

Letters from Militants

All Eyes On Davenport

DAVENPORT, IOWA.—For all Oppositionists and Communists in general, who are interested in the dispute between the Left Opposition and Stalinism, the humble city of Davenport, standing on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River, will become a point of attraction between the hours of 8 to 11 P. M., on Friday, Sept. 30. In those few hours an event will take place such as has been unheard of since the occasion for such an event was created in 1927 by the expulsion of the Left Opposition. For the first time since the expulsion of the Opposition, has the Opposition succeeded in goading the official leadership of the party into debating us, and over the most basic and fundamental principle difference, to wit—over the theory of socialism in one country.

For five years the Left Opposition has thundered a challenge to the Stalinists, openly to debate our differences before the party ranks and the working class; and for five years have the Stalinists refused. Everywhere this challenge was thrown into the teeth of Stalinism—in the capitals of Europe and the great metropolises of the world—and when the challenge was finally accepted, it had to be accepted in Davenport, of all places. Which shows, of course, that in Davenport the party has not as yet been completely "bolshvized" (read Stalinized) in this respect; and which further proves that the district office will have to send many a bureaucrat to Davenport in order to rectify the most "disgraceful" action of one party faction debating the other party faction over a principle difference whose importance is so great that the whole agenda of world revolution is arranged by the stand taken on this difference. But for the present, as long as the district office remains in blissful ignorance of the approaching debate, bear in mind that on Friday, Sept. 30, Jack Wilson, the party section organizer of Davenport will debate comrade George Caplan, newly recruited into the Left Opposition, over the subject "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY OR WORLD REVOLUTION." An elaborate agreement as to arrangements and procedure has been drawn up and signed by comrades Sokoy and Perron for the party and Caplan and Brady for the Left Opposition.

Condition of the Party

The party in Davenport and vicinity is in a most deplorable condition. If one desires to study the evil effects of the Stalinist regime, he should choose the weak sections for his study. For in the same way as all of the contradictions of the capitalist system are most easily discerned in the weak links of the system, so also do all of the contradictions of Stalinism reveal themselves most boldly in the weak links. Open party activity such as open-air meetings and demonstrations are very scarce; all party organizations extremely sectarian; and the ideological level of the membership frightfully backward with no attempts to raise this level. Naturally therefore the party and its auxiliaries are a very negligible factor in the class struggle. (The backwardness of the membership is so appalling that the party member is hardly to be distinguished from the ordinary worker as far as theoretical knowledge goes. But of course this condition is by no means to be blamed on the rank and file, but on the contrary must be attributed to the leadership which, being politically impotent, can only maintain its position as long as widespread ignorance prevails. To mention only two instances from among the many which show the result of the above-mentioned condition: (1) Communists hitching themselves to a plow and plowing up charity land, later selling pictures of this scene. (2) Party members in Muscatine participating in a strike in the button industry, refusing to admit out-of-town Communists to speak to and organize the strikers.

A description of the local situation would not be complete without a description of the section organizer, Jack Wilson. To begin with, his social status is surrounded with very suspicious circumstances. This individual is the acme of Stalinist bureaucracy, ignorance, cowardice, stupidity, rudeness and disloyalty. (When shown a draft leaflet to advertise the debate, a sub-heading of which read "Can Socialism be completed in one country—in the Soviet Union" he out-Stalined Stalin by demanding that the phrase "in the Soviet Union" be stricken out, which task of striking out the Oppositionists performed with great alacrity.

All through the Middle West the bureaucratic regime has wrought havoc in the Communist ranks. The most intelligent workers were either driven out or left the party in disgust at the bureaucratic tactics. Paul Cline, the previous D. O. of that district (West of Muscatine), performed such a complete job of destruction that he had to be removed to another district. Before his removal he had managed to cut a wide swath of destruction in the party ranks all through the Middle West.

This territory offers good opportunity for the Left Opposition. Only the Left Opposition can go in and save the Communist workers from utter despair in Communism which they confuse with the bureaucratic administrative acts of Stalinist officials. By persistent work and education, the Left Opposition can gather up the best elements, forge out of these workers good Communists and true, and thus strengthen Communism.

—BRADY.

Free Speech Struggle in Chicago

CHICAGO, ILL.—A new wave of terror has been inaugurated in Chicago by the red squad of that city, in an attempt to place a ban upon free speech, which the working class wrested from the iron grip of capitalism after many years of struggle and sacrifice. It is significant that the attack comes in the heart of the election campaign, when the activity of the Communist party has increased and when the influence of the party extends and grows with a tremendous rapidity.

North Ave. and Fairfield St., has for some ten years been a gathering place for the workers of the northwest section of Chicago to hear the propaganda of the numerous workers' parties. It is this corner that is the first to be attacked.

The leadership of the Communist party has unconsciously paved the way for the recent assault by the police. For three years the party has pursued a policy of disturbing and breaking up of all other meetings on the corner. This developed a state of almost irreconcilable antagonisms between the individual parties who had access to the corner. Much energy which the party should have exerted in its attack upon the bourgeoisie, was expended in antagonizing the rank and file of other organizations, much to the pleasure of the leaders of these groups and to the stupendous satisfaction of the Chicago police. The police saw in the attack of the C. P. upon the Proletarian party, the I W W, the S L P, etc., the division of the working class which is so essential to the bosses if they are to be successful in their struggle against the proletariat. The "victory" of the C. P. in driving all other working class groups from the corner and "monopolizing" it for themselves was short lived. The police chose an opportune moment for the attack.

The P. P., being harassed by the C. P. whenever they attempted to speak, very cravenly approached the police for protection. The P. P. meeting began; the C. P. members heckled and shouted, the police rushed to the "assistance" of the P. P., and smashed the heads of many worker Communists.

A protest meeting was arranged for the following Saturday and the meeting met with a similar fate. The police spared no one. Not even the old militant, comrade Holman, was spared. A number of comrades were sent to the hospital for treatment. The party launched a splendid fight for the corner which continued for almost 40 minutes after which they were forced to retreat.

A third meeting was called for Sat. Sept. 17 on the same corner, 8 P. M. found the four corners lined with people, nothing short of 3-4,000. The police too were very well represented. The roof tops had a scattering of the blue coats who leveled guns at the crowd.

On the S. W. corner a Y. C. L. member began to speak. A small defense corp formed around her consisting of Pioneers, I. W. O. youth members, and some members of the Spartacus Youth Club. How the people managed to leave that corner so rapidly is still puzzling in my mind. The police came, the speaker walked away without resisting and again we were lost.

Some twenty minutes later a battle raged of Communists and workers against the police. Shots were fired (into the air), the crowd was panicky and retreated, sweeping all the militants with them. This was the end of the organized battle. Thereafter the police arrested

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 October 1, 1932, State of New York ss County of New York ss

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Thomas Stamm, 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 4, 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 Business Manager: Thomas Stamm Post Office Address: 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also 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 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.; Arne Swaback, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.;

3. That the known bondholders, mort-

The Parties in the Elections

(Continued from page 1) University of Chicago. Among the vice-chairmen are John Dewey, chairman of the League for Independent Political Action; Morris Cohen, professor of philosophy in City College, New York; Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation; and His Grace, Bishop Francis J. McConnell. There are others. They are of the same stripe.

The organization of the Committee from the point of view of the socialist party is easy to understand. But what is the meaning of this combination from the point of view of the committee? It does not stand for socialism or the social democracy. It has issued no statement endorsing the socialist party platform. It is not an auxiliary of the socialist party. It is not subject to it politically or ideologically.

On the contrary it is opposed to socialism. Sitting in onrman Thomas' office on September 23, Paul Douglas issued a statement to the press, in which the New York Times reported him as "frankly conceding his doubts of the ultimate victory of socialism in the United States." The committee is for a "third party" but it does not see it in the socialist party: "A large vote for Thomas and Maurer will consolidate sentiment for a new party."

What is the game this band of confused intellectuals is playing? It wants to cajole a few reforms from the Hoovers. Said Douglas in the same statement: "A large vote for Thomas and Maurer will throw such a scare into the old parties that no matter which one wins they will make some concessions." That is the extent of their progressiveness and liberalism!

But these people are also alarmed at the indicated success of the Democrats in capturing the "progressive" and "liberal" vote. They figure that if Roosevelt wins the election as a progressive, they themselves will have no leg to stand on as progressives. But if Hoover gets in this will be a repudiation of Roosevelt's "liberalism" and will have them alone in

the field as the "progressive" opposition. (That is the meaning of Douglas' statements that: "I think that we can get more out of the election of Hoover with a big vote for Thomas, than out of the election of Roosevelt with a small vote for Thomas"; and: "We won't get a Liberal-Conservative line-up till we smash the Democratic party.")

Because of their confusion, of their lack of a clear political program on a class basis, these people are brought to a pass in which they are forced to desire and to lend objective support to the reaction they ostensibly set out to fight. To be sure we hold no brief for the donkey, any more than we do for the elephant or the socialist party. All three are the handmaidens of capitalism. Each party plays its role in the class struggle. The reactionary nature of the Hoover-Republican line is now clearly established for large sections of the masses and the petty bourgeoisie. The equally reactionary role of the Democratic remains to be established on a national scale. The treacherous nature of the socialist party leadership must also be established.

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Tour for Unser Kampf

This Thursday, Oct. 6, comrades Sylvia Blecker and Morris Lewit set forth on an extensive tour that will take them as far West as Minneapolis. The purpose of the tour is to lay a firm foundation for our Jewish organ, **Unser Kampf**. The method the comrades will employ in establishing this firm foundation will be to organize **Unser Kampf** Clubs where no such clubs exist now. Where **Unser Kampf** Clubs are already established, comrades Lewit and Blecker will see to it that they are placed on an even firmer foundation.

The first stop on the comrades' itinerary will be New Haven. Then in the order named will come Boston, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Buffalo, Cleveland, Youngstown, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Des Moines, Kansas City, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Trenton and Newark. The tour is to last two months.

As can be seen this is to be quite an extensive trip. The undertaking at the present time is of tremendous significance. At no time in the brief history of our movement has the needs of a Left Opposition organ in the Jewish tongue been of such singular importance as now. The future success of **Unser Kampf** rests to a large extent on the results of the tour now undertaken. It is up to the comrades—members and sympathizers—of the various cities that comrades Blecker and Lewit will visit to make of this tour a tremendous success.

New Headquarters Banquet

The drive for the International Workers School has taken another step forward when we engaged the school headquarters at 126 East 16th Street, just off Irving Place. We will open the new school headquarters on the 15th, and between now and then we will have a crew remodeling the place. We are arranging for an office, class rooms and form. Last year we were forced to engage outside halls for classes and forums. This location will enable us to centralize all of our activity for the coming season, until we outgrow the place. The new school headquarters means we are taking another step forward.

Will you help us in this activity. You can do your part. We must obtain a fund of \$300.00 for the International Workers School and the new headquarters. If we do not obtain this fund—our plans will not be realized. We urge you to send in your contributions at once. Enrollment for the classes is now in progress. Send in your enrollment to J. Weber, or come down to the office at 84 East 10th Street.

We are planning an opening affair for the new headquarters. On Saturday, October the 15th, we will have a house warming party. A BANQUET with excellent food prepared by the Greek comrades. Dancing and entertainment will follow. Watch for further announcement.

THE MILITANT

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MILITANT SUB DRIVE

Our Club Plan

WERE OFF. A comrade from Chicago who modestly signs himself, H. A., has sent in the first club of four subs. One Militant Builder does not make a successful campaign any more than one swallow makes a summer. But this is only the first green shoot showing its head above ground. Watch the oak tree grow!

Don't only watch. Go out among your friends, our sympathizers, and workers; and fill up a few club plan blanks yourself. That's the way to increase the circulation of our paper.

THE CLUB PLAN Some comrades seem a little unclear on exactly what the club plan is. The club plan is a scheme to offer workers a fifty percent reduction in the price of a half-year sub in clubs of four or more. The regular price for a half-year sub of twenty-six weekly issues is \$1. In clubs of four or more at one time it is \$5.00 per sub.

Look at the blank below. It provides for four names. You can approach a worker and sign him up for a half-year sub. Ask him for only fifty cents. Do not send in the sub yet. Wait until you fill up the blank with the names of three other workers. You should now have \$2. for the four subs. Send it in together with the filled-out, club plan blank. You are now a Militant Builder.

Now see how flexible the idea is, to how many uses it can be put. Suppose one of the workers you approach is a little better off than others. Suppose he can afford to pay a dollar for the sub. Explain the club plan to him and ask him to subscribe at the old rate. Write his name down on the blank for a fifty cent, club plan sub. And enter the name of a worker who cannot afford even fifty cents for a sub, for the other fifty cents.

Now suppose you catch a subscriber who has had a run of work of four or five weeks and can afford a donation of say, two dollars. Ask him for the money and enter the names of four workers who want the Militant but cannot afford to subscribe.

SUBS FOR THE MINERS

Now suppose you do not know four workers to whom you want the Militant

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MILITANT BUILDERS CLUB PLAN BLANK

A \$1 HALF YEAR SUB OF 26 ISSUES for 50c in CLUBS of FOUR or MORE. THE MILITANT, 84 E. 10th Street, New York City. Enclosed find \$2 for which send the MILITANT for 26 weeks to the following:

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

MILITANT BUILDER Address City State Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

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WHAT
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BY
LEON
TROTSKY
192 Pages
CLOTH 65c
PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Militant Jubilee Anniversary Number

November 15 will mark the fourth anniversary of the appearance of the **Militant**. Much has happened in the international revolutionary and labor movements since our comrades published that historic document on November 15, 1928, "For the Russian Opposition—Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers (Communist) Party of America! A Statement to American Communists by James P. Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman."

The course of the movement in this country and abroad has been more than a

devoted to a review of Four Years of the **Militant**. But the **Militant** is not only the organ of the American League. It is a part of the press of the International Left Opposition. We expect to carry greetings from comrade Trotsky and our brother sections.

We will also feature greetings from our comrades, sympathizers, friends and auxiliary organizations, as well as workers' organizations sympathetic to us. The rate for a single name will be \$.25. For a one-column-wide, one-inch greeting—\$1.00—for a two-inch greeting—\$1.75; for a five-inch greeting—\$3.00.

Send in your name with a quarter at once. Use the blank below.

THE MILITANT 84 EAST 10th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. Enclosed find for which please enter my greeting in the Jubilee Anniversary issue, November 12, 1932. Name Address City State

sent. Suppose you don't know any. Just send in the blank with two dollars and we will send the **Militant** for twenty-six issues to four workers. Be sure to put down your name as you are a Militant Builder in this case as well as in the others.

That is what we want to do for the miners in Illinois. Out there they have been battling the coal operators and Lewis and company since last April. Many of the miners are on the verge of starvation. They certainly cannot afford to subscribe. But they want to read the **Militant**. And we cannot afford to give the paper away free. If we were able to we should place a copy of each issue in the hands of every miner in Illinois and every worker in the country.

So, if you want to help the miner's reach class consciousness; if you want to advance the cause of Communism; if you want to spread the ideas of the Left Opposition—get subs for the miners!

THE JUBILEE ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

Esewhere in this issue we explain the significance and the details of the Jubilee Anniversary issue. Here we want to announce that to the comrades who send in the largest number of club plan subs between now and the Anniversary Issue we will give the only copy we have on hand of a rare work—"The Proletarian Revolution in Russia" by Lenin and Trotsky. It is out of print. Money cannot buy it from those comrades fortunate enough to own a copy.

Here is something to work for. If you want it, get busy! It is sure to stir to life a comrade or two in Minneapolis, whose past performances proclaim them to be formidable opponents. Another high-bating, sub getter is equally certain to be vitalized by the itch to own this book, a denizen of Chicago, comrade Sacharow. By they will have to step fast and keep it p because with the club plan idea catching on it's a fight to the finish.

They're off with H. A. away to a clean start. Is someone going to head him into the home stretch and across the tape, or is he going to win in a walk? Watch next week's issue!