From Left Socialism To Bolshevism

By ERNEST ERBER

National Chairman, Y.P.S.L.

The revolutionary party must be attracting to itself all the best in the movements around it. Lencommunists at the time of the founding of the Communist Inments and splits but that "Bolshevism had proved a unit, it best among the currents of socialist thought close to it."

U.S. to found the Left Opposition wing. had its share of conflicts in the last ten years. Its break with "fellow-travellers" of the moment like Ludwig Lore and Louis Budenz and with die-hard sectarians like Ochler and Field are described elsewhere. But like the entry of the "Trotskyites" ina Bolshevik tendency that knows to the Socialist Party. This bold how to swim against the current step was taken in the spring of since, went into the publication without bowing its head, the 1936 and, not accidentally, coinitself all that was best in the current of socialist thought close to it."

Merger with A.W.P.

ment some valuable lessons in dertaken by the movement.

Socialist Party, was necessitated a separation between those genuby the whole course of develop- inely concerned with the buildment that followed the bank- ing of a revolutionary party and ruptcy of the Communist Inter- the centrists who followed the national under Stalin and the leadership of Herbert Zam and task of merging the principles of Gus Tyler. the small Bolshevik vanguard with the leftward moving -Socialist militants around them.

consisted of grossly opportunist clements to itself. municipal machines in Milwaukce groups held together on a cult- obliterated all differences be- cluding Italian and Hungarian litical basis, and the Jewish Daily original "Trotskylte" core. Like ted the paper to newsstands, sold League of America was formed-Forward with a treasury and the Bolshevik Party, we have ce- them on the street corners and in considerable influence in the New mented the revolutionary elem- front of the Daily Worker office progress. But with the organiza-York labor movement.

Move Left with Depression

The crisis that began in 1929 and the mass unemployment that spread over the country during the succeeding months, turned the attention of thousands, particularly young workers and stu- Y.P.S.L. Convention dents without a future under capitalism, toward the political movements on the left. The hysteria of "third period" Communism, with its almost daily advénturistic demonstrations, its disruptive role in the mass organizations, its theory of social-fascism and "united front from below," repulsed thousands of sincere young rebels and forced them to look elsewhere for a means of expressing their revolt against the chaos and misery about them. Beginning with 1930 these young people began flowing into the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist

League in increasing numbers. The "Old Guard" of Social Democracy first welcomed these new recruits, naively believing them to be material for a rebirth of a reformist Socialist Party. They soon discovered, however, that these people had not rejected revolutionary views when they passed up the C.P. but had merely turned to the S.P. as a momentarily more convenient vehicle for the free expression of

Conflict Takes Form

By 1932 the conflict had taken somewhat definite forms, dividing the party into two more or less amorphous groups that went under the name of "Old Guard" and "Militants." The "Militants" began, as their name indicates, as primarily opponents of the donothing-ism of the Old Guard rather than as political oppoments. The conflict, however, soon found its proper channel. This development was given a great impetus when history, for the benefit of the new Socialist generation, once again exposed Social Democracy during the German events in all its revolting corruption, aggravated by senility. The Austrian revolt of 1934 accelerated the discussion on Marxist prin-

ciples, particularly the discussion

on the "road to power."

ants" had gone a long way in the Communist Party of the Unitpolitical development. Only a fool ed States, by the latter's Cencould fail to see that their cohab- tral Executive Committee at a in pointed out to the foreign itation under one roof with the Plenary Session, for espousing the "Old Guard" was no longer pos- platform of the then Russian Opsible. Marxists were forced to ask position led by L. D. Trotsky. ternational that Bolshevism did themselves where this potentially Simultaneously, Maurice Spector not only develop by disagree- revolutionary force in the S.P. was expelled by the Canadian would go. With the Seventh Con- C. P. gress of the C.I. in the summer | Anticipating the bureaucratic had drawn to itself all that was of 1935 and the shedding of the action of the Foster-Browder-"third period" idiocies, there was Lovestone Communist Party leada possibility that the Stalinists ership, we made swift prepara-The Bolshevik core that would intervene in the revolu- tions to present our case to the emerged from the corrupted body tionary development of the S.P. Communist Party ranks and to of the Communist Party of the and draw off the bulk of the left the working class, and two weeks

Entry of Workers Party

Party, sensitive to the changing 5,000 copies were printed and discurrents about them, reacted to tributed widely in New York and this new situation by proposing throughout the United States. "Trotskyite" movement drew "to cided with the departure of the There were at the beginning but vention in May.

the "Old Guard," political differ- rades rallying to the Opposition entiations were taking place in Group in the various cities were The merger with the American the "Militant" group. A right intensely devoted to its cause Workers Party not only strength- wing under Altman played the ened the movement by adding ex- role of obscuring the political naperlenced cadres of militants who ture of the struggle and re-echohad proven their mettle in the ing the political line of the Stalstruggle, but also gave the move- inists, even to opposing the entry of the Workers Party. The groupthe realm of working with and ing opposed to Altman was comassimilating elements who were posed of Party groups in New approaching a revolutionary po- York and Chicago and the majorsition through the experiences of ity of the Y.P.S.L. The publicalife in another tendency. These tion of the Socialist Appeal in lessons proved invaluable during Chicago under the editorship of the next great strategic turn un- Albert Goldman resulted in a clarification among the left wing This turn, the entry into the "Militants" and the beginning of

Revolutionists Unite

As a result of the preparatory That the appearance of a left work of the Socialist Appeal, a wing in Social Democracy in the revolutionary nucleus was develpost-war era could only come as oped that readily merged with a result of the bankruptcy of the Bolshevik current from the Communist parties was nowhere former Workers Party. These better illustrating than in the "native" Socialists proved the U. S. Beginning with 1919 and link by means of which increas- Business Mgr., New International lication of documents showing menced publication in January, issues and emergencies of great at New York City's record for the continuing until 1923, the Social- ing numbers of left wing Socialist Party passed through a series lists were drawn to the Fourth and displayed tremendous energy, of splits that drew from it vir- Internationalist current until the and also pledged heavily of their tually every single member who alarmed bureaucracy took steps financial resources to get out the stood to the left of Morris Hill- to expel the revolutionists from paper. Communist Party gang- ing down of industrialization, 4,000 (4,300 in October), very fashion to them, our movement issues and getting subs from inquit, including 95 percent of the the party. The dead hulk of the sterism arose to prevent the sale etc.). youth movement. The S.P. strug- S. P. today is visual evidence of and distribution of the Militant, gled along as a slightly-living the ability of the Bolshevik cur- but this did not stop the growth corpse from 1924 until 1929. It rent to draw the revolutionary and spread of the paper.

struggle against our enemies on working class.

Readers of the Socialist Appeal will be glad to learn that they can send \$1 personal greetings to the Tenth National Con- cles. vention of the Young People's Socialist League, which is being held in Chicago during the Thanksgiving weekend. This convention, designed to transform the Y.P.S.L. into a fightmass revolutionary youth organization, needs and deserves the support of the readers of the Socialist Appeal.

Our sole means of financing our Convention will be the magnificent two-color printed program book, dedicated to the heroic martyrs of the Fourth International (Klement, Sedoff, Wolf, Reiss, Moulin and the hundreds of others who have laid down their lives in the struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind). The dedication article is written by Max Shachtman. Outstanding among the other features of the program book are greetings from Leon Trotsky, in the form of an article entitled, "The Role of Revolutionary Youth," and greetings from our various sections in Europe now engaged in the daily life-and-death struggie against fascism and

imperialist war. You will want to own a copy of our program book. You can guarantee yourself a copy and, at the same time, do your bit in assuring the success of our all-important Convention, by sending in your personal greetings NOW. We are still taking ads: full page, \$10; half page, \$5: quarter page, \$3. But we are making a drive for \$1 personal greetings, which will entitle you to a free copy of the program book and the inclusion of your name amongst the supporters of the revolutionary movement. Send all greetings to: National Convention Arrangements Committes, 160 N. Wells St., Rm.

Arrangement Committee. munist Party and Young Com- not all the machinations and above.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST PRESS Ten Year Record of Struggle and Progress

By MARTIN ABERN



Party, entitled "The Crisis in the

Campaign For the Weekly

pecially a consideration of our

small numerical forces and the

financial strain it would mean, it

duct a campaign to raise a fund

for a weekly Militant. The sum

sympathizers then and today.

fidence. Six months later we had

Pioneer Publishers

nations.

But the achievement of a

Lovestone-Wolfe majority.

Hard labor, as never before or of the semi-monthly Militant. "Old Guard" at the national con- a handful of comrades to publish, distribute and sell the paper. Re-Even before the final split with sources were slim, but the com-

Only a Handful



MARTIN ABERN

In New York, Max Shachtman, Common principles and com- Joe Carter, the present writer, and Reading, national language mon experiences have long ago and very soon more comrades, inents from diverse currents into and the "Coop" restaurant. Milone unit, prepared for ideological itant salesmen were slugged but sales went on just the same.

In Philadelphia, Chicago, Mina greater scale—the struggle for neapolis, Boston and other points, the leadership of the American comrades Leon Goodman, Sol Lankin, B. Morganstern, Arne Swabeck, Albert Glotzer, Oscar Coover, Louis Roseland, C. Skoglund, V. Dunne, Charlotte She-Greetings for \$1 | chet, A. Konikow, L. Schlossberg and others there and elsewhere joined in the 'Jimmie Higgins' labor, and The Militant went marching on, despite all obsta-

Circulation of 3,000

Circulation varied during the early months, but, if memory weekly Militant was linked to the serves rightly, at least 3,000 aim of purchasing our own printcopies were regularly printed. ing equipment-first, a linotype-Since the printing was done by a in order to ensure the weekly's commercial printer, the cost was appearance. Despite initial doubts very high; but the development and hesitation, the organization of a pledge fund to sustain the as a whole swung into the cam-The Militant carried the paper paign with high morale and conthrough precarious weeks.

Our Press unquestionably has our linotype machine. On Nov. been the chief instrument, above 30, 1929 the first issue of the any other human or physical weekly Militant appeared. Not medium, in the creation, main- long afterward we secured a tenance and development of printing press and with the dewhat is now the Socialist Work- voted aid of comrades and symers Party and the Fourth Inter- pathizers, the weekly continued national movement. It started as to surmount repeated crises and BIG Y.P.S.L. CONVENTION afan expression of the left wing op- to appear regularly. position movement in the official Communist Party and Communist International, but events dic- weekly Militant and our own tated far-reaching and deep-going printing plant, small and crudely changes to the point today of ir- equipped as it was, both mechanreconcilable opposition to all the ically and in labor power, meant political and organizational de- even more for our organization generation of the Stalinist Par- and movement. It made possible ties. The important and decisive the creation of Pioneer Publishshifts and changes in the labor ers. There commenced a period and revolutionary movement are of publication of pamphlets and clearly and better indicated in books, small and large, by the our Press than in that of any Communist League of America, other labor or revolutionary or- and later Pioneer Publishers. gan, and that applies from the which brought strength and presperiod of Nov. 1928, the begin- tige to the revolutionary moveing of The Militant, to the pres- ment in the United States and MAX SHACHTMAN will speak ent day, ten years later, in the also throughout the world, par-

national. In the Early Issues

The first number of The Militant contained the declaration, pages alone. Suffice it that in "For the Russian Opposition" by this way the literature of the ON FRIDAY, Nov 5th, James P. the three expelled comrades, a- revolutionary wings in Russia. round which declaration they Europe, Asia and North America The National Convention | called upon members of the Com- became widely known, which | Same address and time as

munist League to rally. But, as bloody purges of Stalinism can evidence, too, of our continuing ever wipe out or destroy. They ity" and the economic and social close ties to the official Commu- belong to us, to history and hu- crisis in the United States; labor nist Party, we began the publica- manity's future forever. There- struggles; the C.I.O. movement; tion in The Militant of the thesis by, to quote a phrase of Trotsky's the growth and foundation of the of the former Minority (Cannon- "great vistas for Marxism" were Foster bloc) in the Communist opened.

Communist Party of the United States," directed against the foregoing achievements (weekly tional" by L. D. Trotsky, a copy theoretical organ, regarded today tion must and can build. of which had been smuggled out as pre-eminent in the field of of Russia after the Sixth Con- Marxism throughout the world. gress of the Communist Interna- Here too skeptics were con-

members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. shevik-Leninists endeavored to lisher's pamphlets and books.

The Socialist Appeal Platform of the Opposition Group. Discussions began. On May 17-19, 1929, the Chicago convention of our forces convened, and the historic Communist another great milepost of our tion of our forces nationally, there came greater ambitions and immediate goals. The semimonthly Militant was being issued cialist Party later, in July, 1936, greater New International. regularly, but was already proving insufficient for our needs. After thorough deliberation, es-

The New International From the preparations and press.

ltant published the newly-drafted magazine.

briefly the course of the paper. name of the paper from the Czechoslovakia, by the Workers Party forces re- BUILD THE PRESS!

own organization-were: the decline of Bolshevism and the risc of Stalinism in Russia; the events in Germany-the development of German Fascism; the struggles in France; the rise and fall of Popular Frontism; the developments in Spain before and during the civil war; "prosper-Fourth International, and so forth at great length. All this forms part of the record of our

sulted in suspension of the New

Militant; but soon the revolution-

ists found a press to express

their views. Utilizing the Socialist

Appeal, a printed organ is-

sued in the S. P. by Albert

Goldman, the left wing forces

soon developed the Appeal into a

monthly magazine. A year ago the Appeal was converted into a

weekly newspaper and as the of-

ficial organ of the S.W.P. it con-

tinues the revolutionary tradi-

tions of the Militant and Hew

Events of a Decade

Our press has recorded through

this historic decade of 1928-1938

all the significant events of the

period and has truly offered guid-

ance to the revolutionary forces

and the labor movement gener-

ally in all fields. A few of these

major events-which, by the way,

also definitely record stages in

development and attitude of our

Militant.

One must mention, too, if only Militant; our printing plant; Pio- in a word, that the youth move-But more important, The Mil- neer Publishers) flowed later and ment managed to issue Young itant began publication in serial naturally another achievement Spartacus and now the Challenge, form of the now famous and his- and necessity for our movement; thereby laying a sound foundatoric "Criticism of the Draft Pro- namely, the publication of The tion for the mass movement of gram of the Communist Interna- New International magazine, our youth which our Youth organiza-

Building the Press

tional through Comrades Cannon founded. A monthly 36-page mag- florid and many words the simple ular financial statement of their back in the running again and azine, with a two-color cover, at fact: The press is our major or- debt to the Appeal. We must have has added 10 to Boston's order. With its publication, along with such a low price! Can't be done. ganizer. By now this should be especially quick replies this time! (4) New Baven, Conn. is now dissemination of the contents of You'll break your necks. But the ABC to every member of our We're doing our share by pro- taking 10 copies and promising to the "Real Situation in Russia" will found the way, and in July, organization, and each member viding you with numerous and add many more in the near fu-(the program of the Bolshevik- 1934, the first issue of The New should put as a first task the excellent issues of the paper. Try ture. Leninists in Russia and contain- International appeared, first as a need to build and spread widely to clear up the entire back bill, if (5) A new literature-agent out ing also the sections on the falsif- monthly, then as a bi-monthly. It the circulation of all our press: possible, and we guarantee even in Columbus. Ohio. Charles ication of the history of the Rus- was discontinued two years later Socialist Appeal, The New Inter- greater successes in the very Raven, has trebled the former sian Revolution) the eyes of after June, 1936, while the Bol- national, Challenge, Pioneer Pub-

was transformed for brief periods get subs for the Appeal! A few words, also, to fill in into a tri-weekly. These were on the occasions of the rise to power Fusion of the A.W.P. and the of Hitler; the time of the hotel C.L.A. into the Workers Party strike in New York, and only a

weekly Militant to the New Mil- Those achievements show the itant, continuing previous revolu- road the press must travel. For a tionary policies. This was in De- permanent, larger and more frecember, 1934. Entry into the So- quent Socialist Appeal; for a SOCIALIST APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL

ANNOUNCEMENTS Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office bewas decided nevertheless to con- fore 6 o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

set was \$1,500-an amount which would seem like a \$25,000 cam-"VECHERINKA" Saturday, Oct. paign now, considering the rela-29. 9 P. M., at the home of P. tive number of members and Nesson, 321 Second Ave., arranged by the "Friends of the Russian Bulletin." Antoinette Moreover, the campaign for a Konikow of Boston will be the guest of the evening. We'll sing, dance, eat and drink. Bring your friends.

> DEAR GERT: Meet me at the Upper West Side Party, Saturday, Oct. 22, 9 P.M., at 916 Ninth Ave. (59th St.). We have the latest recordings, the best drinks, and the most interesting games. Admission is only 25 cents—Joe. Dear Joe: You bet I'll be there.

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PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

on "Ten Years of the Left Op-Socialist Appeal and New Inter- ticularly in the English-speaking position" and in commemoration of the October Revolution, A list of the pamphlets and on Friday, Nov. 11th at 1035 books issued would fill a few Spruce St., 8:30 P. M.

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AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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MAX SHACHTMAN, Editor GEORGE CLARKE HAROLD ROBERTS

Associate Editors S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Appeal Army

Best Issue of Appeal Yet! From every viewpoint this issue of the Appeal, celebrating the 10th anniversary of our movement in America and the founding of the Fourth International. is the best we have published! In size, content and significance it surpasses all others and is something our movement will long be proud of. Thousands of extra copies were printed and are being circulated all over the country on the basis of orders sent in ad- now getting a much higher pervance. We urge comrades and centage of renewals on subscripfriends to send in their comments tions that have expired than ever on this issue-we'll print a cross- before. Branches must be sure to section of these remarks next use the lists that we send to week and the week after.

to do with the ever-present mat- creased bundle orders: goes without saying, a heavy Ind .- taking 5 per week. drain on our exchequer! Only the (2) John Murphy of Los Angeladditional sacrifice of comrades es, who is increasing his order in New York City enabled us to from week to week and really go through with it. At the end of doing a splendid Appeal job is this week, we are sending out to now taking 185 copies. It is not necessary to dilate in all branches and agents the reg- (3) T. Leonard of Boston is Subscriptions:

began to open and the Opposition function for a period in the So- In this connection it may be The splendid pick-up in new Group made headway very slowly cialist Party. With the formation well to point out that on each and renewed subs lately has Reminder No. 1: but steadily. Our forward march of the Socialist Workers Party, occasion when a special effort shown that it is really very easy | Send in payments for the was also made easier by the pub- The New International recom- was made with our press; when to get subs for the Appeal. Look World-Congress issue right now! the extreme Right Swing the 1938, and has appeared regularly significance arose and our move- past few weeks! This has been Russian Party was then making each month for ten months ment endeavored to react in done solely on the basis of fol-(rise of Kulak influences; slow- straight. Its circulation is above stronger and better organized lowing-up the special, anti-war high for a theoretical organ and made big gains-in prestige, and terested readers. We'd like to be over twice the average circula- politically and organizationally, averaging about 50 per week On February 15, 1929, The Mil- tion in the first period of the On three occasions in past years within a short time and there is the weekly Militant or Appeal no reason why not. It's easy to Here's the list of subs that came in last week:

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CHICAGO

S.W.P., 160 N. Wells, Rm. 308

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Cor. 11th and Market Sts. (N.W.)

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Harvard Square

LYNN, Mass.

S.W.P., 54 Central Sq., Rm. 12

Sam's Corner, Olympia Square

Kansas St. Louis 2 Chicago 2 Minneapolis 2 Washington, D. C. 1 Texas 1 , Connecticut 1 New York State 1 Newark 1

We want to report that we're them once a month. One matter, however, having Here's the list of new and in-

ter of finances. This issue was, it | (1) Lyric News Shop, Indiana,

order and now taking 20 per

Because of the heavy costs incurred in printing this issue. we are forced to cancel the originally announced costs. ALL copies (including extras) will' cost branches and literatureagents 3c per copy. This cancels the former price of 4c for regular bundle-order copies and 1c for extra copies. Remember! 3c each copy of the 12-page issue.

Send all contributions and subs

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'INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana

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from the

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After ten years, forward with the Fourth International to the victory of Socialism!