

# Letters from Militants

## Unser Kampf Tour Brings Results

The tour in the interest of *Unser Kampf*, which in the past six weeks has taken us through New Haven, Boston, Montreal, Toronto, Cleveland, Youngstown, Detroit, Chicago, Davenport, and finds us at present in Minneapolis, revealed to us more than anything else the vast possibilities for the growth of the Left Opposition and the keen interest of the Communist workers in our message. The Stalinist course of zig-zags has stripped the official party in the localities of the more competent older leaders. Many of them, at a loss to explain the party blunders, left the party in disgust. Hundreds others were expelled for fighting the local manifestations of bureaucracy, not knowing to this day that this bureaucracy is a component part of the Stalinist regime and a consequence of a false political line. This is especially true of the Jewish speaking movement where the Communist party at one time had the dominating influence.

Unfortunately our local groups with few exceptions barely touches the surface in reaching the disoriented and confused Communist workers with the message of the Left Opposition, which alone could save them for the revolutionary movement. This is why our efforts in the tour were concentrated primarily on the organization of functioning groups not alone among Jewish speaking workers, but wherever we found it possible. The lectures that we held, were merely a by-product.

In New Haven we found that the comrades were not functioning in an organized manner. One of our comrades in this locality has been functioning as the secretary of the I. L. D., the Stalinists finding it impossible to replace her for want of capable people. During our stay in New Haven we met with the comrades several times, discussed the need for organized activity, and with the necessary assistance from the center we believe it will be possible in the future to build up a strong center there. We appeared before a number of working class organizations and sold our literature which was bought quite eagerly. We had no open lecture here but we do hope on our return to the center to arrange such lectures at frequent intervals in view of the proximity of this locality to New York.

Our Boston branch has been humming with activity of late. The comrades have taken upon themselves the initiative in building up a social science club which had an attendance of about thirty people during our stay there. We have also gathered a group of Jewish workers who at present are proceeding with the organization of a club which we are sure will render assistance to *Unser Kampf* and to our movement in general. Upon the very day of our arrival we were invited to speak at Chelsea Labor Lyceum. Here the Stalinists deserted an excellent field of activities when the "third period" was first proclaimed and they did not deem it possible to work in the same institutions with "Social Fascists". The result was that a large section of Left wing workers refused to follow the party in its splitting tactics and remained in the Labor Lyceum without any guidance or direction. Upon the request of these Left wing workers we spoke at the Labor Lyceum on the election campaign and in support of the Communist candidates. The following day we lectured in the Labor Lyceum on our differences with the party. We were attacked sharply by the Socialists present in the audience. It was quite natural. They consider us less "practical" than the Stalinists and when it comes to a choice, prefer the latter. On the other hand, we were well received by the Left wing workers, many of them finding that we were voicing criticisms which had been in their own minds. We established some contacts there and sold a substantial amount of literature.

We appeared before several branches of the Workmen's Circle appealing for the support of *Unser Kampf* which they as a matter of routine referred to the Executive Committee. We are not yet aware of the results.

The work of the Left Opposition in Montreal has heretofore been carried upon the shoulders of one comrade and one or two sympathizers. We must say that he had done exceedingly well, being active at the same time in a leading capacity in his trade union and other organizations. The appearance of *Unser Kampf* has given several Jewish speaking workers the chance to acquaint themselves with the viewpoint of the Left Opposition for the first time. The expulsion from the Young Communist League of comrade Gilbert for raising some of the questions that the Left Opposition has raised was an additional factor which made possible for us to definitely organize a Branch of the Left Opposition in this locality. In addition to that we took the first steps in organizing a Youth Club.

Our lecture in Montreal exceeded our expectations. For the first time we succeeded in having an open lecture on our differences with the party in this locality with an attendance of over 80 workers. This in spite of the picket line in front of the hall compromising all the party leaders, who exerted all their efforts to discourage workers from attending our meeting. The audience sat through till 1:00 in the morning listening to our point of view, discussing with us and asking questions. The work we have started in Montreal will be followed up by comrade Spector who is scheduled to take a lecture trip from Toronto to Montreal.

Of all the places so far visited by us we find that our Toronto group is making more genuine advances than any other one. They have gained about 10 mem-

bers in the recent few weeks. They are awake to all the struggles of the workers, taking an active part in them. The class in Marxian conducted by comrade Spector has an attendance of 35 to 40. The Toronto group is sinking its roots wide and deep. The most recent achievement during the week we spent in this locality was the aid given in the organization of the Students League of Canada, which is publishing its own monthly paper, *The Spark*. Our comrades were also making preparations for the publication of a Canadian organ of the Left Opposition, *The Vanguard*, which was to appear on the 7th of November.

We went to Toronto with the impression that the work for *Unser Kampf* was carried by one comrade. This was true only until recently. The short few months of our existence has gained for us new adherents with the result that we found it possible to organize an *Unser Kampf* Club which has its inception about 15 workers. Several young workers were recently expelled from the Y. C. L. and the party for selling and distributing *Unser Kampf*. As for the two lectures that the comrades arranged for us, one on the German situation had an attendance of 65-70; the second one on *What the Left Opposition Stands For* had an attendance of close to 150. We also addressed an open forum of the tailors. At all these meetings we found a keen and sympathetic interest in our viewpoint.

The sales of our literature in Toronto have doubled and trebled and in the case of *The Militant*, we believe that increase is five-fold. Preparations were under way in Toronto also for the organization of the Spartacus Youth Club. Under the experienced, capable guidance of comrades Spector and MacDonald and with the favorable objective conditions that exist, Toronto will undoubtedly become one of the most powerful bases of the Left Opposition in the future.

As for the rest of the tour, we will report it on a different occasion.

- Kansas City, Nov. 29, 30.
- St. Louis, Dec. 2, 3, 4.
- Springfield, Ill., Dec. 5.
- Chicago, Dec. 6.
- Cleveland, Dec. 8, 9.
- New Castle, Pa., Dec. 11.
- Pittsburgh, Dec. 12, 13.
- Baltimore, Dec. 14, 15.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 16, 17.
- Trenton, Dec. 18.

—SYLVIA BLEEKER.  
—MORRIS LEWIT.

## Pittsburgh Youth Club and Opposition

**PITTSBURGH.**—Workers of Pittsburgh may already be familiar with the Progressive Youth which has recently been organized here. Especially, due to the fact that the *Freiheit* a short time ago accused us, of the Left Opposition, of wanting to break up one of its meetings. Of course this is only just another of the *Freiheit's* trained-to-lie stories, to which the Left Opposition has been accustomed for long.

Of course, the membership of the club consists of workers with different tendencies and should the workers of the official party use the right tactics in going about united front activities, there are possibilities of bringing the elements of the club to such a point where the club as a whole would participate in the everyday struggle of the working class. But due to the fact that the party members here are trying to railroad through their points without the consent or the understanding of the members and in the meantime, mostly against the Left Opposition, they not only meet with failure

### SHANGHAI—

Let us dwell now on the labor movement in Shanghai after the Sino-Japanese conflict. Since millions in wealth were burned in ashes, production was contracted, unemployment increased, the hunger army swelled, the post-war crisis weighs heavily upon the people. The bourgeoisie lost no opportunity to dismiss the disgruntled workers, to lower wages, to intensify the exploitation of labor. The task of the day was to fight for the defense of the workers' interests against the capitalist offensive. In spite of the unfavorable conditions of struggle, a strike wave developed, the postal workers' strike, the newspaper printers' strike, the strike in the silk flatures, the strike of part of the tramway workers, the telephone workers' strike, the bus conductors' strike, and other strike and labor disputes. Most of the strikes ended in defeat. The attitude of the employers was too resolute and intransigent, but the workers were also stubborn in their fight. The yellow leaders either sabotaged or betrayed the strikes. In these strikes, it could be seen that the yellow unions, could serve as the prop for the workers to start the strikes. Of all the strikes, the Stalinists had connections only with the telephone workers' strike and the bus conductors' strike. The Left Opposition led the telephone workers' strike at first, but the Stalinists used all means to break down our leadership. While the strike committee under our influence was really elected by the masses, the Stalinists set up a strike committee elected by their own men, most of whom were not workers. This committee they used to attack our strike committee. The Stalinists clamored that the strike must be ended only when a 100 percent victory is secured, that they refuse help from any organization what-

soever (the yellow unions included). The telephone company is an American enterprise. When the foremen (under the influence of Nationalist feelings) offered to cooperate with the strikers, the Stalinists put up unreasonable demands to make this collaboration impossible. The employers, seeing the dissension among the strikers, stiffened their resistance. The workers returned to work unconditionally and many were later fired. The bus strike revealed even more clearly the failure of the Stalinist tactics. They at first obtained the leadership of the strike, but they do not know how to adapt themselves to the backward workers so as to draw them into the struggle. When they declared that they refuse any help from the outside, their leadership was disclaimed by the strikers. The ultra-Leftist conduct of the Stalinists only isolated them from the workers and all the heroic efforts made to stop the strike-breakers were of no avail.

In spite of the revival of the labor movement in the post-war days, owing to the false tactics pursued by the Stalinists, the lack of political propaganda and struggle for democratic demands, the Communists did not entrench themselves in the labor movement. The organizing activities of the workers did not greatly increase. The disproportion between the leadership and the masses' will to fight is still enormous.

To complete the picture of present Chinese political life, let us turn our attention to what is happening in the red army districts. The government troops have lately gained several victories in the Hupei, Anhwei and Honan provinces. Direct and up-to-date information from those districts, we do not possess. We have read, not so long ago, two resolutions passed by the first dele-

but also lose the sympathy of the members.

For instance: Last week leaflets were distributed which said that the Progressive Youth Club would celebrate the 15th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in conjunction with the party-controlled I. W. O. It was only natural that a good many of the club members should raise the question as to why the membership was not consulted about this affair. The result was that not only did the club refuse to join, but the membership as well was aroused against such tactics. This would never have happened if the proposal had been made in a straightforward and correct united front manner.

The official party members are blind in thinking that they can railroad through anything. The results of last week's experience ought to teach them something, if they will only open up their eyes.

## Pitts. Anniversary Meet

**PITTSBURGH.**—Thanks to the Communist League of America (Opposition), the workers of Pittsburgh now have a long sought for opportunity to study and learn the real Marxist theory of Communism in a Left Opposition study class organized by comrade Gordon, sent to this city recently by the League.

The "Marxist Study Class" is increasing in worker students from week to week. It assures the development of a genuine, well equipped revolutionary group within the workers movement of Pittsburgh.

On Saturday, November 12, the Marxist Study Class celebrated the 15th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in a hall on Center Avenue. Over 40 students and sympathizers were present.

The celebration was opened by the chairman with the singing of the "International". Then comrade Gordon was introduced as the speaker for the Communist League. He spoke on the great international significance of the Bolshevik victory in October 1917 and stressed the historical role of the Left Opposition as its truest defender. After touching upon the tasks that this role implies here in Pittsburgh and in the everyday class struggle, he closed with an appeal for support of the Left Opposition's struggle for working class and Communist unity on the basis of the Marxist program and the Russian Revolution. The whole crowd, party sympathizers among them, applauded heartily.

There was some dancing afterwards and the comrades gathered in a group to sing revolutionary battle songs. Before closing, the speaker of the Communist League made an appeal for aid in the preparations for the Hunger March, reporting on the United Front Unemployed Conference at which the League was represented by delegates and asking for financial support to make its work successful. The collection netted a small sum, which was quite substantial considering the numbers.

Refreshments were served by the entertainment committee. Then the affair was closed with the singing of "Solidarity Forever".

## Eject Opposition Delegates in N. Y.

(Continued from page 1)

(by whom?) and every delegation and its representative appeared before it. William Kitt, a duly elected delegate from the Alteration Painters Union, was objected to by the "unholy three" which had been informed that he was a "Trotskyist". An attempt was made to disqualify him, but the other delegate from the Union threatened to withdraw if it were done. The Committee thereupon reluctantly permitted him to participate.

Strangely enough, no objections were made to any of the other delegates. All were accepted, none was excluded, with the exception of course of the Left Opposition delegate. The most elementary semblance of democratic procedure was absent. The "Morals Committee" under the trained direction of Winters, Sam Weisman (whose moral qualifications, as exemplified by his work in the food workers' union, is well known to our readers) and Jack Perilla, functioned like a well-oiled steam roller, a la Tammany Hall. As our delegation, consisting of M. Glee, H. Milton and H. Ross, passed before the Committee, the objection was raised. We were accused, no less, of murdering two workers on Avenue A and 7th Street. A chorus of gasps was to be heard at this point, which we took as the opportunity to inform the Committee that at the time the two workers were killed, we had invited the Communist party and the ILL to organize a workers' jury trial to determine the responsibility for the deaths, and that both the party and the ILL did not see fit to reply.

Dropping this line of action, the inquisitors told us that the CLA was a political organization and that consequently we could not participate in the Hunger March! To which we replied that it was most unfortunate that the C. P. was not present, that we considered it a serious error on the part of the party to fail to participate openly in such a movement.

Perilla interrupted us at this point to say that they would defend the party themselves and that we should "mind our own business".

### Left Opposition Excluded

Charges were hurled at us that we were enemies of the working class, that we represented nobody, etc., etc. We, on our part, kept the floor and disposed of the arguments made against us. Finally, the patience of the triumvirate was apparently exhausted and we were informed that we could go, that the "Committee" would consider the case and inform us of its decision. We asked for the right to appear before the Committee to defend ourselves. To which Sam Weisman replied that they had already listened to our arguments and would render a decision without us being present. Protesting against such a procedure, we requested that the decision be made then and there. A hasty consultation took place and we were finally told that the Committee saw fit to deny us the right to participate in the Hunger March to

### PAID SUB CARDS

They're coming in alright. We have started with a rush. And that, of course, is the way to do it. The Paid Sub Card ideas seems to have caught on. Now we must keep it up. Remember comrades: the Militant sells these half-year Paid Sub Cards in minimum blocs of four or (more to the bloc if wanted, of course); they are sold by the Militant only on a cash basis; you dispose of them according to your circumstances in blocs or singly, for cash or on credit; all that the recipient has to do is fill in his name and address on the card mail it in and he will be entered on the list as a subscriber. It's as simple as that.

### NEWCASTLE SHOWS THE WAY

In response to the launching of the second phase of the Club Plan three branches have thus far sent in these cards. They are Philadelphia, New York and New Castle, Pa. Fourteen cards, that is to say, subs, have been sent in on this basis. Of this total New Castle accounted for eight, New York, five and Philadelphia, one. These are credited to the branch standing which is given below.

When a comrade sends in four of these cards we credit him with a Club Plan Sub and include it in the standing of the staff. As we keep accurate records of every card coming in as well as going out a comrade need not send in four of these Paid Sub Cards at one time to receive credit for a club plan sub. We will add it up, so to speak, and for every four we will add four to his total. We have already done this with comrades Reyburn and Hudson of New Castle who sent in four of these Paid Sub Cards apiece.

To sum it up: we think that we have made a good beginning but it is only a beginning. We cannot leave off building when only the foundations, and hardly that, are laid. We want a towering structure. We understand that it can-

Washington. We recorded our protest and, pursuant upon the order, left the hall.

Our resolution endorsing the Hunger March and presenting the unemployment program of the CLA, could not, fortunately, be distributed at the conference, for technical reasons. It is reproduced elsewhere in this issue of the Militant. —HARRY MILTON.

## Pamphlets Wanted

We are now completely out of the Bound Volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets. But the demand still continues. This leaves us no choice but to make another attempt to bind some more. This is where the difficulty comes in. As you remember we advertised the Bound Volumes as containing some pamphlets that were out of print and unobtainable except in these Bound Volumes. That was true. But now that the Bound

not be erected over night by rubbing Aladdin's lamp. It must be built by our efforts. Let us add brick to brick. Every sub, every Paid Sub Card sent in is a brick in our Militant structure. The staff record measures our bricklaying.

### THE STAFF

Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	12
F. Vomvas	12
B. Morgenstern	8
V. R. Dunne	8
H. Nash	7
W. Krehm	6
H. A.	4
M. Hudson	4
F. Rayburn	4
H. Capells	4
M. Gottlieb	4
J. Hamilton	4
W. Konikow	4
O. Coover	4
S. Lessin	4
J. Sifakis	4
A. Joel	4
E. McMillen	4
A. Millen	4
J. Weber	4
J. Ross	4
C. Shechet	2

### THE RECORD BY CITIES

Chicago	24
Minneapolis	20
Pittsburgh	16
New York	18
Toronto	10
Boston	10
Philadelphia	9
New Castle	8
Montreal	7
St. Louis	4
Des Moines	4

Notice the way New York is climbing. It looks as though it won't be long now before it's up at the top. But there's New Castle! And who can say what they will do out there? Well, we're watching. Let'er go. We'll not be disappointed if a lively scrap develops for first place.

Volumes are all gone these pamphlets are unobtainable anywhere, even by us.

In order to bind additional sets we need the following pamphlets: *The Draft Program*; *The Turn in the C. I.: Germany—the Key to the International Situation*; and *World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan*. If our comrades will send these pamphlets to us we will be able to go ahead with the binding. We need lots of them. The more we receive the more we will be able to bind.

We ask for these pamphlets on the following terms. We are absolutely unable to pay for them with money. We can issue credit slips for the amount of the pamphlets against any accompanying or future order that the comrade may make. But these orders must be for literature. We are strongly against applying them to sub extensions and renewals. And the pamphlets must be in good condition.

## BOOKS BY TROTSKY

<p><b>PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION</b> 450 pages Cloth cover \$1.50 paper cover 1.00</p> <p><b>THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION</b> 158 pages paper cover 50c cloth cover \$1.00</p>	<p><b>HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION—Vol. 1</b> 522 pages \$4</p> <p><b>PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R.</b> 48 pages paper cover 15c</p> <p><b>COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM</b> 64 pages paper cover 15c</p>	<p><b>STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION*</b> Part 2 of the Draft Program 86 pages 25c</p> <p><b>THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER</b> 64 pages paper cover 15c</p> <p><b>WHITHER ENGLAND</b> 178 Pages Paper \$75</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>PIONEER</b> 84 East 10th Street,</p>	<p><b>WHAT NEXT—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat</b> 192 Pages Cloth \$65 Paper 35</p> <p><b>THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA*</b> 364 pages cloth cover \$1.00</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>PUBLISHERS</b> New York, N. Y.</p>
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# A Picture of the Situation in China Today

The anti-imperialist agitation is generally ignored. "Very few workers and agricultural laborers are in the party, but the alien elements, like the rich peasants, the merchants, the youth of the landowners, still mix themselves up with it....

"The militarist remnants still preserve the government as the Kuo Min Tang generals manifest towards the K. M. T. government. They think that the red army is the creator of the government, and the government institutions should be inferior to the red army."

Thus, in spite of the passage of important resolutions condemning bureaucracy, the rich peasant tendency, militarist survivals, etc., for the last two years, matters in the Soviet districts continue to go from bad to worse. The partisan warfare inevitably degenerates when it is not supported by mass movements in the cities. The Stalinists want to deny this truth but, in the long run, they become its victims. Under the cover of Communism, the Stalinists are really converting the Chinese party into a peasants-workers party. The influence of Communism in Chinese politics is practically nil, what the Chinese Communist Party represents is the policy of the petty bourgeois turned desperate. The Manchurian crisis opened up broad possibilities for Chinese Communism to make progress. The KMT government has never been so discredited as in this crisis. The masses of the people are becoming radicalized, but Chinese Communism is paralyzed by its internal weakness and has let its chances go by. The KMT regime is regaining its lost positions and once again stabilizing itself.

We have to begin from the very beginning. The difficulties on the road are great. But under the leadership of the International Opposition and comrade Trotsky, we shall be able to find the correct path, to consolidate our own ranks, to move on slowly but steadily.

—NIEL SIEI.

gated congress of the Communist party in the Southern Kiangsi Soviet district (the center of the Soviet districts). We quote the following parts from it to show the real situation in these districts:

The resolution starts by complaining against the line of Li Li San for "not confiscating the rich peasants' superfluous and better land...in every many Soviet districts, much of the landowners' and rich peasants' land was not confiscated and the land was left undivided for a long time; where it was divided according to the productive implements. [It was absolutely a rich peasant line]".

"Proletarian consciousness in the party of the Soviet districts is weak, the backward ideology of the peasantry is reflected in the party...The activities of the workers and peasants are not developed, the alien elements, such as the rich peasants, the merchants and the youth of the landlords and gentry, penetrate into the government and into all the revolutionary organizations. Even the party cadres are filled with such alien elements....

"The class struggle in the Soviet districts...is hampered. From the government down to the mass organizations, the organizational relations are extremely loose and many organizations exist only on paper....

"There are still mistakes and defects in the red army work. First of all, in the reorganization of the red army, the purging of the elements of the landowners, rich peasants and merchants, was not made the central task; rather the task was set of cleansing the army of tramps—quite vaguely—while all the soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the former white army are regarded as tramps....Up till now, the red army has not yet rid itself of the traditions of