



One Road for Miners!

Lay A Firm Class Foundation at the Gillespie Convention

The Progressive Miners' constitutional convention, which meets at Gillespie, Ill., Oct. 3, has a mighty job in hand and a great duty to perform.

First on the agenda, if not in numerical order, then at least in importance, is the task of solidifying the union foundation in a working class sense, to secure its progressive direction and clinch the objective which establishes its militant character.

Your way to victory is the one of militant struggle. That is your one main weapon and a powerful one. Of this the past has furnished ample proof to you.

It is the class struggle that you are now engaged in. Only the blind could fail to see this. It is the bitter realities of the class struggle which determine every step you are taking and upon which your future is conditioned.

WHO RAISE THE BOGEY OF THE "REDS" The bogey of the "Red" issue is raised in order to swerve the miners from their progressive path.

We do not forget the fact that the many blunders and false policies of the official Communist party leadership has helped to make it possible for such propaganda to appear.

WHICH IS THE POLITICAL PARTY OF LABOR? In your deliberations at the convention and in your future course, you will likely meet the sleek office seeking careerist.

There is a great and constantly widening gap between the facts of the economic life of the Soviet Union and their reflection in the press or even in the official reports.

When given the prerequisites of militant unionism, resting on a class foundation, your best guarantee for victory in this present strike struggle is at hand.

PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA CAN SHOW THE WAY

Your future tasks are enormous and there are great difficulties in your way. But given a class foundation, a rank and file membership imbued with the will to win, the spirit to fight to the last and the readiness to sacrifice for the cause;

Down with Lewisism!



Two More Expelled for «Trotskyism»

Following the arbitrary expulsion of comrade Sebastian Pappas for "Trotskyism", the Stalinist bureaucracy in New York has summarily expelled from the party two more of the active militants for their refusal to denounce the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky as "counter-revolutionists".

Comrade Gordon is a charter member of the Communist movement in this country, a foundation member of the Communist Labor Party in 1919. His activity in Chicago, Detroit, Rochester and New York is well known in wide circles of the party.

Lewis Gangsters Fail to Cow Miners

Springfield Miners Resist Strike-Breaker Mobilization

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—William Sneed, generalissimo of the Lewis gunmen in this state, called a meeting at Knights of Columbus building on Sunday, September 25, for the purpose of organizing strike-breakers to open up mines in Sangamon County.

The riot resulted in the death of Porter Williams, a police detective. They have charged Garnett Smith, another of the Lewis gunmen with the murder of Williams, although several eye-witnesses saw Bill Sneed shoot down Williams.

When news of the meeting appeared in the local press the P. M. A. decided to picket the K. of C. building and 1,500 P. M. A. members were on the picket line.

weapons haunted in their hands, incensing the strikers by threatening to shoot if a word was uttered.

The miners, still displaying that marvelous courage that has characterized them throughout the entire struggle, refused to be intimidated by the blood-thirsty savages employed by Peabody and Lewis.

The miners, carrying out their decision to run the thugs out of town, pursued them to the Leland Hotel. Here they were met by State Cossacks, sheriffs, deputies and the entire detective and police force of Springfield, with machine guns, tear gas bombs and the paraphernalia of modern warfare.

Which Political Party Shall the Miners Support in the Coming Elections

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—The coal diggers of Illinois are fighting a great battle. It is a battle against many foes, which promises no easy victory.

1. There are the coal operators who would reduce our living conditions to the starvation level.

There can be no doubt about the real character of the Peabodys and their henchmen, Lewis and Walker. With them there can be no peace.

When we were children we believed in Santa Claus. Before the strike many of us entertained equally ridiculous notions about the troopers and the militia, even though we were quite mature individuals.

(Continued on page 4)

Problems Before the Gillespie Convention of the Progressive Miners of America

SPRINGFIELD.—The first constitutional convention of the Progressive Miners of America which will convene in Gillespie, Ill., on Oct. 3, will be a very important event in the history of the miners of America.

The Progressive Miners Union is meeting in convention at a time when the whole system of capitalism is in a stage of decay, with a crisis in the coal industry that is world wide and is made more acute by (a) world shrinkage of consumption; (b) increased industrial development in other countries, thereby destroying markets and creating new competitors; (c) developments of other sources of power, such as: oil, hydro-electric, etc.—this has created a general anarchy in production and contradictions in the capitalist system.

The Progressive Miners Union must free itself from the illusions of capitalist democracy and unite on a program of class struggle.

(Continued on page 4)

MOSCOW LETTER

Crisis in Soviet Economy

Stalinism Endangers Alliance Between Town and Village

The following document arrived from Russia in a foreign language, into which it had been translated for conspirative reasons.

There is a great and constantly widening gap between the facts of the economic life of the Soviet Union and their reflection in the press or even in the official reports.

The slowing up of the tempo has its deep causes in the increase of disproportionate relationships. Every sphere of industry, no matter how great the efforts made, restricts itself to its minimum element.

down like a millstone on the actual production achieved. But since the irregularities are heaping up and reaching an ever higher level, the sinking of the general figures of growth becomes the inevitable result.

Most Important Cause of the decline in the productivity of labor, of the increase in the costs of production and the deterioration of quality at the same time as there is an accumulation of seconds—lies in the poor, insufficient and irregular maintenance of the workers and the nervous instability resulting from this.

There is not now, naturally, any more talk of the fulfillment of the Five Year Plan in four years (actually—in 4 years and 3 months—Ed.). Shortcomings and breakdowns occur in various spheres and have been occurring with insuperable force especially in this last year.

For Class Struggle Program

To meet this general capitalist attack, the Progressive Miners union must free itself from the illusions of capitalist democracy and unite on a program of class struggle.

The Progressive Miners Union must make the experiences of the past, fundamental object lessons for the future. The

BERLIN LETTER

New Step Toward Fascism

Struggle for Democratic Rights Now on Agenda in Germany

At the very moment when the Reichstag put the imprint of the most tremendous vote of lack of confidence upon the Papen government, the social democratic president, Hindenburg dissolved the Reichstag. The Communists skillfully introduced this decision.

Already in the preceding days, the Papen government showed similar signs of "strength": the parade of the Steel Helmets, the administration reforms, etc. It proclaimed that in a short time it would continue unswervingly with its program: the program of constitution changing, the program of millions in gifts to the capi-

talists, the program of breaches in wage scales, the program of armaments. The struggle against the "dirty swine at home" proclaimed by von Schleicher naturally stands in the foreground.

It would be ridiculous to underrate Papen-Schleicher, behind whom stands the will of German finance capital to remain independent; it would however be disastrous to develop a perspective out of the appearances of the present events.

(Continued on page 4)

Letters from Militants

New York Gets Barbusse Congress Report

NEW YORK CITY.— At a meeting held at the 14th St. Labor Temple, Thursday, Sept. 15, two delegates just back from the Barbusse Anti-war Conference held at Amsterdam reported on the results of the "historic" gathering.

Grover Mills, chairman, hailed it as "significant as the first time workers and intellectuals have united in an international struggle against war by this congress". And to demonstrate further the actual unity not only at the Congress, "an intellectual and a worker would speak to-night". Sad to relate, it was really the intellectual of the pair who really delivered the best speech. Professor Margaret delivered a sentimental, although undoubtedly sincere speech, in which she related such thrilling occurrences as the formation of a physicians' committee to study the biological reason for war; how beautifully one of the delegates, noted for his ability to relate fairly tales, drew the analogy of war and capitalism to a huge dragon, etc. A number of interesting observations of an informative character were also presented. "Not all workers," stated the astute lady professor, can do as Romain Rolland was able to do—when war broke out, he was able to go to Switzerland." Further typifying the fighting militancy with which these intellectuals have united with the workers in this "most significant event" the intellectual side of the program matter of factly "recognized" that it is of course the workers who must do the actual fighting, this the intellectuals will have to leave to them". On the whole not a bad presentation of the viewpoint of petty bourgeois pacifism.

Amidst tense silence we watched the worker side of the program wend his way to the platform and settled back contentedly for a real speech. An apparently sincere young fellow, MacFarland of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, proceeded to shatter our illusions—and present as typical a product of Stalinist confusion as it has yet been our dismay to witness. After some details on the Congress hailing it as a great success, MacFarland greeted the fact that some soldier delegate had reported that in case of war he and the others would refuse to fight. Several vague statements on the necessity of fighting capitalism in the shops, a call to everybody to unite, a few figures and the representative of the revolutionary working class was through. After apologetically announcing that he was "no speaker, see, and I can't shoot any line", our young comrade sat down—ending a speech which at least had the value of brevity in contrast to the usual Stalinist harangues.

Our comrades Capelis and Glee then took the floor, and gave the correct Communist position on the struggle against war. The miserable maneuver of the Stalinists with this petty bourgeois pacifist crowd of Itolands and Barbusse was completely exposed; the crux of the international situation, Germany, analyzed as representing the real danger of war with Germany and against Russia eventually, if Fascism seizes power, and the ten points of the declaration of the "Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists" to the World Congress on War were read (See Militant, August 27).

Many questions asked, left MacFarland at a loss to reply. When asked whether the C. I. and Y. C. I. were represented officially he clearly showed that he did not know. Sen Katayama was there "representing the Japanese workers" Repeated questions of this sort rightly insulted the comrade; and in rebuttal he annihilated the plainly Trotskyist disrupters, who had the impudence (and obviously malicious intention) of trying to learn just exactly where the Party stood, if it was still standing anywhere, by loudly and indignantly proclaiming that he was "a member of the Communist party and damn proud of it!" We were not exactly sure whether someone had contested his right and we had missed this point—or if by some possible chance, our comrade MacFarland felt just a little bit ashamed of the whole rotten mess he had been shoved into and was at a loss as to what else to say. Several speakers, somewhat saddened by the confused proletarian, jumped to the rescue, and saved him and some applause with the usual repetition of the now tiresome string of appellatives that the Stalinites with such remarkable adeptness and smoothness generously apply to their opponents.

After the meeting, a copy of the Militant with the above mentioned Declaration was distributed to each member of the small audience of about fifty. Even MacFarland accepted one and said he would read it. We hope he does, as he will have the opportunity to correct the bad and literally un-Communist speech he made there.

Socialists, Police Clubs and the Reds

NEW YORK, N. Y.— Well, the class struggle has come up to our neighborhood at last. The Communists and the Socialists were holding election campaign meetings on the corner of Walton Ave., and 170th Street in the Bronx last week. The Communists were speaking on the southeast corner, the socialists on the southwest corner. Walton Ave. is a narrow street. Pretty soon it was filled from curb to curb with people listening to the speakers. Traffic got through with difficulty.

The police always on the lookout for excuses to smash Communist meetings told the Communists meeting to move across the street. The speaker refused. The cop insisted. The speaker was firm. The cop attempted to pull the speaker off the stand. His comrades resisted. Other minions of the law tried to back up their "pal".

The crowd was fast getting bigger and was hostile to the cops. But it lacked guts. It booed and boomed but it didn't make any serious effort to pull the speaker and the other comrades who were being held, one by the testicles against the wall of a building, from the cops. Some workers, with more guts, then the rest, pushed the cops around and hit them back.

Then the sirens screamed as the emergency squad came flying down the street. They must have picked a green squad. You never saw a whiter bunch of faces. Fifteen husky, white faced mugs! Yellow—that's what they were. These guys are all right for beating up workers in the station house but they're plenty afraid of masses of workers. They soon found out that the crowd was as afraid as they were and they began pushing everybody around.

All this while the socialist meeting was going on. The speaker kept right on talking although no one could hear what he was saying. He knew that his meeting had nothing to fear from the cops. And the cops knew that the socialists were O. K. So while the Socialists who claim to represent the interests of the workers were making this united front with the workers enemies, the workers were being pushed around and some of them were being beaten up in the police cars by these same enemies.

In the thick of the fight a cop came over to the socialist speaker and asked him to hold off for a short while. The servile lackey of capitalism got down pronto! After five minutes or so he got up again and told the crowd that the Communists were getting what they deserved. He said that it was necessary for the police to act the way they were. He blamed the whole affair on the Communists.

Then Aaron Levenstein, another local socialist light got up to speak. He denounced the cops. That kind of talk is cheap, especially when they have just given you an unmistakable demonstration of their attitude toward you. Actions speak louder than words. What the workers saw was a united front between police and socialists from both sides. They cooperated with each other to smash the Communist meeting. Each side contributed according to its particular role. This kind of demagoguery is the chief stock in trade of the confusion these people spread around.

No doubt the Communists will return to this corner to protest against this latest piece of law and order and to explain to the workers the significance of what they saw. —A WORKER.

The Fight for Militant Unions in Canada

TORONTO.— A most important opportunity is opening up for the Left wing in Canada, in the present growing national movement of revolt of the trade unionists against the corrupt, degenerated A. F. of L. unions. Amongst the miners, clothing workers, cloakmakers, furriers, building trade workers, etc., etc., the cry is for united struggles against the worsening conditions and for new militant unions that will fight.

For us of the Left wing one of the outstanding features of the present revolt movement is the growing contradictions between the Stalinist policies and the requirements of the arising situations. The official Left wing under the leadership of the Workers Unity League is paying a very heavy price for the 3rd period policies of adventure and sectarianism of the past few years, in the lack of confidence of the workers in their Industrial Unions.

Was it an accident that the revolt of over 3,000 Montreal tailors should break out as a spontaneous movement and not under the leadership of the official Left wing? Had the W. U. Industrial Unions carried their analysis and policies to logical conclusions they should have con-

demned and fought the revolt movement, which had refused to hand over hegemony to them. This they tried at first to do but the resentment of the Montreal tailors in general and particularly the Left wing was so great that the mass meeting called by the W. U. industrial union was cancelled.

The obvious contradictions and falseness of the policies of the Workers Unity League have not passed without sharp reiteration and dissatisfaction in the Toronto and Montreal industrial unions and Worker Unity Leagues. The organizer of the Industrial Union in Montreal had to be recalled. In order to pacify the disquiet amongst the industrial union members in Toronto it was found necessary to send a delegation of the Left wing tailors to investigate the struggle of the Montreal tailors and report back. Further and more important, there took place in Toronto and for the first time in Canada a grouping of Industrial Union and Worker Unity League members for Leninist policies in the trade unions.

Vacillations, more vacillations and still more vacillations, have marked the policies of the Workers Unity League. It has become common talk "that the W. U. L. leaders no longer believe in their own policies but have to stick by the false decisions of the last R. I. L. U. Congresses."

Needless to say the Toronto Left Opposition has come in support of that group of members of the Workers Unity League and Industrial Unions who have opened up the struggle for the Leninist program. The birth of the progressive Left wing fraction was marked by sharp clashes with the Industrial Union leaders. The various attempts to disrupt the meeting of the Progressive Left wing fraction despite temporary success will finally fail to the ground. The members are determined to carry on to victory.

Shop meetings of Left wing workers called by the W. U. Industrial Unions have failed to record support to the present policies. At the shop where the Progressive L. W. F. had called a meeting of the Left wing workers, the Industrial Union leader who had come down and distributed copies of the *Kampf* which contained the attack against the Left Opposition and the "former Left wing workers" was sharply criticized by the workers. In other shops the Left wing workers have asked the Progressive Left wing fraction to call them to meetings.

It is necessary that this new movement in the Workers Unity League for Leninist trade union policies should not be localized. Contacts have been established in other parts of the country. There exists today the basis for a national movement. —M. QUARTER.

The Opposition at Wicks' Meeting

PITTSBURGH.— On September 22 I attended a lecture by H. M. Wicks on the subject of "The Conditions in Germany and the Soviet Union". But he devoted most of his time to falsifying the history of the Russian revolution and slandering the Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky.

The lies, the incoherence and the dishonorable methods the Stalinists use against the Marxian wing of our party did not prevent the audience from realizing the aim of the charlatan Wicks, and when the question period arrived he was surprised to see that all the questions were about Trotsky and "Trotskyism". One question was simply a remark that Wicks thinks the audience must be pretty ignorant to say that Trotsky did not organize the Red Army, that during the Denikin-Wrangel attack, Trotsky retreated while Stalin took over the leadership of the army and defeated the counter-revolution.

To my question if it was true, as stated in the *Militant* some time ago, that Wicks had delivered a speech in Gary, Indiana in 1923 at a banquet given in his honor by a bourgeois organization, where he said that the members of the socialist and Communist parties are only foreigners and advised the American Legion to knock them on the head because it is the only language they understand—he replied by "correcting" the dates. He said it was not in 1923 but that the *Militant* had the right date, 1920. About the banquet itself, he started to insult the *Militant* comrades Cannon, Shachtman and myself as drunkards, renegades and counter-revolutionists. "If I had delivered such a speech," he said in order to show what a big shot he was, "it would be printed not only in the small newspaper of Gary, but in the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Sun-Telegram* of Pittsburgh." When I asked him if he would accept a debate on the question, he said, Yes, with Cannon. So I replied that we would bring comrade Cannon to Pittsburgh to debate with him. Immediately he changed his mind and said that he would first ask his party. When I asked him to elect a committee to come into touch with us for the arrangement of the debate, he got mad and answered, "We don't debate

with renegades, but we slap them down." Then he declared that he had never delivered any speech at a banquet but spoke at an open forum.

Then I asked, What about the Committee elected by the E. C. of the party to investigate the speech after he had made application to join the party, in which committee comrade Cannon was also a member. First he said he had never signed an application because he was one of the founders of the party and he and Ruthenberg signed the charter of the party. Then he admitted that a committee had been elected, but Cannon wasn't on it; there were Lansky, who is now in Russia, Jakira who died some years ago and Bedacht who is now in New York.

Now, in order to expose the professional liar Wicks, I think that the *Militant* should satisfy the demand of many workers of Pittsburgh by reprinting once more the speech with dates and proofs to them about who are the so-called revolutionary leaders in the ranks of the Communist party who attack the Left Opposition as "renegades". —JAMES SIFAKIS.

Note: The *Militant* has on two occasions reprinted the full story from the Gary, Indiana, *Post*, which reports the renegade speech made by Wicks at a time when the Communist party was driven underground by the Palmer persecutions. The accuracy of the report has not been challenged by Wicks in the press, nor can it be. Every leader of the party who was a member of it in 1920-1921, knows that the report is veracious. Further proof of Wicks' renegeacy is indicated by Bulletin No. 2 of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America (underground) containing the decision to reject Wicks' application for membership in plain terms.—Ed.

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MILITANT SUB DRIVE

Our Club Plan

SUBS FOR MINERS
All eyes on Gillespie, Illinois! On October 3 the first conference of the Progressive Miners of America will go into session in this mining town. This will mark the high point of the first phase of our activities in the Illinois coal fields. Then will begin the second phase of our work—the steady, plugging, day-to-day work of getting subs, making contacts and mouth-to-mouth discussions. In this work the *Militant* must be our best and ever-present spokesmen. Our present distributions are good but whether a miner gets two successive issues is a hit-and-miss proposition. If our policy is to be made clear to the miners, especially the more advanced miners, they must get and read the *Militant* regularly.

The solution of the problem is to get subs for the miners. Here is where our club plan comes in. You know that up to now a half-year sub of twenty-six issues was \$1. And now you know that in clubs of four or more sent in at one time on a blank like the one below, a half-year sub is fifty cents.

You do not have to be located in the coal fields to get subs for the miners. Wherever you live or happen to be located at the moment you can make a concrete demonstration of your solidarity with our class brothers. Go out to sympathizers and friends with our club plan blanks, explain the situation and our plan to them, and get a half-year sub AT THE OLD RATE. Explain that the extra fifty cents will be used for a sub for a miner.

We have a list of miners who want

the *Militant* but cannot afford even fifty cents for a half-year sub. Just as fast as we hear from you we will begin to transfer these names to the *Militant* mailing list. When you send in the club plan blank just fill in two names and addresses and leave two space blank. And be sure to send two dollars with the blank.

500 SUBS FOR THE MINERS
At a rough preliminary estimate there are five hundred miners out there in Illinois who are material for the Left Opposition. At the very least they can be easily interested in the *Militant*. It will take five hundred subs at the old rate to place a copy of the *Militant* in the hands of these five hundred miners for twenty-six weeks. Can we do it? We think it can be done. It is up to you. We are swinging into line on this question on a nation-wide front.

We realize that we are as yet only a small organization. But we are also aware of the certainty of our growth and we think that now is the time to take a big step forward. We will carry a regular list every week from now on of the number of subs for miners that you send in. This will be a separate list. The comrades who send in such subs on these club plan blanks will be included in the staff of *Militant* Builders.

MILITANT BUILDERS
Since the announcement of the opening of this drive and the writing of this copy (too little time has elapsed for us to get any returns from our comrades and sympathizers. We are therefore unable to give a list of *Militant* Builders. But watch next week's issue!

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

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

MILITANT BUILDER Address
City State

Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

Spurts Ahead!

Despite our slender resources, our activities have taken a real spurt forward. We have organizers working in several fields giving their services voluntarily and without any compensation. They are making new contacts and building the Left Opposition. There are two young comrades active in the Illinois mine field helping our miner comrades in their arduous task. Our Chicago comrade is making a tour of several cities in Iowa. Two of our members from Minneapolis are similarly active there. Plans are complete for such organization work in Pittsburgh and we can add that possibilities elsewhere press for similar action.

But the *Militant*, of course, remains the main organizer. Yet its existence is seriously threatened. We have appealed for the assistance of our readers, however, with only small response so far. More activities require a larger supply of papers and of literature. While our young organizers work without compensation we still have the duty of helping them to get around. Thus there is plenty of reason for renewing our appeal and making it more insistent.

Some of our comrades have responded with contributions, of which we list the following: Joseph Keller of Cleveland, I. Brody of Cleveland, helping our organizers get on their way, Sarah J. Linn of Birmingham, Ala., V. M. Johnson and L. Kogan from California, C. Schechet from Boston, J. Hamilton from Chicago, J. Sifakis from Pittsburgh sends in his own contribution and those of other comrades there. From New York we have received contributions from L. Miller, H. Norman, Harry C. and H. Norman. Then to mention a big item, our New York branch at its last meeting, in response to our campaign to establish the International Workers School and to locate it in new headquarters, pledged from its membership a total of \$128.50, with part paid in cash. It is necessary to mention in this connection also that since the middle of August the Chicago branch has responded excellently to our financial needs.

We have all the arrangements made for the International Workers School, located at New York. With that is coupled the question of new headquarters, an absolute necessity for the growing activities of the organization and for the school. All of these steps taken are compelled by necessity. Our opportunities are increasing, our activities are growing, our needs multiply. We are in a critical position. We must

advance. We must secure *The Militant*, our main organizer. We ask you to help us.

OUR SCHOOL

The \$300.00 drive to establish a school and new headquarters in New York is under way. This was a special order of business at the last branch meeting. Donations, pledges and enrollment amounting to \$12.50 for the school started the drive. Now we want the readers of the *Militant* to get behind this drive and help us put it over. Don't wait until we call on you—mail in your contribution, your registration, or come down to the office and talk this over with us. When we call at your house, don't tell the comrade that there is a depression on, that there are million unemployed, and others working at reduced wages, and that you have been hit by this depression. We have instructed our comrades not to take such "flimsy" excuses. We are out to raise \$300.00 for the school and headquarters, to centralize our activity. And

not even the depression is going to stop us from obtaining this fund. In this fight, don't side us with the depression—stand with the Left Opposition.

If we put over the drive for \$300.00 we will release the National Office from pressing burdens, enabling it to devote greater attention and activity to the coal miners' strike in Illinois and to other pressing party and class problems confronting us. Help us take this step. Without the help of our sympathizers, without the help of the friends of *The Militant*, we will not be able to succeed. Let us hear from you at once. **Enroll in our classes!**

The first four classes will be:
The History of the American Communist Movement—James P. Cannon, 3 lessons every Monday from Oct. 17 to Dec. 5.
State and Revolution—Jack Weber, 10 lessons every Monday from October 17 to Dec. 19.
The History of the Comintern—Max Shachtman, 8 lessons every Wednesday from Oct. 19 to Dec. 7.
The Theoretical System of Marxism—Hugo Oehler 10 lessons every Wednesday from Oct. 19 to Dec. 21.
Registration for each course is \$1.00.

GERMANY
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League Replies to Weisbord Letter

1. The Communist League, as the American section of the International Left Opposition of the Comintern, aims now as in the past to unite in its ranks all those who stand with us on a common basis of principles and methods, to facilitate the approach and fusion of those who are consistently moving in our direction, and to wage an implacable struggle against all elements of confusion which would blur the sharp distinctions between the three basic currents in the Communist movement and thereby paralyze the striking force of the revolutionary Marxian wing. This fundamental consideration has guided us in our attitude toward all the individuals and groups which have broken in one way or another with the official regime of bureaucratic Centrism. It determined our friendly attitude and attempts at collaboration with Weisbord when he first began to approach the League, as well as our determined struggle against him when he began his attempt to disrupt the organization, to set up a rival against it on a platform in principle contradiction to ours, and to fight the League with unworthy methods and slanders.

2. As long as Weisbord and his group ("The Communist League of Struggle") stood on this ground and employed these methods we could only regard him as an opponent, if not an enemy, of the Left Opposition. The basis for a comradely discussion of secondary differences and loyal collaboration in specific tasks within a general framework of principle agreement did not exist. Before everything the League considered and considered it necessary to mark off distinctly its principle line and its methods from those of all other groups and tendencies and to reject everything that stands in the way of this clarification. This course does not signify the splitting of hairs or the exaggeration of differences, but rather the bringing out into prominent relief of those questions and differences which are essential and fundamental. The struggle against the claims of Weisbord was a necessary struggle for the ideological clarity and organizational integrity of the League.

3. The new statement of Weisbord and his group represents a partial turn in the direction of the Left Opposition on the most important principle questions, and a certain moderation in the form and tone of his criticism. Although in neither case is the correction made with the necessary frankness and thoroughness. This change of position, however, creates the possibility, which was previously lacking, to give consideration once again to the question of relations with this group and to point out what, in our opinion, stands yet in the way of its inclusion in the League. In yielding on the main questions of principle, which separated it from the Left Opposition, the Weisbord group removes the foundation of its right to a separate existence. Only when it takes this point of departure and takes serious and sincere steps toward inclusion in the League on the basis of its principle line, will its proclamations on the principle questions validate themselves. Up to now this has not been the case. The actions of Weisbord since his return from Europe tend rather to contradict the political implications of his statement and bear the character of futile maneuvers. Only a radical change in this course and a direct approach to the League will make it possible to give more serious consideration to the prin-

With the last issue, the Militant concluded the statement drawn up by the Weisbord group in reply to the letter which had been addressed to it by comrade Trotsky. With the present issue, we begin publication of the reply to this statement presented by the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

principle concessions as a basis of unity. The International Left Opposition, including its American section, is not only a system of ideas but a definite organization toward which precise and unambiguous relations are required.

Whatever the result may be in the field of organization—and this depends on the sincere approach of the Weisbord group to the League, which the League will not refuse—the ideological and political victory of the Left Opposition in the two-years dispute with Weisbord is already recorded in his own declarations. And in this there is to be seen not the victory of some persons and the defeat of others, but rather the invincible strength of the ideas of the Bolshevik-Leninists, in America as throughout the world.

There is only one platform for the struggle to free the vanguard of the proletariat from Centrism and the Right wing and restore the Comintern to the path of Lenin, and that is the platform of the International Left Opposition. All intermediary groups, all those who play with this or that idea of the Left Opposition without comprehending and embracing the system of its doctrines, are condemned to futility and bankruptcy. The strength of the Left Opposition is demonstrated not only by the steady inroads it makes in the party and the growth of its influence there, but also in its capacity to draw to itself and absorb all groups and currents breaking away from the Centrist regime and the Right wing in a Leftward direction. From this point of view—as international experience has shown—we can be assured that some, if not all, of the Weisbord group will find their way to a complete fusion with us. And it goes without saying that the National Committee will do all in its power to facilitate and hasten this process, without putting unnecessary obstacles in the way or imposing any unreasonable conditions. What is required for this is only the requisite clarity and agreement on principles and methods and a genuine attitude of good faith toward the League as an organization.

The general direction of Weisbord and the comrades associated with him, over a period now of several years, despite a number of contradictions and a great deal of confusion, has been toward the Left Opposition. But it is just these contradictions and this confusion, complicated in the highest degree by the one-sided, false, embittered and caricatured factional criticisms of Weisbord, and his impermissible methods, which justify the League in submitting the new turn in principle toward the line of the League to the necessary tests and in examining his actions with a certain caution. Sufficient proofs must be established that the contradiction between his previous course and ours is really liquidated and not simply transferred inside the League. Otherwise a fusion, instead of strengthening and consolidating the forces of the Left Opposition, would only prepare the way for new convulsions.

The nucleus of the present Weisbord

group originated in the Right wing of the party. After participating in the party campaign against the "Trotskyists", he found himself in conflict with the party regime after the expulsion of the Lovestone group, and soon afterward was himself expelled. After compromising himself with the expelled Right wing, without formally joining it, he went through a period of vacillation between the Right and the Left. When he first approached us two years ago he said he had not made up his mind which faction to join, but intended to "join one or the other". At that time he was full of the idea of "the two groups working together", and made a number of bizarre propositions in this spirit. He proposed that he be allowed to write both for the Militant and the Revolutionary Age, as though the sharp lines of principle demarcation between the two organizations had not been established. He did in fact submit articles to both papers, and one of them—a programmatic character—was printed in the Militant as a discussion article to inform our movement of his views.

In this program article, Militant, Sept. 1 and 15, 1930) he expressed views in basic contradiction to those of the Left Opposition, especially on the question of Centrism and the bloc with the Right wing, and he never clearly corrected them until his letter in reply to comrade Trotsky's criticism (Class Struggle, August 1932). After a number of meetings and friendly conversations between Weisbord and members of the National Committee, in which our attempts to convince him of his errors were unsuccessful, it was found impossible to accept his application for membership in the League. Our attitude was not determined by his criticisms on secondary questions, but by the differences of a principle character which have been illuminated in comrade Trotsky's letter. In the light of all the subsequent developments it is now indisputable that the attitude of the National Committee, supported by the entire membership of the League, was entirely correct.

The position of the National Committee at that time was consistent, we believe, with the position it takes now toward the Weisbord group and all others moving in the direction of the Left Opposition. While pointing out the most important principle differences which excluded a complete organizational unity, the statement of the National Committee (Militant, Sept. 15, 1930) took into account his trend toward us and said: "At the same time it expressed the hope and desire that further reflection and discussion would make it possible for comrade Weisbord to find his place as a fighter—and a valuable one—in the ranks of the Opposition. . . . The National Committee decided. . . . Weisbord's closeness to the views of the fields of work conforming to his position". Matters did not work out that way in the ensuing two years because Weisbord did not meet us on this ground. For collaboration he substituted a violent factional struggle and a series of cheap, unworthy and easily repulsed maneuvers.

Beginning first with the attempt to organize a faction in the New York branch of the League, while ostensibly "collaborating" with us as instructor of a study class in economics, Weisbord soon went over to open struggle against the League. In the course of the past year and a half he attempted to set up an

organization ("The Communist League of Struggle") as a rival to the American section of the International Left Opposition and sowed confusion by the claim of also "adhering" to the International Left Opposition. In this disruptive undertaking Weisbord brought himself into the sharpest conflict with us, both in principle questions and in methods, and evoked against himself the indignant resentment of the entire membership of the League. The fact that the "Communist League of Struggle" never succeeded in making a serious impression anywhere did not alter the fact that it was aimed destructively at the League. In the course of that struggle against us we could only see Weisbord as an enemy who fought the League with weapons to a considerable extent borrowed from the Stalinists and the Right wing. His claim to "adhere" to the Left Opposition while fighting against some of its most fundamental conceptions and against its American section worked exclusively in the direction of compromising and discrediting the cause of the Left Opposition.

From the very beginning of the attempt to set up an independent organization against the League on a separate platform it was clear to us that Weisbord and his close associates had occupied an absolutely hopeless position on which he could not remain for long. The failure to make the slightest impression on the membership of the League, the inability to extend the organization beyond the single small group in which nearly half of the membership was lost—all these developments were unfailing signs of the political hopelessness of the venture and of the categorical necessity to make a decisive turn. That the group has now taken a definite turn toward the Left Opposition in the most important principle questions which separated it in the past is to the credit of the group and, if it is carried through consistently, it will determine for us an alternation of our previous attitude of irreconcilable antagonism.

I. The Question of Centrism and the Bloc with the Right Wing

On these questions—which separated it from us fundamentally—the Weisbord group has made a retreat from its old position, but it has done so in the worst possible way—without criticizing its former position or acknowledging its falsity. Thus they give no assurances whatever against a relapse into the fundamental errors which flowed inevitably from its original position. To say, "On the general question of Centrism, we feel that our differences are not very great and in some respects are only of a formal character", is not to clarify but to muddle up the really deep and fundamental difference that existed on this question. And likewise to "energetically emphasize the fact that we have never proposed a BLOC with the Right wing (Lovestoneites), meaning by a bloc a general vague alliance", leaves us in doubt as to how they understood the fundamental conflict also on this question (directly related to the question of bureaucratic centrism) and whether they want to justify their former position and propose that the League should adopt it. In that case there would be no possibility of agreement. Clarification on these points is indispensable. (Continued in next issue)

MADRID LETTER

Checking Sanjurjo's Coup

The Spanish Proletariat Replies to the Monarchist Insurrection

The attempt at a monarchist restoration in Spain, carried out by the overwhelming majority of the commanders of the army and navy has considerable importance and demonstrates to what depths the Republic has sunk as a reactionary state, despite its title of "Republic of all classes of workers".

The Government and the Monarchists

Even today the constitution approved by the Cortes is one of the most reactionary among the countries called republican and democratic. Of the democratic pledges made by the present rulers before they seized power, there remains nothing but a memory of deceit. And on top of this reactionary constitution they have built up a series of Exceptional Laws, such as the Law for the Defense of the Republic, and the law on associations, (which outlaws all organizations refusing to play the role of the reformist social-democratic organizations. This law was promulgated for exactly that reason by the socialist labor minister, Caballero), and others. The Spanish republic, breaking off all contact with the masses which caused it to triumph, has evolved toward the sharpest reaction and has fallen into the hands of more or less disguised elements of the old monarchist regime. Sanjurjo, the general who raised the banner of revolt against the republic in Seville, was, until the very day of the uprising, a confidant of the government entrusted with wielding power against the people.

The government had been warned many times of the reactionary maneuvers of Sanjurjo and the monarchists; but it did not know how nor did it want to take measures against them. The government fully bore out the thesis defended by comrade Trotsky and the Communist Left Opposition, on the impossibility of the Spanish bourgeoisie accomplishing a democratic revolution. Not only did it not accomplish the democratic revolution, but it allowed the enemies of the regime, the monarchists, to maneuver against the republic.

We already know that the government, by losing the contact it had had (up to the proclamation of the republic), with the masses generally and with the working class specifically (the anarchists and socialists were among those who helped the present leaders the most in seizing power), broke the "democratic" links between the republic and the popular opinion which had supported the new regime during the first days of its existence.

The Rotten Republic

The reactionary forces, which are far more intelligent than the myopic politicians of the present government, knew how to keep under cover during the earliest days of the Republic, just as they know how to rise up in the streets when they considered the government vanquished. The feebleness of the government has been the basic prop and the strongest animator of the reactionary monarchists.

Without the energetic defense of the workers against the monarchy, the government would have offered no resistance to the monarchist reaction. Realizing the significance of the monarchist military movement, and knowing that almost all the army and navy commanders were against the government and in favor of the uprising, the government and parlia-

ment created an impression of boundless cowardice, and quite literally they did not know what to do.

After a good deal of delay and vacillation, the government took action against Sanjurjo. The Sevillian authorities, for example, surrendered their power to the monarchists without offering the least show of resistance. Today this same government sees itself compelled to imprison its own representatives at Seville in the face of the popular accusations which hold them responsible for the power having fallen into the monarchists' hands. Beyond a doubt the general discontent existing among the present rulers; but they did not understand that, though it is true that the popular masses are disgusted with the return to the state of affairs that existed before the republic, it was the working masses who defended the republic by snatching it from the hands of Sanjurjo and the monarchist generals. But that does not mean that the masses were on the side of the Azana government which expedited the monarchists' maneuvers by its weakness and its political incapacity.

The Democratic Illusions of the Proletariat

We must draw two conclusions from the recent events. The first is that, despite the discontent of the working masses with the present rulers' administration, democratic illusions still exist among them. It seems a contradiction that the workers' masses understood the reactionary role that the leaders of the republic were playing, that they felt keenly the injury dealt by the Law for the Defense of the Republic, and that they should not yet have lost faith in abstract democracy. The working masses know that of the official Communist leaders, who did not know how to destroy the confidence of the workers in bourgeois democracy. The working masses know that the present rulers have "betrayed" the interests of the republic, and that if they were governing as "real republicans" matters would proceed in an entirely different fashion. This explains how certain entirely disregarded elements in the previous period of the republic, such as those who today wave the banner of radical republicanism, succeeded in winning tremendous influence among the popular circles, especially the workers. Such are the consequences of the policy which consists of giving "Soviet" slogans the very day of the republic's proclamation, at the moment when the republican and democratic enthusiasm of the masses was at its highest pitch.

The other fundamental lesson of the latest events consists in the tremendous progress realized by the reactionary and monarchist forces. It is not an unimportant thing to note that all the army leaders were against the government. This fact had considerable effect in official circles and threw panic into the heart of the government. That is why nobody was executed: the government breeds the threatening reaction more than it does public opinion. This fact produces a serious conflict for the government and a serious danger: for the regime.

For a Workers' United Front

The working-class movement is at present in a period of outright depression. No one can doubt that it will rise up again very shortly, and more strongly than ever before, but for the moment, the proletarian factor is not exercising the pressure that circumstances require. This is a fact of the utmost importance in the present circumstances. The united front of the proletariat is today more necessary than ever. At Seville we saw an exemplary case of the united front at the time of Sanjurjo's coup d'Etat, and it was this which produced the general's defeat. Only the united front can offer the desired solution—to require the execution of the reactionary generals and to halt the advance of the reaction. And it is not simply a question of settling the question of the penalties which the vanquished reactionaries must undergo, but of adopting really revolutionary means to put an end to the monarchist maneuvers. The government is powerless to do this; the socialists bury their heads, without being able to determine for themselves the orientation which the government should follow. The Spanish proletariat must demand from the socialists (today the slogan of "all power to the socialists" would be justified), that they act with energy, that they insist upon the punishment of those responsible for complicity and tolerance toward the reaction, either directly or indirectly.

Without the united front of the Spanish proletariat, the perspective of this reactionary Spanish republic can only be precipitation into a regime of dictatorship which, if it does not reinstate the monarchy, will become a "republican" regime of the type of Portugal or Cuba. But the united front of the proletariat is easily realizable, as we have seen in the case of Seville, provided the myopia of some and the ill-will of others (the anarchist, socialists and official Communists), do not oppose it. In this sense, the monarchist attempt has been pregnant with lessons, and will be still more so in the processes and developments of these events.

Madrid, September 1932. —H. LACROIX.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)

It was fortunate for Japan that the Civil War absorbed American energies and that the conquest of India took all of England's attention after Perry's demonstration. Japan was faced with the immediate task of providing for the national defense against the encroachment of the imperialists. Without a breathing-spell she could not have withstood further onslaughts. In her weakness the government was forced to sign a humiliating treaty (Towson-Harris—1857 with the Tokugawas) with America which granted extra-territoriality to American citizens and which restricted duties on imports to a maximum of 5% ad valorem, creating an open market as the high tariff American government knew. This same treaty had to be granted to the other powers after the demolition of the batteries of Shimonoseki Straits in 1864 by the combined fleets of England, Holland, France and America as punishment for the damaging of some vessels trying to pass through the forbidden straits. The shogun wrote at this time: "These foreigners are no longer to be despised. The art of navigation, steam vessels, and naval and military preparations have found full development in their hands. A war with them might result in temporary victories on our part but when our country would be beset by their combined armaments the whole land would be involved in consequences which we can divine from China's experience." The Japs were fearful, observing that the Philippine Islands has been in Spain's hands for 300 years; Java had come under Dutch influence in 1705 and under her complete control in 1830; the dismemberment of China had begun in 1577 with the Portuguese at Macao; only recently in 1840 the British had taken Hongkong as a result of the Opium Wars; the French were already in Indo-China.

Modern military defense was unthinkable. able without advanced industrial development modelled on Western lines. The feudal system with its low estimation of the merchant class, with its sumptuary laws defining narrowly the very food and clothing of the exploited, with its lack of accumulations from an economy at the bare subsistence level, with its complete lack of technological training for the use machinery—all this left the burden completely on the shoulders of the new bureaucracy. To begin a strenuous period of industrial development, only the government could provide the necessary funds. The government had to take the initiative in deciding what industries to begin, how to encourage scientific and technical training.

Foreign Aid

Whatever similarities exist between the haphazard Japanese program and the planned Soviet program of industrialization (despite its serious errors) can be observed in the immediate inviting of foreign experts to construct and start new plants and to train workers. During the years 1854 to 1859 the lord of Mito had already shipped 22 Dutch experts to establish shipyards and to teach the latest arts of shipbuilding. The new government took this enterprise over. It invited British engineers to build the first railroads; British workmen were invited to assist in the erection and operation of the early iron works; British teachers taught glass-making in Tokio; American and British engineers introduced modern mining methods and the use of explosives; French and Italian experts westernized the silk industry; Swiss taught the hemp-braid industry; Germans introduced brewing, the smelting of zinc, the making of steel and the chemical industries; French and Germans started dye making. By 1872 there were 300 foreigners in government departments acting as experts. The Americans contributed little due to

their own "infancy" so that today Japanese industry is more European than American. Just as in Soviet Russia, the dependence on foreign experts was not completely successful. The Japs were often imposed upon, some experts were bluffers and other out-and-out frauds (as with the beginning of Stalingrad).

The government thus took the place of the entrepreneur in establishing the first arsenals, the first silk filature, the first glass factory, the first chemical works. It has operated porcelain works, silk and cotton spinning mills, linen factories, cement and brick plants, plants for soap making, type-founding, paint making, food factories, iron and steel plants. There are few industries that do not owe their existence to government initiative.

The Feudo-Capitalist Alliance

And yet by 1880 most of the government-owned plants were in private hands! For the government took the unique step of handing these finished plants over to individuals—without the slightest compensation in the vast majority of cases! The meaning and results of this transaction must be clearly stated. That there was nothing queer to Japs in this handing over of wealth to the few, is due to the left-over feudal psychology and to the fact of control by feudal lords. The "lord" could hand over a "fief" to anyone he chose, usually for personal loyalty, and almost always to previous samurai subordinates. That is exactly what occurred. Every member of the Genro, every premier selected by the Genro, has had his particular protégé whom he has enriched. Iwasaki ("Working Forces in Japanese Politics") says: "The way to get rich was to become the friend of some high officers of the government." Thus Marquis Inouye befriended the Matsuis, one of the "big five" capitalist families of modern Japan. Okuma helped the Iwasakis, the present steamship kings. Baron Goto, while Governor of Formosa, made the Suzukis the sugar kings, the same Suzukis who profited most during the world war by selling munitions. The alliance between the feudal lords and the new capitalists has been very firmly cemented indeed. This is of utmost significance for the future agrarian democratic revolution. It need hardly be said that in war the militarists experienced not the slightest resistance on the part of the capitalists to the complete mobilization of industry for mil-

itary purposes.

The close and direct relationship between capitalist industry and the government is one of the peculiarities of Japanese economy. Up to 1899 the "unequal" treaties of the Powers with Japan remained in force, preventing the raising of tariff barriers to protect infant industries. But every other device to encourage industry and to enrich the capitalists was resorted to by the government. Thus, tax exemptions have been frequently granted, duty remissions are made practically on request, subsidies were and still are common and since 1899 the tariff has been an important weapon of defense and offense. Apart from the world war period the shipping industry could not have existed for a single year without large subsidies amounting to enough to cover a substantial slice of the operating expenses plus a large profit to the shipping interests. The main line railways were nationalized at the time of the Russo-Jap war, but there are a number of private branch lines whose profit is guaranteed by the government. Loans are readily granted to new enterprises with very little hope of their return. Contributions from the national treasury to private industry in 1928-9 amounted to 21.9% of the total budget. Under the conditions of industrial growth the government itself has never been able to discontinue entirely its own operation of industrial enterprises, as is evident from the fact that in 1928 there were as many as 371 government factories employing 136,000 workers.

Industrial Handicaps and Japanese Imperialism

World economy stimulated the growth of industrial Japan,—but that same world economy now holds Japan as in a vise, tending to strangle her capitalism. And it can be said with utmost confidence that Japan will find no real solution to her life-and-death problems under the world hegemony of capitalism. Imperialism attempts to overcome these handicaps with a sword but is doomed to failure. Japan's part in the international division of labor will be decided by her workers and peasants, not by domestic and foreign capitalists.

There are three great handicaps that condition Japanese industrial growth. These are: (1) money stringency; (2) poverty in raw materials; (3) need for stable markets.

(1) Money stringency and the finance of industry.

The growth of industry demands larger and larger amounts of fluid capital. Quite poor in metallic and mineral resources, Japan has been forced continuously to import both gold and silver for the coining of money, as domestic production scarcely meets industrial and art purposes. It was possible for Japan to establish a more or less stable financial and banking system only with the aid of the 200,000,000 taels indemnity squeezed out of China after the Sino-Jap war. Throughout the modern era Japan has been an importer of raw materials and machinery resulting in an unfavorable net balance of trade (except during the world war). If not through spheres of influence, then economically the capitalist powers exploit Japan as a market. To pay for the imported materials Japan has had to make larger loans abroad. Although the total amount of the public debt is smaller than that of any of the powers, the absolute amount and percentage of foreign debt is greater, whereas the domestic debt is smaller than that of any other country.

The money stringency of Japanese capitalism is reflected in the high interest rates. Banks pay around 10% on deposits. The short-term discount rate is over 10% as compared with the 4.5% of Western countries. These rates impose a severe handicap on Japanese industry. Owing to their youth and to the failure to build up adequate surpluses, industrial concerns are under the necessity of borrowing a large part of their working capital. As the high rates are an important element in the cost of production, they are a handicap to Japanese enterprise in meeting foreign competition. Struggle as she may to overcome this difficulty, Japan falls more and more under the influence of American finance capital. The unparalleled dependence of Japanese production on foreign markets makes Japan extremely sensitive to world economic conditions. Since 1920 she has been in the throes of a profound crisis causing her foreign exchange to fall catastrophically. The inflation caused by the tripling of her bank-note emission during and following the war has been aggravated by the heavy demands made on Japanese economy through the imperialist seizure of Manchuria. (To be continued)

VOTE COMMUNIST!

New Step Toward Fascism

(Continued from page 1)
 not burn its bridges to Hitler. A Papen Hitler government is on no account more improbable than the conciliation that has taken place before our very eyes between the Nazis and the Center. Neither can a Papen-Hitler government, however, be of any permanency; it leads further to the Hitler dictatorship. The dissolution of the Reichstag is a consummation of Schleicherian Bonapartism. But it is also a further important step to the Fascist dictatorship, in the sense outlined above. We are today directly confronted with the dictatorship of the generals. But this should not in the slightest degree affect our vigilance against the Fascist danger.

It is no accident that the government was overthrown in the parliament because of its economic program. No mass party, not even the Nazis, could afford open cooperation for this most unheard of assault upon the standard of living of the toilers, so long as it must maintain some responsibility to the mass of its electors, so long as it still acts upon a parliamentary basis. Only with the elimination of the democratic rights can one risk such an attack. The question of defense against the economic attack, the abolition of the emergency decree is thus most intimately linked with the question of the defense of the democratic rights. The moment when the parliament is again sent home out of hand, the moment when a government rules which has nine-tenths of the parliament against it—not to speak of the masses—it is clearer than ever before that the struggle for the defense of the minimum of existence, for defense of the democratic rights, can be conducted only outside of parliament by means of strikes. In spite of this, the social democratic party at the present moment dares to appeal for a referendum against the second section (1) of the emergency decree of September 4, 1932. This is the highest peak of parliamentary cretinism. This is a refined as well as a shameful and fruitless maneuver for diverting the working masses from the real struggle, for beclouding the actual, renewed capitulation of the social democratic party.

In contrast to this—just as on July 20—the Communist party wants to fight; unfortunately, however—just as on July 20—it is unable to fight. In spite of all endeavors, after the frightful defeat of July 20, to "perfect" the line, the impotence, the incapacity to action of the C. P. G., is the same as on July 20. The evil has not been attacked at the roots. What is dreadful is not that the social democratic party is making this parliamentary swindle maneuver at the present moment—nothing else is to be expected from it—the worst thing is that it is able thereby to retain its hold on the masses. If on the part of the C. P. G., it is to confine itself to tearing to critical bits this swindle maneuver, to carry on propaganda as in the past, it will run still further into the blind alley of powerlessness. If you want to fight extra-parliamentarily, then the prerequisites for it must first be created.

The United Front
 The only indispensable prerequisite for extra-parliamentary struggle today is the establishment of the united front. The only way out of this situation, out of the grip of Papen as well as Hitler, is in the establishment of the united front. That is why the C. P. G. must do everything, which it has neglected to do up to now, in order to put the united front into effect. Not to turn from the parliamentary cretinisms and swindles of social democratic party leadership in moral indignation, but on the contrary, by means of a concrete demand for joint extra-parliamentary struggle for the defense of the democratic rights, for defense against the Papen program, to compel them today, on September 15, when the program enters into effect, today,

when the Reichstag has been sent home, today, and not in the nebulous future of a referendum, to decide before the masses who follow them: for or against the struggle. It is the masses who are involved, and not the leaders. The demand to the leaders is no all-saving method, we know. But at the present moment, it is the link in the chain which must be seized if the wheel of the revolution is to continue turning, it is the path that must be trod if we are to emerge from the blind alley into the united front. The demand must require that the united front should find organizational expression in the formation of workers' cartels and fighting committees of all labor organizations on the Oranienburg model.

In this hour of confusion, an immediately convoked congress of all factory councils, unemployed and unity committees must deliberate on the next measures of struggle and become a signal for the concentration of the whole working class. Further, the C. P. G., if it wants to establish the united front in the factories, must undertake an open correction of its trade union line, convert the Red Trade Union Organization into an inner-trade union opposition, and openly declare its readiness to liquidate its own unions if the expelled are reinstated. These steps to the united front are indispensable. That is shown by the terrifying calm of July 20, of September 12. Out of the shattered fragments of bourgeois democracy, the proletarian united front can and must arise. The Communist party and only the party can create it if it returns to the tactic of Lenin. Let all give their aid to the Left Opposition in its work of bringing the party to that point.

—ROMAN WELL,
 Berlin, September 15, 1932.

Brilliant Expelled

At a regular meeting of the New York branch on September 27, the branch unanimously voted to expel Robert Brilliant from the Left Opposition. The trial for Brilliant has been carried on since September 9, when written charges were presented against him and at the meeting where he gave a report in his defense. Since then despite notices, personal and written, Brilliant has not appeared at the Trial Committee nor attended any meetings or activity of the Left Opposition. After the committee heard evidence from a number of League members and other union workers the committee came to a unanimous decision for the expulsion of Brilliant.

The outstanding violations of Communist principles have been: that Brilliant worked in another shop while his shop was on strike. In this period he did not carry on any strike activity he deserted, his comrades who were forced to elect another shop chairman in his place. After the strike was over, Brilliant asked the N. T. I. U. for a work card this was refused on the grounds that he was working during the strike. Instead of correcting his position or coming to his fraction or to the League to present his case, he went to the Right wing union officials and to persons connected with the Forward and gave them information which appeared in the Forward.

After this non-Communist action was brought before the needle trades' fraction and the League and after Brilliant was called to the trial committee he continued to carry on his struggle against the Industrial Union, by continuing his action with the Right wing officials, the Forward and the Day.

These deeds and actions are contrary to elementary Communist proceedings and outside the bounds of membership in the Left Opposition faction of the Communist movement.

—HUGO OEHLER, Organizer.

I. W. O. Expels Three for «Trotskyism»

The following self-explanatory letter sent by the undersigned to the National Office of the International Workers' Order has not yet been replied to.

At our regular business meeting of the I. W. O. John Reed Branch 546, comrade Solomon requested the floor which was denied him by the chairman, comrade Hammersmark. The reason given was that he was not a member of the branch any more. The chairman based his ruling on a letter received by the branch from the National Office which states as follows:

"Social members are requested to take out insurance policy if they care to remain as regular members of this organization. They can do by paying up the back dues or rejoining the organization as new member."

Comrade Solomon asked the chairman whether he was expelled. The reply was: "You expelled yourself." The name of all social members were then read as follows: Solomon, F. Shevelenko, V. Shevelenko, Golden, Dr. Broad H. Mashow, J. Mashow.

Hattie Mashow asked for the floor on a special request, which was granted her. Her statement was that Solomon and Mashows will comply with the request as stated in the letter of the national office and, as a matter of fact, Mashow has already paid part of the back dues at the previous meeting. She also added that in view of this fact we should be recognized as members at this meeting. If not, then she considers that we are being expelled not for the reason of not paying the back dues, but for being in sympathy with the program of the Left Opposition. In reply, comrade Ham-

mark, the chairman, made the following statement—that he personally will use everything possible to see that these three comrades should not be reinstated. The reasons given are—(1) That they were too critical of the Communist party and the Third International. (2) That they are using this organization as a platform from which to speak for the Left Opposition.

The chairman was followed by comrade Sakular, a member of the executive of the branch, branding the comrades as Trotskyists and accusing them of doing disruptive work within the organization, altho he did not have one single fact to prove it and he also joined comrade Hammersmark in saying that he is opposed to their reinstatement.

A motion was submitted by comrade Tarlow, the former financial secretary, that the social members be reinstated at this meeting upon paying their back dues. The motion was seconded but still was not accepted by the chair. Comrade Tarlow also stated that it was not the fault of the three comrades that they became social members as they did so at his suggestion. He said that he had suggested this with the consent of the National Office and also of the executive committee of the branch.

We, the undersigned, in view of the above-mentioned facts, consider the ruling of the chairman of that evening not in conformity with the principles of the organization or the spirit of the letter from the National Office.

We further condemn and protest against the bureaucratic method used by the chairman, comrade Hammersmark, and other members of the executive in dealing with members of the branch.

Problems at Gillespie

(Continued from page 1)
 the existing unions that were in opposition to Lewis. But here due to the influence and opposition of the Muste-Howat group and the weakness on the part of some of the Illinois delegation and the "stay-away" policy of the National Miners Union, the formation of the new union was postponed.

The fourth attempt was at the Belleview convention where the "Rank and File U. M. W. A." was formed. The "Rank and File U. M. W. A." has a real mass support of the miners, but its leadership, as expressed through Edmondson, the president, (who has since become a gangster for Lewis), could not adopt aggressive fighting policies nor make a complete break with Walker-Lewis and finally went back into the Lewis-Walker fold as the U. M. W. A.

The Progressive Miners union is the fifth attempt. It is the healthiest of the whole lot. It has begun in a militant manner. It has already been baptized in the blood of five rank and file coal miners who died by the bullets of the Lewis-Walker gangsters while trying to build the P. M. A. The Progressive Miners union must avoid the mistakes of the past, build a militant rank and file controlled union and march forward to final victory. It has now become a life and death struggle for the miners of Illinois and there must be NO SURRENDER—but a fight to a finish.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) will aggressively help the Progressive Miners union to build a strong militant miners' union that will be able to get from the bosses what rightfully belongs to the workers.

—JOSEPH ANGELO.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

WHAT NEXT?

What Next? can now be had from us in the English, Russian, Spanish and Greek languages. The price of the Russian copy is seventy-five cents; the Spanish edition is twenty-five cents. The Greek is fifty cents. We have very few left in the foreign languages.

EXCHANGE OFFER

Some time ago we offered to exchange our current literature for out-of-print works by Trotsky. Since that time we have been able to get a copy of *Our Revolution* with the introduction by Olgin that proved so embarrassing to that worthy. Another comrade has offered to exchange a copy of *Terrorism and Communism*. We like the idea so well that we are repeating it. But we want to make one point clear. It is not a sellers' market in these exchanges. Of course the advantage operates two ways. But we intend this exchange to function as a service to comrades and sympathizers who have these old copies on hand and cannot afford to buy the current literature. This is a warning against extravagant demands. You will find us willing to discuss but hard as nails.

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS

Our English comrades inform us that another shipment of *Revolutionary Lessons* by Lenin is on the way—20 copies. As our comrades may remember the price is twenty-five cents. There is no discount on this pamphlet. As orders will be filled in the order in which they are received comrades who want them should order at once.

ELECTIONS IN GREECE

Early reports about the elections just held in Greece indicate that the pressure of the crisis has brought many new recruits under the Communist banner, since the party has made considerable gains. *The Militant* will carry the details of the election in an early number.

A New Crisis in Soviet Economy

(Continued from page 1)
 turn, has its objective cause. To be sure, all these obstacles can be overcome in the last analysis but for that, time is needed. Constraint work at a harassing tempo leads, not to the discarding of the disproportionate relations heaping up, but on the contrary, to their further growth. Every factory works at top speed. The correct organization of the production which is especially important in the belt-system, is not thereby perfected, but on the contrary, undermined. This is the case, for instance, with the automobile factory at Nizhni-Novogorod. The whole administrative force runs around from one department to the other, into the storehouses and back again into the departments, trying for today to get by something and dig up the missing part, and so forth. Thus the whole business is dragged along up to the point of a serious breakdown, after which the shock brigades of Pravda, the Central Control Committee or some of the many other drivers are sent down. The latter send telegrams, look for the culprits, mock at the "objective causes" and reduce everything to "free will", i. e., to the muscles and nerves of the workers.

Agriculture and Industry

The most difficult of the objective causes that disturb the development of industry according to plan, is naturally the interrelationship between agriculture and industry. In this sphere, the task set has not only not been accomplished, but more than that, the leaders have forgotten entirely how to pose it correctly. Lenin in his day formulated as the decisive task of the N. E. P., the creation of the economic alliance (smytchka) between city and country. In the course of a number of years the word "smytchka" constituted the central point of all articles and speeches. We Left Oppositionists were accused primarily of wanting to destroy the "smytchka" with our policy of accelerated industrialization. Now, the word "smytchka" is entirely out of use. No one can find it anywhere in printed articles. If some speaker or other should dare recall the "smytchka", he would surely be accused as a counter-revolutionist. It is considered self-evident that the task of the alliance between city and country can be accomplished by the collectivization of the majority of the peasantry alone and that this theme does not have to be posed any more. The bureaucracy substitutes also in this question, as in many others, the form in place of the content. In reality, the administrative collectivization has not only not solved the problem of the "smytchka", but, at the present stage, under the given, concrete circumstances, it complicates extraordinarily the solution of the problem and in

a certain sense, it even impedes it. The "smytchka" can be secured only by a regulated, normal exchange of goods, beneficial to both sides, between city and country, between industry and agriculture. Whether this exchange is strictly equivalent (in the Marxian sense of the word), whether and how much it deviates from equivalence—that we do not have to consider at length in this place. The question is not posed in this manner, in practice. The peasant must receive industrial goods for his bread under conditions not worse than those existing under capitalism. That is the extreme boundary of the "smytchka". Naturally, the latter will be much more firm and much more reliable, if Soviet industry begins to deliver goods in exchange for the peasant's bread under conditions which are not only more favorable than in pre-revolutionary Russia, but also more favorable than those of the world market today. From that moment onward, the relations between city and country, between workers and peasants, will have a real protection against world capitalism, not only by means of the foreign trade monopoly and the Red Army, but by their own economic advantages, which is more important than anything else.

The Opposition's Standpoint

We Left Oppositionists have always understood the problem of the "smytchka" in this manner. For this reason, we counter-posed, at the time, to the empty slogan "face to the village", the more serious slogan "industry to the village". For this reason, we have always posed the problem of the scissors between the industrial and the agricultural prices as one of the foremost importance. In the opening of the scissors we saw the most important signs of success or failure in Soviet economy and even in the solidification of the whole structure of the dictatorship. We are returning to these A B C questions once more, because they are now consciously being banished from the memory of the party. All our comrades are fully agreed that the problem of the "smytchka" must under all circumstances be pushed to the foreground now. The actual realization of the "smytchka" would signify the elimination of coercive measures in the sphere of economic relations between city and country. The task consists in this: to make it advantageous for the peasantry to produce as much as possible and to accumulate so as to get a chance to sell them, i. e., to exchange them for the productions of the state industry.

The consolidation of the "smytchka" would automatically have to ameliorate the foodstuff situation in the cities, not to speak of the village itself. In its essence, the question of the "smytchka" (or in inverted form,—the question of

the scissors) retains its full force, with regard to the individual peasant holdings as well as with regard to the collectives.

The experience gained is sufficiently far-reaching to take the results into consideration and to unfold anew a whole series of basic questions. The leadership forbids us to pose the problem of the "smytchka" in the general form; but since the foodstuff shortage has seized all of economic life at the throat, they are forced in one way or another, to give a practical answer. In doing this, they have restricted themselves entirely to isolated patch work and to palliatives.

In the factories, the road toward self-sustenance has been decreed: they have been ordered to set up their own vegetable gardens, their own hog, rabbit and chicken raising. On the other hand, it has also been decreed in these same factories, to produce, aside from the main products, goods of general utility—outside of the plan. The factory directors, the technical personnel and the Communist nuclei must rake their brains for the most part, at present, for ways and means of erecting, besides the given, main production a second—in a certain sense parasitic production. The automobile factory produces spoons and forks or even small brushes, hammers, etc.

These two new fields of economy: industry's "own" agriculture and parasitic industry side by side with main production, are not only conducted outside of the framework of the plan, but they manifestly undermine its foundations. Side by side with the Soviet farms and the collectives there is arising a split-up, "artisan" agriculture, which deprives the workers of a great deal of time and the factories (i. e., the state) of many resources on the other hand, there is developing outside, of the bounds of the Five Year Plan, artisan production of general utility goods in the giant enterprises, once again at the expense of planned industry.

The necessity of an extraordinary agriculture in the factories and of an extraordinary production of general utility goods arose due to the catastrophic way in which the lack of the "smytchka" between planned production and peasant economy—the collectivized as well as individual sectors—became apparent. The solution of the question can in no case rest on the means of accidental improvement, extension, and of the palliatives alone. It is necessary to re-examine all the basic plans and methods in the direction of the amelioration of the disproportionate relationships, in order to achieve a more or less acceptable exchange of goods between city and country.

—N.
 —M.
 Moscow-Leningrad
 July 1932

(To be continued)

Which Party Shall the Coal Miners Support

(Continued from page 1)
 into the great battle for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The Capitalist Demagogues

This is an election year and the air is thick with the glib phrases and promises of the demagogues of the Republican and the Democratic parties. They want votes and they will promise anything to get them. But actions speak louder than words. And the actions of the Republicans and the Democrats stamp them as lieutenants of the capitalist class in the body politic, just as Green, Lewis, Walker and Co., are the bosses' lieutenants in the trade unions. Look at their records.

Hoover gives billions of dollars out of the government coffers to the railroads and the banks, while the millions of unemployed starve to death. He promises prosperity, talks patriotism and drives the hungry veterans from Washington with a tear-gas bonus. Emmons, the Hoover of Illinois, unleashes his brutal deputies, militia and troopers for a savage attack upon defenseless men, women and children thinking that thereby he will drive the miners back into the pits of poverty.

And the Democrats are their twin brothers. They can afford to howl at the Republicans—it is good politics. But their campaign funds come from the same capitalist sources—the Hearsts, the Youngs, the Raskobs, etc. The notorious Samuel Insull is known to have contributed to the funds of both old parties. Governor Roosevelt talks of unemployment insurance but the nearest the New York worker has come to this insurance is a two mile long breadline. Democratic mayors of Detroit and Chicago have sent police to murder workers demanding bread and relief. And in Franklin County the democratic sheriff swears in deputies to assist the Republican troops in their savage assault upon the miners. And Judge Horner is silent. Like Emmons he must serve his class which is in bitter and mortal hostility to the miners. It is the class that revels in luxury while the workers have nothing to eat. Both these parties have nothing in common with the miners, their strike, their union. They stand on the side of Peabody and the parasitic ruling class.

Now there is a third party—the socialist party. It claims to stand for the workers and a workers' government—socialism. Let us apply the acid test of deeds to this party as we have to the others. The National Executive Committee has decided in Chicago "not to inter-

Chicago and the Executive Committee of the Branch and request that action be taken upon it immediately.

Signed, H. MASHOW
 S. MASHOW
 S. SOLOMON

fere in the internal struggle in the miners union between the rank and file and their official" (Lewis and Walker). What does this mean? It means giving undercover support to the fakers by not condemning them openly and officially. It casts the shadow of doubt into the minds of the rest of the working class as to the guilt and perfidy of these misleaders. The S. P. harbors within its ranks such outspoken supporters of Lewis, Walker, and the wage cut as John Hindmarsh, Adolph Germer, Richard Glover, etc. And this party says it stands for the workers!

The Socialist Program

It declares for a workers' government—Socialism. By what methods does it expect to take over the mines and the factories and the mills for the workers? By the ballot box—"peacefully". You miners that marched down to Franklin County try to picture this. . . The capitalist class that uses machine guns against you to prevent you from getting a dollar more per day, is going to hand over their billion dollar industries to the workers because they cast more paper

balls! Can we believe these people who, like Lewis, have sold out more than once throughout the world.

In 1914 the socialist leaders drove the workers into the world slaughter for the profits of the bankers and the munition makers. In 1918 the German socialist leaders invested with the support of the majority of the working class did not establish a workers' government but turned the reins of power back to the capitalists and murdered thousands of German workers for protesting. (Like Lewis and Walker who settle for a wage cut after the miners have already voted it down). In 1926 the British socialist leaders of the Labor party betrayed the general strike of many millions of workers and then knifed the miners' strike of several hundred thousands. Need more evidence be produced to show the deceptive character of the socialist party which steers the workers straight back into the capitalist morass after promising to lead them into socialism? It is the third capitalist party.

There is but one party which represents the workers—the Communist party. The Left Opposition (Communist League of America) calls upon the miners to vote for its candidates—Foster and Ford—in this presidential election.

Letter from Party Member

YOUNGSTOWN.—

Permit me to express my opinion in the Militant with regard to the present new decrees which my leaders are issuing one after another. I have been a member of the party for the past six years, accepting all the orders which were given without question, because I was under the impression that they were leading me in the right direction. As a worker I am not a theoretician but I always thought that those leaders who never go to sleep without mentioning comrade Lenin's name are not trying to use his name for misrepresenting Marx's teaching. Not so long ago I think it was comrade Molotov who made a speech and told us that by 1937 socialism would prevail in the U. S. S. R. I accepted as a good Communist should, but a few months later I saw a new decree that the peasantry were to be given a free hand to sell their products in the open market. Why all these decrees, comrade Stalin, when socialism is being completed in the U. S. S. R.?

Comrades of the Communist party, I am afraid that the Stalin clique is attempting to use all these methods to poison the mind of the youth of the U. S. S. R. in order to forget the promises about building socialism in one country, but let me tell you, comrade Stalin, it is too late. The youth of the U. S. S. R. will march to victory of the world's revolution under the leadership of the Thermopylae.

—A MEMBER OF THE PARTY

There is but one party which represents the workers—the Communist party. The Left Opposition (Communist League of America) calls upon the miners to vote for its candidates—Foster and Ford—in this presidential election.

Communism, which we will achieve through our mass strength and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only fundamental way out of this crisis of capitalism for the miners as well as the rest of the working class. Soviet Russia has shown the remarkable achievements possible in a land where the workers rule.

The Communists make no bones about ballots. We think nothing can be obtained by ballots except a gauge as to how many workers are ready to go down the line for the abolition of capitalism.

Vote Communist

The Left Opposition is aware of the blunders of the official party—Stalinism—in the miners' struggle as well as elsewhere. It takes no responsibility for them. It realizes and has pointed out the foolish policy of isolation followed by the Communist party. It has condemned the indiscriminate name-calling, the lies and the slanders hurled against the militants of the new union by the Stalinists. The Left Opposition states to the miners that such tactics are not the tactics of genuine Communism.

The force that represents Communism in the coal fields is the Left Opposition—in the election campaign the candidates upholding the Communist banner are Foster and Ford and the party is the Communist party. The Communist League of America calls upon the miners to support the Communist candidates against the candidates of the three old parties!

—CLARK.