

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT

Work In I.L.D.

OPPOSITION ACTIVE DESPITE BUREAUCRATS

A Union Delegate on the Mooney Meets

On Oct. 15th, the night I intended to make the report to my local union on the Mooney United Front Conference called by the I. L. D., what did I find! A representative from the I. L. D. (a Kentucky miner) presented his credentials and asked for the floor, which was granted him. After dwelling at length on the "victorious" Mooney Conference and the great work they had done in defending the workers in the class struggle, he appealed for financial aid to the I. L. D. After him, the leader of the T. U. U. L. group (who had enjoyed my report on the Mooney Molders Conference—a conference for not seating the delegates of the I. L. D. and the Party) got up and made a motion that since I was a delegate to the Mooney Conference the local should hear my report first and then act upon the appeal in accordance with it.

Of course, this T. U. U. L. leader, either through laxity or inattentiveness, was blankly ignorant of what had taken place at that conference. He labored under the illusion that my report would be favorable and that the local union would automatically respond to the appeal.

Then came my report, which was about as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Brothers: This I. L. D.—Mooney Conference was a mere mass meeting. Its representation was 90 per cent bodies organized by the C. P., such as the I. W. A., the Working Housewives, the W. E. S. L. the R. F. Band, the L. of Struggle for N. R., B. C. W. U. branches of the I. L. D. and the T. U. U. L., etc. Local Union 2090, U. B. of C. & J. of A. was the only organization present which is affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The credentials committee was appointed before and outside of the conference. The resolution was presented in complete form, and no one could add a suggestion to it. Four delegates representing workers' organization were not seated and were ousted from the hall.

The whole Mooney Defense campaign was turned into a general goulash. . . The I. L. D. acts now almost as if it were a strictly party defense organization, as is shown by the conduct of the Morgenstern-Goodman case in Philadelphia.

Therefore, I move that this local union withdraw its delegation and abstain from any further participation in these fake united front conferences, until the leadership of the I. L. D. changes its policy in united fronts.

My motion was seconded, whereupon the T. U. U. L. leader made an amendment: that we defer action on the motion and invite another speaker from the I. L. D. to explain the action of the I. L. D. at this conference and also their general policy, and then act upon my motion.

'El Soviet' Out

The first issue of *El Soviet*, weekly organ of the Left Opposition in Spain, has made its appearance, and has been greeted with enthusiasm by the advanced workers and Communists in Spain. Among the contributors to the first number are L. D. Trotsky (Andres Nin, Henri Lacroix and other leaders of the Spanish Opposition and proletariat.

Part of the contents of *El Soviet* include articles on: The Duty of the Moment; the Constituent Assembly (Cortes); the Parliamentary Elections; the Telephone Strike and its Development; the Persecution of the Communist Press; Greetings from L. D. Trotsky, the International Secretariat, the National Conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition); Workers' Life; For a Genuine Universal Suffrage; Marking the Boundaries of the Communist Factions; the Agrarian Revolution; the Opposition Center at Madrid; Editorials and other articles.

The Militant sends its greetings to *El Soviet* and the Spanish Opposition on behalf of the revolutionary workers and Left wing in the United States. We are sure that *El Soviet* will prove a weapon in the clarification of policies in the Communist movement and in the struggle for the unification of the forces of Communism, and in the day to day battle for a Soviet Spain. The Spanish Opposition, in addition to *El Soviet*, also publishes a monthly theoretical organ, *Comunismo*, and have issued a number of pamphlets and books by Nicolai Lenin, L. D. Trotsky, Andres Nin and others.

Copies may be obtained through A. Gonzalez, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

CHICAGO
House Warming Party

Saturday Nov. 14, 1931

All aboard for a Real Good Time! To celebrate the opening of the Chicago Headquarters of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

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DANCING — ENTERTAINMENT — Fun Galore!
Admission . 25 Cents
Auspices: Chicago Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Hacker Lies
On Oct. 29, Hacker, the I. L. D. district organizer, appeared on the floor of our local union. He spoke for 30 minutes, mentioning all the cases the I. L. D. had defended, and said that the I. L. D. was a political organization and all its present actions were based on past experiences. Then he came with an outright lie, and said that at this conference they were compelled to put the Trotsky elements and "agents of the capitalist class" out of the hall because they had disrupted every speaker at every third or fourth word, and that in all their activities they were confronted with these same elements, who find their way in there under assumed names. And so on.

I was then given the floor and of course I had to deny his statement that these delegates were guilty of any disruption tactics. As a matter of fact, if they had been quietly seated, hardly anyone would have known that there were representatives from the C. L. of A. (Opposition) present—at least, no question of disruption could have been raised. I challenged any delegate present to refute what I said. I asked the speaker for what purpose the I. L. D. and the Party sent their delegates to the Mooney Molders' Conference, so long as they had officially denounced the committee in the *Daily Worker* and refused to go into conference with it. Was it for construction or disruption? To this Hacker failed to answer. I went on to point out to him that the reasons for not seating the delegates at the Mooney Molders' conference, and the reasons for not seating delegates at the I. L. D.'s conference were identical, and that just as Muste, Lefkowitz and company were afraid that the delegates from the I. L. D. might offer policies to the conference that would be accepted in preference to theirs, thereby throwing them out of the limelight, so were the bureaucrats of the I. L. D. afraid that the Trotskyists might do the same to them. The easiest way out for the time being was to declare them to be disrupters and counter-revolutionists and throw them out of the hall.

On the Morgenstern and Goodman case: since at our last meeting it was denied that the I. L. D. refused to defend these boys, I was compelled to write to the Morgenstern-Goodman Defense committee for the facts in the case. When I read them off before the local union, Hacker was obliged to admit that the I. L. D. has not defended them.

In conclusion: the local union did not act on my motion to withdraw, nor did it act on the appeal for financial aid. But the chairman let Hacker know that in the future, if we are invited to a united front conference, (by that we understand that all workers' organizations must be seated) that what took place at the I. L. D. Mooney Conference must not be repeated.

In Sec. Two C.P. Amter Proscribes Opposition at Forum

NEW YORK.—

A membership meeting of section two, Communist Party, New York district, was called for October 27, to hear a report by S. Perla on work among the unemployed. It is hardly possible to imagine anything more colorless and ineffective, deprived even of an iota of a revolutionary aspect. It was a bore some repetition of well-known "failures"

"We miserably failed because we had nothing to offer to the unemployed". Therefore, "soon after the famous March 6th demonstration, the unemployed councils disappeared from the map." But how to remedy that small matter and to develop a clear-cut program of demands and action? Here is the prescription presented by the Centrists:

1. To build unemployed councils; 2. to penetrate the A. F. of L. unions with the demands for: (a) exempt stamps for unemployed; (b) unemployed fund drawn from the bosses; (c) rotating jobs; 3. Unity of employed and unemployed. All of this is to be achieved by the "united front from below". Which reminds one of the housewife who, being asked how to cook jelly from cherries, replied: "Buy two pounds of cherries, a pound of sugar and cook it."

A Rank and Filer Speaks Up
It was quite logical then that a comrade took the floor and said that he did not see the face of a revolutionary party in these demands, and that a united front from below alone is no united front at all. It is interesting to remark that it is a long time since one dared to state openly his opinions in the Communist Party. S. Perla in reply, said, "I shall not discuss with comrade L—about the statement he made. He shall be called to another place and we shall discuss there." Thus, Perla, like a well paid bureaucrat of a low order of comprehension, spoke up.

This statement made by one of the "leaders" and not by a labor faker, called forth an indignant protest of a rank and filer who criticized Perla's remarks as terroristic and threatening against a comrade who expressed his views. One could feel the silent approval of the membership on the protest against Perla, and the latter evidently realized the effect of his unguarded revelations on the methods of the present party regime.

Perla then stated that comrade L—is to be called to the section committee and he will be given a chance to explain his statement in front of the section membership. The question really is whether the party bureaucrats are courageous enough to confront and to reply to a Leninist definition of Communist tactics, of a real united front policy.

BOSTON LECTURE!

A lecture on the "Rise and Fall of the British Labor Government" will be given by comrade Arne Swaback, member of the National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) on Friday, November 27, 1931, at 8 P. M., at the Ambassador Gardens, corner of Berkeley and Warren Aves., under the auspices of the Boston Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The admission is 25 cents.

Subscribe to **YOUNG SPARTACUS** organ of the Communist Youth Opposition. Fifty Cents per year.

Canadian Party Leaders on Trial

(Continued from page 1)
fish workers from deportation
3. Right of asylum for foreign-born refugees
4. Cessation of police terrorism
5. Freedom to form political association
6. Repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code, under which act the Communist leaders were arrested.

This Bill was unanimously adopted. It also resolved that the conference recognize the C. L. D. L. as the workers' defense organization in Canada, and also undertakes to reach every labor organization for the aid of the arrested. It accepted a quota of \$50,000.00 to be raised, and endorsed the collection of 100,000 signatures for the support of the Bill.

An executive of the conference was elected of seventeen delegates, which includes a member of the Toronto Branch of the Communist League (Opposition). Our Branch, under the specific prevailing conditions, decided, for tactical reasons, not to ask affiliation to the conference directly as an organization, but our comrades are active in the conference in the collection of money, signatures and the general defense work. The Branch is preparing a manifesto explaining our stand, and calling upon all workers and sympathetic elements to give full support to the Party in its fight for a legal existence.

The Regime of Police Terror
Mass Meetings have been called for October 28th, under the auspices of the United Front Conference, and also for November 2nd. The day the trial begins and a call to workers in the factories for a one day strike. Owing to the unmitigated police terror in Toronto it was impossible to hold a meeting within the city, and had to be held just outside the city limits. Free assemblage in halls, or in streets, is denied to the Party, the F. S. U. and all Left wing organizations. The ban now extends to the reformists, and even the Fellowship of Reconciliation is denied the rights of democracy. A few weeks ago at a gathering of anti-

savers, the United Church of Canada, Communism happened to be mentioned, and the worthy reverends were visited by the minions of law and order. Our branch has attempted to hire halls to hold a meeting, but it has been found impossible to do so.

The purpose of these united front meetings is to imbue in the consciousness of the workers that the attack against the Party is a prelude to a further attack against the whole labor movement; that the interests of the Communists are those of the whole working class. A successful fight in this trial can only be predicated upon a genuine mass movement of all ranks of the workers.

A united front of all workers and poor farmers, employed and unemployed, for the defense of the Communist Party. This is our slogan.

AN EXECUTIVE MEMBER OF THE WORKERS' RIGHTS AND ANTI-DEPORTATION CONFERENCE (THE MILITANT) ENDORSES FULLY THE EFFORTS OF THE MEMBERS OF TORONTO BRANCH OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION) ON BEHALF OF THE INDICTED MEMBERS AND LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA. We are however firmly of the opinion that the Toronto comrades made a serious error when they did not send delegates officially in the name of the Toronto Branch of the Communist League to the United Front Defense Conference. We cannot think of any tactical considerations that would permit of such a policy: Particularly in view of the fact that the Workers' Rights and Anti-Deportation Conference regards Toronto as a united front conference, is the Toronto comrades' tactic not understandable. The way to fight best on behalf of the Canadian defendants and against the stifling bureaucratic methods of the Stalinists which prevail in their activities, is not to make such "concessions" to Stalinism for the sake of formal unity. Our comrades should at once put the Stalinists to the test on their latest "turn" on the united front in defense work, by demanding admission to the conference in the name of the Toronto Communist League (Opposition).

NEW YORK.—

The party has for some time been conducting an open forum in New York on Sunday nights. Assuming that an open forum, conducted by the Communist Party, is the place for workers to clarify themselves on questions of fundamental revolutionary policy, Opposition comrades have been attending the forum, with the object of learning from and discussing with comrades of the official party, what the attitude of Communists toward such important problems as the united front tactic, the Negro question, unemployment, etc., should be. After all—as Amter himself perhaps unwittingly exclaimed—the determining factor under such favorable revolutionary conditions as exist at present, is the party. And for us, Oppositionists at least, the party means chiefly the representative of the ideology of the working class, the protagonist of Marxist ideas applied to all phases of proletarian activity.

As usual, our comrades took their places at the forum last Sunday, November 1st, when the redoubtable Israel Amter, top-sergeant of District Two, descended to instruct the advanced Communist workers of New York in the post-October history of the world revolutionary movement, on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the Soviet Union. After he had disposed very easily of such insignificant trifles as the N. E. P. the Anglo-Russian Committee and the emaciated Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 (in which the Chinese Communist Party—"cooperated"—with the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang) several of our comrades took the floor to comment on omissions and commissions in the speech and to attempt comradely discussion on vital questions with the comrades present.

Amter Proscribes Opposition
Immediately as our comrades took the floor, the grumblings of the corporals and subalterns of the official apparatus became audible. Isolated boings and threats against the "insolent" Trotskyites who dared to attempt discussion at what was apparently a workers' educational meeting, soon worked up a frenzy among the stampered party members, who at first showed themselves eager to listen to the words of the Oppositionists. But it remained for the dauntless top-sergeant himself to whip up the sentiment into a veritable lynching spirit, by such provoking shouts as: "Do you know what would be done with people like these in the Soviet Union?" To which obedient lackies of the apparatus readily responded: "Hang them!"

With that same fire with which he exports the exploited bank deposits to militant class action, the future Borough President of Manhattan held forth for more than fifteen minutes against the young Opposition comrades, with no

Litvinov In Turkey

A Moscow dispatch announces that Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, left for Turkey recently to repay a visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister last winter. The press comments that there is "no political significance" attached to the trip. Perhaps not in the ordinary run of things. What is of moment, however, to revolutionists and Communist workers is that a Soviet Commissar, functioning under the banner of Communism, finds it easy to converse with the persecutors of the Turkish Communists. Still, these friendly visits, of "no political significance", are understandable from the signer of the imperialist's Kellogg Pact, not to mention that "friendly understanding" between Stalin and Kemal Pasha who exiles Leon Trotsky, the world's outstanding living Bolshevik, to a little island on Constantinople's outskirts.

May we just add the society column touch by informing our readers that Litvinov has not made a "friendly little call" upon comrade Trotsky. Yes, indeed, such a visit would have political significances.

MASS MEETINGS

ST. LOUIS.—A mass meeting to celebrate the 14th Anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution is scheduled for St. Louis, Mo., on Saturday, November 7th, 1931, at 8 P. M., at the Cruden Branch of the Public Library. The speakers will be Joseph Angelo of Springfield, Ill., John Roberts and Tom Stamm. Admission is free. The meeting is under the auspices of the St. Louis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

Mass Meeting at Staunton, Ill.
An anniversary meeting in celebration of the 14th year of the Russian Revolution will take place at Staunton, Ill. on Sunday, November 8th, 1931, at 2 P. M., at the Labor Temple, Lodge Hall. The speakers are Joseph Angelo and John Watt, representing the Miners' Educational League and Tom Stamm for the Communist League of America (Opposition).

A mass meeting to demand the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings will be held at Staunton, Ill. on Sunday, November 15, 1931 at 2 P. M., at the Labor Temple, Lodge Hall. The speakers will be Charles Bloom, representing the St. Louis, Mo. Metal Trades Council, and Tom Stamm for the Communist League of America (Opposition).

MILITANT DANCE

The Third Annual Militant Dance of the New York branch, Communist League of America (Opposition) will be held Saturday evening, November 21, 1931. The place is the Stupvesant Casino, 9th St., and Second Avenue. Come and give us an opportunity to get better acquainted

slander too vile and low but he was able to fish it up to cover his own incompetent and ignorant blabber that today takes the place of Marxist education in the Stalinized party. Finally, in the midst of the frenzy, he succeeded in putting through a motion depriving Oppositionists of the floor at the future forums.

We can be quite certain that the "victory" of this arrogant flunkey of the Stalinist regime will not stand to his credit. His reckless mismanagement of the party's affairs in Cleveland and more recently, in New York, by far efface it. Lynching tactics as a whole have no place in the revolutionary movement. They have their own logic, and we need only turn to Amter's former cronies, the self-same Lovestonites who first employed these tactics against the Left Opposition; the Left Opposition will wipe out this vilification of the movement together with the rest of the Stalinist scourges that at present perfidy it.

For the present, we will merely content ourselves with saying that not even a thousand Amters can succeed in separating the Opposition from the party ranks. Our faction is built on the sound core of living Marxist thought, and thereby alone its penetration into the vanguard of the revolutionary movement is inevitable. Means will yet be found!

The Party Discusses the Negro Problem

NEW YORK.
The Communist League (Opposition) continuing with its efforts for comradely discussion with Party members on various questions facing the revolutionary movement, again sent its representatives to the New York Party Forum on Sunday, October 25th. The subject was "The Developing Class Struggle in the South", with Tom Johnson as speaker.

Before the meeting began, comrades Morris and Rose distributed *The Militant* outside the Forum hall. The attack of the previous week upon us was repeated, the two comrades beaten and forced away. Israel Amter came around a short time after and was approached by comrade Ben Grossman, not a member of the Left Opposition. Comrade Grossman informed Amter of what had occurred and asked Amter if the Party approved yet of this hooliganism, such as physically attacking workers who held political views other than those of the official party. The infuriated Amter answered point blank: "Yes, this is the policy of the Communist Party!"

Policy on the Negro Question
At the forum itself, comrade Johnson developed his subject in accordance with the official party policy of the "right to self-determination for the Negroes in the Black Belt, if they so desire." But Johnson went far beyond even this relatively mild phrasing. A few outstanding quotations from his speech will amply illustrate.

"There is a growing national consciousness arising among the Negroes, and the proof lies in the fact of the Garvey movement." "The revolutionary nationalist movement (!) of the negroes will pass through the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. We must therefore support this nationalist movement because it is a revolutionary movement; and we must develop the national consciousness of the Negro people" (!)

In those words are embodied the essence of Johnson's position. He advocates, not an approach to the Negro as a worker, a proletarian, but as a member of a "nation", which has foundation only in the head the speaker.

The Negro and the Class Viewpoint.
It took the floor and stated that as

Marxists and Communists, we approach the Negro from a class viewpoint. We aim to develop his class consciousness, not "national", which means here racial consciousness. I further quoted Lenin on the slogan of self-determination, the features which characterized a national minority; homeland, language, culture, religion. I applied this to the Negroes in the United States, maintaining that there was no basis for viewing the Negro as a national minority, either in theory or fact. I also, in concluding, and speaking as a member of the Left Opposition, called for the unity of the Communist movement, for the reinstatement of the Left Opposition into the Party. I asked for a comradely discussion of this and other principle questions in an effort to come to a common ideological viewpoint which would prepare us for united struggle against the capitalist system.

Comrade Lillian Bord then obtained the floor. She spoke on the Scottsboro case and the necessity for a genuine united front of the working class, led by the I. L. D., for the freedom of these boys, of Mooney and all class war prisoners.

Johnson then summed up. Holding his remarks on my discussion to the left, he proceeded to an outright demonstration of demagoguery of the worst sort imaginable. Johnson said: "The comrade from the Left Opposition came here and delivered a powerful argument against the slogan of the right of self-determination, and as a final smashing blow he tells us the Negroes have no music. (!)" "The comrade further quotes Lenin, but I do not believe Lenin ever said those things" (why not try reading Lenin, comrade Johnson?) "Didn't Lenin support the Timpanny movement in Ireland and they had no language of their own? Does the comrade want to foist a religion upon the Negroes because they have none? . . . The Negroes have a homeland, here, the United States—(here we applauded, as did the whole audience, but)—"right here, in the Black Belt . . . and we must develop their national consciousness to make them aware of it" (!).

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

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