THE "HUNGER MARCH"

As a Communist propaganda demonstration on the issue of unemployment the "Hunger March" to Washington at the opening of Congress was an indubitable success. Communist initative and organizing faculty were written all over the affair. By the demonstration the cause of the hungry millions was placed on the agenda in the most dramatic manner; the inability of the richest impeiralist power to provide the necessities of life to the producers of its incredible wealth was called to the attention of the entire world. And before the world the Communists appeared as the spokesmen of the dispossessed, the hungry and shelterless workers.

All that was lacking was the participation of the masses of the unemployed. Doak, the labor-baiting secretary of labor, announced the "sensational" discovery of his secret agents that the hung- in the English language through storm er march was organized and directed by and stress for more than three years. the Communist Party. This revelation We see in the enlistment of this ally needed no exceptional detective work. The facts were all too obvious. It was easy enough to point out the Communist It shows to us that an important section where for all to see. If the secret ser- given proof in the past in labor and sacrivice had been able to discover the unemployed masses following these leadersthat would have been a real exposure; and, from our point of view, a most form of the Opposition, which is the platwelcome one.

But they could not do it; the masses monstrated on this occasion.

This proceeds inevitably from the false policy and method of the Party. all barriers, including the barriers of You cannot whittle down a mass move- language. Now, with an organ of their ment by sectarian methods from day to own, we can expect a rapid growth of day and then expect to have the masses ready when the great occasion comes. This is the outstanding lesson of the hunger march. By this we do not in the in American industry is well known. least deprecate the positive sides of the Their shoulders are pillars upon which undertaking. Communist propaganda a large part of the huge edifice of Amdemonstrations have their importance, erican imperialism supports itself. And But only a genuine movement of the the relative importance of these immimasses will get results. This is yet to grants from other lands in the American come. Stalinist policy and Stalinist Communist movement has been even leadership of the Party are the chief factors of obstruction.

THE KENTUCKY MINERS

The verdict of guilty in the case of William B. Jones, Harlan County miners' leader, with the accompanying sentence ally in its early years. of life imprisonment, again brings this historic struggle sharply before the working class and warns against any the social conditions matured for the further delay in organizing a genuine development of a genuine native movenational movement in behalf of the indicted men. More than a score of workers are yet to be tried. Their lives are the leading circles of the International in danger, and with them the life of the organized labor movement in the Kentucky mine fields. The intervention of a powerful workers' protest in the affair tor of deadly effect. The various languis one of the most important questions of the day. Here is a case of vindictive transformed into appendages of the Stalpersecution, not of a few individuals inist lying machine like branch offices merely but on a wholesale scale. The object is to wipe out unionism and terporize all of its advocates by a fearful business man who does not want to be example of class "justice" and revenge. Can that be allowed to happen in com- icism was stifled and all independent parative silence?

It is by no means a one-sided battle. All the strength is not on the side of Kentucky "law" which licenses thugs to maim and kill and prosecutes workers who defend themselves. The acquittal of Burnett in the first trial a couple of weeks ago demonstrates that the sentilit are to be seen in every phase of the for all. If the Party approaches them ment of the masses is not without effect even on jurymen selected from another class. It shows also that the position of the defendants is legally justified, even from the biased standards of the capitalist law. These two factors explain the acquittal of Burnett. A relaxation of general labor interest in the second case, whether from over-confidence or neglect, turned the scale against Jones and emboldened the prosecution to go through with a conviction. The tide must be turned before it is too late. The legal defense, from all appearances, is competent enough. What is needed now is its reenforcement by the mass demands of the working masses.

The factional wrangling over the de fense has been a scandal and a direct blow to the men and the cause on trial. In the welter of charges and countercharges around the cases it was hard for a time to ascertain exactly who was handling the defense. One got the impression, in this disgraceful quarrel, that the miners in the docks were regarded as bones to fight over rather than a cause to defend by common efforts. It is clear enough now that the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. is conducting the legal defense. But is that any reason for Communists to stand aside, or-still worse-attack the defense at the moment THE CANADIAN COMMUNIST TRIALS

it is under the guns of the class enemy? perverted form, a factionalism that loses of the class struggle and demand a quick ance for this meeting. all vision of the class issues, and there- answer is again illustrated in the most fore a corrupt and reactionary faction- striking manner by their clam-like sil- the Western meetings at Kansas City, take place on Saturday, December 19 alism. Class conscious workers are ence on the Canadian Communist trial. Minneapolis and other points, a stop- at Clairmont Casino, 62 East 106th St duty-bound to give financial and other The conviction and sentence to five year over mass meeting will be held where New York City. Cascar's Harlemite support to the defense in every labor prison terms of the leading staff of the he will speak on "Trotsky on the case. In the present instance it means Canadian Party is surely an event of Crisis." to support the General Defense Com- extra-ordinary importance. Our Party On New Year's Eve the Branch will writing to Local 8, General Defense Committee without a moment's hesitation and canot be unaffected by such an alarming hold an entertainment at the headquar- mittee, Box 51, Station D., New York provide it with the necessary funds to development across the border. More- ters, 1435 No. Western Ave.

meet the heavy burdens imposed by the Communists. This also hurts and weakens the cause at stake. The real judical agents in Kentucky. We speak for a union of all forces of the labor movement in a common fight against this enemy.

GREETINGS TO "COMMUNISTES"

As this issue of the Militant goes to press we greet the first appearance of a fellow-fighter in the ranks of the Opposition. Communistes will carry to the Greek workers in America the same message which the Militant has carried an event of profound significance in the development of American Communism. leaders of the march. They were every- of the Communist proletariat, which has fice of its revolutionary spirit, is finding its way, through a hail-storm of slander and misrepresentation, to the platform of Marx and Lenin.

The Greek Communists in America are were not there. The success of the not to blame if they have been disorhunger march as a propaganda manifes- ientated and led astray on the great tetion of the Party was on a par with its questions of principle which have arisen failure as a mobilization of the unem- in the Comintern since Lenin's death. ployed workers. Like nearly all of the They had no light to show them the way. previous actions of the Party in the un- Their own paper, Empres, which they employment situation, this supreme effort established and maintained at such heavy was confined pretty closely-so far as cost, became converted, in the hands of direct participation is concerned-to the corrupt and ignorant bureaucrats, into Communist workers and their close sym- an instrument to deceive and mislead pathizers. The crying disparity between them, to lie, to slander, to befoul the the burning importance of the issue and banner of Communism and trample it the ability of the Party to draw the underfoot. It took time for even a small masses into motion was once again de- group of Greek Communists to learn the truth. But the ideas of Marxism are invincible; they make their way through our movement among the Greek workers in America.

The role of the foreign-born workers greater. As a result of their inhuman exploitation, their traditions and their higher class consciousness, they turned to the ideas of Communism sooner, and in greater numbers, than did the native born proletarians. They stood among the actual founders of American Communism; they were its backbone, especi-

If the ranks of the foreign-born Communists did not grow and expand as emnt, it can be attributed, in the first place, to the degeneration that overtook movement. The international factors are always the most decisve. But here in America their was a contributing facage bureaus, without exception, became of a business concern. They became poisoned with the spirit of the small disturbed. In this atmosphere all critthought was beaten down. Instead of instruments to carry the truth of Marxism to the foreign speaking workers these bureaus became so many sources of infection to poison and destroy the movement. Empros exitsed for this purpose

Greek workers' movement. Communistes will have the task of undoing this damage. It will have to explain to the Greek workers the reason for the failures and defeats. It will have to restore and popularize again the doctrines which the bureaucrats have discredited. It will have to arouse in the Greek workers once again the spirit Chicago Opposition Meets of inquiry, of criticism and independent thought, for it is these qualities-not blind servility and automatic hand-raising-that distinguish the revolutionary Communist. It wil be a hard task at first but it will be accomplished. Bolsheviks were never araid of difficulties. The resurrection of the genuine movement of Communism among the Greek

toric tack. If we were to offer one word of advice to the newly organized group of Greek dation. Oppositionists it would be this: Do not A Branch meeting of the Chicago Leathe line of principle and organize your cadre around it. The rest will follow.

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The helpless impotence of the Party No, that is factionalism in the most leaders on all questions which arise out

of the same kind. Our Party went through a test of fire in the Palmer raids; it lived as an illegal organization for three years; and after that, by a the trials. We do not mean by this to combination of legal and illegal methods express any approval of the propaganda of organization and a determined will methods of the I. W. W. in the control to break out of the underground strait sent a summary of the views of comversy with the I. L. D. They create the jacket, it re-conquered the right to a rade L. D. Trotsky. It is the outcome impression that their main fight is against legal existence as a Party. All these of a discussion between comrade Trotquestions are rising up before the Can- sky and comrade Albert Glotzer, member adian Party at the present moment, of the National Committee of the Comenemy is the capitalist class and their How does the leadership of the Ameri- munist League of America (Opposition), can Party evaluate the trial, and what who has been visiting with comrade advice does it offer to the Canadian com- Trotsky for a number of weeks. Comrades in their difficult position? The Daily Worker answers these crucial for publication, points out that they questions with a studied neglect. It has

nothing to say. In a previous issue of the Militant comrade Spector has given a report and Chandu Ram) who declare their support a political evaluation of the trial. With of the Left Opposition. Comrade Trothis comments we are in full agreement. sky has been too busy recently to be His criticism of the showing made by the able to devote the time necessary for the defendants was a loyal criticism that did not in any way impair the fundamental solidarity of the Opposition with the cle on "The Tasks of the Opposition in Party in its hour of persecution. And it England and India" by comrade Trotwas absolutely necessary. The Canadian sky did however appear in The Militant Party will pay dearly for the attempts to dilute the revolutionary essence of its doctrines before the court. That is not the way to fight for the legality of a very important question, namely: What the Party as a Communist Party. It is the way, rather, to discredit its leadership, to poison the ranks with an evasive legalistic retreat from principle and to rob the Party of the power to stand up under the blows of the class enemy. When the leaders of the proletariat are on trial they must not forget for a moment that they are speaking to the whole country. Then of all times they must say what they really stand for. You cannot fool the masses into Communism. You will only discredit your own movement if you try.

In our opinion, comrade Spector sounded the right note when he said the problem at the moment consists in going to every working class organization in the country with the slogan of a common fight for the repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code, the section under which the prosecution was conducted. The Canadian Party should under no circumstances accept the condemnation to illegality and retreat into a restricted underground existence without a further struggle. The proscription of the Canadian Party is not grounded in the present political situation and relation of class forces in the country. Social conditions for a regime of white terror. such as prevails in a number of European countries, are not matured in Canada. It is not the strength of the Canadian Party which the conservative government fears, but rather its weaknes -brought upon it by the cruel blows it has suffered in recent years from the Stalinist regime-that embolden the Government to experiment with a "red scare". The action against the Canadian Party bears a close resemblance to the assaults we experienced in the Palmer days, and has much of the same content. The Canadian Party should profit by the errors, and also by the victories, which attended our struggle under somewhat similar conditions.

The Party should wage a determined fight for legality. But it cannot fight successfully alone. It must make its fight the fight of the working class, in the first place of the more advanced and class conscious workers' organizations. In order to do this it must throw overboard all the bizarre theories which have been foisted upon it in recent years, weakening and undermining it, isolating it from the labor movement and renattack.

of all is a realistic appraisal of the Chiang Kai-Sheks would rather do covsituation and a deliberate tactic of the ertly. united front. It needs to approach the workers of other organizations, not as "social fascists" but as brothers in a common cause. All workers' organizations have an interest in the questions of legal political rights. The Party in the recent years. The sad effects of must become the champion of such rights in the night way and with the right policy it can gain their support. There is every reason for confidence that a united struggle in the present situation will be victorious. The Opposition will do all it can to help the Party to find this path

—J. P. C.

CHICAGO-The Chicago branch the Communist League (Opposition) is putting in a busy week in connection with the national tour of comrdae Swabeck. The first public meeting held at to march under the leadership of the the Headquarters Hall brought an audi- proletariat and Communist Party. This ence of 50. The subject, '-The Economic over-emphasis and over-evaluation of Crisis and the Left Communists" offered workers in America will begin with the an excellent opportunity for comrade guided by the Menshevik Martynov, addfirst issue of Communistes. We are con- Swabeck to discuss some of the most fident that our Greek comrade-in-arms pressing problems of strategy and tacwill be fully worthy of their great his- tics facing the Communist movement. The lecture called forth a series of questions from the audience for further eluci-

chase after quick success. Stand firm on gue, as this is written, is scheduled, where comrade Swabeck will report on the general situation and prospects of the League.

On December 12th, comrade Swabeck is to lecture on the "Manchurian Crisis" before the Liberal Science Forum at 1118 W. Madison St. Special advertising has been issued to ensure a large attend-

On comrade Swabeck's return from

over, it owes a duty to the Party and the Party leaders who have been proscribed by the Canadian Government. We have bed a fairly rich experience. When have bed a fairly rich experience. We have bed a fairly rich experience.

The Decisive Importance of the Communist Party

(The points enumerated below reprerade Glotzer in forwarding these views arose in connection with the situation in England and the false views expressed by some English comrades (Ridley and formulation of complete and thorough views on the British situation, (an artilast week (12-12-31); but nevertheless the points presented below in draft form offer a good basis for the discussion of constitutes a revolutionary situation?-

- 1. For an analysis of a situation from a revolutionary point of view, it is necessary to distinguish between the economic and social premises of a revolutionary situation and the revolutionary situation itself.
- 2. The economic and social premises for a revolutionary situation begin, gen erally speaking, at that moment when the productive powers of the country are going, not up but down, that is, diminishing; when the specific weight of a capitalist country on the world market is systematically lesened and when the incomes of the classes are likewise systematically reduced; when unemployment becomes, not a conjunctural event of fluctuation, but a permanent social evil with the tendency to growth. All the foregoing characterize the situation in England completely, and we can affirm that the economic and social premises for a revolutionary situation exist there, in this form, and are always becoming more and more acute. But we must not forget that the expression, revolutionary situation, is a political term, not alone sociological. This explanation includes the subjective factor, and the subjective factor is not only the question of the party of the proletariat. It is a question of the mentality of the of the towns, etc., and by the weakening to affirm that England is in such a sitwhole class, foremost, of course, of of the resistance of the ruling classes. the proletariat and the party.

The Beginning of A Revolutionary Situation

3. The revolutionary situation, how ever, begins only from the moment that the economic and social premises of a revolution produce a break in the mentality of society and its different classes. What must be produced in this way for creating a revolutionary situation?

(a) In every situation which we must analyze, it is necessary to distinuish three classes of society; the capitalists, the middle class or petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. Those changes in the mentality of thes classes in order to

characterize a revolutionary situation are very different for every one of these classes.

- (b) That the economic situation is know very well, far better than all theoreticians. But the revoluiety but along the path of a rev- a revolutionary situation. olutionary insurrection against the existing order. This is the most important subjective condition for a revolutionary situation. The acuteness of the revolutionary feelings of the masses is one of the most important measures for the ripeness of the revolutionary situation.
- (c) But a revolutionary situation is one which must, in the next period, permit the proletariat to become the ruling power of society, and that depends in England, less than in any other country, but also there to a degree, on the political thoughts and feelings of the middle class; the revolutionary situation would be characterized by the loss of confidence of the middle class in all the traditional parties (including the Labor Party, which is reformist, i. e., a conservative party), and its turn of hope to a radical, revolutionary change in the society (and not a counterrevolutionary change, viz., a fascist change).
- (d) Both the changes in the mentality of the proletariat and the midsave its system, loses confidence in itself, decomposes and splits into factions and cliques.

The Changing Outlook of the Classes

4. It cannot be foreseen or indicated mathematically at what point in these processes that the revolutionary situa-

5. If we adapt these criteria to the British situation we can see:

(a) That the economic and social premises, as has been stated, are existing and becoming more effective and acute.

(b) The bridge, however, from these

economic premises to the psychol- tion of our own action. ological results, has not been crossed. For the revolutionary situation in England it is not necessary for great changes in the economic conditions, which are already unbearable, to come about. What is necessary is a new adjustment of the mentality of the different classes to this unbearable,

catastrophic situation in England. The Rate of Development

6. The economic change of society is very slow and is measured by centuries very acute, the British proletariat and decades. But when the economic conditionns are radically changed, a transformation of the retarded psychological tionary situation begins only at factors can be produced very quickly. the moment when the proletariat However, quickly or slowly, such changes begins to search for a way out, must inevitably be effected in the mentalnot on the basis of the old soc- ity of the classes. Only then can we find

7. In political terms it significs:

- (a) That the proletariat must lose its confidence not only in the conservatives and liberals, but also in the Labor Party. It must concentrate its will and its courage for revolutionary aims and methods.
- (b) That the middle class must lose its confidence in the big bourgeoisie, in the lords, and turn their eyes to the revolutionary proletariat.
- (c) That the rich classes, the ruling cliques, rejected by the masses, lose confidence in themselves.
- 8. These phenomena will inevitably come. However, they do not evist today. They can come in a short period of time, through the acute crisis. They can arrive in two or three years, or perhaps in a year. But this is a perspective and not a fact today. We must base our policy on the facts of today and not of tomorrow.

The Decisive Importance of a Matured Communist Party

9. The political conditions of a revolutionary situation are developing more or less parallel and simultaneously, but dle class correspond and develop this does not signify that they all beparallel to the change in the men- come ripe at the same moment-therein tality of the ruling class which is the danger of the British situation of sees that it has not the means to tomorrow. In the ripening political conditions, the most retarded is the revolutionary party of the proletariat. It is not excluded that the general revolutionary change of the proletariat and the middle class, and the political decomposition of the ruling class, will develop more quickly than the ripening of the Communist Party. It signifies that it does tion is totally ripe. The revolutionary not exclude after tomorrow a genuine party can only establish that fact by revolutionary situation without an adeits struggles, by the growth of its forces, quate revolutionary party. It would be, through its influence on the masses, on to a certain degree, a reproduction of the peasants, and the petty bourgeoise the situation in Germany in 1923. But uation today is absolutely false.

> 10. We say that it is not excluded that the development of the Party can remain retarded in relation to the other elements of the revolutionary situationbut that is not in any case inevitable. On this question we cannot make exact prognoses, but the question is not merely a question of prognosis. It is a ques-

> 11. How much time will the British proletariat need in the present state of capitalist society to break up its connections with the three bourgeois parties? By a correct policy of the Communist Party, it is entirely possible that its growth will take place in proportion to the bankruptcy and decomposition of the other parties. It is our aim, it is our duty to realize this possibility.

What Is Coming?

CONCLUSIONS: That explains sufficiently why it is totally false to affirm that England is now between Democracy and Fascism. The era of Fascism begins seriously after an important and, for a certain time, decisive victory of the bourgeoisie over the working-class. But the great struggles in England are not behind us, rather ahead of us. As we discussed in another connection, more probably the next political chapter in England, after the decomposition of the national government and the conservative generated Communist International, are government which will probably succeed the best and only real bopes in the strug- it, will be a liberal-labor reformistic era, which can, namely in England, become in the near future more dangerous than eign imperialists. That resolves itself the spectre of Fascism. We called that period, conditionally, the British Keren-

But it is necessary to add that the Kerenskiade is not obliged to be in every sitaution, in every country, as weak as the Russian Kerenskiade. The weakness of the Kerenskiade there was a result of the great power of the Bolshevik Party. We see now, for example, in Spain, that the Kerenskiade-the coaliin Chicago where public and Branch tion of the liberals and the "socialists" -is by no means so weak as it was in Russia, and this is the result of the weakness of the Communist Party; and, thereby, becoming a great danger to the Spanish Revolution. The Kerenskiade signifies for us the employment of reformist, "revolutionary", "democratic", "socialist" phrases; certain secondary democratic and social reforms, while at eapolis comrades have made extensive the same time carrying on repressions preparations for a Chrstmas gathering, against the Left wing of the working-

> This method is contrary to the method of Fascism, but it serves the same aim. To condemn the future Lloyd Georgelade foresee it approaching, when we are not hypnotizing ourselves with the spectre of Fascism which is further away than Lloyd George and his instrument of tomorrow-the Labor Party. The danger of tomorrow can become the reformist party, the bloc of the liberals and the socialists; the Fascist danger is only in the third or fourth stage away. Our struggle to eliminate the Fascist period, to eliminate or reduce the new reformist period signifies for the Communist Party the struggle for the winning of the working-class.

—L. TROTSKY. Kadikoy, Nov. 17, 1931

Japanese Intrenched in Manchuria

(Continued from page 1) dering it helpless before the Government cadone this act: no doubt having similar What the Canadian Party needs most future. Ma does openly what the

The Communist Party

Events and affairs will continue in Manchuria. But more now than ever, the basic problem stands out: the struggle of the exploited masses against the foreign and native exploiters. The city proletariat, headed by a Communist Party, must lead this struggle and movement. There can be no subordination of the Communist Party to the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, as was the policy of Stalin and the Comintern in the Chinese Revolution of 1927-1929, which resulted in the beheading of the Chinese Revolution. Nor can the peasant, the agrarian

masses, be permitted to assume, or even to attempt, the role of leadership of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the landlords and warlords. That role is the historical one of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party; it is for the exploited peasantry of China the peasantry by Stalin and Bucharin, ed further ruin to, and loss of thousands of lives of the Chinese masses. It must not be repeated: or the Chiang Kai-Sheks will have double duty as execu-

PRISONERS FUND DANCE

NEW YORK-Efforts are being made by the General Defense Committee, I W. W. organization, with headquarters at 555 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill. to follow its annual custom by sending substantial checks at Yudetide to many men and women of the working class.

The New York City Local of the General Defense Committee has arranged a balance of the schedule follows: dance for the benefit of the Xmas Fun for class war prisoners. The affair will will furnish music. Admission will b fifty cents. Tickets can be purchased by

tioners of the proletariat. The working class movement of China

actions on their part in mind for the is again slowly rebuilding its forces and organizations. All possible assistance must be given to hasten the revival and growing struggles against the Chinese bourgeoisie in the struggle, among other things, for democratic rights. The generation and growth of a genuine Communist Party of China, linked in common effort with a de-Stalinized and regle against the Japanese invaders, the native Chinese exploiters and the forinto the conscious and militant struggle of the working masses everywhere skiade. against the capitalist system.

—м. л. Swabeck National Tour

The National Tour of comrade Arne Swabeck has now carried him into Western territory. After a stay of six days gatherings were held, comrade Swabeck went on to Springfield, Ill., Staunton, Ill. and St. Louis, Mo. for meetings. After that, beginning December 18, he was scheduled for a mass meeting, public banquet and Branch meeting in Kansas City. From Kansas City, he will proceed to Minneapolis for a six day stay in the vicinity. There the Minnpublic meetings and conferences.

Comrade Swabeck reports that the proposal for the issuance of a Jewish semi-monthly paper of the Left Opposition has met with enthusiasm, and that to a weakness, is only possible when we the comrades are at their task of raising the necessary funds.

The tour to date has proved successful and beneficial for the organization. The

11	Kansas City, Mo Dec. 18, 19, 20.
9,	Minneapolis, Minn Dec. 24, 25, 26,
es e	27, 28, 29. Chicago, Ill Dec. 31 and January 1st
1-	Youngstown, Ohio January 3 Cleveland, Ohio January 4, 5.
k	Philadelphia, Pa January 10.