

Open Letter to the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 1) ship of Stalin independent of the apparatus. Now to pledge loyalty to the "Leninist Central Committee" would mean the same as openly to raise the banner of rebellion.

This sort of thing is going further and further. The official anniversary article on the Red Army (February 23) states that the "Communist Party" with its Leninist Central Committee headed by comrade Stalin is the leader of all the armed forces of the Soviet Union.

When you started the struggle within the party under the name of the struggle against "Trotskyism", you formed within the official Politburo a secret Politburo, or "the seven"—against me.

Now similar work, although in caricatured, bonapartist form, is being performed on a new historic stage. Doubtlessly the narrow faction of Stalin has its own secret staff, its slogans and its pass-words its agents and its codes; the conspiracy against the apparatus is pushed full speed ahead, while the apparatus is still in conspiracy against the party.

The party threatens to intervene in the conflict which has started between Stalin and the apparatus. It must intervene, lest the class enemy intervene. To help the party intervene powerfully is the aim of the Left Opposition.

You long ago substituted for inner-party democracy, "self-criticism". In the beginning it meant that one may criticize any one outside of the Central Committee. Later it means that one may criticize only those whom the C. C. orders to be criticized.

It was found necessary to turn a revolutionary party which bases itself on a scientific doctrine and a great tradition into a temple where Kazanovitch, in the role of high priest, burns incense to the idol of eternal perfection.

Can there be anything more malignant, more debased and shameful than the introduction of supermonarchical authority into the party of the proletariat. Perhaps you do not know where it leads to: Re-read history. The dogma of lifetime infallibility is the most unquestionable, the most shameful expression

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LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Opposition Branch Formed In Newark

Several weeks ago a branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) was organized in Newark, N. J. The branch is rather small, having only six members at the present time, but there is a growing sentiment for the Left Opposition among the Party members and the Communist sympathizers.

A large number of questions were answered by the speaker with such an effect that some of the Party sympathizers made a statement that they came to the meeting with a hostile feeling to the Opposition but their feelings were quite reversed. After the meeting some of them declared their intention of joining the branch.

Free Speech in the Party?

The Daily Worker Readers' Forum conducted by the Communist party each Sunday afternoon deserves honorable mention in permitting a hitherto unprecedented step forward in the form of democratic discussion, since the expulsion of the Left Opposition more than three years ago.

Militant Drive Yields Results

It is possible now to say that the drive is yielding results. It is enough to compare last week's standing with this week's report to see what a leap forward the drive has taken. To enable everyone to make this comparison easily we give below both figures. The figure immediately following the city is last week's figure, the second figure is this week's:

New York, last week—17, this week—26; Minneapolis—5-16; Chicago—3-7; Boston—4-4; St. Louis—1-1; Newark 1-1; Philadelphia—1-1; Montreal—0-1; Miscellaneous—12-15.

The drive seems to be developing into a contest between the New York and Minneapolis branches. Our other branches should not permit them to make it a contest between themselves but should make strenuous efforts to overcome their lead.

They can take a leaf from our Minneapolis branch. Comrade Coover in reporting eleven subs, says: "Minneapolis is off to a start on the drive and the other branches are going to have to step on it from now on or take a rubbing and this goes for the New York branch as well as the others. The score at the close of March is as follows: (each \$1 for subs counts as one point; 50c as a 1-2 point.) Team 1: Myles B. Dunne, Capt.—Fannie Barach—6 1-2 points; V. Dunne—6 points; Sam Lessin—2 1-2 points; Chester Johnson—21-2 points; total for Team 1 on March 31st—17 1-2 points; Team 2: William Curran, Capt.—Carl Cowl—4 points; Carl Skoglund—2 points; Sam Zalmanoff—2 points O. Coover—1 point; Total for Team 2 on March 31st—9 1-2 points.

"Myles Dunne's Team 1 evened the score with the captain of Team 2. Wm. Curran, when they introduced one of the Team 2 members to turn over to a member of Team 1 money collected for a sub; and then to add insult to injury they outdistanced us during the first month of the sub drive by 8 points. All the Team 2 members swear vengeance and some of our heavy hitters are going to do some battling during the month of April. So Team 1 had better watch their step. Up to April 1st the total points scored by the Minneapolis branch is 17. Watch out New York! We are after you."

This is the spirit, Minneapolis. New York is on its toes, hitting on all six. It's ready to take on all challenges. It retorts that it can't be in on that banquet to be given by the losing team at the close of the drive. It means to come out on top of the heap on June 1st.

Sub getters can take a tip from a subscriber from Wauhan, Minn., who in taking advantage of the combined rate of \$2. for a year's subscription to both The Militant and Young Spartacus, writes: "Times continue very hard out here but one must have The Militant and it is hard to pass up a bargain like the present one in the drive." A word to the wise is sufficient.

Another encouraging sign is the increased number of 25c subs for 8 issues. Almost any worker who is not totally unemployed can afford a quarter for eight issues, especially now when interest in Germany is so keen and we are running extracts from comrade Trotsky's latest work on Germany—"What Next?" This is, of course, as good an inducement

The question under discussion last week was that of the war danger. The point of view of the official party was expressed by Norman Bersnick. Comrade Avrin, of the Left Opposition took issue with the speaker stressing the danger to the revolutionary vanguard and the U. S. S. R. emanating from the threat of a Fascist Germany. Comrade Avrin was given the floor three times during the discussion to present the point of view of the Left Opposition before the 300 workers who attended the forum.

This is a step forward in the development of a basis for clarification in the ranks of the party members and sympathizers on the differences between the Stalin faction and the Left Opposition under comrade Trotsky. We hope this form of clarification becomes a part of general party policy, because it is only in this way, in viewing and discussing the differences openly before the party that real clarity and cohesion can be obtained and training provided for firm revolutionary fighters.

Trotsky Meeting in Duluth

In spite of definite threats of a "broken head" if he speaks Friday on "Trotsky", comrade Sam Bloomberg, well-known party member and a figure in the Winnipeg General Strikes of 1919, addressed a mass meeting of over 150 attentive workers Friday night in Moose Temple on the "Truth About Trotsky", thus breaking through a ring of slander and intrigue maintained by the Stalinists against the Left Opposition for over two years since the occasion when comrade Shachtman last spoke here. The meeting marks a forward step for the Opposition in a city having a militant class-struggle tradition like Duluth.

It was originally scheduled to be held at Camel Hall. But since that hall is also rented on a monthly basis by the Stalinists, the management was pressed into refusing to allow the hall for a Trotsky meeting. As is to be expected, this bureaucratic attempt to suppress the meeting aroused determination on the part of the workers to hear the point of view of the Left Opposition, and, in spite of a blizzard, made our meeting successful. A few party members and a number of T. U. U. L. F. S. U., I. W.

O. and ex-Party members were present, in spite of the party decision to boycott the meeting.

Comrade O'Rourke, the chairman, who is an old Duluth militant, a R. R. engineer, opened the meeting and introduced comrade Bloomberg. In an hour and a quarter speech, marked by brilliant analysis and conviction, Bloomberg told the story of Trotsky and the Left Opposition, the alleged "differences" with Lenin from 1903 on, the theory of socialism in one country, the role of the Left Opposition in bringing the Communist movement back on the base of Marxism-Leninism. "For years I was prejudiced and poisoned against the Left Opposition by the Stalinist press. It took me two years of study and practical observation to convince me that Trotsky is right and that the hope of the international Communist movement rests in the success of the Left Opposition." Bloomberg's declaration was well received.

O'Rourke then, introduced comrade Carl Cowl, the secretary of the Minneapolis branch of the Communist League, who spoke on "Why the Centrist Bureaucracy Defeated the Left Opposition". Citing the defeats of the proletariat in Bulgaria (1923), Germany (1923) Estonia (1924) Great Britain (1926) China (1927) and the stabilization of capitalism connected with these catastrophes, together with the weariness engendered in the Russian proletariat after the heroic straining of forces in the years of the revolution and civil war, Cowl explained the new confidence placed in the petty bourgeois strata of the city and village and in the bourgeois elements of the state bureaucracy who gained considerable strength on the basis of the N. E. P. The centrist apparatus, supporting itself on these elements and exploiting the passivity of the proletariat, crushed the Left, revolutionary wing of the Party and revised the principles of Marxism-Leninism. He depicted the lying and disloyal campaign used to poison the minds of the party members. It is necessary to combat their lies with the truth, their irresponsibility before the working class by serious work. He called on every member of the audience to hear the other side of the question by reading and subscribing to THE MILITANT and UNSER KAMF and YOUNG SPARTACUS and the pamphlets on specific problems before the world working class. Further, those workers who are in agreement with the principles and aims of the Left Opposition, should not hesitate, but should join our ranks and help our cause.

Comrade Carl Skoglund, member of the National Committee of the Communist League, then took the floor on the German elections and gave an analysis of the dangerous and compromising position the Stalinists were leading the German party into. He explained precisely what Fascism is and the stupidity of the slogan: After Fascism—the Workers Dictatorship, which betrays and disarms the German working class in the primary struggle against Fascism. He revealed the figures in the recent elections and exposed the false analysis of "victory" for the Communists who gained a few hundred thousand votes as compared to six million of the Fascists. The German question will not be solved in the elections or in parliament, he said, but in the class struggle, and finally by the united forces of the proletariat against the reaction.

The speakers were harassed with questions and discussion, a few Stalinists adding to the interest of the meeting by raising the old chestnuts about writing in the capitalist press, aiding Bruening and others, some of which actually brought laughter from the audience. There were some serious statements of support together with a recount of a number of incidents in Duluth illustrating wrong party tactics, leading to lack of confidence and disrespect and finally isolation from the workers.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912. OF THE MILITANT published weekly at New York, N. Y. for April 1, 1932.

State of New York ss County of New York ss Before me, a resident in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Arne Swaback, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE MILITANT and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher: The Communist League of America (Opposition) New York, N. Y. Editor: Max Shachtman Managing Editor: Max Shachtman Business Manager: Arne Swaback Post Office Address: 84 East 10th St., New York City, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The Communist League of America (Opposition); 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Martin Abern, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; James P. Cannon, 84

East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Max Shachtman 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y. be stated and immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names N. Y. Maurice Spector, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Arne Swaback, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

\$10.50 worth of literature was sold, and there was a substantial collection. Three subs were gotten and two new members joined the League. Workers, after the meeting, expressed amazement that they could have been so deceived by the Party press and asked for more such meetings. With the present program of adventurism of the party continuing in force, there is every possibility of building a good branch in Duluth which will be able to help restore the confidence and support of the working class in Communism. —C. C.

The Struggle Around the Volkszeitung

For some time now, a fierce struggle has been going for the control of the New York Volkszeitung, long established as a working class paper in the German language and at one time a Communist organ. In this struggle, it now appears, the yellow socialists are definitely gaining the upper hand. The editorship is in the hands of a "socialist" of doubtful repute, the policies are at one with those of the treacherous social democratic press in Germany.

The opposition to the socialists is offered by members of the former Lore organization, the "Verband Internationaler Arbeiter". There appear to be among this opposition not a few honest revolutionary workers who feel the disgrace that has fallen upon the Volkszeitung rather keenly. And yet it is precisely the obstinate centrist policy of Lore, the illusions be created about a middle road between Communism and social democracy that is most heavily responsible for this condition. The Left Opposition long ago exposed this deceptive policy and warned in time that it could only lead to abject surrender before the reformists. By cutting his revolutionary followers off from the current of Communism, by wiping out the fundamental and unbridgeable differences between the Communists and the reformists, by vacillating between the two in an attempt to exploit the "shortcomings" of each for centrist ends, Lore merely prepared the ground for the domination of the fakery.

This is a lesson worth while learning. The "logic" of the centrist position is here proven in practice. The honest, sincere workers in the Volkszeitung opposition will no doubt draw their own conclusions from it. Their's is the task now to find the road back to Communism. It is their first duty not to stop with the attack on the shameful pro-Hindenburg articles of the Volkszeitung but to view the implications of the entire German situation today and to make clear for themselves as to which of the Communist currents represents the true needs of the working class. In this, the Left Opposition is ready to give them all the aid at its disposal. It will follow the developments more closely in coming issues of The Militant.

Attention Y.C.L.-ers!

To a Member of the Y. C. L. in Brownsville:

We have received a letter from a member of the Young Communist League in Brooklyn, N. Y., which we are requested to print in the Militant. The content of the letter is a criticism of some of the activities of the Y. C. L. Although we have no objection to printing letters from readers of the Militant, nevertheless we cannot print letters without knowing the identity of the individual who has written the letter. We will of course upon the request of the writer withhold publication of the name, but in order to have a guarantee of the accuracy of the facts and the genuineness of the document we must be informed of the identity of the correspondent. Will the author of the above mentioned letter please communicate with us.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the names of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ARNE SWABECK, Business Manager Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March 1932. G. M. LORCH, Notary Public (My commission expires March 30, 1933)