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UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## Zinoviev Expelled Again

New Expulsions Denote Dangerous Crisis for Stalinist Regime

For the second time in less than five years, the former head of the Communist International, Gregory Zinoviev, and the former chairman of the Russian party's Political Bureau, Leo Kamenev, have been expelled by the ruling faction in the Russian party. The cablegram from the Moscow to the official party press leaves everything in obscurity, as is to be expected. From its own internal evidence, only one thing is clear: the charges against Zinoviev and Kamenev, as well as the other twenty-two party members who were expelled along with them, are a typical product of that disloyalty and rudeness for which Lenin stigmatized Stalin and demanded his removal from the post of general party secretary.

### The "Counter-Revolutionary Plot"

It is possible to believe that the expelled twenty-two were actually engaged in what the party press, without the slightest idea of the actual standpoint of the dissidents, already glibly denounces as a counter-revolutionary conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet power and re-introduce capitalism. Still less worthy of our credence is the charge that Zinoviev and Kamenev, however wretched their political course in the past few years, knew of a real counter-revolutionary plot and failed to inform the party of its existence.

The whole affair, we are prepared to say even without the more detailed information which we know will shortly be available, smacks of those despicable Thermidorian amalgams produced in the factional laboratories of the Stalinist clique, which seriously told the Communist Party that the Opposition was allied with Chamberlain and Chiang Kai-Shek and that the most trusted leaders of the October revolution were working together with a "Wrangel officer" in 1927 to overturn the Soviet regime.

The Daily Worker reports that those expelled were in "counter-revolutionary groups...which drafted programs opposing the party and aiming at restoration of capitalism and kulak power, a dissolution of the granting of collective farms and the granting of important concessions to capitalists." The finality and certitude with which the journalistic footmen of Stalinism speak is determined not merely by their subservience, but also by their complete ignorance of the facts in the case.

The truth about the situation that has been revealed with such breath-taking abruptness is more closely approached by the report printed in the organ of the Left Opposition in France two weeks ago:

"A short time ago rumors began to circulate about dissension at the top of the party: the harbingers of a new and deep-going turn-about face to the Right have been perceived; furthermore, the rumors were recorded in the 'Letter from Moscow' (printed in the Militant a few issues back). A dispatch from the T. A. S. S., published without comment by 'Humanite' simply denied the report that Stalin was going to quit—of his own will or under compulsion—the post of secretary of the C. P. S. U.

### "Letter of the 18 Bolsheviks"

"Now, a document is being talked about which is called 'the letter of the eighteen Bolsheviks', which is circulating in the Russian party. It appears to emanate from circles close to the Centrist apparatus. Its central slogan is: remove Stalin! It is a letter to the members of the party. Stalin is accused in it of having stilled the Communist International, stifled all workers' democracy in the party, of having zig-zagged in economic policy, of having broken the bridges between town and country, and of having led the Five Year Plan and all of Soviet economy into a state of profound crisis."

In a word, it is already plain that the new group which the Stalinists have "discovered" is a manifestation of that profound crisis which is tearing away the foundations of that structure of contradictions, patch-work and bureaucratic violence which the usurpatory ruling clique has sought in vain to pass off as Bolshevism. The crisis in present day Soviet economy, superinduced by the whole series of incoherent, disastrous, zig-zagging blunders which make up the "line" of Centrism, we have already analyzed in these columns. The reflection of this state of affairs in the form of a new party crisis had to come to light. The expulsions just announced are unmistakably the first tangible evidence of the new party crisis in the Soviet Union.

It is as yet too early to pass judgment on the program of those who have been expelled. In the miserable inadequate reports, the official cables to the party press and the semi-official cables to the capitalist press, there is a lack of those specific details necessary for a complete analysis. Among those whose expulsion is announced we find the former "Trotskyist", Rintin. We also read the name of Uglanov, the former head of the Moscow organization who was the first victim of the organizational measures taken

against the Right wing Bucharin-Tomsky-Rykov group in 1929. Finally, there are the professional capitulators of the Leningrad school, Zinoviev and Kamenev. What common line these disparate elements might have, it is difficult to say. Whether we have here a repetition of that hopeless venture undertaken some time ago by the so-called "Right-Left Bloc" of Syrov and Lominadze, is also a declaration which requires further details for its clarification.

### The Crisis of Stalinism

But enough information is at our disposal for the confident assertion that the latest news from the Soviet Union speaks volumes about the insoluble crisis of the Stalinist regime. One fact alone: Zinoviev and Kamenev, who capitulated so pitifully to the Stalinist machine at the 15th Party Congress in 1927, and have since that time disavowed or swallowed their opinions for a party card and that contemptuous toleration shown them by (Continued on page 3)

## Lytton Report Aims at Partitioning China Among the Imperialist Bandit Powers

Hardly a day goes by without some report or other regarding engagements between Chinese and Japanese troops in Manchuria. Japan, by the ruthless extermination of all opposition, is attempting to consolidate its position in the territory that is predominantly Chinese and extremely hostile to the Japanese domination. Putting up a stiff resistance, the Chinese are nevertheless being slowly subjugated.

It was to investigate the present conditions in Manchuria, and to suggest action, that the Lytton commission was created by the League of Nations some time ago. On October 2 the lengthy and voluminous report was made public. The commission being dominated by America and Great Britain, the content of the report could very easily have been predicted. As a matter of fact, a Washington dispatch to the New York Times of October 3 emphasizes the similarity between the proposals made by the United States in the past, and those of the Lytton report.

The report does not however devote itself only to the question of Japan and the invasion of Manchuria. One even gets the feeling that the above questions sort of occupy a secondary position. Throughout the entire report the danger and menace of Communism is stressed. The spread of the Communist movement in China represents a real and live danger to the bourgeoisie, and they mine no words in expressing their opinion on the subject. "There is a new menace, which had its origin in China in 1921—Communism." Thus reads the report. "In that country," the report continues, "Communism has become an actual rival of the National government." Created to investigate the conditions attending the slaughter of many hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers and peasants by the Japanese marines, the commission finds

## MASS MEETING THE NEW CRISIS IN THE SOVIET UNION

What is the Significance of the New Expulsions in the Russian Communist Party?

Come and Hear  
MAX SHACHTMAN  
ARNE SWABECK

Thursday, OCTOBER 20, 1932 8 P. M.  
at OUR NEW HALL  
126 East 16 Street

The Regular Open Forum Season in New York Begins on Friday, October 28, 1932

"THE NEW MINERS' REVOLT"  
Speaker:  
JAMES P. CANNON

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

instead the existence of a strong Communist movement.

The report does not stop there; it continues by suggesting a solution—"international cooperation." The American and British imperialists seeing in Japan a future ally in suppressing Communism, and recognizing their own technique in Japan's invasion of Manchuria are unable to attack too strongly the actions of their rival. But the hand of the United States is obvious even in the mild attack that is leveled against Japan. We thus find actual recognition of the fact that the government of Manchukuo (Henry Pu Yi) was forced on the Manchurian people against their will, by the Japanese, and would collapse should the Japanese troops be withdrawn. Does the report therefore demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Japanese bluejeans? Hardly. It points to the need for a force capable of coping with the so called main danger—Communism, and suggests the creation of an international police force to oppose this danger. The report stresses the importance of law and order to the safety of capital already invested, and that to be invested in the future. It recognizes that should Japan be given a free hand to establish its own "law and order", it would mean the virtual exclusion of the other imperialists from the enormous Manchurian market. The opposing imperialists are thus forced to demand "international cooperation" and the creation of an "international constabulary", as opposed to the Japanese marines only.

In discussing the question of who started the war (Sino-Japanese) a thousand and one minor incidents are stressed. Particular emphasis is given to the killing of one Nakamura, a Japanese captain. The by now universally accepted fact that the complete plans and maneuvers (Continued on page 4)

## IN THE ELECTIONS

### 'Labor' or C.P. Ticket?

The Lovestoneites Propose a Reformist 'United Labor' Slate

Political elections at this stage of development in the United States offer, from our point of view, opportunities for revolutionary propaganda and activities. It is because of this that they can be utilized to advance the working class political level. More than this we should therefore not expect from them.

Elections do not decide the important issues of the working class which we approach in the sense of being essentially issues of power. That is, as the issue of which class shall hold power in society. There is no other way to approach it.

But elections can become stepping stones for working class advance only when they are correctly utilized to help make clear the existing class relationships. The collisions of the conflicting

interests between capitalism and the workers are manifested daily in the shop, in the unions, in demonstrations and on the picket lines. There the economic basis is established. In the elections they can become the focusing points around which the workers can express their interest from a class point of view and to that extent further prepare themselves for the struggle for power.

### Reformist or Revolutionary Objective?

In that particular objective the essential difference between a reformist and a revolutionary policy becomes apparent. The reformist policy can never educate the workers to the concept of power, nor can it serve to advance them in that direction because that is not at all its (Continued on page 2)

## Right Wing Wins at Gillespie Mine Workers Conference

Miners Militant but Small Left Wing Fails to Stop \$5.00 Day Scale Adoption

### GILLESPIE, ILL.—

The first convention of the Progressive Miners of America has ended with the acceptance of the Walker-Lewis five dollar wage scale.

This is the result of the political confusion existing amongst the leadership, and the lack of an organized Left wing, which can be placed on the heads of our official Communist party. The militancy of the rank and file still exists. They raise no cry of betrayal or sell-out, and in all probability will change the existing temporary leadership at the coming elections in December of this year. They will replace the present leadership with militant fighters, who will more amply mirror the degree of militancy displayed by the miners since the fight began.

An indefiniteness and overcautiousness, due to the Red-baiting campaign carried on by the bosses and reactionaries, were high-water marks during the proceedings. This was evidenced by the advice of Claude Pearcey, temporary president, to the delegates—"because of radicals who are trying to cause dissension in our ranks, and whose only aim is to smash the union". This point was taken up by Joe Pleck of Beul, who spoke of brotherly love and an "equitable share" in the products of labor. The militant in former leaders has had brief sketches of the other leaders.

The miners, disliking the acceptance of the new wage scale, are mighty glad to have rid themselves of the sterile bureaucracy created in the old U. M. W. A. by John L. Lewis and John H. Walker. The miners are jubilant that no president of the P. M. A. can hold office more than two years, and feel that the agreements entered into are only preparatory for a counter-offensive in the near future. Toward that end, the militant Left wing workers are at the moment preparing.

The preamble adopted, while not conforming in its entirety to the class character of society, demands that the workers receive the "full social value of their product." A motion by Gerry Allard, of West Frankfort, for a National Miners' Unity Convention, to be held on January 15, was defeated and an amendment carried which left the date to the discretion of the executive board.

The N. M. U. made a plea for unity, which was turned down on the pretext that the N. M. U. never won any battles. This, the leadership thought, was enough to prevent unification, forgetting the great battles fought by the N. M. U. in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky, which, if not for the incorrect policies of the leadership, would have made the birth of the P. M. A. unnecessary. The P. M. A. made another mistake at its first convention by not joining hands in unity with the N. M. U. and putting all groups to the test of sincerity.

Frank Borich, secretary of the N. M. U., in a written appeal for unity said, "It is only because we feel that we are duty-bound to do everything in our power to help you the Illinois miners, to win your fight, on the outcome of which depends much of the future of the miners throughout the country. And because of this we feel we have the right and even the duty, to freely and in a comradely spirit discuss your and our problems. We feel that we have for many years been carrying on a fight similar to yours, and must impart to you our experiences. Though we are separated into two different organizations, thanks to the strike-breaking policy of Lewis, who sold out the miners in the 1927-1928 strike we feel we are one, and must come closer together. The rank and file of the miners' union must be united for a common struggle."

The voice of the Left Opposition, though feeble, was the only consistent organized fighter for a Left wing policy throughout the convention. We proposed a united front to the party on this score, and while not being called "counter-revolutionaries" the proposal for unity was rejected.

More than 300 Militants were placed in the hands of the delegates. Our policies were discussed by the assembled miners and met with a favorable reception. The Militant will succeed in advancing Communism in the Illinois coal-fields. —CARMODY.

## Some Lessons of the Gillespie Conference

### GILLESPIE, ILL.—

The first convention of the Progressive Miners of America has just ended. It was a rank and file gathering with a Noah's ark of political tendencies. The convention adopted a constitution and program which is far in advance of its temporary official leadership. Although there was quite a number of delegates who were formerly members of the National Miners Union, the convention refused to seat the National Miners Union delegates of six. It would be wrong to create the impression that the refusal to seat the N. M. U. delegation was a victory for reaction. The reason for not seating the N. M. U. delegation expressed itself mostly against the blundering tactics and false policies pursued by the Stalinized Communist Party in its work in the Illinois coal fields.

The convention was imbued with some internationalism as proven with the adoption of the resolution declaring itself in solidarity with the first workers republic and calling for recognition of the Soviet Union and the establishment of large scale credits to the Soviet Union.

It adopted a preamble which vaguely recognizes the class-struggle and a clause in the constitution which provides that officials can only hold two terms as officials; and that salaries of the officials can not be over \$1,700 a year and quite a few other improvements over the old United Mine Workers constitution which will give more power to the rank and file of the union.

The wage-scale adopted was the same that the Lewis-Walker machine tried to put over the miners of Illinois. This was a terrific step backward. The reason for this wage-scale being adopted, it was claimed by some of the leaders, was that the striking coal-miners in the Peoria and (Continued on page 3)

The Progressive Miners constitutional convention, just concluded at Gillespie, Ill., had before it, as its main job, the matter of laying a militant union foundation. The break with the decrepit Lewis-Walker clique, which led to the formation of the Progressive Miners of America, ostensibly occurred over the issue of the betrayal by the former of the basic \$6.10 a day wage scale. In reality, of course, it had a far more deep going cause. Nevertheless the question of the wage scale, the manner in which it found its "solution" at the convention and the consequences which will flow from it in the future, are of real importance.

It is in respect to this that we can say confidently that the correctness of the fight made by the delegates of the Left wing, by Allard, Fraser, Steed and others against a retreat will be more than vindicated in the future. The convention, however, concluded by accepting the reduction to the \$5.00 a day scale, recorded in a vote of 98 to 47.

But even in this retreat the true revolutionists and the proven militants in the field will know their duty. Their sympathy, their earnest and unstinted support, their every ounce of energy and ability of sacrifice as well as their resources of strength extends to and belongs to the cause of the new union. That we can affirm even with the knowledge that the future course of the union cannot yet be foreseen. We know today that it is a union created by the will and determination of the rank and file to have forever done with the corporationalists, fakery, grafters and capitalist agents of the bygone age. They have taken measures to draft their constitution so as to give the utmost possible guarantee against a repetition. It is a union belonging to the miners and it can become the harbinger of a real militant national coal diggers union.

### The Left Wing Position

The Progressive Miners of America now constitutes a serious challenge to the rule of corruption and servility to the operators of the Lewis-Walker combine. That is its great capital which it is duty-bound to preserve. But it will be faced with a serious combat to survive, to strengthen itself and to grow. It is from this point of view that the fight made by the Left wing against a wage cut retreat assumes enormous significance. There was serious substance to the arguments made by Alex Fraser, showing that under the \$6.10 wage scale the Illinois operators had gained 9.4 percent in coal markets; that the operators could afford to pay the \$6.10 was demonstrated by more than 100 independent mines signed up on the above scale with the P. M. A. prior to Oct. 3; that it was not the P. M. A. but the Belleville operators who had called for the scale conference which showed their desperate circumstances and that a definite attitude and an intensive drive would also force Peabody to his knees.

But the Left wing did not carry its point and it would be wrong to argue (Continued on page 2)

## LEON TROTSKY

### The Peasant War in China

The Standpoint of the Red Proletariat in the Present Situation

Dear Comrades,

Following a considerable lapse, we received your letter of June 15. There is no need of stating how much we were overjoyed by the revival and the renaissance of the Chinese Left Opposition after the most ferocious police persecutions it had endured. Insofar as one may judge from here, handicapped as we are by extreme lack of information, the position expressed in your letter corresponds to ours.

The irreconcilable attitude to the vulgar democratic view taken by the Stalinists towards the peasant movement has, of course, nothing in common with a careless or a passive attitude to the peasant movement itself. The Manifesto of the International Left Opposition

("The Tasks and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution"), that was issued two years ago and that evaluated the peasant movement in the southern provinces of China, declared, "The Chinese revolution, betrayed, crushed and drained of its blood, gives us proof that it is alive. Let us hope that the time is not far off when it shall once again lift up its proletarian head." Further on, it says, "The far-flung flood of peasant insurrections will indubitably provide the impulse for the revival of political struggles in the industrial centers. On this we bank firmly."

Your letter bears witness to the fact that under the influence of the crisis and of the Japanese intervention, against the background of the peasant war, flares up once again the struggle of the city workers. In the Manifesto we wrote on this score with the requisite circumspection, "None can foretell beforehand whether the bulwarks of the peasant uprisings will maintain themselves without a break through the course of that extended period which will be required by the proletarian vanguard in order for it to gather its own strength, to lead the working class into the battle, and to bring into accord its struggle for power with the general offensive of the peasants against their most immediate enemies." At the present time, it is obvious, there are substantial bases for (Continued on page 4)

## Banquet Saturday to Celebrate New Headquarters and School Opening

One more forward step is being realized by the Left Opposition. Saturday, October 15, we move into our new headquarters at 126 East 16 St., where the International Workers School will be located.

Essentially the International Workers School is a part of the general program of the League, heading toward becoming ever more of a factor of active intervention in the class struggle. For this it is to be a training school. There are

for the first part of the winter semester, four courses scheduled. They run as follows:

The History of the American Communist Movement. Instructor James P. Cannon.

The State and Revolution. Instructor Jack Weber.

The History of the Communist. Instructor Max Shachtman.

The Theoretical System of Marxism. Instructor Hugo Oehler.

The first two courses are given on Mondays and the second two on Wednesdays. The first and third will be conducted as are still open. The fee is \$1.00 for each popular lecture course. Registrations close.

The acquisition of new headquarters will have its significance for the national center. It will in every sense enable us to establish a center for the movement in New York, capable of housing our regular open forums, etc.

Our opening celebration of the new headquarters takes place Saturday, October 15 with a banquet, for which the nominal sum of 50c serves as an admission. At this opening celebration we expect to meet all our friends and sympathizers who have stood by us in the past in the greatest of difficulties and who we know will continue their support solidly in the future. We expect you to come and lend your final help to the realization of this new forward step.

Banquet Friends and sympathizers are cordially invited. Come and bring your fellow New Headquarters 126 EAST 16th STREET New York City ADMISSION 50c