

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Published thrice weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 E. 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. 9 [WHOLE NO. 156] NEW YORK, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

Fascists In Complete Control of Police

Smash Hitler

German Left Opposition Appeals for United Proletarian Resistance

HITLER IS CHANCELLOR!
Workers, do you know what that means? It means complete starvation and loss of all rights, it means the destruction of all the active elements of the proletariat! After the speeches of the Nazi leader, there can be no doubt of this. Hitler's program is the complete smashing of all the political and trade-union organizations of the working class, to clear the way for a still more monstrous impoverishment of the working class. The aim of his foreign policy is war with Soviet Russia. If Hitler succeeds in carrying through his aims this would mean an unprecedented defeat for the international proletariat, "for Germany is not only Germany, but the heart of Europe."
Do not console yourselves with the nonsense that Hitler will soon be played out. No understand this clearly—now is the time to tackle him!
Either Hitler will now establish his power, or the proletariat will overthrow him and clear the road for the dictatorship of the working class.
At this time, to wait any longer, as the Social Democratic party proposes, is lunacy it is a crime it means to let Hitler establish himself in his new official positions, it means to play the very last cards into his hand, and with that, to lead directly to the defeat of the working class.
Hitler must be overthrown, Fascism must be struck down. The Fascist government of civil war can be overthrown, however, not by parliamentary votes of "no confidence", but only by the extra-parliamentary mass struggle.
The General Strike
But how can we achieve this action? We must create the prerequisites—the closing of the ranks. It is not enough to call for the general strike, as the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has done up to now. The situation demands today of Communist party an open offer to the leaders of the Social Democratic party and the General German Trade Union Federation. A concrete program of struggle must be proposed, the leadership of the Social Democratic party and of the General German Trade Union Federation must be called upon to negotiate in the open before the workers, in order—maintaining the political independence of the participating organizations—without delay to

Governor Strikes at Ill. Miners

ILLUSIONS ABOUT HORNER SHATTERED BY MEMORANDUM AIMED AT P. M. OF A.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—Many Illinois miners and among them quite a few of the Progressive Miners of America leaders thought that they would get "justice" when they voted and helped to elect Henry Horner of the Democratic party as Governor of Illinois. But this ancient, myopic, self-hypnotism is fast fading as the miners see in action the true role of Horner in their struggle against the Lewis-Walker-Peabody Coal Co. machine. Gov. Horner, the Democrat, like the late Gov. Emmerson, the Republican, is taking all steps possible to prevent the miners from building the Progressive Miners of America and improving their conditions.
Gov. Horner is developing a strong policy—that is, a crushing policy against the P. M. A. With the breaking off of negotiations between the P. M. A. and the U. M. W. A. officials and the coal operators which Gov. Horner called and after admitting that he was unable to accept "arbitration", Gov. Horner made the following stipulation in his "memorandum" to the miners of Illinois:
"That each of the two unions having contracts with the operators should be permitted without interference by the other to continue work under these contracts until at least April 1, 1933. In other words, where one local union has a contract with an operator of a certain mine in this State, the officials and members of the rival organization refrain from any effort to cause a cessation of work at that mine, or to prevent the fulfillment of that contract."
This is word for word what the Lewis-Walker machine, the agents of the Peabody Coal Co. asked for in their letter of proposals under date of January 26 to Gov. Horner. The Progressive Miners of America demanded that a referendum vote be taken to decide which organization the miners of Illinois wished to recognize. But this would be self-determination! The Illinois miners, like the Philippine Islands are not yet ready for self-determination, maybe twelve years from to-day, etc., thus the State Government, acting in its true role as the executive committee of the employing class, through its mouth-piece Gov. Horner, spiritualizes.
The "memorandum" further states:
"No non-residents of the county who seek to enter the county for the purpose of agitating the present controversy will be permitted to do so. Inflammatory agitation will be considered improper and in violation of the public peace."
Every eight year old child of the Illinois miners knows what this means. It is to prevent the P. M. A. from carrying on its relief work, holding demonstrations and

Party Must Act Now!

Hitler Acts with Ruthless Determination to Crush Labor Movement; Stalinists Persist in Opposition to United Front

The work of establishing the complete domination of Fascism in Germany is being carried out at a speed which leaves even the bourgeois press gasping. The proposed elections on March 5 are assuming an increasingly deceptive and ludicrous character in face of the fact that the Hitlerites are concentrating every instrument of force and violence in their own hands so that regardless of the balloting, the power will remain in their hands.
The press reports the following highly significant facts:
1. All political demonstrations and even ordinary meetings are to be "policed" by Nazi storm troops and members of the Stahlhelm, the regular police being merely held in reserve. Not even Mussolini was able to attain such a measure before he took over the power completely.
Red Meetings Forbidden
2. All meetings at which criticism is "levelled at the constructive work of the government" are to be dissolved on the spot.
3. "Communist demonstrations," according to the Berlin correspondent of the Times (2-16-33), "are to be forbidden altogether, and even the meetings of disguised Marxists—evidently meaning Socialist gatherings—are to be prevented. On the other hand, arrangements must be made to facilitate Nazi demonstrations in Communist districts."
4. "The Nationalist Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," continues the correspondent, "published an obviously inspired statement to the effect that a 'general arming' of Nazi storm troops was not under consideration, but that 'in an emergency' there might be afforded legal means whereby these and the Stahlhelm men might be called on to relieve the police by the extension of auxiliary services. Further confirmation is scarcely necessary."
5. "Under the new German regime the police force itself hitherto neutral (?), is being rapidly transformed. Following up the removals under the von Papen regime, the acting Prussian Ministry today cleaned out the very last Socialist police heads in the State and replaced them with National Socialists or Nationalists. The entire police administration is now in the hands of the Hitlerites and supporters of Dr. Alfred Hugenberg."
* "As for the newspapers the Acht Uhr Abendblatt, which is the Tageblatt's evening publication, and the Socialist Vorwaerts were both suppressed today on the allegation that they had criticized the police in connection with Sunday's rioting in the Saxon mining town of Eisleben, where several hundred uniformed Nazis wrecked a Communist bookshop and gymnasium...."
In these measures are to be found the first earnest beginnings of the extermination of every working class institution, every working class organization, every democratic and working class right achieved in the course of decades of struggle. Where Mussolini waited many long months after seizing power before he was ready to make the Communist party illegal, Hitler, confronted with a stronger working class and the necessity of acting with dispatch is compelled to proceed with far greater speed and violence. The dismemberment and demolition of the working class and its movements is Hitler's prerequisite to the consolidation of Fascist power.
Trotsky's Forecast
"He wants to lull his antagonists with the long-run perspective of the parliamentary growth of the Nazis in order to catch them napping and to deal them a death blow at the right moment," wrote Leon Trotsky more than 15 months ago. "It is quite possible that Hitler's courtesies to democratic parliamentarism may, moreover, help to set up some sort of coalition in the immediate future in which the Fascists will obtain the most important posts and employ them in turn for their coup d'Etat."
This striking confirmed forecast of comrade Trotsky is now corroborated all over again by the events of the last few days. "It can now be stated on the best of authority," the Berlin correspondent of the London Times declares, "that the Nazi partners in the present Nazi

Japs Plan to Extend Conquest

MANCHURIAN INVASION TO BE EXTENDED FURTHER DESPITE OTHER POWERS

The Japanese generals refuse to be checked by the League of Nations. The goal of their ambitions for many a long time, is too close to their grasp to allow it to be snatched away again. Far from giving up Manchuria, the Japanese imperialists plan to extend their conquest and "regain it by employing the mercenary Asiatic tool, Henry Ku Li, former boy emperor of China. He will make a bid for the throne of North China at Peiping, the Japs supplying the necessary bayonets. Let the League ruminate, let the U. S. harp— it is now or never for the bandits of the Far East.
The Imperial Diet at Tokyo has given its blessing to the patriotic undertaking "defeating Japan by conquering China." One Japanese outlet in Japanese history, the war and a quarter century ago was approved in order to finance all other year of aggression in Asia. Direct atom-bombs of 50 percent of this swollen sum are made to the army and navy. The fact that this sum of money cannot be collected in taxation and therefore that the fiscal policy means inevitably greater inflation on the currency than has already occurred, does not disturb the ruling class. For the devastating effects of such inflation will be shifted on to the backs of the workers and peasants. Financing the war in China can be accomplished only by intensifying exploitation at home.
If the capitalists have any misgivings as to the ultimate outcome of a break with Europe and America, they will have to keep mum for the present. Nevertheless the Tokyo stock market registers the fears of the less blood-thirsty section of finance imperialism. Stocks and bonds have tumbled, revealing the Achilles heel of Japanese economy, the lack of adequate finances, one of the first blows to be delivered by the League and the U. S. at Japan, if the imminent break actually occurs, will be the clamping down on loans. It remains to be seen, even then, whether France will abide by such a decision.
The Japanese threaten to shut the door of Manchurian trade to the rest of the world if further pressure for their withdrawal is applied. The imperialist powers have had too much experience with their own method of handling conquered territory, for them to waste any feeling over this threat. Manchuria has been closed to all but Japan since its occupation. American business has reconciled itself to this fact and has turned to the Yangtze Valley for its future Chinese market.
Meanwhile the U. S. government, the political committee of American finance capital, does not sit twiddling its thumbs. It is utilizing the debt tangle to the utmost as may be witnessed by the activities of the League, and particularly of England. It is intriguing with its dollars in China, goading the treacherous Kuo Min Tang on to some semblance of resistance to further Japanese encroachment.
By the irony of history, it may come about that the League of Nations, which at its very inception sent invading armies into Soviet Russia to help suppress the revolution, will be split asunder by its own internal imperialist contradictions before accomplishing its major objective, the isolation and suppression of the Soviets. It seems almost fantastic that the U. S. should grant recognition to the Soviet Union because of "common interests" against Japan. And yet this is taking place before our eyes. That this recognition should result, as Radek planned, in an alliance against Japan of the most reactionary and the most advanced countries, that is, however, still unthinkable. Not so long as the Soviets still represent the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Scott Nearing's who predict such an event, are merely predicting without realizing it, the downfall of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
—J. W.

War on Control of Leticia

Open warfare has at last broken out between Peru and Colombia for control of the small Amazon port of Leticia. It is possible that this conflict together with that between Paraguay and Bolivia for possession of the Gran Chaco, may develop into a continent-wide war, with British and American imperialism supporting the opposing sides.
The official Communist party press in its estimation of the situation assumes that there are already two clearly defined blocs of Latin American lackey governments serve to the interests of British and American imperialism respectively. It is however pure light-mindedness to jump at conclusions after the fashion of the Daily Worker experts who analyze every Latin American problem regardless of its complexity, according to the magic formula wherein British imperialism unconditionally supports one side while Wall Street has all its stakes on the other.
It so happens in this case that both the United States government and the League of Nations, which latter can hardly be called an exclusive instrument of Wall Street, have declared themselves in support of Colombia in the Leticia dispute. On the other hand the British Blue Shirts (Fascists), have recruited a foreign legion in England which is aiding Bolivia in the Chaco war. The Daily Worker considers every factor in Bolivia's favor as due to the pressure and influence of Wall Street imperialism. Perhaps even the British Fascists are puppets of American finance capital!
Unrest in Peru
While an insane war hysteria appears at the moment to dominate the mass psychology in Colombia,

War on Control of Leticia

there is very deep social and political unrest in Peru. One of Sanchez Cerro's reasons for warring against Colombia at the present time, was to utilize an appeal to national patriotism as a counter-balance to the forces and tendencies aimed at the overthrow of his regime. But the Peruvian dictatorship is playing with fire; anything short of a quick decisive victory, and that is unlikely, certainly a revolutionary overturn in the near future. The petty bourgeois A. P. R. A. which opposed Sanchez Cerro in the last elections, and which together with the Communist party, was recently involved in a series of minor uprisings which culminated in the "putsch" at Trujillo last fall have already conducted in Lima and other Peruvian cities a number of protest demonstrations against the war, resulting in clashes between the workers and the armed forces of the government and in numerous arrests.
—ROSALIO NEGRETTE.

Oehler Tour this Week

We have already announced the tour of comrade Hugo Oehler on the present situation in Germany and the program of the Left Opposition on this vital question confronting the international proletariat. Below is specific information on the dates and places of the meetings:
UTICA, N. Y.
Friday, Feb. 17
LABOR LYCEUM
131 Washington St.
Buffalo, N. Y.—Feb. 18
PITTSBURGH, PA.
Sunday, Feb. 19—8 P. M.
IRENE KAUFMAN
SETTLEMENT
1839 Center Ave.
New Castle, Pa.—Feb. 20
YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO
Tuesday, Feb. 21—3 P. M.
CENTRAL AUDITORIUM
225 W. Boardman St.
CLEVELAND, OHIO
Wednesday, Feb. 22
PAINTERS HALL
2030 Euclid Ave.
Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26
Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27
Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 27
Kansas City, Mo.—March 1, 2, 3
St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5

The Dollar Props Up Hitler

The sharpening class relations in Germany have reached the point of civil war. This is posing in the most acute fashion the analyses and programs of the factions of the Communist International. This analysis must flow from the fact that the weight of the contradictions of world capitalism finds their most difficult relationship in Germany, revealing it as the weakest link in the world capitalist chain. Our victory over Fascism in this situation depends upon the ability and action of the Communists in presenting the correct program for the situation in Germany.
The gigantic antagonisms between imperialism, which have been intensified since the last world war, finds their deepest expression in Germany. The interests of the world imperialists are bound up with the interests of the German bourgeoisie in their struggle against the proletariat. If American and other imperialists leave Germany to her own fate in the German extension of the October revolution, the door would be left open for the deepening of internal difficulties and convulsions at home. Across this contradiction between the imperialist powers themselves runs the contradiction between world imperialism and the Soviet Union. These contradictions are tied up in one knot in the present German situation.
To untie this knot, means to answer the burning question of class relations in the interest of the working class. Hitler and Fascism answers this question in the most clear cut fashion for the bourgeoisie, even though they show great signs of weakness and confusion. For this Fascist shortcoming, the errors of Stalinism have more than compensated. Fascism has already one foot over the threshold of state power and the Stalinist straitjacket is hindering the free action of the vanguard of the working class. Hitler dissolves the Reichstag, the Prussian Diet and calls for elections on March 5. Be-

America and the Fascist Danger

between now and elections he will see to it that the Communists and all other workers' organizations are not able to participate according to their parliamentary strength and thereby insure a "legal" victory of Fascism.
Social Democracy has not outlived its usefulness for the ruling class, it cannot adequately serve the interest of the capitalists in the immediate acute situation but it can and does constitute an active reserve force ready to serve its master as a moment's notice Social democracy can only be shattered by a proper united front tactics in order to win the worker socialist from the leaders, thereby the base upon which the social chauvinist and "Iron Front" fighters rest can be torn away.
One force that is at present in the background, but which has weight of first magnitude in Germany, is American imperialism. During and since the last world war and since the last war it has been the stabilizing center of world capitalism against the revolutionary struggles for power of the proletariat. A working agreement between German Fascism and American imperialism is necessary for capitalism to utilize the Fascist hordes against the working class and the Soviet Union.
America's participation in the last world war on the side of the imperialist rivals of Germany was of decisive importance in the defeat of Germany. It was second in importance only to the effects of the October revolution upon the German working class in the 1918 revolution which overthrew the Kaiser. American capital, in the form of war loans and war equipment, gave the necessary impetus to the tired and shattered armies fighting Germany. American post-war loans continued this necessary prop of decaying European capitalism in order to insure foreign markets for American production.
—HUGO OEHLER.

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 16th Street,
ADMISSION: 15c
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Homeless Youth to be Militarised

\$20,000,000 APPROPRIATED TO SEND YOUNG WORKERS INTO MILITARY TRAINING CAMPS

The U. S. Senate has decided to militarize the homeless youth of the nation. By its bill, passed Monday by a unanimous vote, it has placed the destitute and hungry youth, who total more than 400,000, on the basis of forced conscription to military training camps. The minimum service required in these camps is six months.

Thus the impotent Senate has reacted to one of the most vital and desperate problems created by American capitalism. These young workers, whose life is one of hunted wandering, whose bed is a box car and whose food consists of the miserable soup handed out in salubrious army joints, and who are a prey to sexual degeneracy and petty thievery of all description—they are the grist of the mill of capitalist civilization. Thrown to the surface by four years of capitalist crisis, they reflect the profound derangement, the wretched conditions thrust upon the proletarian home by continued unemployment and dependence upon the handouts of charity institutions. The bourgeois scoundrels are

caught in their own mesh. They howled about Communism "breaking up the family" and never before has such a wholesale disruption of family life been evident as in the "paradise" of American capitalism. They gloated over the "besprizorni" in Soviet Russia. But the workers state has eradicated this left-over of the civil war, by absorbing them into the industry and life of the nation. In America, where there has been no civil war they swarm the country-side in hundreds of thousands.

And what do the solons of bourgeois law and order propose to do about the problem? Do they intend to give these young workers jobs, to give them unemployment insurance, to place them in trade schools so they can later be absorbed in industry? It could hardly be expected. The boss class wants these jobless youth for its industrial reserve army. It wants these unemployed youth to constitute a threat at the factory gates so that wages may be constantly dragged down. It wants them to serve as scabs in the great strike battles that are yet to come. It wants these outcasts to augment its militia for use against the international enemy—the starving working class and to provide cannon fodder for its "foreign" wars that impend. Above all it fears the danger these discontented youths constitute to their personal pocketbooks, in the way of petty larceny on a wholesale scale and the organization of a section of them into a militant youth movement which will strike not at the pocketbooks but at the source of capitalist income—the expropriation of the mines the mills, and the factories.

Fascists in Control of Police

DAILY WORKER MAKES DEMAGOGIC ATTACK ON OPPOSITION IN ORDER TO COVER UP STERILITY OF STALIN POLICY OF OPPOSITION TO LENINIST UNITED FRONT TACTICS

continued from page 1

Has all this happened because the social democracy and its institutions are "social Fascists"—O brainy theoreticians!—or because they are a hindrance to the establishment of complete Fascist domination? Is it asking too much to request a straightforward answer to a straightforward question? The social democracy and its institutions are the main social support of the democratic form of bourgeois rule—that is a kindergarten truth which the mental parasites of the party could well afford to assimilate. But for the naked, Fascist form of bourgeois dictatorship, this "support" becomes a hindrance, it becomes superfluous. You don't need to be a member of the party's Political Bureau or the all-wise Secretariat to understand this. All you have to do is to read a page or two of modern history, a page or two of the daily press, a page or two of Marx and to combine all this with a modest dash of common political sense. But here perhaps we are asking too much from the *Daily Worker* editor.

The silence of the party press, we have succeeded in breaking down. But now that it has spoken it has only revealed the dreadful confusion that Stalinism has introduced into the crucial German situation. The fate of the whole German proletariat, the Communist party and the Communist International, the Soviet Union and the world revolution—hang in the balance. The Stalinists are either impotently silent (THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL HAS NOT SPOKEN YET!) or else they speak fatal nonsense.

The united front—not the Centrist caricature of it—must be established if Hitlerism is to be crushed—not tomorrow but today. The phrasemongering Stalinist officials stand in the way of it and thus play into the hands of the treacherous social democratic leaders. Those who stand in the road of the German proletariat's struggle to smash Fascism—must be swept aside!

Thursday, Feb. 16, 1933. —M. S.

Messrs. Professional Liars on the *Daily Worker* (2-16-1933) proceed to declare that the *Militant* is trying "to convince the American workers that the Communist party of Germany is their enemy which holds them back from struggle whilst on the contrary the Social Democratic leaders are now a hindrance to Fascism; in other words, that the workers cannot trust the Communist party but CAN trust the Social Democratic party leaders."

Every word here is a lie, and a typically Minoreque, i. e., not a very bright, lie. We never spoke of "trusting" the social democracy, much less its leaders. Nor did we say that the "Social Democratic party leaders are a hindrance to Fascism". We spoke and continue to speak everywhere of "the craven capitulation of the social democratic leaders" (2-15-1933), of the fact that these leaders have paved the road for Fascism by their unbroken record of treachery. But the leaders of the social democracy, many of whom will enter directly into the Hitler camp when his power is consolidated, just as they entered Mussolini's camp after 1921, are one thing; the social democracy, and especially the social democratic masses and their institutions, are quite another thing. This the scintillating theorists of the Stalinist school cannot understand because they have forgotten the A B C of Marxism. Are the latter a hindrance to the complete conversion of a Fascist state? Can anybody but a hopeless Stalinist official, fail to give an affirmative answer? Do not the latter read the daily press? Are they living on this globe or on Jupiter? Have they not read somewhere that in order to insure the domination of Fascism, Mussolini not only exterminated the Communist movement but also burned down socialist halls in Italy, drove into illegality the socialist party and the socialist trade unions, demolished socialist papers and printing establishments, destroyed socialist cooperatives, expelled and imprisoned socialist leaders? Have they ever heard the name of Matteotti? Have they seen from the press reports that Hitler's first steps included the suppression or confiscation of the socialist Vorwarts in Berlin and other socialist papers? Do they know that socialist workers have already been murdered? That the socialist mayor of Stassfurt has already been assassinated by the Nazi gangsters?

The Relief March in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS.—The leadership of the Communist party in Dist. 9 is carrying out the "circular" instructions for "state relief marches". Cripple as it is with the Stalin line and its consequences in the past struggles the party stumbles and falls into creating a movement that resembles Lovestone's and Pat Devine's "genuine labor party". Rather than come out in its own name and call upon the trade unions, the Socialist party, the Farmer-Labor party, the cooperatives for a minimum class program, the party crawls into the shelter of its own "third period" auxiliaries, and through them calls a state relief march for the demands of the former Minneapolis Building Trades "Left wing" with a few innovations from the program of its own unemployed and farmers' organization. A real movement for a Leninist united front to meet the dire need of the unemployed in the bankrupt cities and counties would get a popular response from the masses regardless of the attitude of the reformist leaders.

The movement is called the Workers and Farmers Relief Committee. No pretense is made to define its united front character. The Left Opposition delegates to the Minneapolis conference for this movement were not seated because they are "counter-revolutionary". A typical A. F. of L. bureaucracy "sag rule" was administered by a blushing workers chairman to prevent discussion on the motion to unseat the Communist League delegation. The narrow basis for the march is supplemented by the widest, loosest and most meaning-

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TREACHERY IN GERMANY TAKEN FROM ITS OWN AUTHENTIC RECORDS, WRITINGS, SPEECHES, NEWSPAPERS, WHICH SHOW HOW IT SOLD PROLETARIAT TO BOURGEOISIE

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND THE WAR

"On July 31, at 8 p. m., the War Ministry issued in No. 64 gAI the following communication to the General Command, etc.: According to a reliable report the Social Democratic Party has the firm intention of conducting itself in a manner as befits every German under the present conditions. I consider it my duty to call attention to this so that the military commanders may take it into consideration when adopting measures."

Report of Count Montgelas in the First Investigation Committee, Volume 2, page 74.

ALL FOR THE FATHERLAND

"For our people and its free future, much if not everything is at stake in a victory of Russian despotism which is stained with the blood of the best among its own people. It is necessary to ward off this danger, to guarantee the culture and the independence of our country... In the hour of danger we do not leave our own fatherland in the lurch. In this we feel ourselves to be in harmony with the International which has at all times recognized the right of every people to national independence and self defense, just as we condemn in agreement with it every war of conquest... Guided by these principles, we approve the required war credits."

Declaration of the Social Democratic Reichstag Fraction on August 4, 1914.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY

"As soon as the monarchy fulfills the wishes of the people, the ground is removed from under all republican agitation. The question: monarchy or republic? would then be much less of a theme for discussion than it is at present. And every probability indicates that this is what is coming. Even if there are still difficulties to overcome, they will be—presumably in the shortest period of time—overcome without a trace of a violent upheaval and without the overthrow of the monarchy."

—Vorwarts, April 3, 1917.

NEVER AGAINST THE MONARCHY

"An anti-monarchist propaganda, a positive republican activity, was never conducted by the social democracy, because this question appeared to us up to a certain time to be secondary... The imputation that the social democracy wanted or prepared the November revolution."

—Arthur Crispien, Chairman of the Independent S. D. P., July 29, 1919.

100 at B'klyn Meet

The third meeting in its campaign on the German situation was held by the N. Y. branch of the Left Opposition in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Williamsburg. About 100 workers came for the first time to listen to the call to action of the Left Opposition on the menace of Hitlerism in Germany. The speakers of the evening, comrades Shachtman and Cannon gave a lucid explanation of the situation in Germany and the grave dangers that threaten the Communist movement of the whole world. This rally in Williamsburg marks the first meeting the Left Opposition has held in that district.

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

less form of representation of the workers. The appeal says "call mass meetings in your towns and elect delegates". In the Minneapolis conference there was one trade union and the party membership and its closest sympathizers represented eleven times over (through auxiliaries). The name, the structure, the content of the movement is nothing but the forces of the official party, with its own workers' and farmers' organization. The party, the leader of the working class, should boldly carry out its task of discrediting and unmasking the whole fallacy of the theory of two-class parties instead of competing with the F. L. P. with its own two-class party. Behind the sham of the Farmer Labor Party lurk a multitude of opportunist misleaders of the working class. We must expose and not compete with them.

Despite the crudity of organization and shortcomings in policy, the movement and march will have a considerable following on the day of the march. The workers will come, look on and go away. It is the only action of a militant character for the unemployed this winter. The Left Opposition supports the movement and shall participate in it. It will criticize its errors and wrong orientation as we do in this article. We sound the call for the worker Communists to take stock of the wrong policy of their leadership and organize with the Left Opposition to correct it.

—CLEM FORSEN.

tion, is a ridiculous, stupid lie of our opponents for agitational purposes."

—Philip Scheidemann, Berlin, June 1922.

(On December 5, 1922, in the trial against his assassins, Scheidemann declared that he requested from Prince Max von Baden the retirement of Wilhelm II "in order to save the monarchy".)

WAR TO THE LAST MINUTE

"So long as the peace negotiations have not yet begun and hostilities continue, the defense force of the German people must be unfolded to the highest conceivable degree. The transition from a war to a peace footing is also from a military standpoint a psychologically dangerous moment. We owe to the people which stacks its arms minutes too early! The unfolding of the national defense force also demands, however, the preservation of order in the interior."

—Vorwarts, October 3, 1918.

THE MONARCHY MUST REMAIN

"Had we at that time seen the possibility of transforming Germany into a republic, we should not have delayed for an instant to unfold the republican banner and to enter into struggle for it. But up to this time we have not seen this possibility and we do not see it today. But this demands first of all the preservation of the present state form, the monarchy."

—Mannheimer Volksstimme, Nov. 8, 1918.

THE PACT WITH THE CAPITALISTS

"In the Right socialist trade union leaders, the Legiens, Leiparts, Schlickes, and consorts, the employed found allies to save capital from the threatening revolution. On November 15, 1918, six days after the 9th of November, after the day of the revolution, the labor collaboration between the employers and the Right socialist trade union leaders was concluded... Thus the Christian leaders once allied themselves with the mighty in Rome jointly to suppress the betrayed people."

—Arthur Crispien, Chairman of the Independent S. D. P., July 29, 1919.

KAUTSKY AND HAASE ON RUSSIA

"Continuation of the discussion on Germany's attitude to the Soviet Republic: Haase advises to proceed dilatorily... Kautsky joins in with Haase; the decision must

attack in West Frankfurt went to see Go. Horner. The Governor at first refused to see the woman that were beaten and who came to ask the Governor if his statement two weeks ago assuring the miners their constitutional rights were to be enforced. In this West Frankfurt affair capitalist "justice" comes out in all its nakedness. On Wed., February 1, Mrs. Weick notified Gov. Horner that the women of the Progressive Miners of America would hold a meeting in West Frankfurt on Sunday, Feb. 5 and asked Horner to see that the miners got their constitutional rights. Nothing of course, came out of all this and the P. M. A. was prevented from holding their meeting by a bunch of gangsters. Not only did State's Attorney Hart and Chief of Police of West Frankfurt refuse to protect the meeting but openly told the committee that the meeting would be attacked by Ray Edmondson and the rest of the gang. That "law and order" under capitalism is a farce is seen in the action of the courts in the case of Moulton, Lipe and Whitlow who in the earlier part of the week were sentenced to six months imprisonment by one judge and are released by another judge in another county in time to help Ray Edmondson and the rest of the gang to club and beat the women of the Progressive Miners.

The whole Southern Illinois, the West Frankfurt section, the Harrisburg section, the Duquoin section are all swinging toward the Progressive Miners of America. The new union is growing fast. The Lewis-Walker union is losing. So Gov. Horner instead of giving the P. M. A. a referendum vote that they asked for is going to have a State Legislature commission from the house and senate investigate the conditions in Franklin county. In the language of the miners, Horner is going to put on a "white-wash-squad" to whitewash everything and make everything rosy for the Lewis-Walker-Peabody machine. But the miners, too, are realizing that real progress can be made only in a struggle against the whole capitalist system. —JOS. ANGELO.

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Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

Friday, February 17, 1933
Vol. VI, No. 9 (Whole No. 156)
Single copy: one cent. Bundle rates on application.

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This statement was made at the time the victims of the gangster

be postponed. The Soviet government will not last very much longer but will be liquidated in a few weeks."

—Minutes of Session of Council of People's Commissioners, Nov. 19, 1918.

THE JUDAS ROLE OF THE SOCIALISTS

"The massacres of revolutionary workers in Berlin, Munich, Bremen, the Ruhr district and Upper Silesia, in hundreds of other German cities will be an everlasting monument of shame to the Right wing socialist-bourgeois overlords."

—Arthur Crispien, Freiheit, November 1919.

NOSKE THE BLOODHOUND

"I attacked even though I knew that I would be dragged through the revolutionary history of Germany as a bloodhound. I carried out this bloody work out of serious consciousness of duty. At that time I said to myself: somebody must do the job, and it is clear to me that this means for me that I shall have to run through the German revolution like a bloodhound."

—Gustav Noske, Weimar Congress of S. D. P., Minutes, page 202.

INCITEMENT TO MURDER ROSA AND KARL

"Hundreds of corpses in a row. 'Proletarians! 'Karl, Rosa, Radek and Co., 'Not one of them is there! 'Proletarians!'"

—Zickler in the Vorwarts, January 13, 1919.
(The next day, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was murdered.)

NOSKE'S TWO GREAT DEEDS

"I have accomplished two great deeds about which history will yet speak when I am dead, and they are the liberation of the country from Bolshevism and the keeping of Hanover in Prussia."

—Noske, Hanover Parliament, May 1924.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS ON NOSKE-GALLIFET

"Noske directed the bloody suppression in Berlin and Bernhard carried it out; Theris and Gallifet, or still better: two Gallifets. Noske remains to this day a member of the Second International. To restore the unity of the great family of labor the violator of its name must be driven out."

—Populaire, central organ of the S. P. of France, Sept. 25, 1919.

Governor Strikes Blow at Ill. Miners

continued from page 1

meetings, carrying on organizational work and building their union, in a word, it denies the P. M. A. members their rights as workers.

Further the "memorandum" states: "No private citizens in the county should be allowed to carry arms, or should have them under their control." Who are the private citizens, say for instance in Christian county? Mostly the striking coal-miners. On the one hand while all the private citizens have had their homes raided and disarmed by the State Militia; on the other hand, the Peabody gunmen and strikebreakers have free excess to all the guns that they need. The striking miners are not even to be allowed the right to protect their homes from the attacks of drunken imported strikebreakers.

Then as a further onslaught on the P. M. A. the State senate last week appropriated \$100,000 for the use of the State Militia in Christian County for their continued stay. Already over \$150,000 have been exhausted by the State Militia that is stationed in Christian County for the purpose of clubbing, gassing, murdering and starving the striking miners back to work under the company union of Lewis and Co. When the Unemployed Councils held their State convention in Springfield and they sent a delegation to Gov. Horner to demand winter relief, the delegation was viciously clubbed, beaten and thrown into jail. But when it comes to help Peabody Coal Co. defeat the striking miners there will always be plenty of money so long as the capitalist system and its representative exist. And Gov. Horner is opposed to the miners regardless of the tactics the workers use, whether it's P. M. A. tactics as pursued in Taylorville and West Frankfurt, or Gandhi tactics as pursued by Agnes Burns Weick, or the Unemployed Councils tactics, led by the Communist party. In the future he will use "headache clubs" against them all can be seen in the statement that he made to Agnes Burns Weick when she asked Gov. Horner if the demonstration by the large group of Progressive women two weeks ago in Springfield had not been orderly:

"Yes," Horner replied, "but let me tell you one thing. Do you remember the group that rioted (?) in my office a few days ago? The only difference is that you sat here determined to force me to see you, while they demonstrated."

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BUILD THE MILITANT

This is the time to do it, comrades! Every shoulder to the wheel! The *Militant* plays a great historical role. It was never needed more than now, in these fateful days. Now is the time to spread it, to build up its circulation.

We are glad to record gratifying results for the last couple of weeks. Since the drive started we received about two hundred new subs through the Club Plan and the prepaid sub-cards. At the same time new subscriptions are on the increase at the regular subscription rate.

Looking over the record by cities we see Pittsburgh, Montreal and Toronto rushing to the front. Of course, New York stands at the head of the list but at the rate some of our branches are progressing, its place of honor will be seriously contested in the near future. Toronto just made its immediate goal fifty new subs. And the way it is rushing ahead, that goal will be reached soon.

As to the individual record, comrade Capelis felt quite sure to remain in first place. Well, comrade Capelis, look at the column and better get busy with renewed vigor. A number of comrades begin to press you.

THE RECORD BY CITIES:

New York	84
Chicago	40
Minneapolis	22
Pittsburgh	20
Toronto	18
Montreal	16

Philadelphia	15
Youngstown	10
Boston	8
New Castle	8
Lynn, Mass.	6
South Bend	6
Davenport	4
St. Louis	4
Des Moines	4

THE BUILDERS:

H. Capelis	16
H. Nash	13
P. Vornas	12
M. Koehler	8
B. Morgenstern	8
V. R. Dunne	8
A. Ross	7
J. Weber	7
W. Krehim	6
A. Joel	6
P. Shulman	6
C. Ingram	6
A. Friend	5
L. Basky	5
B. Borsook	4
Toronto Group	4
J. Hamilton	4
J. Hinch	4
H. Milton	4
R. Spiegel	4
H. A.	4
M. Hudson	4
F. Rayburn	4
M. Gottlieb	4
J. Hamilton	4
W. Konikow	4
O. Coover	4
S. Lessin	4
J. Sifakis	4
E. Mc Millen	4
A. Miller	4
G. Drucker	4
J. Ritz	4
J. Ruby	4

Super-Exploitation in So. Illinois Drives Miners to A Militant Revolt

Why did the revolt of the militants among the soft coal miners take on clear-cut organizational features in Illinois, and particularly in Southern Illinois? What are the objective features of the situation in that territory, with which revolutionary labor policy will have to reckon?

Analysis of the statistics published by the government leads to the following conclusions:

1. In Illinois, capitalist exploitation of the coal miner has gone further in many respects than in any other state in the union, and this is particularly true of the Southern Illinois field.

2. The concentration of capital is proportionately greater in Illinois, and the necessity of concentration of the workers' forces is correspondingly most urgent.

3. The increased efficiency of exploitation in Illinois has led to shorter working time and lower earning power for the miners. The effect on wages will be discussed separately.

Man Production High

We use as the index of exploitation of mine labor, the production of coal in tons per man per day. For the United States as a whole this averages about 5 tons; for the State of Illinois, 6.42 tons. The Southern Illinois counties run above the average for the state—Macoupin County (in which Gillespie is located) reported 7.04 tons, Montgomery County 6.73, Christian County 7.74 (in which the fighting centering around Taylorville took place).

These figures represent not only super-exploitation of labor but also the presence of large aggregations of capital able to conduct a powerful and vicious attack against the miners. Class 1A mines, (producing over half a billion tons a year each), produce a larger part of the total output in Illinois than in any other state—33.3 percent against an average for the United States of 27.7 percent.

Within the state of Illinois, the concentration is shown by the following comparison: The whole state has 506 mines, of which 113 are in the southern district. The total production of the state in 1930 was 53,000,000 tons, of which 24,000,000 were produced in the Southern district. In other words, 22 percent of the state's mines produced 45 percent of the state's coal.

That the process of concentration of capital and mechanization has gone further in Illinois than anywhere else in the country is shown by the fact that in 1930, a total of 22,803,000 tons of coal was produced in Illinois by loading machines, or handled on pit-car loaders and conveyors. The nearest state to it in mechanization, Pennsylvania, produced only 7,035,000 tons by these methods, and the entire mechanized output of the country amounted to 46,824,000 tons.

In Illinois, 48 percent of the coal mined is loaded mechanically, against 10 percent for the entire country.

Modern Machinery Used

Illinois also leads the country in strip-coal mining, that is, the extraction of coal by steam or electric shovels from an open cut or strip stripping off the overlying earth. This method of mining, using shovels that cost half-a-million dollars apiece, leads to the greatest concentration of capital, as in the United Electric Coal Co.'s operation in Duquoin County in Southern Illinois, and at the same time to the most intense exploitation of labor with production running 14 tons per man per day.

Strip-mined coal in Illinois in 1930 amounted to 6,116,415 tons, or 31 percent of all the strip-mined coal of the United States. In Illinois each shovel averaged 105,000 tons a year, against 58,000 for the whole country.

But all this concentration of capital, mechanization, and rationalization has improved the efficiency of utilization of capital, not of labor. On the contrary, the coal miner in Illinois has had more irregular employment than the miner in any of the other big coal-mining states.

West Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Illinois produce among them 80 percent of the country's total soft coal output in West Virginia, the average number of days worked in 1930 per mine was 204, in Kentucky 187, in Pennsylvania (soft coal) 198—in Illinois it was 153 days in the year.

In Illinois, 97 percent of the miners work eight hours a day; the average for the whole country is less than 90 percent.

Yet in spite of this fact, the production per man per day in Illinois is among the highest in the whole country.

Evidently the tactics of the mine operators are to drive the men as hard as possible for the day's pay, while giving them fewer days of work