in question would have to be closed.

Lawyers are numerous in the newly elected House of Commons than they have been in any previous Parliament. They number 135. 121 are barristers and 14 solicitors. The *Commonweal* rightly regards this preponderance of the legal element "as very unhealthy for the nation."

The same paper, which stands for land restoration without compensation to present holders, also states that more than 30 heirs of peers and holders of courtesy peerage titles have been returned to the House of Commons. To these must be added the wife of a duke, the wife of an Earl, the wife of a viscount, and the daughter of a baron.

In a future issue the same weekly, *Commonweal*, will publish details of the land-holding of those peers who have heirs or other relatives in the Commons, with some particulars of untitled landlords who have secured election by their dupes.

# The Work of the Greek Opposition

(Continued from page 3)

This has still further hardened the Opposition, and in spite of the machinations, it has been successful recently in strengthening its influence, particularly among the party cadres. Its influence is growing in all the cities, large and small. Entirely new groups have been formed in Macedonia among the tobacco workers, as well as in Larissa, Lamia, Thessos. They are holding a great number of sport meetings, and meetings of refugees. In addition, they have two well-developed artistic groups, who carried on propagandist performances with great success, especially in Athens and Saloniki, and among the sympathizers in rural districts. At present these performances have been forbidden by the police.

**Formation of Cadres**

The entire work of training which was carried on in the past, has shown good results. Today they have a large number of trained workers who know how to apply Marxist principles, in political questions as well as in those of strategy and tactics. Although the work was begun by a group of intellectuals, about 85 to 90% of it now consists of workers, who are engaged in the productive process. They have Marxist schools, which are attended by adherents. This whole work is reflected in the theses for the organization of their first congress.

The basis of the local organization is the cell. Through the press, in active sheets, in strikes and through active participation in all daily struggles of the workers, the opposition shows its real face.

An organ for functionaries is published whose first issue appeared after Aug. 1, and whose second issue came out the beginning of September.

**Spartakos**

As to this sterile and petty-bourgeois group, they have already frequently given their views. Still, they tested them again from a political standpoint through

# CANNON TO SPEAK BEFORE I. W. W. FORUM

James P. Cannon will speak at the I. W. W. Forum in New York at 90 East 10th Street, on Sunday, December 6th, 1931. The subject of comrade Cannon's lecture will be "Class War Prisoners and Labor Solidarity." He will review the famous labor cases of the past, the attitude of militant labor toward them, and draw conclusions regarding the problem of labor solidarity in the cases of the present day.

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