

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879

VOLUME VI, NO. 6 [WHOLE NO. 153]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1933

PRICE 5 CENTS

Why Is the Comintern Silent on Germany?

The Militant to Appear Three Times A Week During Drive!

The National Committee Issues A Call to Action to All!

CALL TO ACTION
To all branches, members, and supporters
of the Left Opposition.

Dear Comrades:
CONCENTRATE ALL ACTIVITY ON
THE GERMAN CAMPAIGN OF
THE LEAGUE!

The League is reacting to the German crisis with the greatest campaign in its history. It is precisely at the moment of sharp turns and world-shaking events, when the Centrist bureaucracy reveals its impotence and bankruptcy, that the Left Opposition must show its political initiative, its boldness, and its capacity to multiply its activities many fold. From this point of view the National Committee has already taken a number of decisive steps which are shaking the Communist movement in New York to its foundations.

The first of these actions, and the pivotal point of our campaign, is the decision to publish the MILITANT during the next month THREE TIMES A WEEK!

This decision was made with the greatest deliberation and sobriety and will be carried out in life. It is not a bluff or an empty gesture, and must in no case be so regarded by a single member of the organization. At the time of making the decision we had no money on hand—not a penny, in fact; nothing but pressing bills and obligations. Our resources for the execution of this ambitious plan consist exclusively in the burning world importance of the German crisis and the movement we shall create on the basis of that issue. That is enough.

The correctness of our decision from a practical as well as from a political standpoint was confirmed to the hilt at the magnificent mass meeting of the Left Opposition in New York Sunday. Never since the days following the Russian Bolshevik revolution has New York seen such a meeting—such unrestrained enthusiasm, such a stormy assertion of the spirit of proletarian internationalism. And—what is no less significant—one could see by the size of the splendid audience, by its fervid demonstration of support of our campaign, how quickly the Left Opposition, if it acts boldly at the moment of great happenings, can bound forward and rally the Communist workers around its banner. The financial contributions alone—five and ten dol-

lar bills in the fourth year of the crisis!—registered a spirit of sacrifice that stops at nothing; a spirit that has not been seen in the years of Stalinist degeneration.

This glorious beginning of our great campaign filled us all with unbounded confidence that we can carry it through and fulfill our international duty in a manner worthy of a section of the International Left Opposition. The appearance of the MILITANT three times a week in this fateful period cannot fail to electrify the Communist workers, to shake them out of passivity and routine. It cannot fail to awaken them to an understanding that the defense of the German proletariat against the dreadful scourge of Fascism is a matter of days, perhaps of hours. This is our aim—to awaken the Communist workers. This is why we begin our campaign and center it around the triple editions of the MILITANT.

But the struggle of the Left Opposition will not be confined to the literary sphere. Our three-a-week MILITANT must be for us not merely the propagandist, but also the agitator and organizer of a great movement, as Lenin said a Communist paper should be. Mass meetings must be held everywhere. Workers meetings, shops, gatherings of every kind must be invaded boldly with the burning message of the Left Opposition on the German crisis. Every member of the organization, and every sympathetic worker, must be mobilized for daily activity to distribute the MILITANT. The whole revolutionary labor movement must be shaken from top to bottom with the message of internationalism.

And now the capacity of the Left Oppositionists for material sacrifices must really assert itself. We expect that every Bolshevik-Leninist will put his duty to the German revolution above every personal consideration and see to it that the funds necessary to assure the steady appearance of the MILITANT on the new schedule are forthcoming without delay. Do this, comrades, do everything, not tomorrow but today!

With Communist Greetings,
National Committee,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)
JAMES P. CANNON,
National Secretary.

500 Workers Pack New York Hall To Hear Opposition on Germany

Despite the bitterly cold weather five hundred workers packed the largest meeting yet held by the Left Opposition in New York, to hear our speakers in the Stuyvesant Casino present an analysis of the acute crisis in Germany today. With Martin Abern in the chair, the meeting got under way with a recounting by Max Shachtman of the role played in the victory of Fascism by the treachery of the social democracy, on the one hand, and on the other the criminal policy of blundering pursued by Stalinism in Germany. James P. Cannon dealt with the significance of Fascism, the imminent threat to the Soviet Union and the Communist International. The question of the united front of Communist and social democratic workers and their organizations, for the purpose of crushing Fascism was emphasized in the speeches and the summary. The intense interest of the audience may be gauged by the fact that more than 50 questions were sent up to the chairman by representatives of all tendencies. In summing up, Shachtman pointed out that it was impossible to reply to all the questions; when the proposal was put to call another meeting two weeks later, to discuss the German events further, it was enthusiastically endorsed. Despite this proposal, the floor was given to a spokesman for the official Communist party who offered a sad example of the mis-education of the Communist workers by Stalinism. Not only was a good collection taken, running close to \$100., but those in attendance, amongst them being several score party members and Lovestonite sympathizers, voted with enthusiastic unanimity (save for four contrary votes!) for the following resolution which was put for adoption:

This mass meeting of 500 workers assembled at Stuyvesant Casino at the call of the Communist League of America (Opposition), raises its voice in vigorous condemnation of a regime of Fascism in Germany and declares its unyielding solidarity with the struggle of the German working class against the Hitler monster. We appeal urgently to the Communist party and the Communist International to take cognizance of the critical situation and fulfill its responsibility by leading the German working class to the victorious struggle against Fascism, employing the tactic of the united front as it has been expounded by Lenin and after him by the International Left Opposition.

We appeal to the Communist Party of the United States to initiate at once a series of huge united front demonstrations against the Hitler regime and to demand of the Socialist party and the trade unions that they take part in the single united front movement of the American workers in solidarity with the embattled proletariat of Germany. Long live the united front of the working class! Down with the Fascist murderers! Long live the German proletarian revolution! Now more than ever we demand the return to the Soviet Union and to the party of Leon Trotsky and Christian Rakovsky, the leaders of the International Left Opposition and the proletarian world revolution!

(Six votes were cast against this resolution by show of hands, whereas the rest of the several hundreds present voted enthusiastically for it.)

Opposition at Gillespie

League's View Triumphs at Progressive Miners Conference

170 delegates, more than a half of whom came from the locals of the Progressive Miners of America, assembled at the conference in Gillespie, Illinois, on January 29 in response to the call of the Gillespie Trades and Labor Council to discuss the project of a new federation of labor. The representation at the conference and the sentiments expressed by the great majority of the delegates gave a most emphatic confirmation to the estimate which the Militant had made of the new movement and of the proposal to organize a new trade union center. The conference revealed most convincingly that the organizational basis for a new general labor movement is by no means sufficient at the present time, and the project was taken off the agenda. Instead of that, a realistic program of agitation to coordinate the work of militants inside and outside the A. F. of L. was adopted.

A Mistake Avoided

This outcome of the conference should be a matter of great satisfaction to the militants throughout the country who warmly support the new rise of the progressive miner's movement and who feared that it might handicap itself at the beginning by a dangerous mistake. At the same time, both by its size and by its spirit, the conference refuted those conservative and sterile formalists, such as the Right wing Communists, who look upon the Progressive Miners organiza-

tion as simply another unfortunate split. The conception of the Stalinists that the Progressive Miners of America is just another edition of the Lewis type of union could likewise find nothing to nourish it at the Gillespie conference.

The P. M. of A., whose locals furnished the driving force and the bulk of the delegates at the Gillespie Conference, is a movement pulsing with life. It is calling out new resources of proletarian energy and militancy, new hope and vision. In the course of epic struggles it is throwing up a cadre of new leaders from among the young miners who, if they still lack experience and ease of orientation in complicated problems, are, by that uncorrupted and unspooled by the deadening routine, conservatism, and treachery of the old bureaucracy. Behind them is a surging militant rank and file. From all these aspects one who looks at the Gillespie conference with a clear eye can see that although it could not constitute the basis for a new labor federation, it did nevertheless, represent a significant step on the path of a regenerated labor movement, and contained forces which are destined to be a dynamic factor in advancing that movement.

The program adopted by the conference tallied very closely with that of the advanced Left wing labor elements nearly everywhere. Industrial unionism, shorter work day, unemployment insurance (Continued on page 4)

Hitlerites Move Forward; Communists Mark Time

Nine days have passed since the Austrian adventurer, Hitler, was appointed Chancellor of the German Republic by the social democratic "Bulwark against Fascism" President Paul von Hindenburg. To sum up this brief period into which so much has been condensed, we must say:

The forces of reaction, and primarily the forces of Fascism have been enormously strengthened and consolidated, become more insolent and audacious.

The forces of proletarian resistance to the triumph of Fascism have not yet rallied into serried ranks. The social democracy still plays its treacherous role of "watchful waiting", which is synonymous with a passivity that plays into the hands of a relentlessly advancing Fascist. The Communists have not yet been able to stir out of that impotence with which the pernicious policy of sectarianism paralyzes it.

In a word, right in the midst of a situation where days are substituted for months and years, where hours count in place of days, the Fascists are gaining in strength and strategic position, while the Communists, who alone can lead a genuine struggle to smash the brown-shirted monster, are marking time, demoralized and not knowing in which direction to move.

The Comintern Is Silent!

And above everything else, with nine precious, crucial, fateful days already gone by, the general staff of the world revolution, the leadership of the revolutionary movement, the Executive Committee of the Communist International—IS SILENT! Instead of guidance to the Communists and the militant working class of Germany in this zero hour—the Communist International preserves an ominous silence. Instead of a ringing call to arms, which the Communist International is duty-bound to issue at such a moment—Moscow is as silent as the grave. Instead of a flaming appeal to the workers of the whole world for solidarity action with the hard-pressed German proletariat, the international Stalinist staff maintains—what milder term can be applied?—a criminal and treacherous silence!

What is happening? What should have happened?

The minute Hitler was appointed Chancellor, and took the first real steps to establish the genuine Fascist dictatorship of blood and iron, the working class should have replied, with the same unanimity it dis-

played during the days of the Kapp putsch, by a general strike. But the German working class could not declare this general strike without a leadership to organize and direct it. The social democracy wants no militant struggle which may lead to the triumph of Bolshevism; true to its role, it continues to hold the restless masses in check. The Communist party could not call the strike, or more exactly, its call met with no response from the bulk of the working class. And for cause: the ultimatum policy of the party in the past, the demand it made that the workers of all tendencies first recognize its leadership, has not increased its hold over the organized, socialist, workers. The general strike could not be on the order of the day because the party had not energetically pursued the policy of the united front which would have made possible the mobilization of the masses around a concrete program of struggle. Result: the first call for a general strike issued by the Communist party ended in a fiasco, for the masses did not respond. In this way the Communist party, and by the same token, the German proletariat, is paying heavily for the blunders and crimes of Stalinism.

The Hitler regime has been quick to press its advantage. Its aim is: weaken the proletariat further, bleed it slowly by the dirk and the bludgeon, exhaust it and distract its attention with parliamentary maneuvers, press harder on the institutions of the proletariat, and then deliver the final blows with drawn saber, torch and machine gun. How has it proceeded?

Fascist Advances

One: the Reichstag has been dissolved and elections set for March 5. Will the elections decide the question of Fascism, of power? Preposterous! The beginnings of that decision are being made right now on the streets of Germany. Hitler has no illusions about the possibilities of ruling by a constitutional 51 percent majority in the Reichstag. But he loses nothing by distracting attention from the decisive extra-parliamentary field and centering it upon the illusionary parliamentary elections. On the contrary, by this procedure he gains valuable time in which to consolidate his positions.

Two: The Prussian Diet has been dissolved, and the elections also set for March 5. The arbitrariness of the dissolution is only a foretaste of bloody (Continued on page 4)

How We Plan «New Militant»

The decision to increase the frequency of appearance of the MILITANT to three times a week, is the biggest step forward yet taken by the Left Opposition in this country. That it is being taken at the moment when the situation in Germany—the key to the International situation—is reaching its most crucial stage, with long-lasting consequences for the whole revolutionary and labor movements, is of the utmost significance.

The official Stalinist press is dealing with the latest development in Germany as if it were some chance episode, of no considerable importance to the proletariat in this country. The MILITANT intends to break down this despicable national narrow-mindedness, this blindness to the historical events passing right before our eyes, and to fulfill the role of the revolutionary newspaper by stimulating the internationalist spirit of the American working class.

Despite the enormous burden we are undertaking to carry, we feel confident that the response to our initiative will be broad enough to enable us to go through with the enterprise. We have made all the technical arrangements. And the first issue of the three-times-a-week MILITANT will appear on next Monday morning, February 13, 1933.

The MILITANT will continue with the same format, although the number of pages will be cut down from four to two. In addition, to improve the looks of the paper and increase the amount of material that is to go into each issue, we have decided to change the number of columns to the page from six, as at present, to seven.

Above all, we are determined to make the MILITANT available to every worker. Therefore, we are changing the price of each copy of the MILITANT.

From Five Cents to One Cent

We are so confident that a larger circulation will immediately be obtained for the new MILITANT during the period of the German crisis, that we calculate on the additional numbers sold covering the deficit involved in reducing the price of each copy so drastically.

The new MILITANT will go to press on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday nights, and appear for sale, at least in New York and vicinity, on MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY MORNINGS!

To carry on during this period, we need two things above all. One: generous financial support—it is the German revolution and the world proletarian cause which is involved and we feel that we are in a position to make the most imperative demands for financial assistance from every militant worker and sympathizer.

Two: technical assistance in the office: We will have an enormous task of mailing and distributing to do, and every offer of help will be gratefully appreciated. Come immediately to the office to ask for the comrade in charge of this work, Martin Abern.

All comrades and friends—help put this historic drive over the top! Without your help, our difficulties multiply. With your cooperation, we are assured of a powerful advance!

Oehler Starts National Tour On Germany

In the campaign of the Communist League on the German crisis comrade Hugo Oehler will begin a speaking tour at Utica, New York on Friday, February 17. All energy must be concentrated to arrange big mass meetings on the occasion of comrade Oehler's visit. Action is the slogan of the hour. There is no time to rearrange dates. All readers take notice of the meetings in the various cities on the following schedule:

Utica, N. Y.—Feb. 17

Buffalo, N. Y.—Feb. 18
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Feb. 19.
New Castle, Pa.—Feb. 20.
Youngstown, O.—Feb. 21.
Cleveland, O.—Feb. 22.
Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26.
Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27.
Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 28.
Kansas City—March 1, 2, 3.
St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5.
Illinois Coal Fields—March 6.

Lovestone Group Splits in Two

Events are moving with tremendous speed everywhere, it seems. After several months of internal dispute, the Right wing Lovestone group has been split by the walk-out of the Gitlow faction in it. Just at the present moment, the controversy is being fought with statements by both factions in the capitalist press, in which each seeks to excel the other in bombast and fraud. Lovestone modestly claims for his group a membership of 900—no less. Gitlow announces his new mission as founder or organizer of a mass movement of the American working class in the form of a Farmer-Labor party.

The Left Opposition declared from the very beginning that within the Right wing groups themselves were contained the germs of their own dissolution. In virtually every country, this assertion has been confirmed beyond dispute. In the United States, it was particularly clear, because the Lovestone-Gitlow section of the "International" Right wing was never troubled much with the problem of principles. Consequently, its function has been—since its existence—to furnish repentant capitulators to Stalinism, on the one hand, and new recruits for reformism, on the other. In between, it has sought to maintain itself as an "independent group", without startling success. Now, Gitlow has capitalized on the discontentment of many Right wing workers with the obsequious attitude Lovestone takes towards the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union which, he argues, is "historically necessary". Thus Gitlow wins to his side a number of the workers disillusioned with the Lovestone

philosophy. On the other hand, the latter has been able to retain his hold over many Communist elements in the faction by pointing to where Gitlow is heading, and Gitlow is indeed heading far to the Right, on a hopeless sectarian venture, devoid of any principles or revolutionary considerations.

We are compelled to deal here only sketchily with the latest developments in the American Right wing. In the next issue of the Militant, we shall devote a lengthier study to an analysis of these developments.

The next issue of the Militant will also contain a full report of the second meeting of the Committee formed in New York after the trade union conference for unemployment insurance. Pressure of space compelled us to omit it from this issue, but it will certainly appear in the next.

OPEN FORUM

"WHAT NEXT IN THE NEEDLE TRADES"
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
RIGHT AND LEFT UNION
The Policy of the Left Opposition

Speaker:
J. P. CANNON

Friday, 8 P. M. FEBRUARY 17th
126 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America
(Opposition)

BRONX MASS
MEETING

The CRISIS in GERMANY

SPEAKER:

James P. Cannon

Hollywood Gardens

696 PROSPECT AVE., Near 161st St.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1933, 3 P. M.
ADMISSION 15 Cents

Letters from Militants

Miners' Women on the March

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

Dressed in white uniforms, ten thousand Illinois coal diggers' militant wives, mothers and sweethearts staged a colorful demonstration of working class power and solidarity through the state capitol's busy thoroughfare, voicing protest against the fourth year of the hunger era.

Mass delegations from fifty-one mine towns were prompt in their response to the call of their executives to assemble here January 26 to take up the fight of the Progressive Miners of America on four burning issues: Namely, unemployment insurance, increase in state aid, restoration of civil rights and against the sales tax.

Marching eight abreast in disciplined formation, the huge army of women stirred to ecstasy the thousands of coal miners who flanked the streets all along the road of march.

Five miners' bands led the mass of women in the one hour march from the State Arsenal to the Capitol.

Loyal rank and file miners from the fighting Springfield district, along with large committees from all over the state, were at hand to spur the women on to struggle against the intolerable conditions of unemployment.

At the head of the inspiring multitudes was Agnes Burns Wieck, commanding the organized from delegations through fifty-one branch presidents. Along side of her were Celine Burrell, Secretary-Treasurer, and Mrs. Leon Besson, Vice-President, of the Illinois Women's Auxiliary.

Preceding the state officers was the Gillespie-Bend-Wilsonville fifty piece band forming the vanguard of the white army of marching women. Next in line, faithfully trudging along, was "Mother" McKeever, unmindful of her 75 years. Then came the widows of the Moweaqua miners dressed in black mourning, further symbolizing the woes and tortures of that section of humanity that choke deep under in producing society's basic fuel. Broad smiling faces regained their seriousness and hats were removed as the bereaved women of Moweaqua marched solemnly by. Their heads were drooped in sadness and tears were visible.

Next in line came the families of the martyrs of the Progressive Miners of America, Mrs. Andrew Gynnes, Mrs. Joe Colbert and Albin Cumerlatto along with his daughters and son. Those who gave their loved ones for the cause were highly honored by the whole gathering of women fighters. Deeply written from one column of the march to the other were signs of worry and desperation steered by a solid phalanx of organization.

The first delegation to lead the parade was the women of Springfield who were honored to first position because of the affair being held in their home city. Several hundred were numbered following a large banner proclaiming: "12 mines work under P. M. of A. contract and peace in Springfield. Why not Peabody?"

Next in line were the other auxiliaries from the Springfield district—Riverton, Virden, Dawson, Williamsville, Witt, Nokomis, Gerard Panama, Thayer, Divernon, Auburn, Pawnee—marching at a steady gait, headed by banners describing the names of their towns.

Then came the large Gillespie group followed by the Bend school band and their home town auxiliary. Bend with a large banner proclaimed: "Bend Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America. 610 members strong." Next in line were the mass groups from Mt. Olive, Carlinville, Staunton, Wilsonville, White City, Livingston and Williams.

The towns of Hillsboro, followed by the Tovey band, then Taylorville, Langleyville, Bulpitt, Stonington, Kincaid, Tovey, Pana and Decatur came next. The enthusiasm of the miners' women from the midland territory was visibly undaunted as they confidently marched behind their sisters from every nook and corner of the state.

The northern district with Peoria, East Peoria, Farmington, Galesburg, St. David, Cuba and Norris were also present, raising their banners high to the world that was out to watch them.

The Belleville territory with its numerous, sturdy German women were next in line. Banners on which were inscribed Belleville, O'Fallon, Marissa, Breese, Pocahontas, Coulterville. Tilden boomed over the heads of different groupings.

Last but not least were the courageous mining women of southern Illinois who braved threats and intimidations to join their sisters of the north. Du Quoin and Dowell, new allies of the Progressive Miners of America, were present. Then came groups of women representing auxiliaries from bloody Franklin county. It takes a man with a mighty heart to be an active Progressive down in that land of terror, but here we had delegations from West Frankfort, Ziegler, Buckner and Christopher. The writers are proud to belong to the great cause of the Progressive movement. A defiant smile gleams from their faces as they take their places side by side with the new champions of labor.

"We saw Edmondson peering from the side of an auto," said one Franklin county woman. "He looked like he was going to faint." Edmondson is the renegade of the rank and file movement who is employed as the leading terrorist of Franklin county by Walker and Lewis. It was a sorrowful day for the reactionary fakers of the old United Mine Workers of America.

The last column having passed the towering statue of Abraham Lincoln, the

women began to break from their lines, filling the entrances of the state Capitol. The curious and interested masses that flanked the streets started to move towards the steps of the Capitol. Bands incessantly played their many stirring tunes.

After the singing and band concerts had abated, Agnes Wieck called her executive board together and along with the fifty-one branch presidents, the committee representing the Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America, made their way through the immense crowd to present to the chief executive of Illinois, Governor Horner, the demands of their organization.

The reception room of the Governor was taxed to capacity. The hallways were jammed with miners' wives. State Highway Patrolmen, one with a tear gas gun, were standing in strategic positions. Plain clothes men were milling around somewhat uneasily. We later learned that the day previous a large delegation of unemployed workers had entered the state capitol to petition for unemployment relief and had been unmercifully clubbed by the police. Possibly this caused the uneasiness. A few representatives of the Progressive Miners of America who had remained at the side of the women's committee throughout the whole demonstration were eyed suspiciously. At Mrs. Wieck's suggestion, the Governor agreed to meet the entire delegation in the reception room.

The Governor was finally met by the women's committee. Mrs. Wieck then read to him their statement in behalf of the housewives of Illinois' mining fields—those who often must make "meals" solely from the flour that is labeled "American Red Cross". The statement was tersely written, it rang with the tone of resentment against impoverishment of the workers dependant upon coal for an existence.

The following immediate demands were presented by the Auxiliary here:

1. For restoration of civil liberties in coal fields.
2. For increased and more equitable distribution of State Aid.
3. For unemployment insurance paid by industry and state.
4. For defeat of the State sales tax.

That night the members of the Women's Auxiliary, Progressive Miners of America, jammed the main floor and balconies of the huge state arsenal to listen to the report of their delegation. The report on the conference with the Governor was made by Agnes Burns Wieck.

Following the report, a grand ball was held celebrating the tremendous organizational success that the women marchers had made. Proceeds from this affair will go to the Moweaqua victims and the Springfield unemployed miners who are still on strike against the Peabody Coal Company.

Until early morning, tractions, buses, autos and trucks continued to roll, transporting the greatest gathering of working women in the history of the American labor movement. The precision, discipline and spirit of the women marchers was highly commendable. The militant members of the Women's Auxiliary gathered in Springfield to wage the struggle against hunger at the very doors of the representatives of the government. Success of their fight, however, will depend largely upon the degree of organization that will be exerted to change the evils responsible for starvation amidst plenty. Back in mine towns, through the Progressive Miners of America, through their own organized efforts, utilizing every possible economic and political instrument at their command, the Women's Auxiliary will be ultimately triumphant in the war to make labor safe from hunger.

—A MINER.

I.L.G.W.U. Leaders Seek to Corral Youth

At the call of the Dressmakers' Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a conference of "radical youth" groups was held in New York, February 3, to aid the union in its organizational drive. Representatives of the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Inter-Collegiate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy, the Lovestonite youth, the Young Circle League and the Vanguard (anarchist) group had a short while previously participated in a pre-conference to arrange for this conference. The Left Opposition youth—the Spartacus Youth Club—was not invited to either gathering. It had an observer at the conference.

After the chairman explained the purpose of the meeting, Max Bluestein, manager of the Joint Board, spoke in glowing terms of the history of the union and the need of the cooperation of the youth assembled to help the union organize the dressmakers. Following this, representatives of the youth groups present spoke.

The YPSL, LID and Young Circle League pledged their support and readiness "to take orders". The speaker for the Lovestonites endorsed the campaign and spoke for a "clean, fighting, militant union" which would fight racketeering and organize the youth in the trade. The chairman, an official in the union, greeted this mild and meaningless speech. The spokesman of the Vanguard (anarchist) Group launched into an attack upon the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the ILGWU, and their sell-out policies and agreements. He exposed by direct references fake agreements made in the dress and cloak industry in New York by the ILGWU. He protested at the original refusal of the officials of the ILGWU to invite the youth of the CPLA and the Left Opposition to the Conference. They had,

My Daughter's Suicide

Open Letter On Stalin's Role in the Death of Zinaida Volkov

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE C. C. OF THE C. P. OF THE USSR.
TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE USSR.
TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE C. C. OF THE C. P. OF THE USSR.

I deem it necessary to inform you how and why my daughter committed suicide.

At the close of 1930, upon my request, you authorized my tubercular daughter, Zinaida Volkov, to come to Turkey temporarily with her five year old son Wessolod, for treatment. I did not suppose that behind this liberalism of Stalin lurked a mental reservation. My daughter arrived here in January 1931 with a pneumothorax in both lungs. After a ten months sojourn in Turkey we finally obtained—despite the constant resistance of the Soviet foreign representatives permission for her to go to Germany for treatment. The child remained temporarily with us in Turkey so as not to burden the invalid. After some time the German physicians thought it possible to remove the pneumothorax. The invalid began to recover and dreamed only of returning with her child to Russia where her daughter and her husband, who is a Bolshevik-Leninist held in exile by Stalin, remained.

On the twentieth of February 1932 you published a decree by which not only my wife, my son and I, but also my daughter Zinaida Volkov, was deprived of Soviet citizenship. In the foreign land where you gave her permission to go with a Soviet passport my daughter occupied herself only with her treatment. She did not, and because of her health, could not take any part in political life. She avoided anything that might throw the shade of a "suspicion" upon her. Depriving her of her citizenship was only a wretched and stupid act of vengeance against me. For her, this act of personal vengeance meant a break with her little daughter, her husband, her fiancé and all her customary life. Her mental condition, already disturbed without that by the death of her younger sister, by her own illness, received a fresh blow all the more atrocious as it was quite surprising and not provoked in any way by her. The psychiatrists unanimously declared that only a return to her normal environment, with her family, and her work could save her. But your decree of the twentieth of February of 1932 removed precisely this possibility of saving her. All other attempts, as you know, have remained in vain.

German physicians insisted that at least her son be brought to her as quickly as possible; in that they still saw the chance of restoring the moral equilibrium of the mother. But as the six-year old child was equally deprived of Soviet citizenship the difficulties of his departure from Constantinople to Berlin were multi-

plied. A half year passed in constant but fruitless efforts in several European countries. Only my unforeseen trip to Copenhagen gave us the opportunity to bring the child to Europe. With the greatest difficulty he made the trip to Berlin in six weeks. He was hardly near his mother for a week when Gen. Schleicher's police in collusion with the Stalinist agents decided to expel my daughter from Berlin. Where? To Turkey? To the Island of Prinkipo? But the child needed to attend school and my daughter needed continuous medical attention under conditions of family life bear this new blow. On the fifth of January she asphyxiated herself with gas. She was thirty years old.

In 1928 my younger daughter Nina, whose husband has been locked up in solitary prison by Stalin for five years, was bedridden and then taken to the hospital for a short time after my exile to Alma Ata. They found her with galloping consumption. A purely personal letter, without the least relation to politics, which was addressed to me, was held up by you for seventy days so that my answer did not find her alive. She died at the age of 24.

During my stay in Copenhagen, where my wife began a treatment for a serious illness and where I prepared myself to begin a treatment, Stalin, through Tass agency, issued the lying denunciation to the European police that a "Trotskyist conference" was meeting in Copenhagen! That was enough to have the Danish social-democratic government do Stalin the favor of expelling me with feverish haste, interrupting the necessary treatments for my wife. But in this case, as in many others, Stalin's unity with the capitalist police at least had a political aim. The persecution of my daughter was devoid of even a shade of political sense. Depriving her of Soviet citizenship—a loss of her only hope to return to a normal environment and to recovery—finally her expulsion from Berlin (a service indisputably rendered to Stalin by the German police), are acts without a political aim for miserable and stupid revenge and nothing else. My daughter was pretty clear about her position. She understood that she could receive no safety at the hands of the European police, persecuting her at the request of Stalin. Conscious of that, her death followed on the fifth of January. Such a death is called "voluntary". No, it was not voluntary. Stalin imposed this death upon her. I limit myself to this information without drawing conclusions. The time will come for this subject. The regenerated party will do it.

Prinkipo, January 11, 1933

—LEON TROTSKY.

EON TROTSKY

STALIN'S DENIAL

I am not in possession of the "Bolshevik" with the denial of Stalin of the article "With Both Hands". The semi-official communication of the "Berliner Tageblatt", however, suffices to give one an adequate picture of this denial.

Stalin did not react to Campbell's book until the Left Opposition seized upon it. Didn't Stalin deem the book sufficiently important? Yet he did grant Campbell an interview which, according to the report of the American, lasted until the early hours of the morning and, according to Stalin's denial, lasted "no more" than two hours. Even two hours are enough to confirm the importance of this conversation. Campbell received the

stenographic report of this interview: Stalin confirms this. Campbell is no journalist but an agrarian big bourgeois. Is it possible that Stalin took no notice of this man's book? Out of the question. The Press Bureau must have furnished him with the most important excerpts, especially those which concern Stalin himself, immediately after the appearance of the book. Nevertheless, Stalin was silent. The article in the "Bulletin of the Russian Opposition" first loosened his tongue. Therein is to be found the measure of value of Stalin's denial.

In 1925, when his policy aimed completely at the capitalist farmer, that is, at the Kulak, Stalin went so far as to have secret designs on the necessity of denationalizing the land. He arranged for himself an interview by Soviet journalists. One of the questions (dictated by Stalin himself) read, if it would not be advisable in the interest of peasant agriculture to hand over to every individual farmer the land tilled by him, for a period of ten years. Stalin's answer was: "Even for forty years." At the same time, the Georgian People's Commissar for Agriculture, after an interview with Stalin in the Caucasus, brought in a formal legislative project for the denationalization of the land. The Left Opposition unfolded a violent protest campaign against it. In this connection, it referred back to the already partially forgotten interview on the suspension of the nationalization of the land "for forty years". Stalin found it necessary to start the retreat. He simply declared that the journalists had "wrongly" understood him. But as to why he had remained silent about the printed interview for several months, he could make no answer.

In 1928, Stalin prepared the entrance of the Russian trade unions into the Amsterdam International. In the new edition of the membership books of the Russian trade unions, the passage concerning adherence to the Red International of Labor Unions was simply stricken out. At the same time, Kaganovich delivered a speech in Kharkov, naturally in agreement with Stalin, in favor of entrance into the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The Left Opposition once more raised its voice in vigorous protest. Stalin retreated. The new text of the membership books was explained away as a "misunderstanding". Kaganovich declared that the stenographer in Kharkov had bungled the meaning of his speech. The Kharkov Oppositionists, however, established the fact that the stenographic report had been carefully corrected by Kaganovich himself.

Back in 1930, Stalin, in conversations

GERMANY WHAT NEXT BY LEON TROTSKY

192 Pages

CLOTH 65c

PAPER 35c

Postage 6c Extra

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

The Capitulation of Roman Well and Co.

The international Stalinist press (in this country, the *Freiheit*), is celebrating a new "victory". Messrs. Roman Well and his handful of followers in the Left Opposition in Germany have broken away from the organization and have started on the thorny path to Canossa to capitulate to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Seizing upon the article "With Both Hands", in which Stalin's treacherous interview with Mr. Thomas Campbell was so thoroughly exposed, the Well clique found a pretext for their renegade from the International Left Opposition. It proceeded to issue a "special issue" of the organ of the German Opposition, "Die Permanente Revolution", which is a forgery from beginning to end. The regular edition of "Die Permanente Revolution" is still in the hands of the Left Opposition, as is the bulk of the membership which is repudiating the turncoats. The Well forgery is not only different in format and in masthead, but by its very contents, reveals that it could not possibly have been issued by the German Left Opposition. The latest issue of our German brother organ, which has just been received, confirms the obvious impression of a fraud created when the Well sheet first arrived here.

The rejoicing of the *Freiheit*, which announces gleefully that the "Trotskyist group in Germany has announced its own dissolution", is due to be short-lived, for it is based upon sheer falsehood.

Every edition of capitulationism thus far has sung the same song at the beginning. Zinoviev broke with the Opposition because "Trotsky had broken from the principles of the Opposition platform"; to defend the Opposition platform more ardently, Zinoviev rushed right into the arms of Stalin and Co. Radek, Smilga, and Preobrazhensky also found grace in the Stalinist bureaucracy by discovering that "Trotsky had broken from the principles of the Opposition platform". The third and most vulgar edition of the capitulators—Roman Well and his coterie—have crawled into the Stalinist camp under the same smoke screen: They, and not the International Left Opposition, are the true defenders of Bolshevism, the loyal supporters of the Comintern and the world revolution; therefore, capitulate to the Stalin faction!

In the declarations published in the weeks with Lominadze and others among his confidants, launched the argument: "The Comintern represents nothing and it ekes out its existence only because of our support." But the moment when Lominadze, in struggle against Stalin, threw up to him the opinion he had vouchsafed, Stalin had no difficulty in repudiating his own words.

So it is not for the first time Stalin, under the attack of the Left Opposition, has resorted to a denial of his own affirmations. One can say that this procedure is part of the iron arsenal of his policy. At every new zig-zag, he moves cautiously, sends up trial balloons, frequently has others send them up, but holds open the possibility of a retreat as long as he can. To repudiate one of his own declarations has never offered him any difficulties.

Besides, the conversation with Emil Ludwig—published by Stalin himself—differs in no essential from the denied conversation with Campbell. And what is more important: the denial does not alter by one iota either the Kellogg Pact policy or the tactic of Stalin-Litvinov in Geneva. And this is what's important. Prinkipo, January 14, 1933.

—LEON TROTSKY.

forged edition of "Die Permanente Revolution", the turncoats complain that none of Trotsky's analyses of the situation in Russia, Spain or Germany have stood the test of events (Stalin's have, you see!). "National Socialism has received powerful blows, the Communist party has considerable successes to record. Nothing has remained of the perspective of the 'unconditional and immediate uprising of the National Socialists'. The conception was and is correct that Fascism in Germany cannot come to power until it has assured itself along the road of coalition of decisive positions in the state apparatus. Even if the Fascist danger is not yet (!) over with, one thing is plain, that in the given situation it is in decline and the revolutionary proletariat has come ahead."

Two days after this declaration was received in New York, Hitler was made Chancellor of the Republic and the Fascist bands started their reign of terror with renewed vigor and violence!

For the capitulators, the Stalin faction does not represent Centrism, because, you see, Lenin spoke of Centrism only in connection with the social democracy! For the capitulators, the united front with the social democracy is inadmissible, because, you see, the social democracy is led by traitors! For the capitulators, the Left Opposition has no right to existence, because, you see, it is a small group; the German Communist Party has gained votes in the last elections; the 12th Plenum of Manuilsky and Co., "put into the foreground with Bolshevik determination the mass work in all reformist organizations". Finally, there is no "internal democracy"—the faction of Stalinist bureaucracy!

The Left Opposition, neither in Germany nor internationally, does not capitulate. It leaves that role to miserable turncoats who cannot distinguish between revolutionary internationalism and national Communism, who mix up the Stalinist faction of bureaucratic degeneration with the Party and Comintern of Lenin and Trotsky, who identify the interests of the ruling clique in the Russian party with the interests of the Russian party and world revolution; who cannot distinguish between the German worker-Communists and the corrupt Thaelmann regime; who wince under the pressure of the party bureaucracy, and, not having the intransigence, the steadfastness, the endurance, the fierce loyalty to the revolution and its principles that distinguish the Bolshevik from the camp-follower of the revolution—run to beg for mercy and a tiny place in the sun of that bureaucracy.

The Well capitulation is an episode in the life of the Bolshevik-Leninists, not the first and not the last in the long struggle for revolutionary victory. But nothing more than an episode. We move forward over the corpses of these political suicides.

Tenacity, tenacity, tenacity! Bolshevik-Leninists, forward!

UNEMPLOYMENT

and the

AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

by

ARNE SWABECK

24 PAGES

FIVE CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

The Record Speaks!

Centrism Month by Month...

THE SAME BLOODHOUNDS

"We must show that the social Fascist Factory Councils and functionaries in the factories are the agents of the blood-stained Noske-Severing-Zoergiebel policy... that they are just the same bloodhounds as the Noskes, Severings or Zoergiebels."

—Rote Fahne, end of 1929.

"MANY COMRADES..."

"Many comrades see nothing at all except social Fascism, even in things that have not the slightest to do with Fascism. For many comrades there are no longer any social democrats and any social democracy, but only social Fascists and social Fascism. Workers, ordinary workers, who have nothing more to do with Fascism than that they have voted social democratic, are designated as social Fascists."

—Remmele, Die Internationale, No. 5-6, 1930.

THE SLOGAN OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH

"Drive the social Fascists out of the factories, out of the employment bureaus, out of the trade schools!"

—Junge Garde, end of 1929.

THE SLOGAN OF THE YOUNG PIONEERS

"Beat the smallest Zoergiebels out of the schools and playgrounds!"

—Die Trommel, end of 1929.

THE "RED" FACTORY COUNCILS ON PAPER

"The Factory Council elections in which the Communist Party of Germany came forward for the first time in the sharpest struggle against reformism as the bearer of the united front of the organized and unorganized, became a triumphal march in the most important industrial fields and large factories. The labor masses elected countless Red Factory Councils under the banner of the struggle against the state power, the employers and reformism."

—Wedding Congress, C. P. G., June 1929.

THE "RED" FACTORY COUNCILS IN REALITY

"As a result of the defective contacts of the Red Factory Councils with the workers of their factory, it was possible to eliminate a number of Red Factory Councils without any struggle or protest action of the plants.... In many cases, Red Factory Councils did not stand their ground and capitulated before the sharp pressure of the common enemy: employer, reformist bureaucracy and state apparatus. Their work was in no way distinguished from the policy of the reformists, or else they remained in complete passivity."

—Congress of the Trade Union Opposition of the C. P. G., Nov. 1929.

MUENZENBERG ON THE UNITED FRONT

"A bloc, or even an alliance, or even a temporary joint operation in individual actions between the Communist party and the Social Democratic party in Germany against National Socialism, would forever discredit the Communist party among the broad masses of the workers, tolling peasants and middle strata, and draw it into decline."

—Willi Muenzenberg, February 1, 1932.

A THOUSAND TIMES LESSER EVIL

"A social democratic coalition government, confronted with a non-combative split-up, confused proletariat would be a thousand times greater evil than an open Fascist dictatorship, against which would appear a class conscious proletariat, resolved upon struggle, united in its mass."

Der Propagandist, September 1931.

THE "OFFENSIVE" BEGAN IN... 1929

"The working masses, who a year ago still hesitantly set themselves in motion with dull, ponderous steps, are marching today under the blaring fanfare of the proletarian offensive against the capitalist system."

—Rote Fahne, May 1, 1929.

AGAIN: THE "OFFENSIVE" IN 1929!

"The relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has changed fundamentally. The working class is striding forward from the defensive to the offensive.... In the Berlin May struggles, broad masses stepped beyond the framework of bourgeois legality, offered resistance to the police action and opened up the political-revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois state power.... The Berlin May struggles constitute a turning point in the political development in Germany."

—Theses, Wedding Congress, C. P. G., 1929.

ILLUSIONS ABOUT DISTINCTIONS

"On the basis of the social Fascist evolution of the lower cadres of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the illusions of the working class are being destroyed in the belief that there is a distinction between the leadership of the SDPG and the lower cadre of functionaries of the SDPG."

—Theses of Wedding Congress, C. P. G., 1929.

FASCISM BROUGHT TO A STANDSTILL... IN 1930

"No wonder that all this affects the National Socialist worker elements like a cold douche. They are beginning to feel that they have gotten enough from Hugenberg and Hitler.... On the land, particularly where the agricultural proletariat found a resolute leader in the Communist party, the advance of the Swastikas has been brought to a standstill in recent months."

—Rote Fahne, May 9, 1930.

(Two days later, the elections took place in Gotha (Thuringia) where the Nazis topped the Communists, and increased their December 1929 vote of 5,193 to 6,136.)

FASCIST RULE SET UP... IN 1930

"The well-fed fakery, the accused secretaries and functionaries of the social Fascist party apparatus, want the civil war and a bloodbath which will exceed all the preceding shameful deeds of Noske and Zoergiebel. This is no longer the preparation, but the beginning of Fascist rule in Germany, set up with the bloody hands of the Social Democratic Party."

—Rote Fahne, January 17, 1930.

LATER, HEINZ NEUMANN WAS THE SCAPEGOAT

"Today the slogan of the people's revolution is a central, comprehensive propaganda slogan, the main strategic goal to which we are leading the masses along the line of our social and national emancipation program."

—Ernst Thaelmann, January 1931

"The slogan of the people's revolution was a correct slogan and remains a necessary slogan."

—Thaelmann, Central Committee Plenum, February 1932.

WHO WAS GUILTY OF UNDERESTIMATION?

"We assert it openly: For a long time we underestimated the danger of the National Socialist movement. It is high time to catch up, to exterminate the weaknesses and to conclude the real fighting proletarian united front against Fascism, a front of all workers regard-

less of party under our relationship."

—Saechsische Arbeiter Zeitung (C. P. G.), June 23, 1930.

AFTER SOCIAL FASCISM—"BRUENING FASCISM"

"Hindenburg's black Chancellor yesterday declared the Fascist financial dictatorship with the aid of article 48."

—Rote Fahne, March 17, 1930.

MORE "BRUENING FASCISM"

Communist Deputy Neubauer in the Reichstag: "What is taking place in Germany now is nothing but the desire to heal the deep-seated wounds of capitalism with the methods of Fascism.... This means nothing else than that the system of terroristic Fascism is to take the place of the so-called democratic system."

—ROTE FAHNE, July 16, 1930.

HITLER'S GREATEST DAY—IN 1930

After the September 1930 elections: "Last night was Herr Hitler's 'greatest day', but the so-called election victory of the Nazis is the beginning of their end."

—Rote Fahne, September 15, 1930.

MORE BUREAUCRATIC OPTIMISM

"The 14th of September was the high point of the National Socialist movement in Germany. What comes after this can only be decline and fall."

—Rote Fahne, September 16, 1930.

FASCISM "AGAIN" AT A STANDSTILL (1931!)

"The party succeeded, by a resolute offensive, in bringing the desultory advance of National Fascism to a standstill."

—Communist Party of Germany, Political Bureau decision, September 24, 1931.

"LET THEM COME TO POWER"

"If they (the Nazis) once come into power, the united front of the proletariat will be established and sweep everything away.... They will come to grief more speedily than any other government."

—Remmele in Reichstag, Rote Fahne, October 16, 1931.

THE GREAT LEADER SPEAKS...

"The fact that, for example, in our revolutionary trade union work, united front offers could be made from above to district trade union leaderships or other instances of the reformist bureaucracy (Ruhr district), also shows that our principled struggle against the social democracy was not conducted resolutely enough to make such mistakes impossible."

—Thaelmann, Die Internationale, No. 11-12, 1931.

VON PAPEN IS ALSO FASCISM...

"Before all, we must make it clear to the social democratic workers that what we have today is the Fascist dictatorship.... The same holds for the illusion that the S. D. P. G. or the General German Trade Union Alliance are also organizations of the anti-Fascist struggle. Whoever would aim to build on the idea that by 'appeals' to the SDPG or other reformist organizations, a struggle would come about, would disarm the proletariat."

—Rote Fahne, July 26, 1932 Central Committee Statement.

DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM REAL FASCISM

"The Fascist overturn in Prussia on July 20 was possible only because the

Fascist Papen government knew that the leaders of the trade unions would exert the full power of the apparatus to prevent the mass strike movement."

—Walter Ulbricht, Rote Fahne, August 25, 1932.

Sandino Passes...

The report that the petty bourgeois Nicaraguan general Augusto Sandino has made his peace with the puppet government of American imperialism, reconciling himself with the gang which was lifted into power by the bayonets of the U. S. Marine Corps, will come as a surprise only to those who attributed to the Central American general a revolutionary stature which he never attained, nor ever could have. From the beginning of his guerrilla warfare in Nicaragua, the Stalinist Comintern bent all its energies to conduct an international advertising campaign for Sandino which was not one whit better or more justified than the campaign carried on by the Kuo Min Tern for Chiang Kai-Shek and company. Communists from Mexico and Central America were sent into Sandino's army, not to act like proletarian revolutionists, but as aides-de-camp to Sandino.

Sandino was touted everywhere by the official Communist apparatus. Like dozens of others of the same stripe, he was one of the big leaders and "attractions" in the Hippodromes conducted by Willi Muenzenberg for the Comintern. Sandino was one of the "revolutionary leaders in the struggle against imperialism" at the Congresses and on the directing committees of the World League Against Imperialism. At the abominable masquerade at Amsterdam recently, where adventurers, reformists, and pseudo-Communists gathered to "fight against war" and "defend the Soviet Union", Sandino was among the most prominent, even though he was absent. Just a few weeks before his open capitulation to the Nicaraguan agents of American imperialism, the Amsterdam Committee of Muenzenberg, Stalin and Co. announced in its press releases that General Sandino had been selected to represent Nicaragua on the International Committee!

Like H. G. Wells, Sandino must again be denounced by the Stalinist press as a "traitor". Traitor he is indeed, but largely in the sense that he too has served to throw light on the wretched policy pursued by the Comintern which leads the proletariat from one surprise to another, from defeat to defeat, to confusion and demoralization. Sandino's passing tears with it another piece of the veil that still covers the nudity of the Stalinist faction.

International Workers School

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS

The Movements and the Men

A Series of 8 Popular Lectures on American Labor History and Its Outstanding Personalities

by

JAMES P. CANNON

Single Lectures—15 Cents
One Dollar for the Course.

SUNDAY 8 P. M.

126 East 16th Street

THE MILITANT

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)
at 126 East 16th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector

Arne Swabeck

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1933

Vol. 6, No. 6 Whole No. 153

Stalinist Policies Throw Food Workers Union Into Serious Crisis

It is impossible to understand the present crisis in the Food Workers' Industrial Union and its effects upon the membership without tracing its causes to the past and bringing into the open the crimes and errors committed by the party and union leadership under the Lovestonette and present regimes.

The Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers was under party control for many years. Its main activities were confined exclusively to the hotels and restaurants. More than once the leadership rejected the proposal to undertake an organizational drive among the cafeteria workers on the grounds that the masses were to be found among the hotel workers. What happened in the spring of 1929 when these same people, without exception, were in favor of a general strike in the New York cafeterias, and at that, with no preparation at all? Did the leadership realize that their previous position was incorrect? No. Far from it. As we will prove, this sudden change was based upon the interests of its faction.

The Lovestonette faction was then in the leadership of the party and the union. A party convention was to take place during that time. Lovestonette, in order to "strengthen" his prestige before the convention suddenly "discovered" the necessity for mass work. Secret meetings were immediately arranged by those members of the leading fraction who supported Lovestonette. They decided to sell the union building located at 133 W. 15th St., and declare a general strike in the garment section. On the eve of March 15th, I was informed by a comrade that such a meeting was to take place. When I entered the meeting Bert Miller was reading the following decisions of the District Executive Committee: the strike was to take place not later than April 4th; preparations were not necessary; it was sufficient merely to place pickets before the cafeterias; the needle trade workers will not patronize them and the bosses will thereby be compelled to settle with the union.

No arguments were strong enough to make them change their decision, for, as mentioned above the strike was to serve as a weapon for the Lovestonette faction in the convention. I immediately appealed to the Central Executive Committee against the District E. C. decisions. I pointed out that "no matter how great the support of the needle trade workers it is entirely incorrect to declare a strike without the strikers. Such a decision will play into the hands of A. F. of L. bureaucracy, who, in order to cover up their treacherous role of serving as a scab agency against the strikers, will claim jurisdiction over this territory. In view of this it is urgent to propose a united front with the A. F. of L. unions. Particularly at this time when the masses are in revolt against their officials. By their refusal we will, to a large extent, be able to prevent them from playing the role of scab agents during the strike." (I am reminded that during this period, A. F. of L. locals No. 1 and 719 issued leaflets urging cafeteria workers to join the union.)

Comrade Foster, to whom I also gave a copy of my appeal, told me that my position was correct, but that at the present time, due to the situation in the party, it was impossible to change the decisions of the District E. C. in any way.

On March 18, the first leaflet was issued to the cafeteria workers, calling them out on strike. Eighteen days later, on April 14, the general strike was declared in the garment center. As a first step, "pulling committees" composed of party members and sympathizers were organized. The duties of these committees were to pull the workers from their jobs while picketing was being organized in front of the cafeterias. In several cases workers were actually forced to leave their jobs. Such actions are justifiable, in any case, against strike breakers, in any strike. But in this instance the workers were not even aware that a strike had been called. In spite of the lack of preparations for the strike hundreds of workers, driven by the unbearable and slavish conditions in the cafeterias, responded to the strike call.

Although we have described, in previous articles in the Militant, the heroism displayed by the workers in the 1929 cafeteria strike, it is not out of place to repeat that it will remain one of the greatest struggles in the history of the labor movement in New York City. Though hundreds of workers were arrested and jailed, time and again, their fighting spirit could not be broken. They courageously fought the brutal, vicious attacks of the gangsters and the police. Injunctions issued against them were torn up and thrown in the faces of the bosses and the police. Such was the prevailing spirit among the strikers during the first 5 or 6 weeks of the strike.

Without the knowledge of the leading fraction, not to speak of the general fraction, the officials of the union, together with Lifschitz, Lovestonette's lieutenant, who was local secretary of the T. U. E. L. at the time, settled up some of the shops where all of the scabs remained on the job. They also agreed upon the ten hour instead of eight hour day. This was done in spite of the promises and guarantees made to the strikers every evening in the strike halls. In speeches at these meetings, they said, they would not settle with any shop until all the demands were met. The clandestine settlement of Lifschitz and Co. was enough to demoralize even the most militant strikers.

A few days later the majority of the striking workers left the organization in deep disgust. This event marked a decisive turn in the strike. Following that, only paid workers, with the exception of

a few militants, could be obtained for picketing. Attempts were made to dramatize the strike. Demonstrations were organized by party members and sympathizers together with the YCL and the Pioneers. An airplane was hired to spread leaflets all over the city. More than \$85,000 was spent in a period of three months. But all was in vain. If a few more shops were later compelled to settle with the union it was on the same basis as mentioned above.

The situation became much worse because the union failed to protect those workers sent out as extras during rush hours. They were refused employment by the bosses because of their reputation as militant strikers. This helped to disrupt the unity of the employed and unemployed, which unfortunately, to this very day has not been corrected.

It is significant to point out the opportunist policies of the union during the feverish wave of the strike, with regard to injunctions. L. Oak, the publicity agent for the strike, reported to the capitalist press that the union defied and would continue to defy the injunctions issued by the capitalist courts. The officials of the union issued a statement to the press, pointing out that the report—that the union would defy injunctions—was not the position of the union; that this was written by the publicity agent without the knowledge of the leadership. For this deed the publicity agent was removed from his post. This statement by the union was demanded by the lawyer who claimed that it would give him better grounds in his fight against injunctions in the courts. This demand is, of course, in accord with a lawyer's business. But for a militant organization whose membership defies injunctions it is a ruinous and extremely opportunistic course. But this was not accidental for the leadership. It coincided fully with the general line pursued by them during that period.

—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

Boston Activities

BOSTON.—

On January 13 comrade A. Konikov debated Louis Marcus of the Socialist party on the subject "Socialism versus Communism". Louis Marcus gives courses at the S. P. headquarters and is considered the local theoretician of the S. P. There were about seventy socialists and five sympathizers of the Left Opposition present. Each speaker had thirty minutes and then the floor was thrown open to general discussion and questions before a rebuttal of ten minutes by the speakers. The discussion period showed that comrade Konikov had done a good job. The younger workers particularly had it in for the socialist speaker. After the meeting some of these young militants invited comrade Konikov to go with them for coffee and there they discussed their problems with her very frankly.

The debate was a huge success from our point of view. Each sympathizer of the Left Opposition became a center of a group of S. P. members after the meeting. They wanted to know more about the Opposition. Many militants were sold and given away. The big bugs of the S. P. were conspicuous by their absence, apparently not approving of this debate. However, the younger element wants another debate and this has been arranged for Thursday, February 2, at 8 P. M. at 6 Byron St. Glen Trimble will represent the Socialist position.

On January 22, comrade W. Konikov spoke before the Independent Workmen's Circle, Branch 27 on What the Left Opposition Stands For. Thirty members and a few visitors were present. The question period showed that the majority of those present had a clear idea of the Left Opposition and are sympathetic. After the meeting one member discussed the possibility of joining the Opposition with comrade Konikov. Several copies of the Militant and Kampf were sold.

On January 24, comrade W. Konikov spoke in Lynn before the Lynn unemployed Council on the subject "A Doctor Looks at Unemployment." An audience of sixty members were present and asked many questions. Many of the comrades' wives were present and after the meeting arrangements were made for a lecture by comrade A. Konikov. Credit for these meetings must be given to comrade Cooperstein who alone represents the Opposition in Lynn.

In our last report we spoke of the Social Science Club (an organization for Marxian study which began with a course on Elements of Marxian Economics in November. The first quarterly meeting of the club was held on Jan. 10. About fifty members were present and comrade W. Konikov gave a lecture on "Communism versus Socialism." Following the meeting he was invited to give the same lecture for a Yipser organization in one of the suburbs of Boston. Two classes were organized. One, on the "Three Internationals" by comrade A. Konikov meets in Tremont Temple, Room A, every Tuesday at 8 P. M. Visitors are welcome. Seventeen members have enrolled for this course and several visitors have attended the first two meetings. The other course is a repetition of Elements of Marxian Economics, this time given by comrade W. Konikov. Ten members are taking this course which includes a careful study of the first volume of Marx's "Capital". This course meets every Tuesday at 8:30 P. M. at 11 Keswick St.

—C. S.

Confusion Marks Stalinist Policy on Fight Against War

(Continued from previous issue)

We must ask, naturally, if the initiators of the congress feared presenting a Communist position of the question of war, prior to the congress, and even if it is true that pressure was put on them and that a majority of delegates were Communists, were they not afraid then of driving away the pacifists? What was the attitude of the Pacifists and Socialists? Both saw that the Communists were the overwhelming majority of the congress. The pacifists expressed themselves as follows: We want a practical program of work when we get back to the campus. We are not concerned with your resolutions since you will adopt them, anyway, notwithstanding what we say. Go ahead, we will wait for a practical resolution. The Socialists were similarly unconcerned. It is clear again, that you cannot play around with the question of program. The policy of playing hide and seek with pacifists and liberals and socialists is a fatal one and even more fatal is the one to attempt to unite on the basis of a liquidation of principle which the Communists came very near doing, completely. As such they maintained a minimum political correctness as expressed in the main resolution.

The congress was thrown into a crisis when a member of the YCL introduced a motion to condemn the betrayal of the 2nd International during the war. The Socialist delegation quite sharply objected and stated that they would leave the congress if this resolution carried. They were not opposed to condemning those leaders of the 2nd International who betrayed the working class during the war, but insisted that all those who

betrayed the proletariat during the war be similarly condemned, and they specifically named Foster and Cachin. This motion was changed to conform to the proposal and attitude of the Socialists and carried. Upon the passage of another motion calling for support of the Amsterdam Congress in the form of the American Committee against War, the Socialists ceased to participate in the congress because, said they, the passage of this motion signified accepting the attacks against the 2nd International contained in the decisions of Amsterdam, which they as Socialists could not accept. The discussion was extremely heated and indicated a split situation. The split situation became evident upon the election of an executive committee to carry through the decisions of the Congress. The Socialists declined to accept because of the passage of the above-mentioned resolution. The Pacifists would not accept unless the Socialists did. Pleas for unity came from all sides of the hall and upon those pleas a YCL member introduced a motion to rescind the motion upon which the socialists broke from the conference. In spite of the Opposition of Henderson and a large section of the delegates, this motion carried and the Socialists remained and were accepted on the Committee.

An amusing incident took place which indicated just how the Socialists and pacifists were actually fooled by the character of the congress. The pacifists declared that all tendencies must be represented on the Committee. If only NSL members were on the Committee with pacifists, that would mean that the committee would be primarily Com-

munist with no other representation. They demanded that on this committee there must be socialists in addition to pacifists in order to make a united front committee that would consist of all three tendencies. In spite of the efforts of the leaders of the NSL, the Party and YCL, all through the pre-congress period, to hide and cover up their Communist color, the NSL in the congress was synonymous to Communism in the eyes of the pacifists and socialists, and they conducted themselves accordingly. When acceptances were taken up for the executive committee each delegate was to answer in addition to his school organization, his political affiliation. The YCL members of the NSL in accepting on the committee replied: member of the NSL; the socialists answered: League for Industrial Democracy and Socialist. The pacifist answer should be clear. Our comrade Geltman in reply declared himself member of the NSL, and Communist. When this roll was taken again the YCL members continued to hide their identity which was clear to all. On this round comrade Geltman announced that he was a Left Oppositionist much to the dismay of the YCL.

Thus the congress ended. What did it actually accomplish? It gathered together a number of students from various parts of the country to decide upon holding meetings on the campus to declare against war and militarism, to fight against the ROTC, to propagate and agitate against war. It is now almost a month since the congress ended. For all practical purposes the congress might not have existed. The ripples caused by it, have like those of Amsterdam, settled into a dead calm. The criticisms that we made prior to the congress, and at the congress through the speeches of our comrades remain correct and real to this day. The weak-

ness of the congress are to be sought in its political character. It was separated, in spite of everything from the working class. It was not based upon reality. There were no worker delegates to give character to the congress. The attempt to transform the political nature of the congress toward its close only brought confusion among the delegates. Those Communist delegates who argued so vehemently against the position of the Opposition had later to defend the main political contentions of the Opposition against the attacks of the pacifists and socialists. The congress itself vindicated every criticism that the Opposition made. It was false to hold such a conference before a working class movement on a united front basis existed, to fight on concrete issues. If such a proletarian organization had been in existence, it might have been possible to organize a student movement that would attach itself to such a workers' movement. As it is the congress remains suspended in mid-air trying to find a place for itself. That the congress changed many of its plans is true. But the original sin remains.

The responsibility for the whole affair falls upon the shoulders of the Party and the YCL. To be more precise upon the Communist International under the aegis of Stalinist revision of Communist policies. The Party was represented officially by Browder in the form of a speech. The YCL was absent, just as it was absent at the New York conference last summer. The criminal attempt made to hide the face of Communism resulted in confusion and error. The future of the committee elected by the congress is dubious. What shall be its mission? How will it carry through the struggle against war? Under the circumstances it can do nothing but dissolve of itself.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Opposition at Gillespie

League's Views Triumph at Progressive Miners Conference

(Continued from page 1)

ance, trade union democracy, abolition of high wages for officials, class-struggle policies, relentless fight against labor leaders—all of these and similar demands, which are becoming the fighting program of insurgent workers in every section of the labor movement in all parts of the country, found their place also in the program of the Gillespie Conference. In this fact is to be seen the best basis for the eventual fusion of the Illinois movement with similar movements in other parts of the country into a single national formation. For various reasons this necessary unification of the scattered insurgent elements on a national scale remains to be realized. An organization, or a group of organizations, with sufficient stability and influence to attract the other scattered movements around it is one of the elements still lacking for this national concentration. The Gillespie conference and the forces represented in it could not yet serve this purpose. It could only contribute to the process. But the dynamic potentialities of a great role are there. The developments of the Progressive Miners in Illinois in the coming months may have a decisive bearing, not only the mining situation but also upon the whole Left wing and progressive labor movement of the entire country.

The Progressive Miners Organization

The importance and significance of the Gillespie conference derives primarily from the participation of the Progressive Miners of America. Not only from the top but also from the bottom, from the local unions, the fighting Illinois miners came to rub shoulders with the delegates of other trades and take counsel with them. Here is a heartening sign, one of many signs, that the P. M. A. stands higher and sees farther than the previous district formation of insurgent miners. Still going through its own first birth pangs as a union, the P. M. A. already looks beyond the borders of its own industry and seeks alliance with the workers of other trades. And the participation of the rank and file, through delegates from the local unions, shows very clearly, the genuine mass impulse behind the movement.

But if the domination of the conference by the Progressive Miners was the strength of the conference, then, in another sense of the word, it was also its weakness. The other delegations came from the small local craft unions and central bodies in the Illinois mining towns, and from Left wing groups which are still in the stage of propaganda rather than stable union organization. Such a combination can and should work out a common program of agitation. But on such a basic there can be no serious talk of a new labor federation.

The prospects of the new union represented at Gillespie are the prospects, first and foremost, of the Progressive Miners of America. If this new union survives the test of fire in the coming months, and consolidates its organization more firmly in the struggle against the operators and the UMWA, it will by that fact lay a big section of the foundations of the new unionism. If the PMA goes down in the fight and loses its organizational base the new union movement will receive the heaviest blow.

In other articles the specific tasks and problems of the PMA, and its prospects for expansion into a wider field will be considered. In our opinion the Progressive Miners' movement in Illinois occupies at the present movement the key position in the unfolding of a new progressive sweep in the labor movement on a national scale. For that reason it deserves the closest attention of all those elements and tendencies which strive, or pretend to strive, in one way or another, to break the labor movement out of the paralyzing grip of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. And by the same token the worth of these various tendencies in the field of trade unionism can be judged most concretely by their attitude toward the activities and problems of the PMA, and especially by the answers they give to the questions which haven't been answered yet.

From this point of view it is interesting to note the position taken on the Gillespie Conference by the various political groups. The Socialists, the CPLA, the Lovestonites, the Stalinists and the Left Opposition—all of them reacted to the Gillespie Conference. But the only group that gave a clear and definite answer beforehand, and had its position confirmed to the letter by the experience of the conference itself, was the Communist Left Opposition.

That wing of the S. P. which trails along with the Progressive Miners, and fattens itself parasitically on the blunders and crimes of the leadership of the official Communist party, had nothing to say, and no advice to offer, about the project of a new federation of labor before the conference. As with the formation of the PMA itself, these parasites wait to see what luck the miners have with their ventures. If a given undertaking falls they wash their hands of it; if it succeeds and sweeps a mass movement with it, they trail along and exploit it. And all the time they maintain a solidarity within one party with the Hillquits who support Lewis and all the other black reactionaries.

The CPLA, which recommends itself as the center and leader of the progressive labor movement, also showed the quality of its leadership in the matter of the Gillespie Conference. The recent issue of the *Labor Age* printed the call for the Gillespie Conference, with its announced intention of "formulating a new federation of labor", without saying definitely what it thought about the project. Were the Stalinists in favor of the proposal? Or against it? Or neu-

tral—you will look in vain for a categorical answer in their publication before the event. And it is on just such questions that clear and categorical answers are required. The comment of the *Labor Age* implies a certain support for the idea of a new federation of labor to be formed at the Gillespie Conference. But the door is left open to face the other way, if things go wrong and the miners involve themselves in a serious mistake. In this attitude the Stalinists ran true to form. In all their dabbling with the Illinois miners situation, they have never failed to show this policy of half-wayness by which they blunt the sharp edge of all the issues and muddle up the progressive movement from within. It is in the highest degree thanks to them that the Farrington-Howat betrayal was put over on the miners and the liberation movement against the Lewis bureaucracy was so long arrested and disoriented. Let the Illinois miners who retain some confidence in these pseudo-progressives, after all their experience, ask themselves why the CPLA did not take a clear position and warn them against premature and dangerous experiments with a new federation of labor. By what right can they claim to be leaders if they can't answer such questions, and answer them at the right time?

The Stalinist Position

The position of the Stalinist delegates in the Gillespie Conference was indeed a spectacle for gods and men. A half a dozen or so delegates from TUUL groups in Chicago came to the Gillespie Conference and gave the miners another occasion to scratch their heads in wonderment at this queer mélange of contradiction and inconsistency, this combination of adventurous leaps and panicky retreats, which goes by the name of the trade union policy of Stalinism. The conduct of the Stalinist delegates at the conference was indeed a humiliating confession of bankruptcy, and a complete repudiation of everything that have done on the trade union field in the disastrous years of the "third period".

If the trade union policy of a political group is any good it should reveal its strength precisely on such an occasion as the Gillespie Conference where workers' organizations are seeking an answer to new questions. Isn't that a fair test? The Left Opposition thought so, and that is why its representatives at the conference expounded their trade union policy, not in a new edition but in the old one. Nothing that we said or did there stood in contradiction to the standpoint we have taken in the whole course of the development of the progressive labor movement in recent years. We are quite willing for the militant miners to judge the trade union policy of the Left Opposition not only in the light of what we said at the conference but also in the light of what we said before the conference.

The Stalinists came to the conference under a heavy handicap. The best militants in the miners' organization were antagonistic to them, and for good reasons. The Stalinists fought the opposition movement in the UMWA which laid the ground for the formation of the P. M. A. They fought the PMA which represented a mass movement and set up against it the National Miners' Union which did not exist in Illinois. They set the TUUL up as a new labor center in 1929 and since that time have been characterizing all unions that did not affiliate with it as "company unions". If these policies had been confirmed as correct by the development of the movement itself, the Gillespie Conference was just the place to defend them and to make further proposals along the same lines. But there was the rub. The policies had been completely discredited in life and did not in any way fit the problem of the hour.

How did the Stalinist delegates get out of this contradiction between the whole policy of the recent years and the

concrete needs of the moment? Very simply. They made a complete right-about-face on everything. And they did this without previous announcement or warning in the Party press, without any acknowledgment of previous error; and they even kept, or tried to keep, straight faces through this bizarre performance. In the conference there were not a few conscious militants who follow all developments closely and take careful note of what each group and tendency stands for. But even these seasoned people, who were glad enough to see the old ruinous policies discarded bag and baggage, regarded the spectacle with a certain amount of amusement and incredulity, as one watches a circus performer going through flip-flops and wonders how he does it.

If the party stands for the formation of a new labor movement, and if the TUUL is in fact the new labor center, as they have maintained since 1929, then why not urge the Gillespie Conference to join the TUUL? That is certainly a logical conclusion—if the policy was a correct one. But the Stalinists delegates did not even mention the TUUL. More than that, they appeared there as the most vociferous opponents of any idea of the formation of a new general labor movement at the present time. They repeated all the arguments which the Left Opposition has been making on this question, the arguments which up till yesterday had been denounced as counter-revolutionary. They went further than that. In their disorderly retreat from the discredited policy of yesterday, they arrived at such a conservative position, they argued so passionately against the danger of premature splits in the A. F. of L. unions, that they found themselves a number of times in alliance with the extreme Right wing of the conference, with those who wanted only to let well enough alone and take no further progressive steps of any kind.

If the National Miners Union is the only organization of the progressive miners, and if the PMA is only an imitation of the Lewis union—as was maintained up till yesterday—then the Gillespie conference should have been made a forum for the advancement of this idea. But this policy had likewise gone to pieces on the rocks of reality. So... the National Miners Union was not mentioned by a single word. It is by such contradictions and zig-zags that the Stalinists have succeeded in discrediting the Communist party in the Illinois coal field and facilitating the revival of the socialist organization.

The Left Oppositionists who, by a consistently correct policy over a period of years, and by a loyal participation in the struggles, have gained a certain influence and prestige in the progressive miners movement of Illinois, have great and unique tasks before them. They have to lift up the banner of Communism which has been trampled in the mire and make the miners understand that the monstrous blunders and crimes of the recent years are not an expression of Communism but of the Stalinist perversion of it. In view of the annihilation of the Party organization in southern Illinois, they are obliged to fulfill the natural functions of the party; to conduct the direct struggle against the reformist elements for the decisive influence in the movement. They have to take upon themselves directly the initiative and the leading role in the organization of a strong Left wing which will steer the new movement firmly on the path of a class struggle policy. The destiny of the Progressive Miners' movement of Illinois depends on this. And, conversely, the chances of an early revival of the Communist movement and organization among the miners, under the direct leadership of the Left Opposition, depends upon the complete identity of its own interests with the fundamental interests of the miners' movement. The Left Oppositionists at the Gillespie conference were animated by this fundamental conception and made it the starting point of new plans and new endeavors. Great things can follow.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

Shall the Revolutionary Students Be Organized Into Separate Movements

(Continued from last issue)
DISCUSSION ARTICLE

If there is any instance where only the Communists can lead effectively and correctly, it is in the struggle against capitalist militarism and imperialism. Yet, witness the spectacle at the Barbusse Congress at Amsterdam when the Communist International abandoned its rightful role of leadership to the intellectuals! Comment here is superfluous; the *Militant* has dealt fully with this Congress and at the Student Conference Against War at Chicago, initiated by the NSL and the Communists, the Amsterdam spectacle was repeated in an even more grotesque manner. The YCL abandoned its field and the results of the Chicago Conference were—confusion, disorganization, perversion and misrepresentation of the revolutionary ways and means to combat imperialist war except as clarified by delegates and supporters of the Communist Left Opposition. (See the articles on the Chicago Student Conference in the *Militant* by Aderhabe and A. Glotzer for an analysis of this Conference). It was inevitable there, as at Amsterdam or wherever the same stunt is tried, that when the intellectuals or students took over the leadership in the anti-militarist movement, the real basis of struggle against war was vitiated and the workers misled. The C. P. and YCL stood in the wings, behind the scenes, witnessing, approvingly, the spectacle and abandoned their leading role. Was the revolution-

ary student participating in such a conference doing his duty in attempting to lead this struggle against capitalist war? He thought so. But he was doomed to failure. Yet subordinate to, and a part of the YCL, the revolutionary students could take a part, however small or large, in a united front movement against war on specific issues.

On other questions, the NSL has taken a position which on the one hand is correct and on the other, false. For instance, the "revolutionary" NSL endorsed the Communist party in the November elections: a correct action. But it motivated its support of the C. P., not on revolutionary class grounds, but on the fact that the C. P., of all political parties consulted, had alone taken a stand for the students on their specific problems of class fees, etc. How ridiculous for an organization presumably pivoting on a revolutionary axis! Why should any such confusion arise among revolutionary students? It shouldn't; the confusion is unnecessary and springs largely from the concept of an independent student role and the belief that revolutionary students should put forth more "palatable" or "adaptable" reasons for their revolutionary conclusions. This is the manner in which liberals and opportunists justify their stupidities or betrayals.

Yet, and this is another decisive factor, the Young Communist League, measured by its theoretical and organizational basis, is or should be a sufficiently

Germany: Why Is the Comintern Silent

(Continued from page 1)

tomorrows. Significant fact: In 1931, the Communist party criminally supported the Fascist popular referendum to dissolve the Prussian Diet, with its socialist-Centrist government, thus alienating the socialist workers from Communism and raising the prestige and strength of Fascism. Our violent condemnation of the policy of the so-called Red Referendum was met with the customary Stalinist abuse: the Trotskyists are agents of Bram and Bruening. In 1933, the same Prussian Diet is finally dissolved by the Fascists, not by referendum but by dictatorial decree. What position do the Stalinists take? If their policy in 1931 was good Bolshevism, and not a criminal adventure, it would be logical that this policy be crowned in 1933 by a vote in the Diet to dissolve it. But they acted in exactly the opposite way: the Communist fraction voted together with the social democrats and the Catholic Center against the dissolution of the Diet!

Three: The most drastic decree yet issued has been put into effect by von Hindenburg on the control of the press and public meetings. Any public meetings, for which 48 hours advance notice must be given in any case, may be forbidden "when danger to the public security is to be apprehended". Are the Nazis a danger to the public security? Of course not! But the Communists and the socialists manifestly are, above all and primarily the former, against whom the decree is particularly aimed. Meetings and demonstrations may be dissolved for any one of a dozen reasons, which means they may be dissolved (i. e., violently dispersed) without any reason at all being given. Any paper may be confiscated or suppressed for "inviting disobedience of the government or its instruments, for inviting or glorifying violence, for proposing a general strike or a strike in some vitally necessary industry, for defending or holding up to contempt the organs or institutions or leading officials of the government," etc., etc. For second offenses, papers may be suspended for from six to twelve months! Even public collections for party purposes "may be restricted or forbidden". In a word, the activities by word or deed of any militant working class organization, of the Communist party in particular, are carefully circumscribed to the point where it is forced into a straitjacket.

As is known, the *Rote Fahne*, organ of the Communist party, together with several other party organs, has already been hit hard by suppression and confiscation. The central organ of the social democrats, *Vorwaerts*, as well as other socialist papers, have met with a similar fate. The central headquarters of the Communist party in Berlin have already been raided. Meetings of workers are being forbidden or dispersed by force. The same measures employed by Mussolini on the road to establishing the black shirts in power, are being started with a vengeance by the Hitler bandits in Germany today.

The civil war has started in all earnest. We take some excerpts from a single issue of the *New York Times* (February 6, 1933):

"At midnight tonight reports from all over the country give this additional record—undoubtedly incomplete for the day—of the evil results of the violence attending these demonstrations. In Chemnitz, in a clash between socialists and Nazis, one socialist was killed and twelve wounded, five perhaps fatally. At Wetzlar twenty were wounded in a similar disturbance. At Bochum, in a conflict between Nazis and Communists, a Nazi leader was killed and there were thirty-one arrests. In Munich, in a Nazi-Communist clash, three Nazis, a Communist, two policemen and a Reichsbanner man were wounded. In Stettin, in a row between Nazi storm troopers and socialist Reichsbanner men, a Nazi was badly wounded.... Joachim Matthes, 17 years old, was held tonight in Stassfurt on a charge of murdering Mayor Hermann Kasten. The Mayor, who was

Communists, Socialists and Fascists in Civil War

also a Socialist Deputy in the Prussian Diet and the father of a family, was shot from behind while opening his garden gate. He dies in a hospital.... In Düsseldorf eight men were injured during clashes in various parts of the city, after four busloads of Nazis had been shot at from windows. Munich, Leipzig and Danzig also reported bloodshed...."

The civil war has started, but only started. The first bloody skirmishes already show what form it will take when it extends to the far vaster scale it must take on before the question: Fascism or Bolshevism, is definitely decided. The realities of the class struggle explode the theories and practices of the Stalinists every day. If the theory of "social Fascism" was regarded with contempt and outraged feelings by the Italian socialist worker who remembered his Matteotti, it is now being cut to pieces by the Hitlerite knives sunk into the bodies of socialist workers in Germany. The murder of Mayor Kasten, the killing of dozens of other socialist proletarians and militants, these give also a death-blow in concrete to the theoretically untenable slogan of "social-Fascism". What socialist worker, and what intelligent Communist worker will still believe that Kasten and other martyrs to Fascism in Germany were murdered because they represented the "moderate wing of Fascism"?

More than that: the consoling theory is being sedulously spread in whispers in the ranks of the Communist party that, after all, it makes no difference to the proletariat whether it be Brüning or von Papen or von Schleicher or Hitler who is in power. For, you see, they all represent one and the same class, the bourgeoisie! This is a theory of cowards, criminals or confirmed idiots. How many party members have been taken in by this, by your leave, theory, cannot be estimated. Scores of them, however, have voiced it. We cannot conceive of a more signal service rendered to reaction than this theory. It is calculated to excuse the impotence of the Stalinists during the past period of the struggle, and also to justify the wretched passivity and bewilderedness of the party chieftains in face of the crisis.

Is Fascism Different?

Is Fascism "different" from the "democratic" forms of bourgeois government?

Is it possible that a serious worker can even entertain such a question in the year 1933? Yes, both are the rule of the bourgeoisie. One by "democratic" means, by deception, by illusions, by "peaceful persuasion". The other, however, throws off all pretense and tolerates none of the bourgeois or proletarian democratic forms or institutions. Is the suppression of the socialist press only a little accidental joke of Hitler? Is the murdering of several socialist workers merely a regrettable mistake of the Fascists, or perhaps a Machiavellian plot to disprove the Stalinist theory of "social Fascism"? Has the history of Italian Fascism been forgotten already? Have we already forgotten these gruesome photographs, printed in their time in every labor paper, of workers massacred in Italian streets, of newspaper offices wrecked, of labor temples demolished, of every single institution and organization of the working class—reformist or revolutionary—destroyed with bestial ferocity? Of the trade unions smashed and the political parties driven underground and their leaders imprisoned and exiled and banished?

Whoever even hints to the working class that there is no real difference between the "democratic" rule of the bourgeoisie and the Fascist rule by torch and sword, that it is a matter of indifference to the proletariat, is playing the game to the best interests of Fascism! Whoever does not shout out loud to the workers of all groups and organizations that they must immediately form a powerful united front to crush Fascism before it

is in a position to crush the working class completely, is not a leader of the working class but an impostor who should be kicked into the obscurity where he belongs.

Can Fascism still be smashed? Yes, it should and could have been smashed months ago, before Hitler became Chancellor. Invaluable, irreplaceable time has already been lost, but it is not yet too late. Once organized into a powerful, united army, the million-headed German proletariat can sweep the Fascist scum out of power and into oblivion. But this demands struggle, and united struggle, and whoever stands in the way is giving aid to Hitlerism.

The Socialist Leaders

Do the social democratic leaders want to fight? Yes, if they could be guaranteed that the masses, once set into real motion, will stop where the leaders want them to—i. e., at another socialist or coalition ministry, let us say—and not go further along the road to proletarian power—the logical goal of such a mass movement. But there is no such guarantee, and the socialist leaders, well aware of it, prefer to restrain, hold back, check, soothe and give false consolation to the masses who follow them. When the Diet is dissolved in Prussia, the social democracy does not call upon the workers to rise in protest, to act as a class. No, these contemptible Prussian democrats run to the Supreme Court at Leipzig to complain about Hindenburg's unconstitutional action!

But the Communists? You read the *Daily Worker* in vain for an elucidation of the strategy and tactics of the German Communist Party in the present situation. There are whole days when the *Daily Worker* simply doesn't mention the German situation, for what does it amount to when compared with a meeting of the Independent Barbers' Union of Greater New York? And when it does refer to Germany, it contains badly rewritten accounts from the capitalist press, or else cables from the International Press Correspondence which are a disgrace to the Communist movement? What is the line of policy of the German Communist? What are they doing? What do they plan to do? What has happened with the call issued on the morrow of Hitler's appointment for a national general strike? About all of these vital questions, not one single word in the columns of the *Daily Worker*.

Here you have the German situation poised on the tip of a needle. The way it falls will decide for the next period the fate of all Europe, and consequently of the world revolution. The central organ of the American Communist Party deals with the whole situation as though it were reporting a local strike of third-rate significance!

But let not the *Daily Worker* be made the scapegoat for the Comintern. For it is the Comintern, we repeat, that is responsible for the unprecedented silence concerning the German events. Why? Why is no explanation given to the Communist workers about this silence? What is the position of the responsible leadership of the Communist International on the decisive events which are unfolding in Germany? What horrible calamity is Stalinism preparing for the international proletariat?

Main words! That is what we demand.

Speak up now! Not after the event, not as a sermon for the dead, but as a battle cry and a line of march for the living.

For the real, Leninist united front! For a bloc between the Communist party, the Social Democracy, the Trade Unions, the Red Front Fighters, and the Reichsbanner, to march separately but to strike unitedly, to bring the iron fist of the German proletariat down upon the skull of the Fascist beast!

Proletarian Communists, militants, workers! The decisive word lies with you now. Speak up so that the whole movement may hear and act—before the whole movement has been drowned in its own blood.

Wed., Feb. 8.

—M. S.

broad organization to include within it not only young workers, but also the revolutionary-inclined students. The Communist Youth organization does not demand that young workers or students who desire to join it, shall be full-fledged Communists when they make application. It requires, and properly so, that those joining it shall be willing to learn to be Communists, in theory and through participation in the struggles of the workers. We speak here not of the caricature that the YCL in the United States, and elsewhere, has become, but of the foundation upon which the Young Communist International was erected and the manner the YCLs were expected actually to function. For such students who join the NSL today because of its revolutionary program, we have to say that their place is directly in the ranks of the Communist youth organization.

It is a totally false conception of bridge organizations and their functions to accept the formation of an independent students' organization as a part of that schema. An ILLD, which defends class war victims irrespective of their political or economic views, is one thing. An independent students' body with a political program and functions is an altogether different matter. An ILLD has an obviously legitimate function to perform. An independent students' organization can, and already has done great harm to the workers. That which tends to and does usurp the role of a revolutionary political party or YCL becomes a perversion of Marxist theory on the role of a Communist party. When the Stalinists aid in the formation of such bodies as the National Student League, workers and

peasants parties, Labor party, anti-imperialist Leagues, etc., etc., they only further undermine the theoretical foundations of Marxism, and particularly the role of the C. P. and YCL. The NSL, in our opinion, is but another version or application of Stalinist theory, and as in the other cases it results only in additional blows delivered against the revolutionary movement. The Barbusse Conference and the American replicas of it are the demonstrations of how these blows are dealt.

But while the Left Opposition, hence, must stand opposed to the formation of independent students' organizations, and more so when they masquerade as "revolutionary" or "Communist", this by no means excludes work among the students. In whatever students' organizations exist, the Communist must build fractions, even as they do in trade unions and other mass organizations of the workers, and there seek to develop Communist influence and win the individual students to the revolutionary banner and organization. Even as anti-imperialist papers can be issued by the Communist without special anti-imperialist organizations, so can Communist student papers be issued to proclaim its cause for the workers and proletarian students.

Win Students on Communist Basis

Nor need there be any neglect of neutralizing or trying to win as allies to the proletarian cause the middle class or petty bourgeois students, in the same manner, relatively, as we seek to make allies of the poor and exploited farmers. But while we recognize the need to win such groups to accept the leadership of the proletariat and the Communists in the struggles against the bourgeoisie, yet

it is not for us to aid in the creation of organizations of the petty bourgeoisie of various descriptions. Bigger and more important tasks remain for the Communists. Wherever any organization exists, however, which contains workers and other elements upon whom we can exert influence, the Communists enter, build fractions and conduct their work accordingly. But certainly Communists can never think of relinquishing the role of leadership, politically or organizationally, to such elements; for they are historically unqualified to do so; they cannot serve with their confused and false programs, the interests of the working class and the vast mass of exploited. Trotsky points out in connection with the building of the Red Army: "The petty bourgeois intelligentsia could give the army a considerable number of lower officers, as they had done under czarism, but they could not create a commanding corps in their own image, for they had no image of their own." Likewise, by analogy, the Communists nowhere must concede leading historical roles to forces incapable of "creating a commanding corps." Wherever Stalinism has permitted them—and, worse, justified it—there have resulted debacles: in China on a tremendous world stage; in Amsterdam (Barbusse Congress) on a lesser, but still important scale; and in Chicago (Youth War Conference) on an illusionary and comic scale.

In short, the Left Communists must come to the conclusion, in the writer's opinion, for the liquidation of the National Student League and similar creations, and insist that the Communist party and YCL take over the duties and role that properly belongs to them.

—MARTIN ABERN.