WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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America Intervenes in European Conflict

HITLER DANCES TO ROOSEVELT'S TUNE. ORGY OF "PEACE" TALK PREPARES NEW SLAUGHTER AND ATTACK ON U.S.S.R.! MOBILIZE FOR DEFENSE OF THE WORKERS FATHERLAND!

The past week was marked by a hectic development of the political tension on the European continent and by whirlwind American intervention to allay it. The surprisingly easy and rapid consolidation of the Nazi power in Germany—while France and the rest of the entente had expected a prolonged period of internal strife to keep the German nationalists tied to their strings—led to increasing boldness on the part of Hitler on the foreign front and served as the cause of something which is being described by the universal press as a "war hysteria comparable to that of 1914."

As long as the fate of Germany was undecided, as long as it was not certain that the proletariat of that country would not rise against the Fascist monster and institute its own rule, the ruling classes of France, England, etc., not only had no objections to the Nazi Storm Troops but regarded them as warriors in the defense of "civilization."

But the moment when it became clear that class struggle in Germany had for the time being, decided by the passive submission of the workers—betrayed by the socialists and kept divided by the Stalinist bureaucracy—the allied capitalists immediately saw the menace of German "rearmaments" in these same Brown Shirt formations.

It had been the original intention of the Versailles victors to solve the German crisis by maintaining their stranglehold on Germany on a new plane—showing a Fascist Germany to the forefront of war for the extermination of Soviet Russia, where it could make gains **only as an agent of all of the powers of Western Europe** and only to the degree to which **they consented.** Civil war in Germany would have left Hitler no other choice.

With the inexpensive triumph over his internal enemy, the Nazi chieftain naturally gained inspiration to drive for a much better bargain—for a place among the equals in the family of robber capitalist nations. Now, if he is to attack Soviet Russia, he wants to make sure that he will have the force behind him to dictate his own terms and to turn the balance in favor of Nazi Germany in any case. The lack of proletarian resistance within Germany itself facilitates his devlish game of flirtation with the U.S.S.R., which is a club in his hands for the purpose of shaking the positions of the Western powers.

Hitler's excursions into Austria, and growing Fascist strength there, only served to further alarm his Allied opponents, whose aim is, of course, to hold on to that balance of power which they have held so tightly ever since Versailles. Therein lay the reasons for all the talk about "sanctions and preventative war" that so swiftly threw all of Europe into a frenzy last week.

It was at this point that Wall Street's "New Deal" president interefered. The heavy billions of American capital investments, of war debts and private contracts which constitute the economic basis of America's world hegemony were at stake. "Isolation" policy, which under the pressure of financial and economic intervention (Dawes Plan, Young Plan) had shrunk to the size of a flimsy formality, was definitely thrown overboard.

Retaining the traditional hypocrisy of imperialist U.S. "pacifism," President Roosevelt addressed himself to the nations of Europe with something that amounts to a political ultimatum. Money talked and all the high and low politicians of Europe listened.

The Washington administration had been careful beforehand to make clear that it would definitely oppose all "sanction" (the occupation of the Ruhr, etc.) but dropped a gentle hint to Berlin to bide its time. Roosevelt did, to be sure, tell the Nazis that he would not stand for German "rearmament." But at the same time, he just as categorically demanded French disarmament as a precondition for holding Germany in check.

Hitler's Reichstag Speech

The Roosevelt message was a bitter pill for the Western powers to swallow but they had no alternative. It takes finances to impose "sanctions" and to insure against possible consequences. Hitler's Reichstag speech, on the other hand, while indicating a turn to a slower tempo in the reestablishment of armed equality with the other powers, nevertheless showed that this was to be done only by bowing to Wall Street's wishes and not at all on the basis of French or British pressure.

America was to be considered as "guarantor of European peace," as a sort of super-arbiter. All in all, a handsome victory for United States imperialism and another strong twist of the American noose around Europe's neck.

It is not strange that the capitalist press in this country has welcomed Hitler's kowtowing to Washington. It is not strange that it now goes into peons of praise for Hitler, the pacifist. It is only somewhat ludicrous, part of the general comedy of armed pacifism.

That France and England will disarm—is hardly likely. That Hitler will, therefore, continue equipping German military forces up to France's level—gradually, to be sure, and on the "MacDonald plan"—is just as sure. The tension has only been temporarily allayed. The race of armaments will go on as fiercely as before. The final word will, however, rest with Washington.

Hitler and the Mussolini Pact

Significantly also, Hitler reiterated his determination to stand by the Four Power Pact of Mussolini. The direction of this pact—against the Soviet Union—has been made clear before this. The danger of war against the workers' fatherland is just as imminent as before. Only the preponderance in this looming attack against the fortress of the world revolution remains to be decided.

No amount of pacifist talk, no amount of flirtation with the USSR—by Hitler or by Roosevelt—can cover up that danger. To gloat—as the Stalinist **Daily Worker** does—over the fact that Litvinoff's definition of "aggressor nation" has been accepted by Geneva, can only have one meaning: To support all

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5,000 Walk Out In Philadelphia Dress Strike

Philadelphia, Pa. — On Tuesday, May 9, the dressmakers rose in rebellion against sweatshop conditions and starvation pay in Philadelphia. That day 5,000 waist and dressmakers, 95 percent of the trade, went out on a general strike call in their industry. Their working conditions, never good, had been worsened in the past several years that it could no longer be tolerated. Wages of $8 to $15 and even lower are now current. Regulations as to hours, etc., which the state government had in past years been forced to concede, were withdrawn. Work had to be taken home. It was a spirit of resentment against such slave conditions which brought on this upheaval.

The extent of the strike and its depth, can be further judged by the fact that for about half of those out it is their first strike—a novel experience. All categories—operators, cutters, finishers, etc., have struck. This so successful walkout was in response to **two** strike calls that were issued, one by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the other by the United Front Committee of Dress and Waistmakers and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The part played by the Left wing NTWIU is a sorry one. The response was overwhelmingly to the right wing ILGWU of Dubinsky and Reisberg. But both unions were taken by surprise at the turn-out of the workers. So little did the officialdom understand.

To the doubtful "credit" of the ILGWU must be added an effort to prevent a walkout. At the general strike meetings on Wednesday, Pres. Dubinsky admitted that the International's office considered conditions inauspicious for a struggle. "We restrained, we cautioned . . . but you wanted it." The Left wing, desirous of struggle but lacking forces and a foot-hold among the workers, was as a matter of course unable to call a strike. They too thought the call ill-timed—it was too late in the season. At the time of the walkout, the ILGWU had registered 1200 workers. Its leaders expected only an additional 600 to come out.

This strike proves the general Communist position, that strike struggle can be successfully waged now, despite a severe unemployment situation. The strike has many

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Two Expelled by Stalinists from Y. C. L.

The Young Communist League three weeks ago expelled two more of its members on the charge of "Trotskyism." Herman Gladstone, member of the Y. C. L. for two years, and Perry Mayers, member of the Y. C. L. for six months, were the victims this time of Stalinist "party democracy."

The basis for both the expulsions was laid at a recent district membership meeting held by the Y. C. L. on the German situation and the line of the Communist party in Germany. C. A. Hathaway, the district organizer of the party expounded the united front policy in true Stainist fashion.

At the conclusion of Hathaway's speech, one of the expelled members got up on a point of order and asked that there be a thorough discussion among the members themselves, so they would have an opportunity to express their opinions and hear those of the other rank and filers. After a period of organized heckling among the leaders, Hathaway got up and pointed out that "the hour was late and to continue the meeting with an open discussion would mean to remain overnight." (Before this Hathaway had spoken for 4

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Help Pull The Militant Thru

Our appeal to solve the contradiction between the political advance of the League and the financial situation of the MILITANT have met with an excellent response. Since last week's report the following returns have been made by our comrades and friends: Comrade Konikow in Boston paid another note on the linotype machine; the Chicago Militant Workers Club shot in nine dolars; comrade Duell in New Haven sent in one dollar; comrade Koehler in Youngstown, five dollars; Dr. E., two dollars; a friend in Los Angeles one dollar; comrade Kaplan in New York, three dollars; comrade Vomvas of Pittsburgh, one and a half dollars.

In addition the Chicago, Newark, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Toronto, Montreal and Boston branches all sent in various contributions. But best of all has been the response of the Kansas City and New York branches which by their efforts have steered the MILITANT through the worst of the breakers. Final figures of the exact results of the respective efforts of these two branches are not yet available. Next week we will give a full and detailed report.

Clear water is ahead at last. There remains one more line of breakers. If we clear this we can say that the response of our entire movement has pulled the MILITANT through the worst crisis it has ever faced. In that case we will have taken a long step forward on the road to the solution of the contradiction between the political advances of the League and the financial situation of the MILITANT.

Our belief is that the response of the past three weeks will not slacken but will continue.

Despite the excellent response of the past week the MILITANT appears late this week. That is due to the financial situation which set us back. If all our comrades and friends will continue to make their response prompt, next week's MILITANT can appear earlier.

Organize Fight Against Mass Evictions

BULLETIN

As we go to press we learn from the evening papers of the savage assault made by the N. Y. Police upon demonstrations in New York at the Home Relief Bureaus where unemployed workers protested the slashing of relief and the cessation of rent payments by the city. The thugs in uniform brutally slugged the workers. Many were taken to the hospital for treatment.

The working masses of New York are getting their first dose of the Roosevelt "New Deal." Tammany Hall, "the friend of the people," has ordered the wholesale eviction of the New York unemployed from their homes. Working in cooperation with their election backers, the landlords and the bankers, the McCooeys, the Currys, the O'Briens and the rest of the honest men in control of the City government have cut off all payment of rents for the unemployed. This is no small matter. It cuts into the lives of more than 1,000,000 unemployed, their wives and children. Tammany's brutal eviction order tells the jobless masses of this city to pack their belongings and to rent a sleeping place for themselves on the park benches, the subway or a flop-house—if they can get into one.

This is the fourth year of the economic crisis. The masses have watched the degradation of their standards of life with little or no resistance. So long as they were able to "get by" on the handouts of the relief institutions they remained dormant and passive. The Communists warned that even these pitiful doles would be retracted if the workers did not fight for their maintanance and for the granting of the only half-way substantial form of relief under capitalism—unemployment insurance. These warnings have now become a sinister fact. Relief has either been reduced or eliminated in various parts of the country. New York is now falling in line with new dole to be dispensed to the American workers—the dole of starvation and evictions.

The capitalist class is determined to carry out its cynical hunger program. Listen to what a capitalist information agency, the **Kiplinger Washington** letter has to say and draw your own conclusions:

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Chicago Meet Unifies Jobless Movement

NATIONAL FEDERATION FORMED. SOCIALISTS FORCED TO INCLUDE ALL COMMUNIST TENDENCIES IN CONFERENCE. LEFT WING CARRIES PROGRAM AFTER HARD STRUGGLE.

Chicago, Ill.,—The Chicago Unemployed Conference held at Lincoln Center on May 13, 14, 15, ended by forming the National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America, with the national office in Chicago, and the election of a National Committee of 15.

Huge Representation

Three national organizations, two others in the process of forming national, state, sectional and city organizations, represented 40 organizations with 826 branches, from 16 states and 25 cities with 96 delegates from all parts of the United States. The Workers' Committees, Workers Leagues and Unemployed Councils were represented. The Ohio Independence meeting, to be called by the CPLA and the Industrial Workers Unions, both in the process of forming national unemployed organizations, were also represented. Fraternal delegates from political organizations were also present, Al. Glotzer representing the Left Opposition.

Political tendencies from the extreme right to the extreme left attended the conference which was the high mark up to the present in the united front of workers' organizations. The following political tendencies were represented through different unemployed organizations: Republicans, Democrats, Agrarian reformers, progressives, Borders' group, socialists, Right wing socialists, militant socialists, left wing socialists, anarchists, Industrial Workers of the World, Musteites, Stalinists, Lovestonites, Right-centre Communists, ultra-Left communists and the Left Opposition. The different political tendencies were, in the main, divided into two different positions at the conference as Right wingers and Left wingers, with the I.W.W. delegates jumping back and forth. Struggles within the two main tendencies marked the high points of the conference and made it possible, thru the ironing out of secondary differences on immediate demands, to conclude the conference with unanimous decisions. The amendments to the reports of the committees were either adopted or rejected and then the report as amended was adopted unanimously.

The greatest numerical weight of the conference was held by the socialist delegates, who were instrumental in calling it. But the hopeless split between their Right and Left wings and the political bankruptcy of the main current of the socialists made them a sorry figure in the conference, which swamped them in defeat and wrapped them up in their own contradictions by obtaining unanimous decisions on the amended reports.

The Left Opposition's Objectives

The delegates from the unemployed organizations representing our political views (Left Opposition,) went to the conference with the following objectives:

1. To fight for the seating of all unemployed organizations, especially the Unemployed Councils, which the Borders Committee had specified in the call would not be seated.

2. To have the conference adopt the correct position on the united front and establish it as a working basis for the unemployed organizations.

3. That the perspective of the conference be the establishment of one national unemployed organization.

4. To oppose any political, racial, color or creed or discrimination in the unemployed organizations.

These objectives became the established principles by conference decision because other delegates—on the one hand, independent of our and on the other hand, through discussion with us—fought for the same positions, thereby enabling the united Left wing to carry its program.

Our delegates, while concentrating on the above issues were unable to lead an adequate fight for the slogan of the **six-hour day, five-day week, with increased pay,** which in the main was lost in the resolutions committee.

Several draft programs from different organizations, including a statement of the Left Opposition were passed out to the delegates. Our statement will appear in a coming issue.

The Floor Struggles

The first difference of opinion in the conference came when the credential committee reported, leaving out the credentials of the Unemployed Councils. Delegate Oehler moved anamendment to the report of the credential committee asking for the seating of the Unemployment Council delegates and the fraternal delegates from political organizations that were also left out. Delegate Waters, of the Workers Leagues, amended this by specifying the number of votes they could have. This was agreed to by the representatives of the Unemployed Councils to enable the Left wing of the conference to concentrate on one instead of two amendments. The amendment to seat the delegates from the Unemployed Councils and fraternal delegates carried by a vote of twenty-nine and a half to twenty-five and a half, thereby establishing at the start the principle of no exclsions from the united front. Without the support of the Workers Leagues, the Lovestoneites and the Left Opposition, the Stalinists would not have been seated.

The second important struggle revolved around the question of what kind of an organization this conference would establish. Some delegates, led by the Worker's Leagues, desired a national organization. Others wanted a continuation of the original Federation and the delegates from the Unemployed Councils merely wanted a continuation committee and united front local and sectional committees. The Musteites, who are calling the July 4th conference, supported the position of the Unemployed Councils.

The report of the constitution committee was rejected, the committee dismissed and a new one elected with Dennis Batt from the Detroit Citizen League as Chairman. They brought in a report favoring a National Federation with city, county and state federations. A Reverend delegate from the Workers Committee amended the report of the committee and advocated a national federation of organizations which give the local units the right to enter or stay out of the federation. The committee and many delegates pointed out

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Move to Unify Unemployed in Ohio

Youngstown, O.—All the organizations in the Mahoning Valley that claim to represent the interests of the working class will be given the opportunity to prove how seriously they recognize the need of general working class unity in the immediate future. At the suggestion of a Left Oppositionist, the Youngstown Fourth Ward Unemployed League has appointed a committee of three to meet with similar committees from the Austintown Unemployed League, Fourth Ward Unemployed Council and the central branch of the Youngstown Unemployed Council for the purpose of drawing up a united front program and issuing an appeal for unity to all labor organizations in the Mahoning Valley.

This is going to be a test primarily for two national movements that are at present contending for leadership of the local workers. I refer to the Unemployed Council movement inaugurated and to this day dominated by the Communist party, and the Unemployed Leagues which have been built up by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and which still generally follow the CPLA leadership. Both the CP and the CPLA do a lot of

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Broad United Front to Preserve Rivera Murals

A broad united front protest movement of working class organizations against the threatened destruction of Diego Rivera's mural paintings at Radio City by the Rockefeller interests culminated Wednesday in an open-air mass meeting at Columbus Circle and in mass picketing at Radio City and later at the home of Rockefeller. Throughout the whole protest campaign the active and often leading role of the Left Opposition, with which Rivera openly showed his political sympathy, was evident.

At the first meeting of the provisional united front committee, on Friday, May 12, representatives of the cultural and educational organizations of the Left Opposition, the official party (John Reed Club, Workers School, National Students League and League of Professional Groups,) I.W.W., Right Opposition, C. P. L. A., socialist party and anarchist groups were present.

The official party representatives were in an embarrassing position. On the one hand, the disgraceful attitude of the John Reed Club toward Rivera in accepting his services and his donation, then slandering him and promising to return his money without doing so, was well known, and reinforced by a vicious attack on Rivera by Robert Minor in the **Daily Worker** of May 11, which in effect said that it served him right for working for capitalists. On the other hand, many members had definitely stated that they would split unless the club took an official part in the protest.

The Committee's Resolution

Under these conditions, the John Reed Club delegate insisted on placing as the very first item on the order of business, after the names of those present had been taken and a chairman elected, a long resolution which in effect condemned Rivera for a whole series of past acts having nothing to do with the question of the Radio City murals around which the protest action turned.

In view of this, the chairman, Ben Shahn, of the group of painters assisting Rivera in making the murals, with two other members of the committee, drafted a resolution consisting of six points, which were voted one by one, as a guiding line for the conduct of the protest against Rockefeller vandalism and a demand for freedom in class expression in art. Point 4 of the resolution stated that, while this was not a fight for Rivera as a person, the committee commended his courageous action in his controversy with the Rockefellers. This was accepted by all the delegates, including the John Reed Club. Point 5 aroused a fight. It stated that since the fight was directed against Rockefeller, it should not be weakened by recriminations as to certain actions of Rivera or of any of the participating organizations included in the united front comm. This applied to the united front action itself alone, obviously, as was brought out in the discussion. While open to some objections as as to looseness of phrasing it was made clear that this did not bind the right of any of the participants to make whatever criticisms they pleased in their own press and meetings, and that it referred only to the past actions of Rivera and of the participants in the united front not to those which took place since the united front action began. In other words, it was not a "non-aggression pact," but an attempt to prevent the organs of the united front committee from being used for an attack on Rivera based on allegations as to his activities in Mexico, in the Soviet Union, in Detroit and elsewhere, in the past. The full right of criticism was specifically stated in point 6 of the resolution, which said that there was no obligation on any participating organizations to abandon its own point of view. The delegates

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Heroic Sacrifices Mark P. M. A. Resistance to Operators' Onslaught

Pickets beaten, blinded and murdered! Peaceful miners shot down at their homes or on the strets! Relief headquarters smashed! Women—wives and mothers of miners beaten and jailed! Local union and mass meetings broken up! All these are regular features of the struggle of the miners of Illinois to organize and function within a union of their own choice—the Progressive Miners of America.

The list of murders and outrages grows as Lewis gangsters, coal company thugs, deputy sheriff gorillas and National guardsmen with machine gun, bayonet, bomb and blackjack carry on the fight of the Peabody Coal Co. to force starvation wages, slave conditions and a gangster union on the miners of Illinois.

The casuality lists of dead and wounded as published regularly in the **Progressive Miner** are eloquent proof of how the "King Kongs" of Capitalism treat starving and struggling workers in the era of "new deal" and under the beneficient reign of the grinning, democratic "dictator" in Washington.

An incomplete list of recent casualties follows:

Murdered

Mrs. Emma Cummerlato—shot by a sniper in her own doorway.
Joe Colbert—shot by gangsters in his own home.
John Ward—shot on the streets of West Frankfort.
Henry Arnold—shot in his home.
James Attis—shot at the home of a friend.

Wounded by Bayonets

Mike Spada
Frank Breenan
Walter Werner

Wounded by Machine Gun and Revolver

Charles Rudolph
Philip Masonovich
Raymond Tombozzi
Edward Thomas
Pete Borgone
William Denison
Clyde Perkins (shot four times)
Joe Poder
And many others.

Slugged

Mrs. Rose Menzyk
Raymond Tombozzi (slugged, arrested, whipped in jail and held under water until unconscious.)
Mrs. Anna Damaret (fractured skull.)
Mrs. Thomas Wakefield (severe internal injuries.)
Leal Reese, attorney for P.M.A.
John Boetta
George Filkins, age 65 (face hacked to ribbons, hand and collarbone broken by gangsters in his own home—and scores of others.)
John Falber (struck in the face by a tear gas bomb and lost the sight of both eyes.)

—W. M.

Cannon Meetings Are Big Factor in Reviving Movement in Kansas City

Kansas City, Mo.—

Kansas City, with the tradition of the "Workers' World" and the other left-wing struggles still enshrined in the hearts of its militant workers, witnessed a revival in revolutionary activities, which we hope, will prove to be the turning point in the organizational activities of the Left Opposition, and lead it to greater heights.

In spite of the Stalinist slanders of the past few years, comrade Cannon's visit proved to be a huge success. From his arrival on Friday, May 5th, to his departure Tuesday, May 16th, the revolutionary movement in Kansas City took on a new lease of life.

His two lectures—"America's Road to Revolution" and "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat"—which were given on May 12th and 14th respectively, attracted overflow crowds. The results of the bankruptcy of the C.P. activities were very evident at these meetings. After scorching attacks on the Stalinist regime comrade Cannon not only invited but urged the party members or sympathizers present to defend their position—not one arose to take issue. Silence reigned!

The local branch of the Left Opposition increased its membership by almost half when four new comrades were accepted into the group. In addition to that the members and sympathizers pledged $600—$125 spot cash. In response to the appeal of comrade Cannon for the upkeep of the **Militant** and continuance of work in the coal fields. Also the group set a goal of 30 new subs in the **Militant** drive, Comrade Caplan of the sub-drive, warns all those in the race for the prize—the three volumes of Comrade Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution"—that they must increase their efforts or else he is a sure winner!

Last but not least, a Young Spartacus group, with a membership of nine, was organized by comrade Duff.

The K. C. Branch feels that the Left Opposition should recognize that the perserverance and patience of comrades "Shorty" Buehler and Kassen have borne fruit. It is they who have received torrents of abuse from the Stalinists since the formation of the Left Opposition in K. C., and, now that headway is being made all credit to them!

—C. D.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Opposition and Unemployed in Los Angeles

Los Angeles—Part of the machinery set into motion by the United Front anti-Fascist letter of the C. I. was an anti-Hitler united front conference in Los Angeles on April 28.

This conference was not called by the Communist party but by a united front provisional organization of German groups.

Proof that the "united front from below under revolutionary leadership" has gone the way of the "third period" and the "struggle for the streets" was had by the fact that neither the Communist party nor the Young Communist League were represented officially.

We presume, their assumption was that their presence there would frighten from the "broad united front" the three branches of the I L D, the IWO, the FSU, the friends of the Polish Political Prisoners, the LSU, the Icor, and the Unemployed Council as well as two or three German speaking organizations: Workingmen's Benefit, Maennerchor, etc. And by no means shall we forget the Cremation Society who were present, too.

The only Communist organization openly participating was the Left Opposition.

A delegate of the Left Opposition was placed on the resolutions committee. In this committee he proposed three resolutions, in addition to the two already proposed. One of the resolutions, on the struggle against Fascism, stood for a united front with all labor organizations against the Fascist attacks, particularly with the socialist party. The socialist party was condemned for refusing to participate in this conference.

Other resolutions, on anti-Semitism pointed out that the struggle against Fascism and anti-Semitism by the Jews could only be waged by the lower social strata allying themselves with the proletariat, and demonstrated that only a new social order could abolish religious and racial prejudices.

The third resolution on the Defense of the Soviet Union showed that Hitler represented the spearhead of the attacks on Russia, and the labor movement particularly in the countries intervening between Russia and Germany must join the anti-Fascist bloc. (The party voted against the resolutions of the L. O.)

The party seems determined to to make of the anti-Hitler struggle an affair of fraternal German and Jewish groups instead of a labor affair. The local branch of the Opposition took a determined position against this. The consensus of opinion of revolutionaries here is that Stalinism is ready for a nice sanitary disposal.

Call the Cremation Society!

Activity of the Left Opposition

The comrades in the Los Angeles branch of the League are very active in the class struggle particularly in the mass unemployment movement, the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association in which they are very influential. The organization is slowly progressing. We are developing a group of erstwhile scissor bills into class conscious battlers, although in this as well as in other activities we suffer acutely from lack of forces.

The organization has demanded $50,000 monthly from the city. This morning's newspapers state that Mayor Porter has appropriated $20,000. The cause for this "liberality" is a dual one, a combination of pre-election political activity, and the forestalling of our movement by a political concession.

The movement has also gone on record for the freedom of Mooney, has elected a delegate by proxy to the Free Mooney Congress in Chicago.

Some time ago, when the U. C. R. A. placed an evicted family's furniture back into the home, the man, Tibbs, was arrested. After a nine day trial, costing the authorities at least $1,000, the verdict was "not guilty." This was a victory for the unemployed.

The unemployed are turning on their disconnected gas, light and water in the tens of thousands. A number of half-hearted arrests have taken place on this account, too.

Friday, April 27, a member of the organization was placed on the streets. The unemployed determined to make a demonstration in the form of a continual meeting 24 hours daily at a pitched tent before the workers former home. This tactic had won shelter for the family before.

In the small hours of the night, when the members keeping vigil had dwindled to 35 warming themselves before bonfires, the police and "red squad" swooped down and brutally beat the unemployed. It was not that horror of horrors, a "red", that was clubbed but one of themselves. The unemployed are aroused.

So the lessons of the class struggle, of private property, of the role of the state are being beaten home. We are busy drawing conclusions, organizing the instinctive rebellion into revolutionary Marxist paths.

—C. CURTISS

Organization Notes

New York City—

The affairs held recently by the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) have helped greatly to alleviate the financial situation of the Militant, as well as to take care of other financial obligations. A movie showing on "Germany in 1923 and the Congresses of the Comintern" brought $30.00. The first showing of the movie of the Russian Revolution at the Labor Temple netted an excellent return. The gala affair at Town Hall, held through the medium of the International Workers School, at which Diego Rivera gave his chalk-talk on the controversy over his murals at Rockefeller Center, brought in a handsome profit, which will relieve the pressure considerably.

Now, a second showing of the movie on the Russian Revolution will be held at the Labor Temple on Saturday, May 27, and a third showing will very likely be arranged.

The branch has about completed its quota of $75.00 for the Left Opposition in Germany.

In a few weeks the first picnic of the season will be given under the auspices of the Branch. Other affairs are being planned.

Philadelphia Dress Strike

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more lessons and warnings. One is very important—it proves absolutely the correctness of the trade union policy of the Communist League. The strike marks a victory ofr the Right wing union; a defeat for the false Stalinist policies which dominated politically and organizationally the Left wing union. How and why?

The strike call was issued after months and months of negotiations between the ILGWU manager Reisberg and the clothing bosses; after months of "restraining." A general call for "union conditions" took the place of definite demands. The NTWIU, weakened by years of a sectarian "third period" policy, was ignorant of the strike date. It just managed to limp along with an issuance of its prepared, and dateless strike leaflet, calling for a strike at the same time. Two big halls, the socialist Labor Institute and the Grand Fraternity, were rented by the ILGWU. The thousands of workers who responded to the strike call packed them. The Garrick Hall on Eighth Street rented by the Industrial Union, was desolate. Scores, instead of thousands.

Here is the latest fruit of incorrect policy. The shibboleth "United Front Committee" tacked on to the signature of the NTWIU could not replace an isolationist strategy of years. The very mechanics of the struggle forced militant NTW and CP members into work with the masses from the shops—into the Right wing union. Many times the Left Opposition comrades, in the strike halls and on the line, heard the woeful story: "It's not my fault, they all went to the International." Shops brought down by the Industrial Union voted in the Left wing hall to go to the ILGW. Not even in such a situation could the NTW union officers throw overboard their precious "line." As long as possible they they expected a miracle, they clung to instructing comrades to go, though alone, to the Left wing hall. But of course it couldn't last long. It is no longer possible to ignore the hundreds of dressmakers in Reisberg's union.

After it saw the response and its own weakness, the NTW issued a call "for one strike"—"one united strike." Not yet one union but one strike! To this end it elected a committee of 50 to negotiate with the ILGW before the eyes of the strikers. The Dubinsky-Reisberg-Rubin clique refused to give the committees so much as a hearing or even to take a note of the strike meetings. This is how the fakers responded to an offer by recognized militants for unity and aid in a strike struggle. The fact that in several big shops the employers obliged the ILG by shutting off the power to aid the ILG walk-out also is not accidental.

Does this mean that industrial unionism and class struggle policy is dead? Most certainly not. It does mean that Stalinism on the trade union field (they were supposed to be our teachers in practical work) has here succeeded in dispersing a heritage of militancy, in dividing Left and Right workers, and in discrediting the Left wing, not to speak of the Communist movement. The Left wing can and it will be resurrected. But again, only on the basis of a correct policy. Now the comrades must recover from the shock, take stock of forces and policy and leadership, and so be prepared to go forward.

Boston Also On Strike

After we received the article from Philadelphia printed below, we also heard from Boston comrades that a dress strike had been declared there on May 16. As in Philadelphia, so in Boston too, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has taken the lead; the turnout shows a very good response and the Industrial Union (under Stalinist leadership) is all the more surprising, since it is known that the NTWIU only recently held a "Plenum" in New York which was supposed to deal with fundamental problems. An account of proceedings at this "plenum" and an analysis of the present strike movement and the various forces participating will appear in a forthcoming issue of the **Militant.**

The policy to be adopted must be on the recognition that the dressmakers are now in the ILGWU—a union, whose bureaucrats, as the NTW correctly maintains, are not to be trusted. The demand for one united strike is good. It does not go far enough. What now, that it has been rejected? The Left wing must demand ONE UNION. One union in the industry! We must insist on entry of the Needle Trades Union as a bloc into the International; without discrimination and without loss of privileges. This demand, which frankly recognizes the superior strength of the Rights, cannot be refused by the fakers. It will undermine completely their splitting tactics. Let the Reisbergs dare refuse—ways will be found of entering. Shall we enter to "expose" the fakers? The building of a militant union on the policies of the class struggle is what brings the union members into conflict with class collaboration officials. That aim, correctly pursued, will in itself serve to expose them.

Can the left wing develop and function within the ILG? What a question! The class struggle itself makes such an alignment inevitable. The NTW will, because of its militant past and its foresight and courage, act as a leaven. Already, with the strike not yet completely settled, voices of protest are raised. Reisberg's dues agreement will not satisfy the dressmakers, nor fill their tables.

Piece-work and home bundles, some of the sorest spots, are ignored in the settlement. In many shops workers are asking: "What did we get? Our piece work rates are not increased; last Saturday we worked till six o'clock. Is this our union?" The terms of the settlement in the hands of the class collaborationists will prove a sell-out. A 10 percent raise in wages for the lowest paid, means, after 35 cents dues are paid, a 25 cent raise per week for a dress worker getting $8 per week. A 40 hour week is promised after Jan. 1, 1934. At present, 44 hours. In actuality, even at this early stage the dress bosses laugh at it.

The Stalinist policies which left the workers in the reformist unions to the unrestrained mercy of the reformists are dismally bankrupt. The fakers have had a free rein too long. Will the party comrades and its Left wing militants recognize it—will they adopt the realistic Leninist tatcics of the Left Opposition? Only in this manner can the defeat be avenged and a victorious struggle assured for the future.

LEON GOODMAN

Big Crowd Attends Successful Affair of Int'l Workers' School

Before an enthusiastic audience of over 1300 at the Town Hall, in New York City, at an entertainment program given Saturday evening, May 13, under the auspices of the International Workers School, Diego Rivera proclaimed his admiration and respect for Leon Trotsky as a revolutionary leader and as a military genius who is needed, now more than ever, for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The program included Maria Theresa, of the old Isadora Duncan group, and Maria Winetzkaja, soprano, as well as a chalk talk by comrade Rivera on his Radio City mural paintings.

Introduced by comrade B. J. Field, who also acted as translator, comrade Rivera declared that the art of the proletariat, representing a class which is historically on the upswing, was necessarily superior in vitality and artistic value to the art of the bourgeoisie.

He illustrated his talk by drawing in colored chalks, first, the plan of Radio City as a whole, then the structural lines of his main panel finally the principal features of the painting, including the portrait of Lenin which was the immediate occasion for the Rockefeller attack.

The affair was not only financially successful, but added politically to the prestige of the Left Opposition.

—B. J. F.

Two Expelled from YCL

(Continued from Page 1)

hours, 2 hours on the banking crisis, 1 hour on the role of "Trotskyists" in general and the rest of his speech he devoted to the German Situation.) The meeting, one could see, was carefully planned in advance.

Herman, district organizer of the YCL, informed one of our comrades, in reply to their inquiry, that there will not be any discussion at this meeting." Lerner, a section organizer, theratened one of the comrades in the hall, two minutes before the meeting started: "You get up and **ASK** for a discussion and you'll get carried out of here," and "I pity you when we get you outside."

This was the meeting for clarification, and this was the discussion. Hathaway, however, did see the necessity for a question period. So there was a question period in which the members were told to hand in their questions on paper. The comrades objected to such un-Communist tactics and Hathaway thundered that "all YCLers with Trotskyist ideas must be driven from the league."

At their units the expelled members hardly were given the chance to defend themselves, interruptions taking place whenever they would attempt to speak.

—GLADSTONE

Fight Against Evictions !

(Continued from Page 1)

"Organized labor now has the chance of a generation to fix wages into the general scheme of production costs and to promote collective bargaining. Labor leaders do not seem to see it, however. You as employers seem safe in assuming continuing stupidity of labor."

This cynical but clear-sighted statement applies with equal force to the movement of the unemployed. But the failure to organize powerful unemployed organizations falls squarely upon the sectarian policy of the Stalinists which resulted in the division of the employed and unemployed. Yet, great opportunities still stand before the movement today. With hundreds of thousands of jobless about to be forcefully thrown out of their lodgings, with relief checks drastically slashed by the city, great masses of the jobless can be set into motion to frustrate the starvation orders of Tammany Hall. The Unemployed Councils of Greater New York have called upon all workers, for all are directly or indirectly affected, irrespective of color, nationality or political creed to come in huge numbers to a city-wide demonstration against the attacks of the bankers and landlords—to raise their voices and their fists against the mass evictions and the reduction of relief.

The Left Opposition stands solidly behind this movement and calls upon all workers to lend their fighting support to stay the hand of the Tammany evictor. All out on Thursday, May 25th!

N. Y. Conference Against Evictions and Relief Cuts

On May 18, in answer to a call of the Unemployed Coucils of greater New York, a provisional conference took place to organize the struggle against evictions, relief cuts and to prepare a larger united front which is to take place on June 4th.

Represented at this conference were the Communist Party, the T.U.U.L., the Unemployed Councils, the IWO, the CPLA, the Association of the Unemployed (controlled by the Lovestoneites,) the IWW, and the N. Y. Barnch of the Left Opposition which, although uninvited, sent three delegates, comrades Milton, Lewitt and Clarke.

The conference began by an attempt of the Stalinists to exclude the Left Opposition from the provisional gathering through a motion by Benjamin to exclude all organizations not invited in the call for the conference. They, the Stalinists benevolently granted, would have the right to participate in the broader conference (where they could be swamped by the host of local party auxiliaries.) By this procedure, the I. W. W., also not included in the original call, would be barred from the preliminary deliberations. The protest of Cohen of the CPLA and Sizemore of the IWW succeeded in forcing the Stalinists to retract and passed the motion of Lewitt to seat all city-wide organizations present.

Next came the choice morsel of the meeting, if we may call it that. The Lovestonite from the Association of the Unemployed, Rubenstein, took the floor to make the most reactionary proposal yet heard from the Right wing camp. He demanded that the conference be restricted to unemployed organizations only. (This would mean that the only organizations eligible would be the Unemployed Councils and the Association of Unemployed, the S.P. unemployed organization having sabotaged the conference.) Rubenstein further stated that his organization was unanimously opposed to the participation of any political groups(!) This Right wing proposal, which one would expect from an A. F. L. Red baiter, could only succeed in ousting all trade union bodies which have a huge unemployed membership, (dividing the employed from the jobless) and all political bodies which are directly interested in the relief question as a political struggle. Rubenstein's attempt to take refuge behind the backwardness of t he members of the Association of Unemployed was futile as he directly implicated the Lovestone group by saying that this stand represented the unanimous opinion of his organization. The conference opposed this proposal as a man. Rubenstein withdrew from the conference, adding insult to injury and splitting the conference.

The conference then discussed and accepted a draft call for action and for the June 4th conference. It elected an Ex. Comm. from which they succeeded in barring the Left Opposition. As its part in this struggle the Left Opposition had pledged all its forces, the use of its headquarters for information and congregation to the jobless in the fight against evictions and relief cuts.

—GEO. CLARKE

Kameneve Capitulates Again

From the capitalist press we learn of Leon Kamenev's new, "abject" capitulation. If this is true, Kamenev merely preferred political extinction to physical extermination. A miserable alternative, true, but a miserable choice.

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MAIN RESOLUTION OUTLINES BROAD PROGRAM OF ACTION IN FIGHT TO FREE TOM MOONEY

Adopted at the "Free Tom Mooney Congress" Held in Chicago, April 30-May 2

The Free Tom Mooney Congress, asembled at Chicago, April 30 to May 2, 1933, to decide on ways and means to obtain the liberty of that militant champion of the workers' rights, Tom Mooney, 32 years a member in good standing of the International Molders Union, No. 164, and to combat the increasing wave of similar persecution of workers, farmers, and the oppressed Negro masses, adopts the following declaration:

The brazen frame-up and condemnation of Tom Mooney to death, and later to life imprisonment, and of Warren Billings to life imprisonment in California in 1916, was nominally for a crime with which they had no connection; and this frame-up had to do wholly with the fierce economic struggles between capital and labor.

Framed up by private corporation detectives solely because of fearless leadership in the struggle for the improvement of the standards of living for the workers, the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings for seventeen years is an insult, a challenge—a declaration of ruthless class war against the workers of this country.

In the course of his long martyrdom, courageously endured in San Quentin Prison, Tom Mooney has become the foremost living symbol of the American working class. As such, he is hated by all of the enemies of labor; and, as such, we fight for him, determined at all costs, in the interests of the working class, to secure his liberation.

The imprisonment of Tom Mooney has become the keystone of a whole arch of criminal frame-ups, ruthless attacks and denials of the rights of workers, farmers, and the oppressed Negro masses. In the midst of the present economic crisis, which brings hunger and starvation to millions of American workers, the imprisonment of Tom Mooney by the ruling powers of California is continued by those sinister forces as part of the tactics of the American capitalist class to throw the whole burden of the depression upon the workers and farmers in lowered standards of living and denial of relief and to enforce the acceptance of this through a ruthless reign of terror.

These persecutions are connected with violent breaking of strikes, the cutting of wages, the fall of the membership of the trade unions from our millions in 1920 to two millions in 1932, a fall of total payrolls to 38 percent of what it was in 1929, the suffering of millions left to starve without social insurance, with women and children dying of hunger in the cities, with tens of thousands of farmers dispossessed of their land and driven to the cities to join the unemployed in fruitless search for work or framed up and tried before military courts.

Just at the frame-up and imprisonment of Tom Mooney was connected with the preparations for the entry of this country into the world war, so now the continued imprisonment of Mooney, and other victims of capitalist class justice, with the increasing sharp attacks upon all rights of the workers, are connected with the militarization of the jobless workers in forced labor camps on wages standardized at $1 per day while thousands of millions of dollars squeezed from small taxpayers are diverted to the treasuries of private bankers, and the spending of hundreds of millions of millions in the preparation of a second imperiaist war by the capitalist nations and aganst the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Just as Mooney was first saved from the gallows by international action and solidarity of labor on the part of the Russian workers, just so the struggle for the liberation of Mooney and other victims of capitalist class justice becomes more than ever an international cause in which the workers of all countries of the world must be enlisted to fight.

In this situation, the world-wide demand for the liberation of labor's martyr, Tom Mooney, is taking on gigantic proportions.

The power of labor to release its imprisoned martyrs is increased in proportion to the successful strikes which are now beginning to demonstrate that the working class will not tolerate the lowering of the standard of living to a starvation level. The power of the laboring masses successfully to demand the liberation of Mooney is greatly increased at a time when hundreds of thousands of American workers in hunger marches are a living proof that the American people of all exploited classes have reached a turning point at which they intend to resist aggression.

The joining of white and Negro workers together in defense against their common misery brings a vast increase in the strength of labor to compel the release of victims of class and race persecution. The organization and struggle of Negro share-croppers and farmers in the South, no less than the joining of great masses of white and Negro workers together in struggles against unemployment in the cities, testifies to a growing solidarity which makes now for a greater strength in the struggle for the rights of the exploited. The joining of the two mighty currents of protest and demand for the freedom of Tom Mooney and for the freedom of the nine Negro boys framed up at Scottsboro, is the historic mark of the developing strength of the exploited masses against oppression.

Brother Tom Mooney for 17 years the symbol of working class martyrdom, must now become the living symbol of the unity of the working class.

The need of unity is a life and death question of the American workers today.

Disunity in the Past

In 1916 the frame-up of Mooney was not answered by a united front of the workers. The labor movement remained divided and the corrupt use of the name of "Organized La- who conspired to hang this labor organizer.

The frame-up and sentence to death or imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings would not have been possible if labor had been united for their defense.

Their 17 years of imprisonment would not have been possible if at any time the whole of labor had been united in one firm demand for their release.

For such disunity the trade unions and the working class have paid and are paying a terrible price.

The legal murder of the innocent Sacco and Vanzetti was a part of the price of disunity of the workers. It could not have occurred if, prior to that time, the unity of the workers in defense of Tom Mooney had been established. Countless other acts of savage violence, frame up, smashing picket lines, attacks on unemployed gatherings, such acts of violence as have become epidemic since the World War, were made easier for the reactionary forces because the workers had not successfully been united to resist this attack expressed in the frame-up of Mooney in 1916. Through this breach of unity has flowed a torrent of tyranny in the form of injunctions and deprivatio of legal rights.

A Call for Unity

This Congress calls upon trade unions and all workers' organizations, on the exploited farmers, and on all intellectuals and professional people to form an agreement of cooperation for those objects on which it is possible to obtain united action for the release of Tom Mooney and checking the persecutions of the working class.

Difficulties stand in the way of securing united action which arise out of divisions in the ranks of the working class. Yet, at the present time, regardless of these differences, the needs of the working class call imperatively for united action to halt the encroachments on the rights and interests of the workers.

Therefore, even while sharp differences will continue to exist on many questions, between the various workers' organizations, it is necessary to bring about concerted action of all workers and of their organizations for certain immediate objectives equally urgent for all workers and workers' bodies.

We proclaim the first of these to be united action of all for the freedom of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

In order that such unity of action be made possible under present difficult circumstances of division between workers' organizations, it is the opinion of this Congress that to obtain such united action, those oragnizations which enter into such a united front shall refrain from attacks on other participating organizations on the issues and probor" has at times served as an instrument in the hands of those

Calls for "Council of Representatives of Various Organizations with Different Views"

posals of the united front during the period of common action and while such organizations are loyally carrying out this agreement. Differences of opinion on policies and tactics, of course, can and must be discussed in the course of working out the proposals for common action in order to clarify the issues. Criticism of even the sharpest sort should be directed against any opposed to united action.

National Council of Action

This Congress hereby establishes a National Tom Mooney Council of Action—a United Front for Workers' Rights and the Rights of the Negro People. In doing this we declare our purpose not to form a body which will supercede any organization, but to bring about cooperation and united action of all existing organizations. We propose a council of representatives of various organizations with different views, but having the common desire to fight for the liberation of Tom Mooney and other victims of capitalist "justice" and for the democratic rights of the working class and exploited masses.

Such a council, particularly, should not supercede the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., the International Labor Defense, or other workers' defense bodies, but should strive to eliminate friction between these two bodies and to unite support of the fight for workers' rights. The Tom Mooney's Molders' Defense Committee should continue to function as at present, assuming special charge of Tom Mooney's defense under his personal direction. The Council of Action will support the Molders' Defense Committee through financial assistance and by developing the widest possible mass movement for the release of Mooney and Billings.

(Continued in next issue)

Motions Presented by Left Opposition at Chicago

1. This congress is conceived not as the culmination but rather as the starting point of a new movement to rally a powerful united front of the working class in the struggle for the liberation of Mooney and Billings.

2. The next steps along this line shall be a series of local and district united front conferences which have the aim of broadening the movement in setting ever-wider masses of the working class into motion, drawing in new forces not yet in the united front and cementing the solidarity of those already participating.

3. This work shall lead in the next stage of the struggle to a **national and international Mooney Day,** at which the attention of the working class of the entire world shall be concentrated on the Mooney Case.

4. All the agitation and activity in the next period shall be connected with the perspective of a second National Mooney Congress with a goal of at least 10,000 delegates.

5. The policy for all this work shall govern the activity of the leading committee on a national scale and all the local organizations is the policy of the united front of workers' organizations. Only in this way is it possible to unite the masses of workers of varying political opinions and tendencies into a single fighting unity in the interests of Tom Mooney and the cause which he symbolizes. The failure of the leaders of some working class organizations to participate in the movement up to now, and their persistent attempts to sabotage the struggle, must not in any case lead to an abandonment of the united front policy with respect to their organizations. On the contrary, the leading organs of the Mooney movements must make it clear at every turn that all organizations and their leaders are invited to participate in the movement and that the door is left open to them even if they have previously refused. Only in this way will it be possible to really rally the masses of workers within the various organizations and give them proper ground upon which to fight every attempt of the leadership to sabotage unity.

(Introduced by James P. Cannon for the delegation of the Communist League of America (Left Opp).)

Heckert 'Explains' the Debacle

"Hypocrites will be found to say the Opposition is criticizing the party which has fallen into the hands of the executioner. Blackguards will add: the Opposition is helping the executioner. By combining a specious sentimentalism with venemous falsehood the Stalinists will endeavor to hide the Central Committee behind the apparatus, the apparatus behind the party, to eliminate the question of responsibility for the false strategy, for the disastrous regime, for the criminal leadership: that means helping the executioners of today and tomorrow."—Trotsky: "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat." (The **Militant**, April 8, 1933.)

* * *

"But the S. P. G. has nevertheless found an ally. This ally is Trotsky. Being a political zero in the workers movement he has nothing to lose; he goes licking the Fascists' boots, hoping to have himself talked about and to come out at any cost, even if only for one small hour, from political oblivion. Marauding scoundrel that he is, he drags about everywhere where workers' blood has flown in search of some political racket. The working class of Germany is suffering bloody sacrifices. Hundreds of Communists have been massacred in Germany, thousands of Communist and the best leader of the German working class, comrade Thaelmann, are imprisoned. But the ally of the Welses and Leiparts, Trotsky exerts his utmost in throwing the responsibility for the Fascist seizure of power from the shoulders of the social democracy on to those of the C. P. G. But what is the real meaning of the Hitler-Trotskyist platform of the "united front," conceived in order to justify the social democracy . . .

"It is in this cruel fashion that the facts have exposed the counter-revolutionary meaning of 'the platform' of the social Hitlerite Trotsky, who has strained himself to prove that the social democracy and Fascism are not twins but antipodes. Under the appearance of a united front, Trotsky, Hitler's auxiliary, is straining himself to impose on the German working class the social Fascist tactic of the 'lesser evil,' that is to say, the reactionary united front which brought Hitler into power."—(Fritz Heckert: "What is Happening in Germany?—**Rundschau,** No. 10, Basle.)

Fritz Heckert, member of the C.C. of the C. P. G. has made his report on the siuation in Germany to the E. C. C. I. His report has appeared in its entirety in the **International Correspondence.** It has been unanimously approved by the E. C. C. I. This only characterizes the "internal democracy" of the Stalinist regime. This demonstrates to what lengths the callousness of the Stalinist grave diggers of the world revolution has gone. Consequently it is not a discussion with Heckert that we have here but rather with Stalinism

Heckert poses the question: Why **has Fascism** succeeded in taking **power** in Germany? After setting forth the **fundamental* realignment** of class forces brought about through Fascism, he goes on to prove, with wearisome scholasticism, the permanent betrayal of the social democracy. The policy of the social democracy leads the proletariat to ruin—that is self-evident. The vanguard of the world proletariat saw that in Aug. 4, 1914. Today the question is not whether or not the social democracy has betrayed, but how it was possible for the social democracy to conduct such a policy for 20 years and yet succeed in rallying the working masses behind its banner. Heckert refuses to answer these questions. How did it happen that the masses who were deceived and betrayed by the bourgeois republic, should find their way to the Fascist counter-revolution instead of the proletarian revolution? The Fascist party is not older than the Communist party, it did not have more time to win over the masses. Evidently, Fascism disposes of the material support of capitalism, but its ranks are recruited out of human dust. Its ideas spring from the barbaric middle ages. It is not capable of solving social questions.

Communism, on the contrary, bases itself on the force of the first workers' state on the earth. It groups around it the flower of the nation, the proletarian vanguard. Its ideas are the most progressive of the 20th century. It alone is capable of solving al the questions of social life. How then was Fascism able to triumph over the petrified Weimar democracy, how was Communism defeated?

"Fascism Victorious . . . and the C. I. Correct"

Heckert maintains that while Fascism was victorious, the policy of the Communist party was, nevertheless altogether correct. The policy of the C. P. which led to the seizure of power by Fascism was correct. The C. P. G. had foreseen the inevitability of this Fascist development. Heckert says literally:

"Have the C. P. G. and the Comintern foreseen the inevitability of this. Fascist development of the social democracy? Did they warn the workers in advance against it? Yes, they foresaw and they forewarned. As far back as 1924, comrade Stalin had already given a steady definition of the development of social democracy toward Fascism which has been unexcelled in its exactness and in its incisiveness, a definition which became the bass of the program of the

The Stalinist Hypocrites Answer the Roll Call

Comintern and the policy of the C. P. G.

" 'Fascism,' said comrade Stalin, 'is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization which supports tself upon the active support of the social democracy. The social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of Fascism . There is no ground for assuming that the fighting organization of the bourgeoisie can achieve decisive success in the struggle or in the conduct of the country without the active support of the fighting organizations of the bourgeoisie. These organizations do not negate one another, but rather supplement each other. They are not antipodes, but twins . . . ' (The fighting organizations of the bourgeoisie today lend their active support to the social democracy by killing social democrats, destroying trade union headquarters and suppressing the entire S.P.G. press. That is how this whole business of supplementing really looks—H. E.")

This development was, then, inevitable? Then the C. P. G. lied when it signalized the proletarian revolution as standing before the gates? Why did the C. P. G. exist at all between 1924 and 1933, if this development was inevitable? To be consistent in "building up its policy upon this inevitability," it should have been dissolved in 1924.

There was **one** voice which did **not** consider this development inevitable. That was the voice of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Heckert knows it. He knows that its prominence and its authority are powerfully on the upgrade in Germany. Cognizant of this, he unloads his bad conscience in outbursts of wrath of unprecedented shamelessness.

Heckert and His Straw-Man

Heckert begins this section of his speech with a dastardly misquotation. Revolutionary Marxism rests upon truth, Stalinism upon lies. Since the Stalinists are powerless in fighting against genuine "Trotskyism," they falsify the views of the Leninists and then fight against their own falsifications. Heckert lies when he says that Trotsky demanded in his article in the Manchester Guardian of March 22 (see the **Militant** of April 29) that the basis of the united front with the social democrats be the "defense of the parliamentary form of government and the mass trade unions." What did Trotsky's article really say?

"Social democracy is unthinkable without parliamentary government and mass organizations of the workers in the trade unions. The mission of Fascism, however, is to destroy both. A defensive alliance between Communists and social democrats should have been based on this antagonism."

What consequences did the Left Opposition draw from the existence of this antagonism?

"It is necessary to force the social democrats into a bloc against Fascism . . . No common platform with the social democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike unitedly! Agree only how to strike, whom to strike and when to strike! Such an agreement can be concluded even with the devil himself, with his grandmother and even with Noske and Grzezinsky. On one condition, not to bind one's own hands." (Trotsky: Letter to a German Worker-Communist, Member of the C. P. G., December 1931.)

"We must therefore openly tell the social democratic, the Christian and non-party workers that the Fascists want to bring the downfall of the present (Bruening) government in order to seize power themselves; we, the Communists, consider the present government as an enemy of the proletariat, but this government supports itself upon **your** confidence and **your** votes; we want to fell this government in alliance with the Fascists (Referendum) **against you.** If the Fascists should attempt an insurrection, we Communists will fight against them to the last drop of blood—not in order to support the Braun-Bruening government, but in order to guard the flower of the proletariat against suffocation and extermination, in order to protect the workers' organizations, the workers' press, not only our own, the Communist, but also yours, the social democratic organizations and press. We are prepared to defend any workers' home, any printshop of worker's newspapers against the attacks of the Fascists. And we demand of you to come to our aid in case danger threatens our organizations. We propose to you the united front of the working class against the Fascists."—(Trotsky: "Against National Communism," August 1931.)

—H. E.

* At the X1. Plenum, we recall, Manuilsky declared that only a bourgeois liberal can detect any contradiction between Fascism and bourgeois democracy. Is Heckert not "fundamentally," something of a "bourgeois liberal?"

(From **"Unser Wort"**)

Continued in the next issue

SUB DRIVE

The sub drive is catching on. Subs are rolling in. The seeds sown in the German campaign are yielding a crop of subs. The proof of this is to be seen by three facts:

1. The subs are from new contacts in the main;

2. They are widely distributed geographically;

3. The list of Militant Builders includes the names of comrades and friends which never appeared in this list before.

The list speaks for itself:

H. Capelis, N. Y.	6
A Caplan, Kansas City	6
J. Ruby, Chicago	5
V. Dunne, Minneapolis	4
H. Oehler, Chicago	3
W. Konikow, Boston	3
K. Czapko, Bethlehem	3
D. Marcus, N. Y.	2
A Friend, Lynn, Mass.	2
M. Morris, N. Y.	2
E. Thorworth, N. Y.	1
M Koehler, Youngstown	1
J. Angelo, Springfield, Ill.	1
A. Konikow, Boston	1
G. Kotz, Newark	2
G. Latinen, Chicago	2
A. G., Chicago	2
J. Swetow, N. Y.	1
S. Jourard, Toronto	1
J. Kaplan, N. Y.	1
S. Weinstein, Detroit	1
M. Basin, Pittsburgh	1
L. Thomson, Chicago	1
A. Bornstein, Chicago	1
D. Ross, Baltimore	1
A. Wolfe, New Haven	1
S. Gendelman, New Haven	1
J. Reid, Tonawanda, N. Y.	1

Most of these are subs coming in on the Club Plan Prepaid Cards. This is very good. We want to take this opportunity to explain to our new readers what this Club Plan is. A half year sub of 26 weekly issues to the **Militant** is $1. But with our Club Plan Prepaid Cards, it is only 50 cents.

To get the advantage of the fifty percent reduction the following conditions must be observed: the sub must come in on the card; the cards are sold from the center in New York in minimum blocs of four; they must be paid for in advance;

It is getting close to the dead line, June 1, when the sub campaign closes. Comrades who want the set of three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution (first prize) and the bound volume of the **Militant** (second prize) had better hustle.

Build National Jobless Union

(Continued from Page 1)

that it is in the local units and not in the national committee that we have the struggle for immediate needs and that there the need for united action is the greatest. National or state unemployed organizations joining the federation should see that their locals take part in the city federations.

The Stalinist, who at first did not want a centralized federation, decided to support the amendment and one of their speakers, Lamson, had already supported the amendment. However, Stalinist delegates were open to reason and after some discussion with us changed their position and threw their support to the report of the committee which advocated an organization with the city, county, and state federations leading up to a national federation. The vote was 56 for the majority and 32 for the minority report. The final vote to adopt the disputed section received a vote of 73 for and 17 opposed, and then it was adopted as a whole unanimously.

The constitution lays down the following additional important decisions: There shall be no discrimination against race, color, creed or political opinions. The Federation is to establish the closest relationship with the **EMPLOYED** workers through the trade unions, industrial unions, and all other workers organizations. The Federation has the perspective of establishing one national unemployed organization.

The Committee on Program and Policies . .

The third struggle of importance in the conference revolved around the report of the committee on program and policy and tried to tear the committee to pieces and dismiss them. They especially took exception to the program's position on the united front. They did not succeed in dismissing the committee. They did succeed in causing two of the committee, who supported the majority report of the committee, to resign. The rest of the committee agreed to stay and fight it out with them as well as Guss of the Unemployed Councils who was to bring in a minority report on the question of work relief, a social insurance Bill and the soldiers' bonus.

The program and policy committee came in the second time with a unanimous report, cutting down the original program but actually only condensing its form, and stating so in their second report. Guss, of the Unemployed Council, in compromising on the minority report did so for the sake of unity, in order to be able to better fight the Right wing tendencies fighting the report as a whole which the Unemployed Councils, in the main, supported.

When the committee made its second report, the struggle revolved around the formula of the united front. The struggle revolved around the following formula, presented by delegate Oehler: "In this united front each organization retains its organizational independence; refrains from slander and personal attacks against each other; but maintains the right of minority expression and freedom of criticism. Under no circumstances can the united front exclude an unemployed organization from participating. Should any organization attempt to prevent the entry of its organization into the united front, continued effort must be made to force them into the united front." The objection was to the right of minority and political criticism and the word "force." The committee finally compromised on the word "force" and it then read "to obtain their participation in the united front."

A Big Step Forward

The whole Left wing was united on this formula, including the Stalinists who had voted down the same proposition presented by the delegates at the Mooney Congress just a few weeks before. When the vote was taken only 17 voted against the formula of the united front. Then the report was adopted unanimously.

The National committee elected consists of the following with representation reserved for other importna organizations not sufficiently represented:

Chairman, Tom Dixon—Workers Leagues.
Vice-Chairman, Guss, Unemployed Councils.
Secretary, Leach—Workers Comm.
Treasurer, Statman — Industrial Workers Unemployed Unions.
Conners—Allen County Indiana Unemployed Association.
D. Harrington—United Producers of Washington.
V. Didwell—Peoples Council of Bellingham.
Lamson—Unemployed Councils
Hugo Oehler—Unemployed Union of Gillespie
Truax—East Ohio Unemployed Unions
Zimmerman—Workers Leagues
Lore—S.E. Mo. Unemployed Leagues
Mattock—Workers Leagues
Welsh—Association of Unemployed, N. Y.

The Conference marks a real advance! —HUGO OEHLER

L.O. Meetings in K.C.

Kansas City, Mo.—In the second of a series of two lectures held in Kansas City, Mo., May 12, and 14, comrade James P. Cannon described the role of Fascism in the present epoch and proved that its rise to power in Germany was primarily a result of the "united front from below." He showed that Hitler's victory had not only crushed the German working class for some time to come but also paved the way for a capitalist attack on the Workers' Fatherland. The revisionist theory of National Socialism was held responsible and Stalin was characterized as the "organizer of working class defeats."

During the discussion that followed members of the official Communist party, of which there were several present, were repeatedly urged to take the floor, but they remained silent and thereby lent weight to the speaker's contention that Stalinism cannot stand the test of public criticism.

The first of comrade Cannon's lectures, May 12th, was devoted to "America's Road to Revolution." In a clear, Marxian analysis of the world's economic situation he fore told the coming of a cyclical recovery taking place within the restrictive circle of a general capitalist decline. He foresaw attempts of American imperialism to improve its position at the expense of other imperialist powers, the downfall of Stalinism and the rise of the world proletariat to its historic task of creating a new social order.

Both meetings were well attended and comrade Cannon's visit added much force to the rapidly growing League in Kansas City. —S

Ohio Jobless Unite

(Continued from page 1)

talking about working class unity, but, in our opinion, have entirely different things in mind when they speak of unity. At this time we are not going to review the attitude and actions of either of these organizations in regard to united front issues, but we are going to follow both of them very closely and critically in this genuine effort of the workers to close their ranks for united defensive struggle.

We might remind the Stalinists, however, that this is another wonderful opportunity to prove to the workers generally and the socialist workers in particular that the socialist leadership is determined to do everything in its power to keep the working class divided. The Left Opposition will do its share to reveal the true nature of the socialist leadership, but a great deal depends upon the attitude of the CP and its local functionaries. If they pursue their so-called "united front from below" tactic, the socialists will gain at their expense. The unity must be that of organization, each group remaining organizationally distinct and enjoying the right of complete political criticism. Unity of all labor organizations on this basis can pave the way for welding together the entire working class, employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, conservative and radical, for one mighty defensive struggle against unemployment and misery. The progress of this movement will be reported regularly in the **Militant.** —N.

Labor Writhes Under Nazi Whip

(Continued from last issue)

The German working masses instinctively knew their enemy and were seeking the means of defense; but the leaders failed and disarmed the workers each in their own way. The social democrats prevented the workers from preparing the defense, councelled patience and trusted in the constitution for which, however, they said they would sound the call to fight should Hitler violate it and resort to "illegal" methods. The social democratic leaders who had long ago given up their pretense to socialism and become completely bound up with bourgeois ideology had thereby aalso long ago abdicated the last pretense of actually leading a fight for the defense of the democracy, So when the last shreds of democracy went down in the torchlight blaze and gunpowder smoke, trampled upon by Fascist heels, their miserable position became fully revealed.

But Hitler found the Weimar constitution, written by the social democrats, sufficiently flexible to serve his purposes. He could, by the failure of his opponents, carry out all measures necessary to complete the first stage of the consolidation of his power, including the crushing of the Communist party and the throttling of the social democrats.

The Communist party leaders started from the absurd idea of concentrating the main fire against the social democratic party as the twin brother of Fascism. It was precisely the deep antaognism between the social democratic workers and Fascism which should have been made the bridge to the united working class defense. But even this simple historical lesson had been lost to the party leaders. Their bloated exaggeratition of party strength and frivilous proclaiming of the general political strike could not become a substitute. On the contrary, it threw confusion and demoralization into the ranks and accelerated the party catastrophe. In the industries and within the mass organizations, from which the united working class defense should proceed, the

Workers' Leaders Lacked Strategy Against Fascists

party policy had torn up its own roots. Save for its election victories, which were empty, it was in reality isolated from the masses long before the decisive hour had arrived. So much so, that Goebbels, the new Fasist minister for culture and propoganda, could declare, in a speech on March 31: "We broke Communism with one blow and we have isolated the social democratic party from the people."

The Party in the Industries

How well was the party rooted in the industries? We remember that for some years there has been within every German factory, shop, mill and mine a factory council, established by the factory council law. This law, it is true, imposes definite limitations as to their powers but nevertheless they have been in the position of functioning as important organs of struggle. In a certain sense they have furnished an embryo structure of future Soviets. Naturally they should be an important basis for Communist party activities. And there is also the place to actually gauge the strength of the revolutionary party. But it is precisely in this field that its fatal weakness was most glaringly demonstrated.

In this we can now much more clearly perceive the disastrous falacy of the so-called united front from below practiced by Stalinism. The actual results prove a thousand times stronger than words that this sort of policy contradicts all tenets of genuine united front policy. The so-called united front from below was only a mask to cover up the refusal of the Stalinist leaders to build the bridge of the workers' unity of defense, composed of all organizations, Communist, social democratic and trade unions.

Actual working class unity against Fascism under the conditions existing in Germany would have unmasked all of the bureaucratic incompetent leaders. And in this the Communist party leaders, equally with their prototypes of social democracy, feared for their positions and prestige. But from this state of affairs Fascism gained enormously in strength and self-confidence and the social democratic leaders escaped exposure.

Elections to the Factory Councils

The factory council elections particularly demonstrated the Communist party's weakness. One can argue, and with considerable justification, that in the Reichstag elections held March 5th, the party could not at all mobilize its full strength because of the pressure of the Fascist terror. But within the shops and factories at the factory council elections matters are different. That is at the source of production and exploitation where the workers are the most accessible and where they respond in the most direct sense to a correct revolutionary program. That it at the very foundation, where the class struggle receives its dynamic expression. At the present time it is necessary to add that with the increasing suppression of all of the rights of ordinary democratic channels and the general campaign of terror the party was duty bound to increase its efforts to connect the more solidly with the masses in the industries. In turn it was to be expected that the contacts below would be the stronger expressed. The party, however, was not rooted in the industries. That was proven by the factory council elections held during this period of seven weeks. To attempt to give a picture, I am presenting a cross section of these election results, reporting mainly the larger concerns.

In the "Leuna Werke," a chemical factory and one of the biggest concerns in Germany, the factory council election results were the following: The Reformist ticket received 2981 votes, Communists 884, Christian trade unions 285, Fascists 2094 and Steelhelmets 1043.

In the "Wolfen Film," the second largest chemical concern, the results were the following: Reformists 942, Communists 1795, Fascists 439, Steelhelmets 198 votes.

In the Hamburg Street Railway council elections the Reformists received 4319 votes, the Communists 189, the Fascists 158, others 106.

At the Elevated Railroad in Hamburg the results were Reformists 1152, Communists 416, Fascists 160 votes.

At the Troisdorf Dynamite factory the Reformists received 1249 votes, the Christian trade unions 309, the Communists 189 and the Fascists 199.

At the Bremen Street Railway council elections the Reformists received 860 votes, the Fascists 160, the Steelhelmets 106 and the Christian trade unions 72.

At the Phoenix Rubber Factory, Harburg, the Reformists received 1595 votes and 13 delegates, the Fascists elected one delegate, others none.

In the various Kiel factory council elections out of a total of 61 delegates elected, 57 were Reformists and 2 fell to the Fascists.

These results are only a general cross section, if a more complete tabulation was to be made the results would show even less favorable for the Communists.

The Party and the Factory Councils

When we add the total votes cast in these factories where exact figures are given we have the following results: The Reformists scored a total of 13,098 votes, the Communists 3,493 and the Fascists 3,210. There is a serious weight expressed in these figures but not on the side of the revolutionary party, despite the elections taking place at the most acute moment of attacks upon the workers. That more than anything else perhaps gives the lie to the delusions of grandeur contained in the empty boasts of the party leadership conjuring up altogether non-existing victories in this field. Thus for example the Wedding party congress held in June 1929 declared:

"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 struggle against the state power, the employers and reformism."

Nothing more, nor less. The only trouble is that it was an attempt to ascribe to the party a strength it did not possess which subsequently had to be admitted by the party controlled trade union Left wing congress. Such is the method of inflating one's own strength out of all proportion and simultaneously minimizing the strength of the enemy. It is typical of the self-complacent bureaucracy but it is mortally dangerous to the party—as the events have now so decisively proven. Against this the Left Opposition has many times warned: "The way to get strong is not to begin by the mistake of exaggerating one's own strength." Not only that, but the policy of consistently separating the militant minority from the bulk of the trade union membership in the factories by their separate red election lists, even though appearing under the grand name of "unity lists," contributed heavily to the isolation of the party and to the disorganization of the movement. One can say that though the party apparatus never followed a consistent policy it certainly managed to be consistent in its mistakes, even to the extent of disarming the workers.

(Continued in the next issue)

Unite to Save Rivera Paintings

(Continued from Page 1)

from the John Reed Club and the Workers School said that they would have to refer the matter back to their organization after voting against point 5 of the resolution.

At the mass meeting held in Irving Plaza on Sunday night, May 14, the John Reed Club was not officially represented. It distributed leaflets stating why it was not represented, which amounted in effect to a charge that it had been gagged and prevented from expressing its own point of view. The hall was crowded to the limit of its capacity of over 600, and as many more were turned away.

Irving Plaza Mass Meeting

Comrade Abern opened the list of speakers on behalf of the Left Opposition, pointing out the class significance of the Rivera case and the necessity for united working class support. After several others had spoken, Phil Bard of the John Reed Club insisted on having the floor. He was finally allowed to have it, on the insistence of representatives of the Left Opposition, and repeated in effect that the John Reed Club could not allow itself to be gagged. Comrade Abern, speaking again, pointed out the incorrectness of the club's understanding of the united front, and specifically of the necessity as well as the limitations6 of criticism within the united front—particularly after the party had offered an out-and-out, impermissible "non aggression" pact to the socialist party.

Comrade Rivera spoke in Spanish, with Bert Wolfe of the Lovestone group as translator. The revolutionary artist went on to an appeal for the unity of the workers against capitalism and Fascism, and declared that his paintings represent the banner of the proletariat.

"Capitalist buildings here and in Mexico contain my works," he said, "but if you will it, and unite, the day will come when those buildings and all that is in them will belong to the workers."

"I beg of you to omit the name of Rivera from this fight," he concluded, "and when the day comes that something more than painting or talk is required—on that day, either with your good will or without it, if necessary against it, comrade Rivera will stand in his place along wth the rest of the revolutionary workers."

Preparations were announced for an open-air meeting and mass picketing to take place on Wednesday, May 17. When the united front committee ment again on Monday Afternoon, the delegates of the John Reed Club and the Workers School insisted that the resolution previously adopted by the committee be read and voted on again, point by point. This time they objected, not only to the point against recriminations based on past events unconnected with the purposes of the united front, but also on point 4, commending Rivera for his courageous stand against Rockefeller. They were again voted down on both points.

Comrade Field, representing the International Workers School, stated that his organization, and undoubtedly many others were represented on the committee, were anxious to have the John Reed Club and the Workers School continue to participate in the united front (interruption from a socialist delegate "Not we!"); on the other hand, there was a reason to fear that the speakers of these two organizations intended to act in a manner which would disrupt and defeat the purposes of the united rfont. He therefore proposed that the delegates of these two organizations, although they had voted against certain points of the resolution, state that they were willing to consider themselves bound by the points and would continue to participate in the united front on this basis.

This involved of course a retreat by the John Reed Club and the Workers School from their previous position that these points "gagged" them and deprived them of legitimate rights of criticism. But realzing the corner into which they had been driven, they accepted comrade Field's motion and immediately drew up a statement, which was accepted by the committee.

United Front at Columbus Circle Meeting

The Wednesday mass meeting and demonstration, while not impressive from the standpoint of size (some 1000 participants with banners at most) did represent a genuine united front of all sections of the labor movement. This was clearly pointed out by comrade Abern for the Left Opposition in opening the speakers' list, as well as the fact that we do not overestimate the importance as propoganda of the specific issue around which the united front was built.

Joseph Freeman spoke for the John Reed Club and Robert Minor ofr the Workers School. Minor's remarks, generally satisfactory, however, laid down the bureaucratic ultimatist line of the party—no revolutionary action except under the leadership of the Communist party—and was rebuked for it by the following speaker, Herbert Mahler, of the General Defense Committee. The meeting was treated to the spectacle of a syndicalist lecturing a Communist on the correct application of the Leninist tactic of the united front. On the whole, the meeting did constitute a demonstration of unity on the issue of class expression in art, and particularly significant was the proportion of workers who took part.

Following the meeting, several hundred of the participants marched down with their banners and picketed Radio City, singing and shouting slogans of "Preserve Rivera's murals," "Down with Rockefeller," and the like. The police made no attempt to interfere, although a few obviously provocative plainclothes men were stationed around Radio City.

Finally the procession moved to 54th Street, in front of Rockefeller's house, and shouted in unison, "Unveil Rivera's murals!" After passing in front of the house several times, the meeting dispersed.

The campaign has demonstrated the soundness and effectiveness of the united front tactic ofr which the Left Opposition stands: unity in action, without confusion of banners, without compromise to sectarianism on the one hand or to opportunistic "non-aggression" pacts on the other. B. J. FIELD

Declaration of the Internat'l Left Opposition

To the World Anti-Fascist Congress to Be Held in Copenhagen, June 17th

Declaration of the Delegates Belonging to the International Left Opposition. (Bolshevik Leninists)

FOR THE CONGRESS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

The victory of Hitler in Germany shows that capitalism cannot live in conditions of democracy, cannot even cover itself with democratic tatters. Either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the open dictatorship of finance capital! Either the workers soviets or the armed bands of the desperate petty bourgeois populace!

Fascism has not and cannot have any program of solving the crisis of capitalist society. But that does not mean that Fascism will fall automatically a victim of its own contradictions. No, it will maintain capitalist exploitation by ruining the country, by degrading capitalist civilization and by continually introducing greater savagery into the customs. The victory of Fascism is the result of the inability of the proletariat to take the fate of society into its own hands. Fascism will live as long as the proletariat does not rise.

Social democracy delivered the proletarian revolution of 1918 to the bourgeoisie and thus, once again, saved declining capitalism; it is the social democracy and it alone which gave the bourgeoisie the possibility to lean, in the following stage, on the Fascist banditry. Descending from one step to the other, in pursuit of the "lesser evil," the social democracy finished by voting for the reactionary field marshal, Hindenburg, who in his turn summoned Hitler to power. Demoralising the proletariat by illusions of democracy in decadent capitalism, the social democracy deprived the proletariat of all its powers of resistance.

The attempts to cast this fundamental historic responsibility on Communism are absurd and dishonest. Without Communism the Left wing of the proletariat would have, a long time ago, taken the road of Anarchism, of terrorism, or would have simply swelled the fighting troops of Fascism. The example of Austria shows only too clearly that where Communism is extremely weak and the social democracy reigns unchallenged in the ranks of the working class within the frame-work of the democratic state created by itself, its policy prepares, step by step, the triumph of Fascism.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS LICK HITLER'S BOOTS

The top layers of the German social democracy are now trying to adapt themselves to Hitler's regime in order to preserve the remainder of their legal positions and the benefits that accrue from them. In vain! Fascism has brought with it a swarm of starved and ravenous locusts who demand and will obtain the monopoly of jobs and sinecures for themselves. The penury of the reformist bureaucracy, a secondary result of the defeat of the proletarian organizations, represents the payment for the uninterrupted chain of treachery of the social democracy since August 4, 1914.

The leaders of the other social democratic parties are now trying to separate themselves from their German brothers-in-arms. It would be impermissible light-mindedness, however, to believe the words of the "left" critics of the reformist international, all of whose sections find themselves on different degrees of the same road. As in the time of the imperialist war, in the process of the fall of the bourgeois democracy each section of the Second International is ready to rebuild its reputation on the back of another national party. But basically they do the same work. Leon Blum supports the militarist and imperialist French government. Vandervelde, president of the Second International, has not withdrawn, as far as we know, his signature from under this same Versailles peace which has given German Fascism its present dimensions.

FIRST 4 CONGRESSES OF C. I. VINDICATED BY EVENTS

All the fundamental principle theses of the first four Congresses of the Communist International: on the decadent character of imperialist capitalism, on the inevitability of the decomposition of bourgeois democracy, on the impasse of reformism, on the necessity of the revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, have found their irrevocable confirmation in the events in Germany. But their correctness has been demonstrated "ad absurdum": not by victory but by catastrophe. If, despite almost fifteen years of existence of the C. I., the social democracy succeeded in carrying the policy of the "lesser evil" to its final conclusion, that is, to the worst evil that can be conceived of in modern history, we must look for its cause in the fact that the Communism of the **epigones** has shown itself incapable of fulfilling its historic mission.

BLUNDERS of STALINISM HAVE SHIPWRECKED REVOLUTIONS

Up till 1923, the C. I. marched forward in all countries, almost without a halt, weakening and ousting the social democracy. In the last ten years, not only did it not make any new quantitive conquests, but it suffered a profound qualitative degeneration. The shipwreck of the official Communist party in Germany is the fatal termination of the "general line" which passed through the adventures of Etshonia and Bulgaria, through the capitulation before the Kuo Min Tang, through the not less infamous capitulation before the trade union bureaucracy in England, through the Canton adventure, through the convulsions of the "third period," through the break with the mass trade unions, through the theory and practice of "social Fascism," through the policy of "national liberation" and "people's revolution," through the rejection of the united front, through the banishment and persecution of the Left Opposition, finally, through the complete stifling of the independence of the proletarian vanguard and through the substitution for democratic centralism—by the omnipotence of an unprincipled and dull witted apparatus.

The essence of bureaucratism resides in the distrust of the masses and in the tendency to replace their conscious revolutionary activity by combinations from above or by naked commands. In Germany, as well as in other countries, the Stalinist bureaucracy posed continual ultimatums before the working class. It fixed for it, from above, the dates for strikes or for the "conquest of the streets," it arbitrarily fixed "red days" or "red months" for it it ordered it to accept all its slogans and zig-zags without criticism; it demanded that the proletariat recognize its leadership in the united front in advance and without question, and on this monstrous ultimatism it based its struggle, false from end to end and impotent, against Fascism.

NOT ACCIDENTAL ERRORS BUT AN ERRONEOUS SYSTEM

Errors are inevitable in the struggle of the proletariat. Through their own errors the parties learn, select the cadres and educate the leaders. But in the present C. I. these are not errors but an erroneous system which renders a correct policy impossible. The social agents of this system are a large bureaucratic stratum, armed with enormous material and technical means, in fact independent of the masses and conducting a furious struggle for self preservation at the price of the disorganization of the proletarian vanguard and its weakening before the class enemy. Such is the essence of Stalinism in the world workers' movement.

In the last years, the Left Opposition, before the eyes of the entire world, followed the Fascist tide in all its stages and traced a policy of true revolutionary realism. As early as the Autumn of 1929, that is, three and a half years ago, at the very beginning of the world crisis, the Left Opposition wrote:

L. O. ANALYSIS OF FASCISM IN AUTUMN, 1929

"Just as revolutionary situations developed more than once out of the conflict between liberalism and monarchy, which later went over the heads of both opponents, so a revolutionary situation can develop out of the clash between social democracy and Fascism—two antagonistic praxes of the bourgeoisie—which will pass over the heads of both of them.

"The proletarian revolutionist would be worthless if he did not understand, in the epoch of the bourgeois revolution, how to estimate the conflict between the liberals and the monarchy, and instead of utilizing the struggle in a revolutionary manner, threw the two opponents into one pot. The Communist it not worth a copper who in the face of the collisions between **Fascism** and the **social democracy,** shouts down this formula with the barren formula of **social Fascism,** which has no content at all."

The policy of the united front should have been built on this general strategic perspective. Step by step in the course of the last three years the Left Opposition followed the development of the political crisis in Germany. In its periodicals and in a series of pamphlets it submitted all the stages of the struggle to an analysis, unmasked the ultimatist character of the formula **"only from below,"** took upon itself where it could, the initiative of united defense committees, supported the initiative of the workers in this direction and demanded incessantly the extension of this initiative over the whole country. If the C. P. had resolutely set out on this path, the reformist bureaucracy would have shown itself impotent to restrain the pressure of the workers for the united front. Smashing up against a new barrier at each step, Fascism would have opened all its wounds. The local defense bodies would have grown irresistibly, in fact transforming themselves into workers' councils. Marching on this path, the German proletariat would have dealt a decisive blow to Fascism and with one last stroke would have swept away the whole leading oligarchy. The whole situation laid the basis for the revolutionary victory of the German proletariat.

STALINIST BUREAUCRACY TAKES PATH OF SABOTAGE

The Stalinist bureaucracy, however, took the path of unconscious but nevertheless actual sabotage of the revolution. They forbade agreements of Communists with social democratic organizations, destroyed the common organs of defense created by the workers and, under the name of "counter revolutionaries," expelled all the defenders of a correct revolutionary policy from its ranks. It could be said that such a manner of acting was especially created to isolate the Communists, to consolidate the bonds between the social democratic workers and their leaders to sow confusion and disintegration in the ranks of the proletariat and to prepare the unobstructed ascension of the Fascists to power. The results are apparent!

On the 5th of March, when the fate of the proletariat was already decided, the E. C. of the C. I. not only declared itself ready for the united front from above—true, on a national and not on an international scale—but consented, so as to satisfy the reformist bureaucracy, to renounce mutual criticism during the period of the united front. A jump from incredible bluntness, from ultimatist presumptuousness to characterless concessions! The Stalinist bureaucracy, having stifled criticism within its own party, had evidently lost its understanding of criticism in the political struggle as such. Revolutionary criticism determines the attitude of the proletarian vanguard, that is, of the most critical party in contemporary society, towards all classes, parties and groupings. A real Communist party can no more renounce criticism, not even for a day, than a living organism can renounce respiration. The policy of the united front does not exclude mutual criticism in any case, on the contrary, it demands it. Only two bureaucratic apparatuses, one of which is weighted down with betrayals and the other with a fatal chain of errors, can be interested in the suspension of mutual criticism, transforming the united front by that same fact into a silent conspiracy behind the masses, the aim of which is their own preservation. We, the Bolshevik Leninists, say that never and under no conditions will we join in such a conspiracy; on the contrary, we will unremittingly denounce it to the workers.

SURRENDER CRITICISM BUT RETAIN "SOCIAL FASCISM"

At the same time that it consents to renounce criticism, the Stalinist bureaucracy seizes upon the repulsive boot-licking of Wels, Leipart and Co. before Hitler to revive the theory of social fascism. In reality, this theory remains as false today as it was yesterday. Those who were only recently the masters of Germany, fallen under the boot of Fascism, are licking this boot in order to gain indulgence from the Fascists; that corresponds exactly to the miserable nature of the reformist bureaucracy. But that does not at all signify that there is no difference for the reformists between democracy and the Fascist boot, and that the social democratic masses are not capable of struggling against Fascism when an issue is opened for them on the arena of struggle.

FASCISM BUILT ON LIES; COMMUNISM ON TRUTH

The policy of Fascism rests upon demagogy, lies and slander. The revolutionary policy can only build on truth. That is why we are obliged to condemn resolutely the Organization Bureau for the convocation of the present congress, whoch has given, in its appeal, an optimistically false picture of the state of things in Germany, speaking of the powerful development of the anti Fascist struggle. In reality, for the moment, the German workers are retreating in complete disorder without fighting. Such is the bitter fact which cannot be blurred by words. In order to stand on its feet, to regroup and to concentrate its forces the proletariat, represented by its vanguard, must understand what has happened. Away with illusions! They are precisely the illusions which led to the catastrophe. We must say what is, clearly, honestly, openly.

The situation in Germany is profoundly tragic. The butcher has only begun his work. The victims will be legion. Hundreds and thousands of workers in the Communist party are imprisoned. Severe tests await those who remain faithful to their banner. The honest workers of the entire world are giving their whole-hearted sympathy to the victims of the Fascist butcher. But it will be the height of hypocrisy to demand silence on the fatal policy of Stalinism because its German representatives have at the same time become its victims. Great historic problems are not settled by sentimentalism. The supreme law of the struggle is to conform to the end goal. Only the Marxist explanation of all that has happened can imbue the vanguard with self-confidence. It does not suffice for it to express its sympathies for its victims, it must become stronger in order to overthrow and strangle the butcher.

German Fascism slavishly follows the Italian example. That, however, does not signify that power is assured to Hitler for a series of years, as was the case with Mussolini. Fascist Germany starts out on its history in conditions of a very advanced capitalist disintegration, of mass misery unprecedented in modern history and of a threatening tension in international relations. The denouement can come very much sooner than the masters of the day think. It will, however, not come of itself. A revolutionary shock is needed.

NO MIRACLES; ONLY WORKERS CAN DEFEAT FASCISM

The social democratic press places great hopes in the existence of cracks in the German government bloc. Along this same path, fundamentally, marches the **Pravda** of Moscow, which only yesterday denied the existence of antagonism between Fascism and the social democracy but today counts on the antagonisms between Hitler and Hugenberg. Contradictions in the ruling camp are undeniable. But they in themselves are powerless, insofar as it is a matter of arresting the victorious development of the Fascist dictatorship which is dependant upon the whole situation of German capitalism. We must not expect miracles. Only the proletariat can put an end to Fascism. So that the latter can proceed on to the broad historic path, a decisive turn is necessary in the field of revolutionary leadership. It is necessary to return to the policy of Marx and Lenin. We, Bolshevik-Leninists, do not come to this congress to entertain any illusions whatsoever, nor to save false reputations. Our aim is to clear the road for the future. Naturally, we do not doubt that tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of workers are seriously prepared for struggle will be represented at this congress. No less are we inclined to believe that the delegates will be seriously disposed in their majority, to do everything possible so as to crush Fascism. Nevertheless, the Congress itself, in the manner in which it has been conceived and called together, cannot, we are profoundly convinced bear serious revolutionary significance. Fascism is a formidable enemy. To struggle against it we need compact masses of millions and tens of millions of workers well organized and well directed. We need a firm basis in the shops and in the unions. We need the confidence of the masses in a leadership that has been tested by the experience of struggle. The problem is not solved by solemn meetings nor by sensational speeches. This congress, hastily improvised, represents isolated groups without any links between them, who after the congress will be just as isolated as before it from the millions of proletarians.

CONGRESS AGAIN COLORED BY INTELLIGENTSIA

The "isolated" individuals from the intellectual bourgeois circles will color the anti-Fascist Congress as they colored the Amsterdam Congress. It is not a very permanent color. The advanced workers, is is true, appreciate greatly the sympathy which the best representative of science, literature and art have for them. But from that it does not at all follow that the radical scientists or artists are capable of replacing the mass organizations or of undertaking to lead the proletariat. And yet this congress pretends to leadership! Those representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia who really desire to participate in the revolutionary struggle should begin by clearly defining their program and by attaching themselves to a workers organization. In other words, in order to have the right to vote at a congress of the fighting proletariat, the "isolated" must cease to be isolated.

Neither the work against war nor the march against Fascism requires any special art which lies beyond the general struggle of the proletariat. The organization which is incapable of analyzing precisely the situation, of leading the daily defensive and offensive battles, of gathering about it the broadest masses, of achieving unity in defensive actions with the reformist workers, unburdening them at the same time of their reformist prejudices—such an organization will inevitably suffer shipwreck in the face of war as well as of Fascism.

AMSTERDAM CONGRESS MISERABLE FAILURE

The Amsterdam Congress has shown already its inconsistency in the course of the offensive of the Japanese bandits against China. Even in the domain of agitation, the alliance of the Stalinist bureaucracy with the isolated pacifists has not achieved anything substantial. It must be said openly: the anti-Fascist Congress, which in its international composition, is much rather an accidental meeting, is called to create an appearance of action, just where action itself has defaulted. If, conforming to the project of its organizers, the Congress contents itself with a barren appeal, in the history of the struggle against Fascism it risks becoming not only a zero but a negative quantity, for the most serious crime in present conditions is to lead the workerts into error about their actual forces and the real methods of struggle.

Only on one condition, can the Congress of Struggle Against Fascism play a progressive although modest role; if it shakes off the hypnosis of the bureaucratic impressarios who stand behind the scenes, and puts on the agenda a free discussion on the causes of the victory of German Fascism, on the responsibility of the leading proletarian organizations and on a true program of revolutionary struggle. It is by taking this path, and this one only that the congress will become a factor of revolutionary renaissance.

The platform of the International Left Opposition gives the only correct directives for the struggle against Fascism. As the most immediate and most pressing measures, we, Bolshevik-Leninists, propose the following:

PROPOSALS OF INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION

1. TO immediately accept the proposals of the Second International for an agreement on an international scale, such an agreement does not exclude but demands the concretization of the slogans and the methods for each particular country;

2. TO principally condemn the formula of the united front "from below only," which means the rejection of the united front generally;

3. TO reject and to condemn the theory of social-Fascism;

4. IN no case and under no condition to renounce the right to criticize the temporary ally;

5. TO re-establish freedom within the Communist parties and all organizations which are under their control, and those that make up the Anti-Fascist Congress.

6. TO renounce the policy of independent Communist trade union organizations; to participate actively in the mass trade unions;

7. TO renounce the infamous competition with Fascism under the slogans of "national liberation" and "people's revolution";

8. TO renounce the theory of Socialism in one Country which nourishes petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies and weakens the working class in the struggle against Fascism;

9. TO mobilize the European proletariat against Versailles and anti-Versailles chauvinism under the banner of the **Soviet United States of Europe;**

10. TO prepare through an open and honest discussion and to convene an extraordinary congress of each section of the C. I. within the period of one month, to examine the experience of the struggle with counter-revolution and to elaborate a program of action for the future;

11. TO convene a democratically prepared Congress of the C. I. within a period of two months;

12. Reinstate the Left Opposition into the ranks of the C. I., its sections and all the organizations that it controls.

AUSTRIAN WORKERS MUST TAKE OFFENSIVE

It is necesary to begin to undertake the discussions between the Second and Third International by putting the question of Austria in first place. Everything has not been lost yet in that country. By starting immediately on the road of active defense the American proletariat, supported by the proletariat of all the countries of Europe, could, by the consistent and courageous development of the offensive, arrest the power from the hands of the enemy; the internal relation of forces in Austria assures victory. A red Austria will immediately become a prop of strength for the German workers. The whole situation will change abruptly in favor of the revolution. The European proletariat will feel that it represents an invincible force. And only this consciousness is necessary to wipe out all its enemies.

It is the U. S. S. R. which occupies the central position in the struggle with world counter-revolution. In this domain, we, Bolshevik-Leninists, less than ever, subscribe to the policy of official optimism. In the bureaucracy all is well five minutes before the catastrophe. Such was the case in Germany. The same method is being applied also for the Soviet Union but the situation in the first workers' state has never been so tense as at present. The basically false policy o the uncontrolled bureaucracy has thrown the country into unbearable privation, has brought the peasantry into conflict with the proletariat, has sowed discontent in the working masses, has tied the hands and feet of the party, has weakened all the pillars and props of the dictatorship. The October Revolution has no need of "friends" who sing false hymns and repeat each word of the ruling bureaucracy in chorus. The October Revolution has need of militants who speak the truth, even if it is harsh, but who, on the contrary, maintain an unshakable loyalty in the hour of danger.

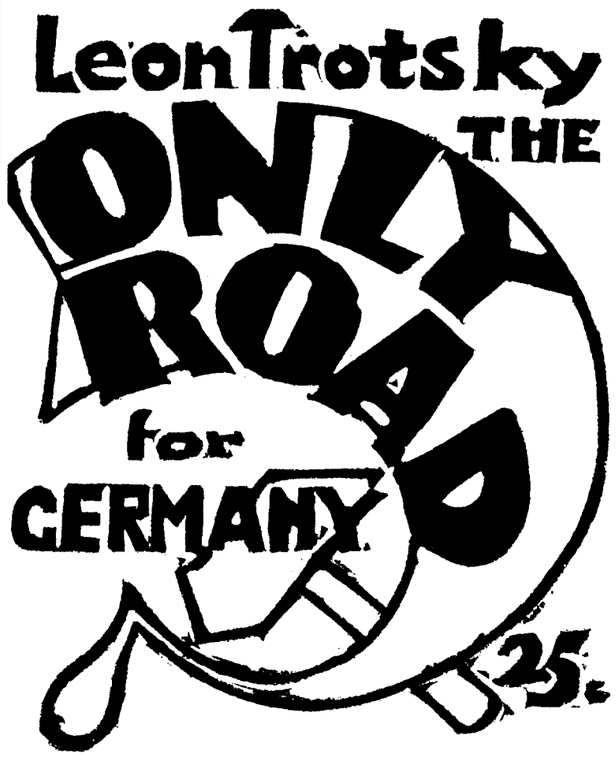
SOUND THE ALARM: SOVIET RUSSIA IN DANGER!

We sound the alarm before the world proletariat: the Soviet fatherland is in danger! only the fundamental reform of the entire policy will save it. The program of such reform is the program of the Left Opposition in the U.S.S.R. Thousands of its best fighters, at their head, C. G. Rakovsky, at the present time fill the prisons and the places of deportation of the Soviet Union. From the tribune of this congress we send our fraternal greetings to our valiant comrades-in-arms. Their number is growing. No amount of persecution will shake their courage. In the difficult days to come the proletarian dictatorship will find in them not only wise counselors but also devoted soldiers.

The development of the international workers movement, and above all the European, has reached a decisive point. The German Communist party is smashed. To think of re-establishing it on the old basis and under the old leadership is a hopeless utopia. There are defeats that are unpardonable. The German Communist party will now be built on a new basis. Only those elements of the old party, who have freed themselves from the heritage of Stalinism can take their place among the builders. Will organizational succession be followed in the development of the other sections of the C. I. in its entirety? History has apparently not rendered its final verdict on that. One thing is certain: very little time remains to correct the monstrous errors. If this time is lost, the Communist International will go down into history with the glorious Leninist beginning and the infamous Stalinist end.

We, Bolshevik-Leninists, propose to make the experience of the fall of German Communism a point of departure for the rebirth of all its remaining sections. We are ready to concentrate all our forces to that end. In the name of this task we extend our hand to our fiercest adversaries of yesterday. It is unnecessary to say that in the battle against Fascism, in the defensive as in the offensive, the Bolshevik-Leninists will occupy their places of struggle in the ocmmon ranks as they have occupied them everywhere and always.

Under the banner of Marx and Lenin, forward for the world proletarian revolution.



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Roosevelt Intervenes

(Continued from page 1)

the illusions of bourgeois pacifism and to help prepare the slaughter of the working class.

For workers there are no "aggressor" and "defender" nations. For workers there can only be imperialist wars and revolutionary wars. If the Soviet Union is to exist as the workers' fatherland, the preparations for imperialist war must be mercilessly exposed. If the workers are to be forewarned against the coming butchery, it is criminal to play around with nonsensical dabblings on "aggressor" nations" and "partial disarmaments".

Finally, if the murderous aim of the capitalists are to be defeated, the working class of the world must be rallied into a solid, compact fighting mass by the Leninist tactic of the united front, step by step in their everday struggles, and up to the unified struggle against imperialist war. The role of the American wokrers in this task is, in view of the world position of American capitalism, doubly great.

—S. G.

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