

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## HELP MAINTAIN THE WEEKLY MILITANT!

Will *The Militant* continue to appear regularly? That is the question which looms before us and which we pass on to our readers and supporters. The conditions imposed upon us give us no other choice.

We sounded the alarm when the Stalinist bureaucrats attempted to incite a pogrom campaign against us, based upon its frame-up murder charge. We could pursue no other course than to ask for your help in the additional needs as well as the additional difficulties which this situation imposed.

As you are being informed elsewhere in these columns, some New York's capitalist papers, and their near relative, the Jewish *Daily Forward*, took the frame-up charge at face value for the purpose of utilizing it against the Communist movement as a whole. Also the New York police department has taken the tip from the Stalinist leaders. We are being investigated.

At the outset we can say very confidently that the frame-up charge will not stick, nor will serious party members or Communist workers believe it. But in an indirect sense it can well be utilized as a starting point for serious interference in the activities of the movement by the enemies of Communism. This we must be prepared to fight. In this connection you will all understand the enormously important role which the continued existence of *The Militant* will play.

Its existence is not at all secured. As a matter of fact the recent delays in its appearance were caused by shortage of funds and in several instances we have feared that a suspension would become unavoidable. Yet in the present situation, not only in respect to the attacks upon us, but also because of the growing intensity of the class struggle, as attested to by the Illinois miners struggle, we must get out more material and the scope of our activity is increasing. *The Militant* has an increasingly important duty to perform. We are now sending large supplies to the Illinois coal fields and we are issuing more leaflets. We have sent a couple of young comrades, organizers to Illinois. Our tasks are growing but our means are entirely too small.

The continued existence of *The Militant* is endangered. It must be secured. Hence our appeal to you. We have received some response to our appeal but it is entirely insufficient so far. We ask you, every reader of *The Militant*, to do your bit. We think it is a duty on your part. We can assure you that we shall leave no stone unturned at our end to faithful

fully live up to the confidence which you have reposed in our movement. But let us now hear from you. Send your contributions speedily to *The Militant* at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

## Stalinists Reject Offer of Help

CHICAGO—

Following the Communist Party Central Committee's appeal in the *Daily Worker* of August 18th, the Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition sent the following letter to the District Campaign Committee. This letter is self-explanatory:

Dear Comrades:

The Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition has discussed the appeal of the Central Committee, C. P. U. S. A., which appeared in the August 18th issue of the *Daily Worker*, regarding the danger of the party not getting on the ballot in various districts through the lack of signatures. Aware that this danger exists in this district, we made the following decisions:

1. That we immediately secure the necessary material and involve our members and sympathizers in the collection of signatures.
2. To put at the disposal of the District Campaign Committee all of our speakers who shall be ready at all times to speak on street corners, at indoor meetings, or go before labor organizations to solicit support for the party campaign.
3. To take part in all phases of activity.

(Continued on page 4)

# Miners Form New Union

## Communist League Greet's New Progressive Miners Union

The Communist League of America (Opposition) greets the formation of the "Progressive Miners of America." It represents a serious step forward for the American working class and one which is destined to mark the beginning of a new chapter, not only for unionism in the mine fields, but for trade unionism as a whole.

The action taken at Gillespie, Ill., on September 1, by the 273 delegates, representing 35,000 miners, in laying down a foundation and building a framework for the new union was made inevitable by the progress of developments. That action was correct and will be but more fully justified by future history. It can become an enormous aid to the working class in the serious struggles which it is about to face. It opens up the road to unity of action and final unification with the National Miners Union, the West Virginia Miners Union and with the other similar miners sections who have broken with the past corrupt practices and are attempting to eradicate the trail of wreckage and treason perpetrated by the official clique in control of the remnants of the U. M. W. of A. Pursuing this course the road will be open for the building of a powerful miners' union, national in scope, militant in make-up and solidly lodged on a class foundation. Such a course is obligatory upon the militant miners. There should be no doubt that the "Progressive Miners of America" will know how to advance surely and steadily along that road.

If the new union is to fulfill the great tasks that confront it, it is necessary immediately to take the following steps:

1. Flying in the face of the disastrous, reactionary tradition of class collaboration under Lewis and Walker, the new union should base itself frankly and solidly upon the recognition of the class struggle and the practical program of action which flows from it.
2. The new union must break fundamentally with all forms of Lewisism, particularly by establishing in its own ranks the most democratic procedure compatible with union organization. To prevent the formation of a reactionary bureaucracy, the new union ought to be based from the start upon rank and file control of the movement.
3. The new union must be imbued with the knowledge that it cannot solve the problems even of the Illinois miners by confining itself to a district scale. The miners' problems are nation-wide in scope; their organization must correspond to this fact. Consequently, the Illinois union should promptly endeavor to associate into one big national union all the militant, progressive, radical and independent miners groups and unions now in existence throughout the land.
4. All tendencies to flirt with such out-and-out reactionary forces as Lewis or Walker, or with such unreliable props who play the game of the reactionaries, like Muste, Howat, Edmundson and their like have to be sternly resisted.

(Continued on page 2)

## Raise Struggle to New Heights

### National Unity -- Aim of Militant Illinois Body

Thirty-seven thousand Illinois coal miners assembled in extraordinary session voted to secede from the United Mine Workers of America and organized the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA. It was a dramatic moment in the deliberations of the state wide conference when Gerry Allard, secretary of the Policy Committee, made his report in behalf of the committee. He concluded his report by a tersely written statement analyzing the coal industry, the Lewis-Walker misdeeds with their "machine gun contract" and indicting these officials on five basic counts. Allard slowly read the recommendations of the Policy Committee:

"We propose that a definite break with the officers of the United Mine Workers of America be immediately carried out and that we proceed at once to set up an apparatus for the formation of a new union."

The convocation broke into a spontaneous outburst of applause and by unanimous vote of the conference the recommendations of the policy committee were adopted. The decision of the 273 delegates was the only constructive way out. They had exhausted all other recourse.

The above mentioned recommendations were the same made by the members of the Left Opposition at the St. Louis convention of last year. Events had strongly confirmed the perspective of the Left Opposition, which had been turned down by the Party bureaucracy and Muste elements who were in control of the convention.

The complete recommendations of the

Policy committee were accepted reading as follows:

### THE REPORT OF POLICY COMMITTEE ELECTED AT GILLESPIE CONFERENCE SEPTEMBER 1, 1932

The crisis confronting unionism in the mining industry of Illinois makes it imperative that we assemble in a rank and file conference to solve the problems confronting us. The problem confronting us today, is whether unionism will continue to function in the mining industry of Ill., or whether the last remnants will be dominated and controlled by the Lewis-Walker forces acting as agents of the coal operators.

Our industry, is indeed, in one deplorable situation. Unemployment, mechanization, substitution of coal by other fuel along with other general and particular conditions present the coal industry as the most chaotic one in our whole economic system. The far reaching nature of the present economic crisis forcefully pictures to us that the future for those who depend on the coal mining industry is one that will mean the continuation of untold misery and destitution that has prevailed in our industry for over a decade.

Our once powerful U. M. W. of A. has for over 42 years championed the cause of the downtrodden miners of the land. Since Lewis has come into power our union has steadily disintegrated due to the erroneous and betraying policies enunciated by this despot who has bent all his efforts to the complete destruction of militant unionism in the coal mining industry. The history of the U. M. W. of A. under the Lewis-Farrington-Walker regime has been one of healthy devoted, self sacrificing struggle on the part of the rank and file, and on the other hand the most treacherous betrayals ever experienced in the labor movement. The mistakes and surrenders of our officials since 1919 are facts known to every mine worker throughout the whole jurisdiction of our organization.

The latest betrayals in Wyoming, Indiana, Illinois the policy of out-scabbing the scabs in West Virginia, the stifling of real unionist policies in the anthracite, is the continuation of a whole series of betrayals, that has wrecked our organization in every important field excepting Indiana and Illinois. Only heroic methods on the part of the rank and file can save our organization.

(Continued on page 2)

## British Left Comes Out Openly in Fight for Leninist Policy

The great historic events shaking our planet these days do not remain without their effects on the cadres of the Communist International. Everywhere in the world party of Communism, the militant, conscientious, Left wing elements are coming to the fore, alarmed by the discrepancy between the objective situation and the lethargy of the leadership, pressing forward along the road of the Left Opposition.

Among the latest of these movements within the Comintern is the struggle of the well-known "Balham Group", a group long active in the very forefront of the struggles of the British Communist

Party and constituting one of the decisive party nuclei in the London district. The group at Balham has recently come to clashes with the bureaucracy under Pollitt over the question of the attitude of the Stalin regime toward the pacifist anti-war congress of the petty bourgeois intellectuals headed by Rolland-Barbusse as well as on the German question. The Pollitts have retaliated with an "ideological" campaign which begins with the expulsion of the outstanding comrades of the Balham Group!

These tried and tested methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy have proved of no avail in the past, they will help even less in the future. The Leninist ideas will not be suppressed! Nothing can stop their victory. We greet our British comrades as fellow fighters and extend our hands to them in international solidarity. Their fight is our fight. In spite of the bureaucracy, in spite of all its headless and desperate tactics against the Left, the Bolshevik-Leninists will not be deterred. Together, we will repulse our offensive!

The declaration of the Balham comrades follows below:

TO OUR COMRADES IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY FROM THE "LIQUIDATED" BALHAM GROUP

Dear Comrades:

"No other party or working class organization provides such opportunity of full and open discussion by all workers." With these words the Party pre-congress discussion was opened in last Monday's *Daily Worker*.

Two days later the London District Party Committee "liquidated" the Balham Group; expelled Reg Groves and Harry Wicks, and suspended Henry Sara. The principal charge against the group and against these comrades is that of "Opposing the line of the Party in relation to the World Anti-War Congress."

**Demand Party Congress**

As part of our group work we have discussed such vital issues as the German position, the anti-war campaign and the state of our party; we have reached conclusions and have fought for them as a group. We have for some long time urged the opening of a party discussion and the holding of the long overdue party Congress. Now that the discussion has been opened, and the party Congress fixed for October, the Balham Group has been "liquidated", and its leading members expelled and suspended.

**"Free and Full Discussion"**

Phrase and Fact

What a contrast of words with deeds! Reassuring phrases about "full free and open discussion," but drastic action against those who advance serious criticism of the party's policy. The great tradition of Bolshevism, the method of Lenin—that of open discussion preceding party decision—is being replaced by orders from above, phrase-mouthing and bureaucratic stifling of criticism. Bureaucracy has already weakened our Party; if persisted in, it will smother real Congress discussion and prevent our party achieving the clarity necessary for struggle.

On our position to the World Anti-War Congress we stand firm. There is dan-

ger of a new world war: the lives of millions are at stake. Full and serious consideration of every stage of the struggle against war is imperative. Yet the criticism of this Congress advanced by this group has been refused publication, and even our right to voice such criticism denied. Because we maintain this right they attempt to drive us from the party.

**On the Anti-War Congress**

This World Anti-War Congress has been convened by Barbusse—the advocate of fusion between Amsterdam and the Comintern, and Rolland, the devotee of Ghandi. Around these two have gathered intellectuals, pacifists and Left socialists, the parlor defenders of the U. S. S. R. To seek allies among the most sincere and courageous of the petty bourgeois pacifists is one thing; to entrust to them the leadership of the struggle against war, is quite another. Yet this is what Pollitt, by signing the manifesto, has declared the Party agrees to do. Our group holds that the first task of the party is to build the workers' united front against war; for upon the international proletarian rests the defense of the U. S. S. R. A world anti-war congress must be a workers' congress initiated by the Comintern with the aim of bringing to our side the masses of the workers now organized under the banner of the Second International. But the present Congress is based upon a united front from the top, on a pacifist slogan of "resistance to war."

For this anti-war campaign our Party is distributing, not the message of Lenin but the Rolland-Barbusse appeal. The message of these two conveners of the Congress invoking the aid of all classes—this pacifist poison-gas—is distributed to workers by Communists all over Britain. Congress social-patriots are given advertisement as genuine anti-war fighters; and new victims are thus taught to trust old and proven traitors. Pollitt appears united with Maude Royden and all the other peace time war resisters. For the sake of "unity" with pacifists careerists, humbugs, and politicians, Lenin's way of fighting war is pushed out of sight. For appealing to Lenin's method against Rolland and Barbusse at this time, on the eve of war, the Balham Group is liquidated and its point of view suppressed.

**On Germany**

While this criminal farce at Amsterdam is described as the fight against war, the actual danger grows greater. The growth of Fascism in Germany menaces the existence of the party and the workers' organizations and brings German nearer to the anti-Soviet bloc. What happens in Germany will decide for years ahead the fate of the European workers. Our group discussed the German situation, organized, through the local anti-war committee, solidarity meetings; demanded discussion throughout the party, and a wide campaign amongst British workers. But the party remained silent on the German events. Not until the von Papen coup d'Etat in July did the party move; and then it only hurriedly organized week-end meetings. Even today the party fails to respond

to the march of events in Germany. There are still no leaflets, no pamphlets, no solidarity meetings on this question.

On these and other issues we feel that we are justified in breaking the ban on real discussion. The falling party membership, the declining *Daily Worker* circulation, the absence of Minority Movement influence, proves a real discussion to be imperative. By discussion we mean, not formal acknowledgments of the correctness of the party line, but a critical examination of the line, and particularly of its operation during the last

(Continued on page 3)

### Class Struggle in Germany

## Hitler and Junkers Vie for Power in Germany

The past week has marked several aggressive steps of the German bourgeoisie on the foreign front. The pronouncements of Von Schleicher with regard to the military plans and ambitions of the Junker government have created quite a stir among the world powers. Nevertheless, the reaction against Von Schleicher's aggressiveness has not been too sharp. It is being taken generally as an attempt at bargaining by the German monopoly capitalists. The Reich imperialists naturally figure on propping up their military world positions while the situation is most favorable for them.

**Temporary Neutralization of Social Forces**

The temporary neutralization of the social forces in the country—working class versus Fascism—has lent the Junkers a certain balance, which they intend to exploit in their negotiations for concessions from the other governments. To be sure, the main aim of the German bourgeoisie remains the same; in the words of Schleicher—first of all to "settle accounts with the internal Schweinehund"—that is, with their working class enemy.

The capitalist class of Germany knows full well that to settle accounts with its proletariat, it will be immediately dependent upon its basis of mass support: the Nazi movement. And here too, capitalism is trying to force concessions. It is unwilling to give up its political independence entirely to the Hitler forces. It wants to strike a bargain with them. Hence we witness a situation in which the big bourgeoisie, while denying full government power to the Fascists, nevertheless stoops to some of their most outrageous demands. Thus, for instance, in the case of the five Nazi murderers of the worker Piezuck, whose death verdict has been commuted to life imprisonment.

**The Maneuvers of the Hitlerites**

The Hitlerites, for their part, are content to wait. They realize that a direct and violent attack at the present time would incur, not only tremendous resist-

ance on the part of the broad working classes in one form or another, but opposition of large sections of ruling finance capital as well. On the other hand, they feel that they have amassed great power and they are disinclined to squander it recklessly. They prefer to hold out in all readiness until the big bourgeoisie sees itself forced to resort to them. And of that they can be quite sure.

In the meantime, the National Socialist are counteracting the attempts of monopoly capital at wringing concessions from them, by parliamentary horse-trading with the Catholic Center. Hitler announces very boldly that he will unite with any other party in votes of non-confidence against the present government and that he will not be stopped by ever so many consecutive dissolutions of the Reichstag. But behind the scenes, negotiations have already been set afoot to receive government support for the full assumption of power by the Nazis in the provinces of Prussia and Thuringia.

**Domestic Actions of Von Papen**

The Von Papen government, in addition to its drastic measures in external policy, is also forging ahead with its reactionary program on the domestic front. There are definite rumors abroad of the complete abrogation of the Weimar constitution. The voting age is to be raised to 25 years. An upper-and-lower house system is to be instituted. Vote by ticket based on proportional representation is to be replaced by vote for persons, etc. On the industrial front, "labor service duty" or compulsory labor is to be introduced. All this with the active collaboration of the social democracy and the reformist trade union leaders of the A. D. B. G. (The German General Labor Confederation). The reformist leaders of the "Iron Front" are utilizing the conflict between the Junkers and the Nazis to spread new dangerous illusions among the masses about the possibility of defeating the Fascists with the cooperation of the Von Papen government.

(Continued on page 2)

## Police Act on Stalinist Frame-Up

As we go to press, word has come from the authorities demanding the appearance of Hugo Oehler, organizer of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and Tom Stamm, chairman of the open air meeting on August 20th before the District Attorney! All workers, attention—be on your guard! Communist Workers, members of the party, make your voices heard now!

The shameless and unexampled frame-up of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the Left Opposition has reached a new stage of abominations! The Stalinists, campaign has been picked up by the police and is being used against the Bolshevik-Leninists!

We have pointed out in a previous issue that the dastardly and demagogic agitation of the *Daily Worker* of August 23 and 24 against the Left Opposition and the charges made therein that the Communist League is responsible for the tragic deaths of the workers Semen and Krasluk, victims of the Avenue A and Seventh St. incident, could not be interpreted as anything but a provocation.

This past week there have been three investigations by the police at our National Office. The investigating officers themselves openly stated that they had come after receiving information in the form of a leaflet and verbally at the headquarters of the Downtown Section of the Communist party! This is to what the degenerate Stalinists have stooped—

The Left Opposition has asked for a working class hearing on the hair-raising charges brought by the Stalinist leaders of the official Communist party against it. They refuse to answer. But the police answered.

### Pogrom Fails but Police Act

Their pogrom scheme, their scheme of inciting the Left wing and party workers has failed miserably. But from this a new and more disgraceful stage has developed, the stage of police investigation. Such are the results to date. Can anything more outrageous, can anything more damnable be imagined of people

who claim to belong to the revolutionary camp?

Only desperate bankrupts can act the way the American Stalinists are acting. Their whole utter impotence is revealed in this procedure.

They fear the threatening voice of the Communist rank and file, they fear to come before the revolutionary working class with their scandalous accusations, they fear to face the Leninist Left Opposition in the open!

### Rank and File Aroused

But the Communist rank and file, the revolutionary workers will not permit this outrage to remain veiled in the dark. They will not stomach it. The party ranks are already as tir, bitter and resentful of the disgrace the bureaucracy is heaping upon the party.

The Communist workers are protesting within the party organizations. Unfortunately some, disgusted with the whole scurrilous affair, are simply answering with their feet—leaving the party.

Of particular interest is the unrest in the revolutionary ranks in the very section in which the tragic incident of Saturday, August 20th occurred. In the Unemployed Council controlled by the party and situated there, three comrades have resigned from the Executive in protest against the Stalinist frame-up against us!

The comrades tell us that the sympathy of workers in that section is rising for us and that no worker, who has seen us in action there, wants to believe the Stalinist slanders against the Left Opposition nor accept their appellation of "counter-revolutionaries."

### Demand Open Workers' Hearing!

Let the workers speak. The Communist League (Opposition) is ready to answer for itself before them. Let the Stalinists give up their disgusting game and bring their charges against us before the workers. Let the workers judge!

We reiterate here our challenge to the party leadership, to the U. U. L. and I. L. D. to appear at a public hearing together with us, to leave the case for the workers at large to decide.

Let the miserable Stalinists answer or admit their frame-up!



# New Coal Miners' Union Organized

(Continued from page 1)

file will preserve the last basis of unionism in the bituminous fields.

In our district no agitation is necessary to convey to the membership the savagery, the terrorism and murder that have prevailed, as the methods of our high salaried officials in the attempt to force a wage cut, and sacrifice every important condition ever derived through long years of bitter struggle.

Our international and district officials stand indicted on the following counts in direct violation of the oath of obligation, and the constitution of the U. M. W. of A.:

1. Refusal to adhere to the majority decision of the membership.
2. Refusal to carry out the mandates of the district convention.
3. Discrimination against foreign born members of our Union.
4. The outright robbery of the referendum vote on the Wage Scale.
5. Use of gangsters, police, sheriffs, state highway patrolmen, and all agencies of force and oppression, in murdering and terrorizing loyal members of U. M. W. of A.

Every method of discussion and persuasion has been exhausted in our honorable struggle to present our grievances within the organization.

We have petitioned for a special district convention, we have used every constitutional method to eradicate the destructive forces within our union. The answer of our officials has been more terror-fallings-clubbings-intimidation and whole-sale expulsions of the true fighters that were the backbone of our organization. Having exhausted every method of constitutionality we have come to the conclusion that an energetic program of struggle must be formulated for the preservation of Unionism in the mining industry of Illinois and for the best interests of all dependent on the mining industry for existence.

Realizing the responsibility that history had placed upon us. We our POLICY COMMITTEE elected by state wide conference held in Gillespie, Ill., Sept. 1, 1932 to which was delegated the task of presenting a program herewith wish to submit the following report for your consideration.

I. We propose that a definite break with the officers of the U. M. W. of A., be immediately carried out and we proceed at once to set up an apparatus for the formation of a new union.

II. We recommend to the conference that the name of our new industrial Union shall be the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA.

III. We recommend that a temporary Executive Committee be selected by the conference consisting of one member from each sub-district. Also that one temporary Pres., one Temp. Vice Pres. and one temporary Secy. Treasurer be selected by the conference. These officials to act until such time that a referendum vote of our whole membership be held. These officers to serve for actual expense until such time that a constitutional convention be held, or that work is resumed. In the event that one of the officers' mine resumes operation he will be paid the basic scale and expenses until constitutional convention decides otherwise. Referendum for permanent officers to be held within sixty days after constitutional convention is held.

IV. We recommend that the check-off system be temporarily abolished until constitutional convention for further consideration of this matter and that dues and assessments be paid by individual members to Local Union Secretary who in turn will give the member a badge and card which will be furnished to every member joining the PROGRESSIVE MINERS UNION.

V. We recommend that one scale committee member be elected by this conference from each sub-district to work in conjunction with temporary executive officers and Temp. Officials in order to invite mine operators to a joint conference for the purpose of consummating a contract. Representatives from the solid shooting and strip mines be elected by general caucus of these miners working in this particular class of work. We suggest that no less than two from each classification be chosen as representatives.

We recommend that an official organ, named the "PROGRESSIVE MINER" be established and to be published weekly. The supervision of our Official organ, shall be left up to the executive Officials.

VII. We recommend that pending the securing of a wage agreement with the Illinois coal operators, by association or associations, that individual operators desiring to operate mines will be given a contract signed by the officials, as representatives of the "PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA." This agreement to be temporary at the wage scale and conditions that existed up until March 31, 1932. It is understood that any operator must include all the mines owned and controlled by him and that all coal operators shall grant an equal division of work in all classifications of labor.

VIII. We recommend, that an attempt be made to get the attorneys of the "AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION" to render legal talent for the purpose of collecting death funds due our deceased brothers and also to supply all legal support necessary in the course of our struggle, against the coal operators and all enemies of our movement.

IX. We recommend that we have our state headquarters at Gillespie temporarily, until such time, that the executive off-

cers of our Union decide otherwise.

X. We recommend that Pit Committees and Local unions settle all disputes on the basis of the contract. In the event, that it is agreed by both sides to refer the matter to higher tribunal; that two members of the district board of our union and two members of the coal operators association meet to decide any controversial matters.

## The Salting Up of an Apparatus

The conference proceeded then to complete its task in setting up of an apparatus of provisional officers to take care of the new union until a constitutional convention be held. The date set for the convention will be October 3, at Gillespie. There the complete program of the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA will be set up. In the meantime a program of severing all relations with the United Mine Workers of America is to be carried out. Injunctions, legal tangles and law suits make it imperative that certain preliminary steps be taken for the establishment of the new order.

Claud Percy, of Gillespie, Tim Jones of Taylorville and William Keck, of Belleville were elected by acclamation for the positions of President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively. These officers are to serve provisionally until such time that a referendum vote can be held throughout the whole jurisdiction of the Progressive Miners Union.

Joe Perona, H. V. Machlin, Edward Pope, W. J. Roberts, Thomas Cowell, Barney Flaherty, S. L. Jones, George McClelland and Gerry Allard were elected Executive Board Members, also to serve provisionally.

Gerry Allard, Pat Ansbury and I. O. Dudley were selected to attend the conference of the Canadian rank and file miners that is to be held in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, September 19th. The Nova Scotia miners pledged their whole hearted support, to the new movement.

Joe Goett, Dan Magill, Andrew Steed, Gerry Allard and Albert O'Brien were elected on a committee to present the cause of the Illinois miners and demanding that all rights of picketing meetings, riding on the highways be guaranteed. The committee will also demand from the state authorities an investigation of conditions in Franklin County where two members of the opposition faction were murdered and hundreds wounded.

The conference was in session for three days and deliberated on all phases of the mining situation. The ladies auxiliary were busily engaged in preparing meals for over 500 miners. The spirit prevailing at the conference was perfect. Never had a conference been held in the history of the Illinois coal miners where men, women and the whole populace were so harmonious in cooperating to the end of overcoming the horrible conditions that prevail throughout the mining fields of Illinois.

## Some Necessary Criticism

The main weakness developed in the conference was the fact that the more capable leaders of the movement would not accept positions. Everyone serving as delegates were so deeply imbued over the bureaucracy that has existed in the miners union for years, that they believe to accept positions would make them out as office seekers. This was a wrong tendency. It is not too late however and it is hoped that a stronger leadership will be elected into the leading offices after the constitutional convention is held. "Rank and fileism" was prevalent in the minds of the best of leaders. Everyone wanted to fight and make the greatest sacrifices possible to build the new union but they wanted to serve as buck privates and on the firing lines.

This was especially the attitudes of Pat Ansbury, Joe Pickel, Joe Burrell, Joe Battuello, Joe Goett and other outstand-

ing leaders of the struggle.

The Communist Party, issued a statement attacking the conference and the leaders of the movement. Especially leveling their attacks of Gerry Allard, Pat Ansbury and Joe Goett. These three miners have been in the forefront of the struggle, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the brothers under terrific strain. Joe Goett was former provisional president of the Illinois miners appointed by John L. Lewis. His record is not of the best character. Yet he severed his relations in the Lewis administration and has been instrumental in solidifying the strike in the Peoria district which is now 100% on strike. He unhesitatingly endorsed the idea of a new union. Goett was in a position to center the most conservative elements around him and split the conference, but he refused to do this. What his future policies may be is difficult to determine at this time. However, it must be recognized that he was elected by his membership to attend this convention, and for over two years now he has been in the mines leading coal. He can only be classed as a rank and file.

## Party Leaders Negotiate Secretly But Denounce Publicly

Pat Ansbury is unquestionably one of the most popular leaders in the Illinois

struggle. He is a militant trade unionist with a clean cut record. He enjoys the confidence of the broad section of the rank and file. He has for over a year cooperated with the Party in fighting the Criminal Syndicalist cases in Franklin County. The Communist Party has expressed confidence in him personally on more than one occasion. Several times leaders of the Party have conferred with him on the Illinois miners struggle. The main attack of the Party against him is the fact that he is a close personal and political associate of Gerry Allard. The Party has asked him to sever relations with Allard, but he has steadfastly refused to do so claiming that the Party was wrong in its policies in the mine struggle and that the policy of Allard's group were more applicable to the situation. At the present time a great price has been placed on his head by the enemies of the Illinois coal miners. He is resolute, resourceful and a dynamic figure, but his main weaknesses lie in the lack of theoretical understanding having only been active in the labor movement for two years. During the rank and file movement of a year ago he was a victim, losing his job at the mines and faced courageously deportation charges of the Federal government at the instigation of John L. Lewis' brother who is an agent of the department of justice. All through the convention he pursued a correct line of struggle against the operators and the Lewis-Walker forces.

—GERMINAL.

# Allard Answers Party Bureaucrats

Christopher, Ill.  
August 31, 1932

Dear Comrades:

I was approached the other day for the purpose of trying to come to an understanding with the party. John Shaw, organizer of the party, had a lawyer of the I. L. D. from St. Louis, Irving Spencer, bring a message advising me that all could be thrashed out so that the party and I would come to an understanding. I am willing to strengthen Communism, but have become firmly convinced that the way to build Communism is not through the bureaucrats of the party. The Daily Worker continues to conduct a campaign of lying, vilification and the slimmest sort of publicity ever experienced by coal miners in the labor movement.

The rank and file miners are swarming to the Socialist party and believe me, it hurts my heart to see this gang of reformists taking in the best fighters of the labor movement here. Yet, when I speak of the Communist party, they point out the numerous articles attacking me and wonder how I have the gall to defend them in the face of the barrage of lies that have been leveled at my head.

I have made up my mind that the farther away the Party bureaucrats keep their noses out of our affairs, the better it will be for the labor movement. We will demonstrate to the labor movement how a real miners union will be built in the United States. And the pride of this achievement will be the fact that the rank and file coal diggers build it. We appreciate cooperation from real working class organizations. The Left Opposition is continuously an inspiration. But the professional liars make personal issues out of our best fighters, while our comrades are being murdered, jailed and beaten. Well, that is too much for me ever to forget. I could not be honest with myself and with the labor movement to ever forgive such crimes.

## Facts About Allard

A recent issue of the Daily Worker says that Allard and the Musteites are very conspicuously absent from the picket lines and it is only the pressure of the rank and file under the leadership of the party that forces the fakery to move forward. The facts are that Allard and his wife were the first ones arrested in the Illinois miners struggle

and participated in the first picket lines where they were picked off by the sheriffs.

A few more facts:

Allard was in the vanguard of the state marchers.

Allard worked three days and nights organizing the state march.

Allard is being hounded by killers of the underworld, called by the state forces the "brains" of the present movement.

Allard is now doing work in Franklin County where no organizer dares set foot at the present time.

Allard is getting delegates from working mines to go to the state-wide conference at Gillespie tomorrow. Quite a task, by the way, in the face of two thousand deputies guarding Franklin County.

I will leave it up to the miners to decide on who is more devoted to the present cause. But as far as helping a Communist party of that kind goes, well, I believe that I am through. I know that this does not conform exactly to your attitude but I am caught in a movement that makes it necessary for me to come to this point. The party and Communism loses ground while a bunch of fakery and misleaders like the S. P. makes headway.

I have only one course to pursue in this fight and that is for me and the other sympathizers to fight for a militant revolutionary union program and for independent working class action.

## Stalinist Bureaucrat Expelled in N. Y.

Some time ago, The Militant, in dealing with the situation in the Food Workers Industrial Union, gave some sketches of the Stalinist bureaucrats in its leadership. Among these sketches there was one of a certain Joe Newman, a racketeer type sheltered by the bureaucracy in the cooperative camps under the control of the party. Months after The Militant exposed this heinous flunky, the District Secretariat of Dis-2, New York, now, at last, announces the expulsion of Newman—nevertheless—only for the period of one year.

Newman will be remembered by Militant readers as the abominable Stalinist functionary, who in the summer of 1931, considered it proper and fit to settle a dispute with a worker employed at camp Kinderland—which the notorious Newman was "runding"—by calling the State Troopers!

Upon the pressure of the Left Opposition and the rank and file of the F. W. I. U., Newman was suspended by the bureaucracy for six months last winter. For six months—so as to enable him to resume his abominable practices and obedient service to the top bonuses when summer came around again. This time he is being expelled for one year! One year in which to rehabilitate himself for his regular job with the bureaucracy once more, next summer.

But the foodworkers will remain attentive and vigilant—let the Stalinist leadership rest assured of that. Newman was expelled for an allegedly wretched piece of bureaucratic impudence and headlessness. It is charged that, suspicious that some workers were absconding with property of the enterprise, he went ahead and in the most arbitrary fashion cut up the tires of an auto which these workers had occupied! Of course, the workers took him to account, a little scandal ensued, the workers were cleared of the bureaucrat's unfounded suspicion and M. Newman was hauled on the carpet. His Stalinist protectors found the situation altogether too embarrassing and had to "double-cross" him; the expulsion followed, with the typical bureaucratic proviso: for one year!

The expulsion of Bureaucrat Newman is undoubtedly a victory of the rank and

# C.L.A. Hails New Union

(Continued from page 1)

If the new movement is not to sink into a state of paralysis and finally be rendered impotent like so many rebel movements before it.

This was the direction clearly indicated by the Left Opposition and by its members and supporters actively engaged in the Illinois movement over a period of time. At the convention in St. Louis of last year our members recommended the building of a new union and a program of unity of action. It was rejected then by the Musteites in control of the convention, as well as by the Communist Party leadership who boycotted the convention. Our members continued their fight within the movement. And the correctness of the direction which we recommended then has now, in its first step, become vindicated not only by theoretical conclusion but also by the realities of the class struggle.

## THE FUTURE PATH OF THE ILLINOIS MINERS

The sterling fighters of the Illinois coal fields, the thousands of miners who have proven themselves as worthy upholders of the early splendid traditions of the miners' union, have accepted this as their direction of travel. The road is already emblazoned with struggles of gigantic proportions, miners fighting tena-

ciously against the imposition of starvation wages, against the capitalist lackeys who attempted to sell them out and against the open and brutal terror of the henchmen in governmental positions. These miners have organized their fight with picketing on a mass scale never witnessed before thus giving a militant birth to their new union.

There is now a stronger basis available than a year ago. The miners have gained additional experiences which will fortify them against encroachments of new faker combinations who will inevitably attempt to tighten on the new movement. They will have learned to discard such false illusions of the past as the confidence given to the Fishwick-Walker-Howatt combination, or to the leadership of self-styled progressives of the Edmondson type. In this sense the Illinois miners must watch the leaders who are thrown forward today and who have not been tested in the fire of struggle.

For the Illinois miners the destiny now lies in their own hands. But their union is still to face its test. The serious struggle with the rapacious operators is still ahead. So is also the case with the fight to a finish with the Lewis machine and above all the serious matter of future policy.

The Illinois miners have also learned some valuable lessons from their experience with policy pursued by the official party Stalinist leadership. It pursued the opposite course from ours. It rejected the policy of a genuine united front of approaching the existing independent miners' unions as bona fide bodies and of recognizing the Illinois miners' revolts as a genuine mass movement even though infested in the past with misleaders. It refused to recognize any other union than the one over which it itself held mechanical control, the National Miners Union. It failed, as a logical conclusion from this course, entirely in the essential task of developing and organizing the Left wing within the U. M. W. It boycotted and attacked revolt movements which were not ready to accept its mechanical domination and its wrong course. As a result of this the party is today isolated from the Illinois mine fields.

## THE COMMUNIST DUTY IN COMING DEVELOPMENTS

The organization of the "Progressive Miners of America" and the objective possibilities for unity in the mine fields imperatively demand a change in this false course pursued by the party leadership. It is becoming more pressing than ever. The Communists must be in the vanguard of the working class struggle; but they have the additional serious obligation of leading in the correct direction. In this sense the party leadership faces a new test when the hands for unity of action is extended to the National Miners Union. That hand it must grasp and strive honestly for such unity.

Enormous tasks lie ahead in the mine fields. Great struggles are pending. However, this is but one of the focussing points at the moment. The workers elsewhere are not exempted. The capitalist rulers of the country still cherishing the hope of issuing out of the crisis by shifting the whole burden on to the shoulders of the working class are increasing their attacks. The American workers have suffered serious setbacks but they have not been defeated. A new stage of more intense struggles all along the line is in the making. To prepare for this the experiences in the Illinois mine fields furnish a valuable lesson. That is a lesson particularly for the Communist party.

Preparation for these future struggles, which will sure as day and night involve the present existing unions, demands that the Communists penetrate deeper into these unions. Every Communist must find his place there. Away with the policy of self-isolation and with all the rubbish of the "Third Period". In its place must be posed the question of a genuine united front policy and of trade union unity.

National Committee  
Communist League of America  
(Opposition)

## Hitler & Von Papen

### New Betrayals of Social Democracy

Opportunity for Communists

The new betrayals of the social democracy and the temporary conflict among the bourgeoisie offer the Communists another excellent opportunity to rally the whole working class of Germany for united action, to prepare the proletariat for the deathblow against capitalism. Will the German Communist Party take advantage of the situation. That depends.

In the first place, the whole Stalinist confusionism of "national and social liberation" must be thrown overboard. Instead of Thaelmann's dangerously nationalistic "People's Revolution Against Versailles", the German Communists must use the military formula of the conscious bourgeoisie — Schleicher's phrase about "first settling accounts with the internal Schweinehund"—against the capitalist foe. Now, more than ever "the main enemy is in one's own country."

Secondly, the German Communists must realize that it is high time to return to the Leninist united front tactic and to give up the bureaucratic ultimatum of the Stalinists.

Thirdly, international solidarity must be aroused in the widest possible forms, the Comintern must be brought into action. The need of the moment is a world congress of the Communist International with the participation of the Leninist Left Opposition.

—SAM GORDON.

**LEON TROTSKY**

# WHAT NEXT?

**Vital Questions for the German Proletariat**

BRANTLER?

NATIONAL SOCIALISM?

HINDENBURG?

LENIN?

LEFT OPPOSITION?

ADOLF HITLER?

RED STRATEGY?

PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION?

ULTIMATISM?

THAELEMAN?

SEYDOWITZ?

RED ARMY?

BOLSHEVISM?

BRUENING?

CENTRISM?

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL?

SOVIET UNION?

FASCISM?

DEMOCRACY?

With Germany on the edge of the volcano that threatens to erupt at any moment, Leon Trotsky's penetrating analysis of what is next on the order of the day in Germany is the most timely revolutionary document of the moment. It is priced so low for a quick sale. Order your copy now!

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## VOTE COMMUNIST!



# Comrade Trotsky's Letter to the Weisbord Group

Comrade Weisbord:

Your organization on its own initiative has delegated you to get an exchange of views on questions which separate you from the American League which is the section of the International Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists). In the course of several talks you have explained the opinions of your organization over the fundamental litigious questions. You have proposed that I put down in writing my conclusions from the talks which we have had. In the following lines I shall try to do this without pretending in any way to exhaust the questions raised by you.

1. I am inclined to consider as the most important the question of the "Labor Party". Here it is a question of the essential instrument of the proletarian revolution. Every lack of clarity or ambiguity on that question is pernicious. The ideas developed by you for the defence of the slogan of the "Labor Party" I have criticized in a special document which I have given you. Here I deem it necessary to add only several words.

On the question of the Labor Party your organization is very near to the position of Lovestone which is notoriously opportunist. The Lovestone group is consistent in its denial of the independent historic role of the Communist Party. That group approves up to today the policy of the Comintern in regard to the Kuo Min Tung and the British Trade Unions, that is to say, the capitulation in principle of Communism in the one case before the bourgeoisie and in the other case before the lieutenants of the bourgeoisie within the working class.

Your group, as far as I know, condemns the politics of the Stalinists in China and in Great Britain but at the same time it accepts the slogan of the Labor Party. That is to say: In taking or trying to take a Marxist position towards the past events in other countries you take an opportunist position towards the future of your own country. I believe that without a radical revision of your position in the central question of the party an effective rapprochement between your organization and the International Left Opposition cannot be affected.

2. Your group has rejected up to the present the definition accepted by us of the International Stalinist faction as Bureaucratic Centrism. You start out from the view that one can give the name "Centrism" only to those groupings which occupy the place between the official camp of reformism (Social-Democracy) and the official camp of Communism. Under this purely formalist, schematic, undialectical conception of centrism is hidden in fact a lack of clarity of the political position of your own group. You are concerned to efface the difference between the official party, the Right wing fraction (Lovestone group) and even the American League. This makes it easy for you to remain in an eclectic position and defend your right of a bloc with the Lovestone group.

That the Lovestone group does not represent a purely reformist organization is incontestable, but the question is in its tendency and political orbit. The Lovestone group represents a variety of Right wing centrism which is evolving from Communism to Social-Democracy. The German Socialist Labor Party (S. A. P.) which broke from the Social-Democracy, contains a more progressive tendency than the Brandlerites although according to the theoretical formulae the last are apparently nearer to us. Statistically, the Lovestone group, the German Brandlerites as well as the S. A. P. represent varieties of Right-wing Centrism. But dynamically one is different from the other and it is the dynamics which decides.

Certainly, in a number of partial questions, the Lovestone group has taken a position more correct than the official party but to conclude a bloc with the Lovestone group would mean to augment its general authority and by that to help it to fulfill its reactionary historic mission.

I shall not stop here to go into more details on the question of centrism. I permit myself to refer you to my last brochure which will soon appear in America (What Next?)

Without clarity in this most essential question in my opinion a rapprochement between your fraction and the International Left Opposition cannot be achieved.

3. Your criticism of the American League starts to considerable degree from wrong premises (the most important of which are given above). At the same time you give to your criticism a character so immediate, exaggerated and embittered that it forces us to see in you an ideological nuance not in the camp of the International Left Opposition but of its adversaries if not of its enemies.

Upon the bases of criteria which are partly false, partly insufficient and arbitrary, you deny, as I have said, the existence of differences in principle between the American League, the Lovestone group and the official party. With this you declare not only that the leadership of the League is classed in an opportunist position but also that the International Left Opposition as a whole is absolutely incapable of distinguishing between Marxism and opportunism on a most essential question. Is it that you are astonished after that, that the Bolshevik-Leninists demand what binds you to the International Left Opposition?

4. You stress with special energy the necessity of active participation on the part of the Left Opposition in general in the movement and the struggle of the working masses. Although at the present stage, the Left Opposition is, in the majority of countries, a propagandist organization, it puts forth propaganda not in a sectarian but in a Marxist manner, that is to say, upon the basis of participation in all the life of the proletariat. I am not able to admit that anyone of the leaders or of the members of the American League denies this principle. The question reduces itself to a great extent to the real possibility of which pertains also natural capacity, initiative and experience.

Let us admit, for a minute, that the American League lacks this or that possibility in mass work. I am ready to admit that your group would be able in that respect to complete the work of the American League. But mass work must be on the basis of definite principles and methods. Until the time that, in a number of fundamental questions, a necessary unanimity will be attained (disputes on "mass work" will inevitably remain lifeless).

5. Above, I have called the position of your group eclectic. By this I do not wish at all to express any condemnation as a whole which bars the possibility of a future rapprochement. The question is how also decided dynamically. You must openly, clearly and attentively revise your baggage so as to take care to uncover by that not only your manifest political faults but also the historical and principled roots of these faults. I have reacted with such warm praise to the thesis of the Second Conference of the American League on the Labor Party because in this thesis there was taken not only a correct position in the essence of the question but also there was given an open and courageous criticism of its own past. Only in this way can a revolutionary tendency assure itself seriously against a relapse.

6. Your group has raised up the slogan of an international conference with the participation of all the organizations and groups who count themselves with the Left. This way presents itself to me to be false to the roots. The international Left Opposition does not exist for the first day. In the struggle

We are publishing herewith a letter by comrade Trotsky to comrade Weisbord, which was written as a conclusion to discussions held between them. In subsequent issues we will publish the answer of comrade Weisbord to this letter and a statement by our National Committee in regard to this answer.—Ed.

ner, that is to say, upon the basis of participation in all the life of the proletariat. I am not able to admit that anyone of the leaders or of the members of the American League denies this principle. The question reduces itself to a great extent to the real possibility of which pertains also natural capacity, initiative and experience.

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for its ideas and methods it has purified its ranks of foreign elements. The international conference can and must start from the ideological work already accomplished and to fortify its results and to systematize them. To enter on the road which was proposed by your group would mean to make a cross over the past and to return to the state of original chaos. Of that we cannot even speak.

The Left Opposition is not a mechanical sum of vacillating groups but an international fraction created on the granite basis of the principles of Marxism. A rapprochement and a fusion with the International Left Opposition is not able to be obtained through organizational manipulations or through adventurist combinations a la Landau. I was glad to hear from you that your group has nothing in common with Landau and his methods. Precisely for this reason it is necessary to renounce once for all the thoughts of transforming the International Left Opposition into a Noah's Ark. It is necessary to choose another road less precipitate but more serious and certain.

Before everything you must keep clearly in mind that the road to the International Left Opposition leads through the American League; a second road does not exist. Unification with the American League is possible only on the basis of unity of principles and methods which must be formulated theoretically and verified by experience.

The best thing would be, in my opinion, if you would devote a coming issue of your organ to a critical revision of your ideological baggage, especially in regard to the litigious questions. Only the character of this revision (before all naturally its content but particularly also its form) can demonstrate just to what degree the practical steps on the side of unification are really ripe.

The most important extracts of your article could be printed in the International Bulletin as information material. Naturally the question will be decided by the American League. But all our sections will want to be informed. Not one of them will demand concession in principle from the American League. But however all of them will cooperate completely in the cause of a rapprochement and fusion if the existence of a common basis of principle will be confirmed.

It is not necessary to say that I shall

be very glad if your trip here and our discussion will contribute to the going over of your group to the camp of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

May 22, 1932. —L. TROTSKY.

Postscript to the Letter to Comrade Weisbord

For the sake of better clarity I wish to add some remarks:

1. If I speak about the inadmissibility of direct or indirect support of the Lovestone group or the Brandlerites in general I do not wish at all to say by that, that these elements could not, under any circumstances, find for themselves a place in the Communist ranks. On the contrary: under a healthy regime of the Comintern the majority of the Brandlerites would have executed, without doubt, this or that useful work. One of the pernicious consequences of the Stalinist bureaucracy consists in this that it is compelled by each new empiric zig-zag, under fear of its own collapse, to push out of the party its allies of yesterday.

Zinoviev and Kamenef represent highly qualified elements. Under the regime of Lenin they accomplished very responsible work in spite of their insufficiency which was well understood by Lenin. The regime of Stalin condemned Zinoviev and Kamenef to political death. The same thing can be said of Bucharin, and many others. The ideological and moral decomposition of Radek is witness not only of the fact that Radek is not made of first class material but also of the fact that the Stalinist regime can rely only upon impersonal chivnoviks or morally decomposed individuals.

However, it is necessary to take facts as they are in reality. The Brandlerites chased out of the Comintern, and their worst section (the Lovestone group) have proved themselves condemned to political degeneration. Their ideological resources are zero. Masses they have not and cannot have. As an independent group they are capable only of bringing confusion and decomposition. The sooner they will be liquidated the better. Which part of them will be transformed by this into Stalinist chivnoviks and which into Social-Democrats is a matter of indifference.

2. The remark made above that the S. A. P. elements are more progressive than the Brandlerites must in no case be submitted to an enlarged interpretation. About a political bloc between the Left

Opposition and the S. A. P. with its actual obvious centrism leadership one cannot even speak. The progressive tendencies within the S. A. P. can be uncovered only by our implacable criticism against the leadership of the S. A. P. and also against the old Brandlerites who are under it and who play within the S. A. P. a manifestly reactionary role.

We cannot put your American Left Socialists at all on the same plane even with the Centrism leaders of the S. A. P., who at least have broken with the Social-Democracy. By a correct policy of the Communist Party, the S. A. P., before its disintegration, could become a precious auxiliary instrument for the decomposition of Social-Democracy. As for the American Left Socialists we do not have the least reason to distinguish them from Hillquit that is to say, to see in them anything else than agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class.

3. In the question of the Labor Party you refer to the decision of the Fourth Congress. The Left Opposition stands entirely on the basis of the decisions of the first four congresses but distinguishes the decisions of principles and program from tactical and episodic decisions. The decisions of the Fourth Congress on that question could be only a tactical hypothesis. After that the hypothesis was submitted to a gigantic test. The Left Opposition grew, in a certain sense, from that test. The fault of your group consists precisely in that you ignore the work of the Left Opposition in this fundamental question.

4. The same thing applies to the question of Centrism. You refer to Lenin. But the task does not consist to refer to this or that quotation from Lenin which is concerned with other times and other conditions, but to use correctly the method of Lenin. In Lenin you do not find, naturally, anything about bureaucratic Centrism because the Stalinist fraction was formed politically after the death of Lenin. In the struggle with this fraction, the International Left Opposition grew. Also in this question, you ignore its critical activity.

5. I do not wish to say at all that your group defended in the past the unworthy methods of the Landau group. However, you are in error in thinking that this question is an internal question of the Left Opposition. The Left Opposition does not have and cannot have anything in common with the Landau group nor with those who support that group.

May 24, 1932. —L. TROTSKY.

## English Opposition Expelled from Party

(Continued from page 1)

ter part of 1931. We hold that wrong party policy and bureaucracy in the party are responsible for its unsatisfactory position.

Answer to Threat of Expulsion

Unless we give up our point of view, we are threatened with expulsion. But we joined the Party believing it to be the only party for the workers; we still think this, and we shall hold both to our point of view and to the party. We shall not be harassed, as was Murphy, into deserting the party. We shall work to win the membership to our point of view. Expulsions and "liquidations" will not be the last word in this struggle. We shall fight within the party for re-instatement; we shall appeal to the Central Committee, to the party Congress, to the Comintern. Meanwhile, we shall constantly put before the party our criticisms and suggestions, and shall—in this area—keep working for Communism and for the party, side by side with all other party members.

We do not want to return in order to "vote and keep quiet," we want to play our part in the struggle against wrong policy, against bureaucracy, and for the correct policy essential for Communist work for the revolution. Only by struggle can the party be changed from a paper-distributing, phrase-mouthing, resolution-passing machine, into a live and vigorous section of the International. We want to help with this job. We ask you, comrades, to demand our re-instatement as a group.

We are, comrades, yours fraternally,

### THE BALHAM GROUP

Steve Dowdall	11 years' membership
Jim Barrett	8 " "
D. Groves	6 " "
F. Chaleroft	8 months' "
I. Mussi	8 " "
C. Whiting	8 " "
Harry Wicks	11 years' membership
Henry Sara	9 " "
Reg. Groves	5 " "
N. Dowdall	6 " "
M. Simmonds	8 months' "
W. Pyne	9 " "

## MILITANT BUILDERS

Well, the August contest is over. At the head of the staff stands a new name—comrade Weber of the New York branch. He tops the list with a total of four dollars in subs. To him goes, very reluctantly, the Eastman biography of comrade Trotsky.

Close behind him was a Minneapolis standby, comrade H. Schwartz; and close behind him were a number of comrades who usually score bullseyes in these contests. The staff record tells the story:

J. Weber	4
H. Schwartz	3
A. Weaver	2 1-2
W. Wynne	2
H. Mashow	2
M. Aborn	2
R. Scharow	2
J. Keller	2
L. Goodman	2
J. Edwards	1
C. Cowl	1
P. Schulman	1
R. Karsner	1
R. Ruskin	1
L. Schlossberg	1

The record by branches finds New York away out in front with 15 1-2 dollars in subs. In second place, displacing Minneapolis, comes Chicago.

New York	15 1-2
Chicago	6
Minneapolis	5 1-2
Philadelphia	3
Cleveland	2
Boston	1
Miscellaneous	7 1-2

In a week or so we will be back at you comrades with a brand new idea. It will put all of you on your toes and have you up early and late getting subs. While you are waiting breathlessly for our announcement suppose you run around and get new bundles orders. It is only a thin trickle. It indicates they are coming in of their own accord. But that if you go after them you can do it.

From Kansas City comrade Buehler writes very, very encouragingly "Farmers from Nebraska and Texas come and hunt us up now. Trotsky seems to be their favorite. Even cloth bound books are in more demand now. Enclosed find check—". That's the language to talk. Farmers, workers, everybody wants to read *The Militant*. Let's give it to them. After the subs! Get bundle orders!

### REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS AND WHITHER ENGLAND

The first of these two works by comrades Lenin and Trotsky is out. We have on more. But we still have a few of *Whither England*. This will probably be the last call on this book.

## Unemployed Activity in Retrospect

(Continued from last issue)

We do not mean to create the impression that it is incorrect to fight for these demands wherever they are issues. But by an almost exclusive concentration on these demands the larger objectives of the movement are lost sight of and these demands do not become steps leading toward the development of class consciousness and the raising of the struggle to a higher plane, but ends in themselves. They become reformist, opportunist demands. And they sow confusion in the minds of the workers by wiping out the essential differences between the revolutionary-Communist program, and the Socialist and other reformist programs.

This can best be seen from the text itself. The program is based on "a recognition of the fact that those who own and control the wealth and government are willing to allow millions to suffer hunger and want in order that their great wealth shall not be drawn on for relief." (Emphasis in the original). "The Unemployed Councils are the organs for the determined, uncompromising struggle against all who are responsible for and all who assist in imposing upon the workers the miseries that result from mass unemployment." Again: "In the effort to safeguard the masses from the effects of unemployment the Unemployment Councils organize and conduct the daily struggle—"

It is in keeping that such "theoretical" opportunism should find its counterpart in the schema of fighting methods. Under the heading, How to Formulate and Fight for Immediate Demands, there is to be found the following axiom of opportunism: "It should be obvious that we constantly appear in a given relief agency to dispute over the contents of every basket—the authorities will soon find it more convenient and safer to grant the demand for cash relief or more adequate relief as the case may be." (Emphasis in the original).

What working class content do these formulations and methods have? What is there in them to which a well-meaning, Christian clergyman cannot subscribe? Have the Stalinist authors of the program, like the Socialist Party, forgotten the class struggle? Who are the "all" who are responsible for mass unemployment? This is degeneration to liberalism. It makes of the occasional militant phraseology of the program a ghastly masquerade.

It is true that the program lists in its "basic" demands the "seven hour day" without reduction in wages" which it

does not motivate with figures or reason any more than did the T. U. U. L. resolution, and "recognition and unhampered trade relations with the Soviet Union". But they are present as window dressing. They are not explained in the text of the program, nor is their connection with the fight for relief established. They do not outweigh the excessive weight laid on the fight for relief as an end in itself.

The result is that no basis is established by the program for drawing into the movement the Socialist and A. F. of L. workers without whom no broad movement can be built. And, consequently, no directives are issued by the program to accomplish this vital task. The program thus makes the same blunder made by the T. U. U. L. resolution of last October. It is forced to present the two movements as separate, and it is forced to pose the question of uniting the two movements. Its solutions are a repetition of the solutions of the T. U. U. L. resolution which have been tested by time and found to be no solutions at all. In short the program does not advance us a single inch toward building one united movement of employed and unemployed.

But it does narrow the chasm separating the Communist relief program from the Wobly charity-begging schemes and the Socialist reformist program dressed up in militant phrases. In this sense the program becomes not an instrument of clarity in the direction of class consciousness, but a vehicle of confusion.

This narrow conception of the unemployed movement is thus, of necessity carried over to the organizational forms worked out for the movement. The unemployed committee is established by the program as the basic form of unemployed movement. This is defined as an elected body to which is eligible "any worker . . . regardless of any other opinion or affiliation who agrees with the program adopted in the meeting (of workers) where the election takes place . . ." These unemployed committees are groups of "from three to fifteen workers who have been elected by a body of workers in any given place . . ." The committees elect delegates to a larger territorial Unemployed Council.

This formulation seems to establish the basis of a united front. But it is only an appearance. There are some fatal limitations to this happy beginning. With no basis laid for drawing the Socialist and A. F. of L. workers into

the movement the united fronts which the program projects must become united fronts of workers sympathetic to Communism, which is to say, no united fronts at all. More than this, because of the movement's orientation on relief unemployed workers for the most part, are drawn into the movement and the united fronts will be, are composed of unemployed workers sympathetic to Communism. The united front which begins so happily in the program can, in practice, turn out to be nothing more than another party auxiliary good for useful work in demonstrations, etc.

What remains is another milestone on the road to the opportunist swamp. The program in practice cannot bring us closer to our revolutionary goal. It leads in another direction. It will not serve to develop class consciousness through struggle because the struggle which it will conduct is conducting, is based on reformist premises. The program attempts to put a programmatic seal on the flight to opportunism—it consummates the turn initiated by Browder last year. It is the second step backward.

### One Step Forward

Against this opportunist course the Opposition has repeatedly warned. It has done more than that. It has offered a program in place of the ideological mess of porridge the Stalinists have served up. In its Open Letter to the C. C. of GPUSA, issued early in 1931, it enumerated six basic points of a Marxist program upon which to build a fighting working-class movement for relief.

It predicated its program on the absolutely correct assumption that the fight for relief must be a general class fight embracing both employed and unemployed workers. It rested its program on the obvious truth—for Marxists—that, for revolutionists, a relief program had to be linked up with the final revolutionary goal as a step toward that goal. As its third major premise it declared that the slogans of today had to prepare the movement for tomorrow and act as a bridge.

On this basis it placed in the forefront of its program the slogans of the six-hour day, five-day week with no reduction in pay; unemployment insurance at the expense of the capitalist class and its government; and long-term, large-scale credits to the Soviet Union. It called for a fighting movement around these central slogans and stated that such a movement could be built only on a genuine united front basis.

That this program was not accepted by the party everyone knows. That, how-

ever, did not make it incorrect. Today it is as correct as it was when issued. The party's failure to build a movement around its program emphasizes the correctness of our program in a negative sense.

The class struggle will yet force the adoption of our program. But we cannot wait while unparalleled opportunities are being wasted by the Stalinists. It is time now to make a step forward.

The party should adopt our program now. It should begin by opening up a discussion in its ranks on the entire question of unemployment and the fight for relief. The discussion should be free. Party members seriously interested in learning from the Party's failures and in building a movement for relief should raise their voices for such a discussion. They should also demand that the Left Opposition be given an opportunity to participate in the discussion and defend its program. —T. S.

## Pioneer Publishers Notes

### LITERATURE RUNNING OUT

We want to sound a serious note of warning to all our propagandists and comrades. For some time we have, all of us, been speaking of a wave of membership coming over to us from the inevitable smash-up of Stalinism. As one of the results of this wave of membership we anticipated a tremendous demand on our literature stocks. The wave is very definitely on the horizon. In a short time it will break and surge up to the shore.

But as it often happens in life and the class struggle, a secondary, so to speak, and component part of the process precedes the primary process itself. We are speaking of the order in time. That is what is happening with our literature. The demand is shooting up like a very light. It is a source of no little gratification to us. But it is making great inroads on our stocks of literature.

Orders are pouring in from every corner of the globe. Our stocks are dropping. Whoever is lacking a copy of this or that work by comrade Trotsky had better order it at once. Whoever is busy propagandizing workers had better lay in a supply now before some of the titles are unavailable.

The great interest in our literature can be seen in part from what comrade Buehler writes from Kansas City. It is quoted in *The Militant Builders Column*. This is not an exceptional instance. The daily mail brings evidence after evidence of our growing influence.

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# Alliance or Struggle Between Social Democracy and Fascism?

To understand the interrelationship of the classes in the form of a schema, fixed once for all time, is comparatively simple. The evaluation of the concrete relations between the classes in every given situation is immeasurably more difficult.

The German big bourgeoisie is at present vacillating—a condition which the big bourgeoisie, in general, very rarely experiences. One part has definitely come to be convinced of the inevitability of the Fascist path and would like to accelerate the operation. The other part hopes to become master of the situation with the aid of a Bonapartist military-police dictatorship. No one in this camp desires a return to the Weimar “democracy”.

The petty bourgeoisie is split up. National-Socialism, which has united the overwhelming majority of the intermediate classes under its banner, wants to take the whole power into its own hands. The democratic wing of the petty bourgeoisie, which still has millions of workers behind it, wants a return to democracy according to the Ebertian example. In the meantime, it is prepared to support the Bonapartist dictatorship at least passively. The social democracy figures as follows: Under the pressure of the Nazis, the Papen-Schleicher government will be forced to establish a balance by strengthening its Left wing; meanwhile, an alleviation of the crisis will perhaps ensue; the petty bourgeoisie will perhaps “sober up”; capitalism will perhaps decrease its frantic pressure upon the working class,—and with the aid of God everything will once again be in order.

The Bonapartist clique actually does not desire the complete victory of Fascism. It would not by any means be disinclined to utilize the support of the social democracy within certain bounds. But for this purpose, it would have to “tolerate” the workers’ organizations, which is conceivable only if, at least, to a certain extent, the legal existence of the Communist party is to be allowed. Moreover, support of the military dictatorship by the social democracy would push the workers irresistibly into the ranks of Communism. By seeking a means of support against the brown devils, the government would very soon become subject to the blows of the red Beelzebubs.

The official Communist press declares that the toleration of Brüning by the social democracy paved the road for Papen and that the half-toleration of Papen will accelerate the arrival of Hitler. That is entirely correct. Within these boundaries, there are no differences of opinion between ourselves and the Stalinists. But this precisely signifies that in times of social crisis the politics of reformism no longer turn against the masses alone but against itself. In this process the critical moment has at present come into play.

Hitler tolerates Schleicher, the social democracy does not oppose Papen. If this situation could really be assured for a long period of time, then the social democracy would become transformed into the Left wing of Bonapartism and leave to Fascism the role of the Right wing. Theoretically, it is not, of course, excluded that the present, unprecedented crisis of German capitalism will not lead to any conclusive

solution, i. e., either end with the victory of the proletariat or with the triumph of the Fascist counter-revolution. If the Communist party continues its policy of stupid ultimatum and thereby saves the social democracy from inevitable collapse; if Hitler does not within the near future decide upon the overthrow and thereby provokes disintegration inside of his own ranks; if the economic conjuncture takes an upward trend before Schleicher falls—then the Bonapartist combination of Paragraph 48 of the Weimar Constitution, of the Reichswehr, the semi-oppositional social democracy, and semi-oppositional Fascism could perhaps maintain itself (up to a new social impetus, which is to be expected in any case).

But offhand, we are still far from such a happy fulfillment of the conditions, which form the subject of social democratic day dreams. It is by no means guaranteed. Even the Stalinists hardly believe in the power of resistance or the durability of the Papen-Schleicher régime. All indications point to the decomposition of the Wels-Schleicher-Hitler triangle even before it has begun to take shape.

But perhaps it will be replaced by a Hitler-Wels combination? According to Stalin they are “twins, not antipodes”. Let us assume that the social democracy would, without fearing its own workers, want to sell its toleration to Hitler. But Hitler does not need this commodity: he needs not the toleration, but the abolition of the social democracy. The Hitler government can only accomplish its task by breaking the resistance of the proletariat and by removing all the possible organs of its resistance. Therein lies the historical role of Fascism.

The Stalinists confine themselves to a purely psychological, or more exactly, to a purely moral evaluation of those cowardly and avaricious petty bourgeois who lead the social democracy. Can we actually assume that these inveterate traitors would separate themselves from the bourgeoisie and oppose it? Such an idealistic method has very little in common with Marxism, which proceeds not from what people think about themselves and what they desire but from the conditions in which they are placed and from the changes which these conditions will undergo.

The social democracy supports the bourgeois régime, not for the gains of the coal, the steel and the other magnates, but for the sake of those gains which it itself can obtain as a party, in the person of its numerically great and powerful apparatus. To be sure, Fascism in no way threatens the bourgeois régime, for the defense of which the social democracy exists. But Fascism endangers that rôle which the social democracy fulfills in the bourgeois régime and the income which the social democracy derives from this rôle it plays. Even though the Stalinists forget this side of the matter, the social democracy itself does not for one moment lose from its sight the mortal danger with which a victory of Fascism threatens it—not the bourgeoisie, but it—the social democracy.

About three years ago, when we pointed out that the point of departure in the coming political crisis in Austria and in Germany would in all probability be

fixed by the incompatibility of social democracy and Fascism; when, based upon this, we rejected the theory of social Fascism which was not disclosing but concealing the approaching conflict; when we called attention to the possibility that the social democracy, a significant part of its apparatus along with it, would be forced by the march of events into a struggle against Fascism and that this would be a favorable point of departure for the Communist party for a further attack, very many Communists—not only hired functionaries, but even quite honest revolutionists—accused us of . . . “idealizing” the social democracy. Nothing remained but to shrug our shoulders. It is hard to dispute with people whose thought stops there, where the question first begins for the Marxist.

In conversations, I often cited the following example: the Jewish bourgeoisie in Czarist Russia represented an extremely frightened and demoralized part of the entire Russian bourgeoisie. And yet, insofar as the pogroms of the Black Hundreds, which were in the main directed against the Jewish poor, also hit the bourgeoisie, the latter was forced to take up its self-defense. To be sure, it did not show any remarkable bravery on this field either. But due to the danger hanging over their heads, the liberal Jewish bourgeoisie, for example, collected considerable sums for the arming of revolutionary workers and students. In this manner, a temporary practical agreement was arrived at between the most revolutionary workers, who were prepared to fight with guns in hand, and the most frightened group of the bourgeoisie, which had got into a scrape.

Last year I wrote that in the struggle against Fascism the Communists were duty-bound to come to a practical agreement not only with the devil and his granddam, but even with Grzesinsky. This sentence made its way through the entire Stalinist world press. Was better proof needed of the “social Fascism” of the Left Opposition? Many comrades had warned me in advance: “They are going to seize on this phrase”. I answered them: “It has also been written so that they seize on it. Just let them seize upon this hot iron and burn their fingers. The blockheads must get their lesson.”

The course of the struggle has led to Von Papen getting Grzesinsky acquainted with the inside of a jail. Did this episode follow from the theory of social Fascism and from the prognoses of the Stalinist bureaucracy? No, it occurred in complete contradiction of the latter. Our evaluation of the situation, however, had such an eventuality in view and had assigned a definite place for it.

But the social democracy this time, too, avoided the struggle, some Stalinist will object. Yes, it did avoid it. Whoever expected the social democracy, over the head of its leaders and their carrying-on, independently to take up the struggle, and, at that, under conditions in which the Communist party showed itself even incapable of struggle, naturally had to experience disappointment. We did not expect such miracles. Therefore we could not lay ourselves open to any “disappointments” about the social democracy.

Grzesinsky has not become transformed into a revolutionary tiger; that we will readily grant. But nevertheless, there is quite a difference between a situation in which Grzesinsky, sitting in his fortress, sends out police detachments for the safeguarding of a “democracy” against revolutionary workers and a situation in which the Bonapartist savior of capitalism puts Grzesinsky himself in jail, is there not? And are we not to take this difference into account politically; are we not to take advantage of it?

Let us turn back to the example cited above: it is not hard to grasp the difference between a Jewish manufacturer who tips the Czarist policeman for beating down the strikers and the same manufacturer who turns over money to the strikers of yesterday to obtain arms against the pogromists. The bourgeois remains the same. But from the change in the situation there results a change in relations. The Bolsheviks conducted the strike against the manufacturer. Later on, they took money from the same manufacturer for the struggle against the pogroms. That did not, naturally, prevent the workers, when their hour had come, from turning their arms against the bourgeoisie.

Does all that has been said mean that the social democracy as a whole will fight against Fascism? To this we reply: part of the social democratic functionaries will undoubtedly go over to the Fascists; a considerable section will creep under their beds in the hour of danger. The working masses also will not fight in their entirety. To guess in advance what part of the social democratic workers will be drawn into the struggle, and when, and what part of the apparatus they will tear along with them, is altogether impossible. That depends upon many circumstances, among them, also, upon the position of the Communist party. The policy of the united front has as its task to separate those who want to fight from those who do not; to push forward those who vacillate; finally to compromise the capitulationist leaders in the eyes of the workers in order to consolidate the fighting capacity of the latter.

How much time has been lost—aimlessly, senselessly, shamefully! How much could have been achieved, even in the last two years alone! Was it not clear in advance that monopolistic capital and its Fascist army would drive the social democracy with fists and blackjacks toward the road of opposition and of self-defense? This prognosis should have been unfolded before the eyes of the entire working class, the initiative should have been taken for the united front and this initiative should have been retained firmly in our hands at every new stage. It was not necessary to shout, nor to scream. An open game could have been played quietly. It would have sufficed to formulate, clear and clear, the inevitability of every next step of the enemy and to set up a practical program of the united front, without exaggerations and without haggling, but also without weakness and without concessions. How high the Communist party would stand today if it had assimilated the A B C of Leninist policy and applied it with the necessary perseverance! *Prinkipo*, August 9, 1932. —L. TROTSKY.

## On the Proletarian Revolution in the United States

The accelerated pace of the decay of capitalism in the present period, regardless of the ebbs and flows, raises more sharply the question of the coming American revolution. Many workers dismiss this question with a sentence or two. It is either around the corner; a general strike will usher it in; or the revolution in America is decades away. Communists cannot leave this question unanswered. We cannot draw a blue print but we can define the general features of the coming revolution, to enable us to work out tactics and strategy leading toward revolution.

In the post-war period it was the duty of the Communists to settle the question of the state because the leaders of the Second International revised the Marxian concept on this fundamental problem. It was necessary to reexamine the state, explain what it is, and tell the workers that our road to power leads through revolution, to the smashing of the capitalist state and to the establishment of Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. For the vanguard this is a settled question, especially since the 1917 revolution. Under Lenin and Trotsky this abstraction was brought to life in Russia, but under Stalin the concept of Soviets and of the Dictatorship is kept in the abstract for all other countries.

Unless the Marxists proceed to clothe this abstraction with at least the general outlines of the American form we will be lost on the road between here and power. Up to the present we have not accomplished this task. Due to this shortcoming the Communist party, first under the leadership of the Right wing and now under the leadership of Stalinism has presented tactics and strategy leading in the wrong direction, a direction which will, if continued, prevent us from establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### American Revolution—When?

It is our task to explain the American form, its peculiarities as well as the relations to the first Soviet Republic, not only from the standpoint of the Dictatorship, but especially from the point of view of the process on the road to power. In this respect we can present variants which are possible and eliminate what is not possible. This will enable us to offset the incorrect, harmful, non-Marxian trend of Centristism today.

At one period in the development of the Marxian current in America, before the 1917 revolution, many “Marxists” were positive the revolution would proceed from the maturing highly developed capitalist countries rather mechanically, in their industrial order. The Russian

revolution of 1917 and what followed corrected this non-Marxist theory, but in its place the mechanical materialists, regarding as Marxists, have developed the theory that the United States will be the last to have the social revolution, because it is too strong, because it is so highly developed. Marxism gives no grounds for either concept, but some muddle-headed Communists do.

The idea of strong links and weak links of the capitalist chains does not flow mechanically from the idea of highly developed and under-developed capitalist countries. Backward countries are not strong links of the capitalist chain but it is false to think that developed countries are strong links of the capitalist world system. Such a concept does not explain the contradictions in this decay stage of capitalism. Germany as a highly developed capitalist country is the best example to refute such mechanical reasoning.

**The World Position of U. S. Imperialism**  
In the present stage the American imperialists play a dominating role in world politics. From this world position flow the factors undermining this strong link of world capitalism. It is laying the basis, with coming sharp turns in world events, to America's becoming a weak link of the chain.

Will the Communist party be equal to its task? Only we can answer this question. The economic foundation of American imperialism no longer rests upon the quicksands of world capitalism: in South America, Asia and Europe as well as the whole North American continent. The contradictions of the world capitalists have become the contradictions of American capitalism.

The revision of the world markets becomes the burning problem of the world imperialists. The revolutionary storms of any nation become of utmost importance for the capitalists in America. American wealth and capital today require a world police force and a world outlook. The economic stability of the United States depends upon the economic stability of world capitalism. The internal contradictions of American capitalism are so great that the American imperialists are forced out into deeper water for a solution, and this in turn shakes the whole structure.

The developing civil war in Germany, with the danger of a Fascist dictatorship hanging as a living menace over the Soviet Union and the world proletariat, looms as a military guarantee and a breathing spell for decay capitalism. The contradictions between the Imperialist

powers themselves and the contradictions between the imperialists and the Soviet Union are bunched up into a knot in the present German situation. The relation of the German situation to the U. S. will be taken up later.

### Our Approach

We must approach the coming revolution in the United States from two angles. First, a theoretical analysis: to consider what kind of a revolution is in store for the United States. Second: a review of the line of march of the party under Stalinist leadership in order to find out if Stalinism is leading in the correct direction.

The American revolution of 1775 was a product of the birth stage of capitalism. The coming revolution will be a product of decay capitalism. The first American revolution was a struggle to establish the bourgeois system. The coming revolution in America will be a struggle to destroy the capitalist system in America. The first revolution was a war between a rising colonial bourgeoisie and its mother country.

The American colonies were unhampered by feudal carry-overs and were able to plow forward swiftly. But the American revolution did not settle all of the problems of the rising bourgeois class. The problem of state power was not entirely to their liking. In Europe, the capitalists were forced to share their power with the feudal landowners. In America the capitalists were forced to share their power with the chattel slave owners. Both groups of capitalists had to compromise with other exploiters because a new enemy, the proletariat, was developing from the left. The bourgeois revolution could not be considered complete so long as the class did not have the state power in their hands, as their own instrument of suppression.

No sooner were accounts with England, the mother country, settled, after 1812, than the struggle between the two American exploiting classes, the rising capitalists and the chattel masters, took on new and sharper forms. A struggle for state power, for example control developed. The carry-over in America was more backward than that which the capitalists of Europe contended with, a backward system warping the substance of the struggle with the race issue, cloaking the class problem in the race form.

**The Capitalists and the Civil War**  
Every expansion move the American capitalists made met with resistance from the plantation owner of the South. Only by compromise and joint expeditions of conquest were the capitalists of the north able to push westward. Such

conquests were planned and carried out. Mexico was defeated, land was “bought” from Spain and France and in all of these joint struggles the landowners of the South obtained more than their share of the robbery. However, the parallel needs of expansion soon crossed each other, became entangled, and finally led to the Civil War.

Texas was “ceded” long before the final conflict and showed the uncompromising position the two forces were heading toward. They planned to divide it into three states that would send six senators instead of two to the Senate. In the race for the colonization of Texas, the landowners of the South had more than an even break. The fight for control of the government shifted more and more away from “peaceful” struggles into open conflicts. A struggle for the West followed. Bloody Kansas was a prelude to the Civil War to follow: just like John Brown's action, it also cast a shadow on the future from the class angle.

The Civil War was the second edition

of the bourgeois revolution and settled the question as to who was master of the state. Following the let-up of the post-war dictatorship against the landlords in the South, the world crisis of 1873 ushered in a new period for American development. The capitalists moved forward with rapid strides—towards monopoly capitalism.

### A Third Edition of the Bourgeois Revolution?

The question must now be asked: Will America have a third edition of the bourgeois revolution? Are there still carry-overs, are there democratic demands the capitalists must fight for in America, as they did in Russia, in Spain, and in other countries? To say that all of the democratic demands have been realized for all the people of the United States is the height of ignorance but to confuse this with the question of the necessity of a third edition of the bourgeois revolution is even worse.

There are democratic demands and economic needs large sections of the workers and the farmers have which cannot be fulfilled under capitalism. We must fight for these demands as workers. The capitalists are not fighting for

these demands. (Whom are they struggling against for these democratic demands? The democratic demands and the economic needs of the Negroes, Mulattoes, Asiatic, Mexican, the foreign born and Indians are not even questions of a bourgeois stage of the coming proletarian revolution, no matter how short its duration. American conditions have not only passed beyond the February period of Russia in 1917 but have also passed beyond the bourgeois stage of the October revolution.)

The capitalists of America do not share their power with other exploiters. Other exploiters obtain part of the plunder as subordinated plunders. Sharing profits as subordinated plunders does not in any way signify sharing power, as for example, the sharing of power by the landlords, in Europe and Asia. In America there are no exploiting classes preventing the “good progressive” capitalist from carrying out the democratic demands and economic needs. It is the capitalists who thrive and maintain their system by the prevention of the carrying out of the democratic demands and economic needs.

(To be continued)

## Chicago Stalinists Reject Offer of Help

(Continued from page 1)

ity after the filing of the petitions up to election day.

We, therefore, request you to immediately supply us with the necessary blanks and instructions for the obtaining of signatures, and to notify us of any meeting to which we can send our speakers and to, in general, indicate to us any activity that we can conduct to help make this campaign a success.

This stand is taken by us in all sincerity, our object being to lend all assistance in the campaign of the Communist party of which we are a faction. We are not deterred in our decision by the fact that our delegates were forcefully ejected from the party United Front Conference. That we have differences on the political contents of the six adopted slogans; criticize the complete lack of the real vital slogans which would connect the immediate demands with the goal of proletarian dictatorship; that we criticize the general course of the campaign whose slow progress is symptomatic rather than accidental; all this does not shake us in a resolution to do all that lies within our power to help bring the Communist position before the masses.

We stand ready to carry out work. Are you ready to accept our proffered help?

We await your immediate reply.

Fraternally,

Organizer, C. L. of A. Chicago Branch

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Several precious days elapsed during which the Party made frantic appeals for signatures but no reply came to our letter. A committee from the Branch went to the party district office to find out the reason. It seems that our visit was totally unexpected, since there was no strong-arm reception committee on hand to throw out the “counter-revolutionary Trotskyites”, who for some unknown reason wanted to help collect signatures in order to put the party on the ballot.

The spokesman for the Committee, comrade Giganti, reminded the acting district organizer, John Williamson, about our letter and requested to know the reason why we had received no response. The worthy D. O. cracked a smile and stated that they had received our letter and would take it up and let us know their decision. Comrade Giganti thereupon drew Williamson's attention to the short time left for the signatures to be filed and stated that the Left Opposition was willing to set to work immediately to collect signatures providing we were supplied with the necessary blanks. But Johnny very coolly replied that they had no blank petitions on hand, and

that we need not fret; the District would take up our letter and let us know.

After the interview had terminated thus, we left. All of us were greatly astonished at the fact that the District Campaign headquarters should be all out of petition blanks. Of course the thought that Johnny was merely stalling never entered our minds. Neither did we imagine that possibly Johnny was afraid to commit himself definitely on such a very ticklish point, because some aspiring fellow bureaucrat might, on some future occasion, use it against him. But now after a week has almost gone by and still there is no answer, we are becoming very suspicious.

Meanwhile, members of the Left Opposition, who are members of party auxiliaries and T. U. U. L. unions are collecting signatures and turning them over to these organizations. At our street corner meetings we speak on the election campaign and urge the workers to vote Communist. In contradiction to the semi-Social Democratic speeches of the party which concern themselves entirely with immediate demands, we present the Leninist position on parliamentarism. The bureaucrats' attempts to isolate us from the party ranks and from the working class will not succeed. By our practical activity as well as by the popularization of our theoretical stand, we shall draw the party masses ever closer.

—BANZEL