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UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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

VOLUME IV, NO. 16 [WHOLE NO. 75]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1931

PRICE 5 CENTS

Stalinism and the German Crisis

The «Daily Worker» Contributes Three Errors To a Serious Question

The decisive influence exerted by the intervention of America in the stabilization of European capitalism, following the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923, was sufficient to establish its role as the greatest counter-revolutionary factor on an international scale. It is from this that the present attempt of Hoover, of which the moratorium proposals are a first step, derives its enormous importance and calls for the most careful analysis by the Communists. Unless we see the thing straight, we cannot expect to bring forward in time the appropriate counter-measures. And it is here, just as in 1923 and 1924, that the blunders are being made by the official leaders.

ANOTHER FORM OF AMERICAN HEGEMONY

The role of America as a "stabilizer" was greatly facilitated in the previous instance by the blunders of the Comintern. The present endeavors to hold off a revolutionary crisis, receive the same gratuitous assistance. Now, as then, scientific analysis gives way to guess-work and insistence on pre-conceived theories which are refuted by the events themselves. And in this work, the American Stalinists distinguish themselves above all others. They bid fair to match the hegemony of American imperialism with a peculiar hegemony of their own in the realm of stupidity.

They are hindered from a correct approach to these great international events by a false theory which they have built around themselves like a prison wall. And, as though the theory of socialism in one country were not sufficient to hide the real international processes from them, they have superimposed upon it another one to make blindness doubly sure. Such is the purpose served by the theory of "fascism" and "social fascism" as the editorial comments of the *Daily Worker* illustrate.

In a previous issue we called attention to the failure of the *Daily Worker* to consider the German revolution in its first analysis of Hoover's action and its purposes. In the issue of July 14th the leading editorial of the *Daily Worker* attempts to make good this "oversight". In doing so, however, it makes at least three other mistakes, and leaves the original one uncorrected. The idea of a German revolution, which was left out of account entirely at first, is sprinkled throughout the editorial of July 14th. But in spite of that, the repeated references do not fit into the structure of the analysis. They stand out awkwardly, like "back-writing," as though they were written in after the fact, to disarm criticism.

The mentioned editorial has the following to say: "American workers should understand that the same reason which makes all imperialisms strive to turn Germany into an active foe of the Soviet Union, impels them to welcome a Fascist dictatorship in Germany and prepare for armed intervention against any proletarian revolution in Germany."

Here are three fundamental misconceptions compressed into one sentence, a fairly high mark even for the *Daily Worker*. First they talk about the imperialist design to "turn Germany into an active foe of the Soviet Union." Is not capitalist Germany by its very nature an "active foe" of the Soviet Union? Are not the two systems—the Soviet and the capitalist—irreconcilable? Lenin said, and every Marxist knows, that the two cannot live peacefully, that "the obituary will have to be sung either over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet republic". Is capitalism, is it something standing between? For us the answer to such a question is obvious. And that is why we bank on the German revolution. That is why the capitalists who also approach questions on the other side from the same fundamental class point of view, strive primarily to avert it.

The Stalinists answer these questions in their own way. They are constructing socialism in one country. From this follows their theory of the "neutralization of the bourgeoisie," and the division of the capitalist countries into "active foes" and "friends." With such ideas, the prospect of revolution in a "friendly country" can easily be overlooked.

IMPERIALISTS AND A FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

Second, they say the imperialists will welcome a Fascist dictatorship in Germany. This idea appears a number of times in the editorial. They insist on it continually. But, nevertheless, the imperialists do not have such a policy. At the present time, the main prop of capitalism in Germany is the social democracy functioning through "democratic" forms. Its strength derives from the illusions of millions of workers in the democratic deceptions. It is absurd to think that the imperialists will discard this mighty bulwark against revolution long as it serves its purpose.

Only when the majority of the workers turn away from the social democracy to the Communists, will the capitalists turn to the last resort—naked force expressed through Fascism. A Fascist dictatorship, by its ruthless abolition of democratic forms, would thereby turn away millions of workers from the support of the regime, and correspondingly undermine it. It has never yet been demonstrated that Fascism can have a stable endurance in such a highly industrialized country as Germany, with a powerful and well organized working class. The imperialist bourgeoisie whose fate is bound up with the fate of German capitalism, have no interest to plunge into this desperate alternative of their own volition. On the contrary, they have every reason to reinforce and support the social democracy and the parliamentary forms which have served them and saved them up to now. They will not risk Fascism till they have to, not even to justify the theories of the *Daily Worker* and the rest of the Stalinists.

The third mistake of the *Daily Worker* editorial, in which they tip their hat belatedly to the German proletarian revolution is embodied in the statement that the imperialists "prepare for armed intervention against any proletarian revolution in Germany". Taken by itself and presented as a supplement to the present interference in German affairs, such a declaration of imperialist intentions would be self-evident. But the Stalinists, in offering it as the crux of the imperialist attitude toward the German revolution, distort the picture entirely. The imperialists are intervening now against the German revolution! They are doing so because they see it as the greatest danger in the present situation to the whole structure of world imperialism, and the most powerful reinforcement of the Soviet Union. The proletariat will be able to frustrate the maneuvers of imperialism only to the extent that it ceases the heart of the problem with equal clarity. Stalinist theories and conclusions, which the *Daily Worker* rallies to the apex of absurdity, contribute nothing but confusion to the question.

—J. P. C.

Second League Conference

The second national conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has been called by the national committee to take place on September 24 to September 27 in the city of New York. In this issue of the *Militant*, the principal conference thesis is published for the membership. Despite the additional for the consideration and discussion of two pages in the *Militant*, we have been compelled to omit from this issue a great deal of valuable material on other questions which will be published in the coming number. The *Militant* will, however, continue to publish in its columns the discussion material sent to it by League members during the pre-conference period. The thesis is published on pages three, four and five.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

TERROR IN CHINA

Arrest Opposition Heads

13 Communists in the Hands of the Butcher Chiang Kai-Shek

We have just received the following alarming news from one of the Shanghai comrades of the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists, dated June 23, 1931:

"After such a long silence, I am writing to you at the most difficult moment that the Chinese Opposition is experiencing. On May 21-22, thirteen comrades were arrested by the Chinese police in Shanghai. Six of the comrades are members of the Central Committee of the United Opposition (the national congress of the various Opposition groups was held on May 1-2). Four of the comrades are members of the standing committee, and there thus remains only one member of the committee (comrade C.) We were about to start work systematically after so long a split in our ranks. Our united organization was hardly in existence for a month when this severe blow was dealt us. We are compelled to restore our organization under the most difficult conditions of dark reaction. The event occurred because a traitor who was formerly a responsible comrade went to betray us to the police. We are sure to make up for the loss we have suffered this time. In answer to the blow of our enemies and the traitors, our comrades will double and treble their efforts to close our ranks and heal our sores..."

—N. S.

Demonstrate on August 1 Against Imperialist War!

Behind the thick smoke of pacifist assurances and "disarmament" conferences, the imperialist world today presents a picture of a more thoroughly armed camp than the days preceding the world war of 1914. The United States piously demands the reduction of armaments in Europe, fortified by the certainty that under any conditions its industrial and financial superiority will give it the edge in a military conflict. France has just announced that it has "reduced" its armaments as far as it intends to.

With the world crisis gaining in fury, capitalism is driven to the wall hunted down by its own inherent contradictions. The big powers are straining forward for a re-division of the world market and of world political power. They know that this re-division can be accomplished only through war. They are preparing for it, assisted—as in 1914—by their "socialist" footmen.

Let the workers give a vigorous response to the imperialist war plans on the thirteenth anniversary of the last slaughter. All out in mass to the August First demonstrations this year!

Pittsburgh Convention Shows Need For Unity of Fighting Miners

PITTSBURGH—

To those who contend that the coal strike is over, or that the National Miners' Union is dead, the national conference held in Pittsburgh, July 15, is a living refutation. 682 delegates from 270 mines representing a total of 45,491 striking miners, according to the report, voiced their approval of the militant policies of the N. M. U. The conference was completely animated by a fighting spirit. Miners fresh from the strike battlefront of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky, representing all nationalities, black and white, young and old, came to Pittsburgh, demonstrating their determination to continue, to spread and to win in their heroic struggle against starvation.

A Militant Conference

Miner after miner took the floor, painting in no uncertain terms the intolerable conditions which brought on the strike. The ridiculously low wages outright robbery in the mine and in the company store, unemployment rampant and poverty stalking all over the coal fields, have driven the miners into open revolt. And added to this is the treacherous role of the U. M. W. of A. Only a deaf man could fail to hear from the speeches of the rank and file. The undying hatred Lewis and Co. have earned for themselves in the hearts of the coal diggers. The real fighting note of the conference was struck by the picturesque Kentucky delegation. Fresh from the hills of Daniel Boone's country, they let loose a veritable flow of "Kentucky oratory" upon the conference. Their defiance of the thugs and gunmen cloaked with the badge of "constituted authority" their do-or-die-win-the-strike attitude, stirred the conference. The delegates of Harlan, Kentucky, to a man, pledged their unreserved support to the National Miners Union. This marks a big step forward.

One fact, no one could fail to notice—the growing political consciousness of the mine workers: Peals of stormy applause greeted all remarks however casual, on the Soviet Union, Communism, and a workers' government in the U. S. A. Even the American backwoodsmen of Kentucky did not fail to express their disapproval of the social system. The name of Reds, they said, didn't "scare" them at all. Judging from this conference, it is clear that the American working class will "jump a few stages" as they make their way to Communism.

The purpose that the conference should have really had was given in the words of Foster: to realize "a broad enough united front to include miners irrespective of political creed or union affiliation." This is undeniably an advance for the N. M. U. from its sectarian position of a year ago. Its value consists in the realization that there are tens of thousands of miners, in Illinois, Kanawha, West Virginia and in the anthracite, under influence other than that of the N. M. U. These miners can only be won over to common struggle through a correct application of the united front tactic. And here lies the hitch in the whole policy of the N. M. U. Borich correctly advocated the building of Left wing minorities in the anthracite U. M. W. A. etc. (shades of the "third period"!). But Left wing minorities have their great strength just in so far as they use the tactic of the united front. How is this united front to be accomplished? From below! "No collusion with fakers"; only rank and file committees, representing all unions, was continually emphasized by Foster, Borich, and Co. Keeney betrayed the West Virginia miners; Howat left the Illinois miners in the lurch; all the other progressives are fakers. Therefore, no united front with them. The first part of the reasoning concerning the progressives is absolutely correct. But the second part does not follow at all.

A Fosterite "United Front"
The results of this policy are already apparent. The conference was ostensibly called as a united front gathering. It invited rank and file miners from all groups to attend—at the same time branding their leadership as fake. But it could not be a genuine united front since they were merely invited to attend the N. M. U. convention. The result was that not a single delegate from the Kanawha section of West Virginia, not a solitary representative from the Belleville conference in Illinois (the only Illinois delegates represented a group from the struck Orient mines) a few delegates representing only a handful of those organized in the anthracite.

Instead of these "brilliant leaders" taking note of this remarkable signpost of an incorrect policy, they continue to plunge deeper in the same wrong direction. The same negligible results can already be foreseen from the statement of the program committee, calling upon the "West Virginia miners to fight the Keeney leadership, as tools of the bosses, and to set up rank and file unity committees". It was recognized by miner after miner that thousands were still under the influence of the "progressives". Yet the leadership refused to take any cognizance of this fact beyond name-calling and the mythical "united front" (Continued on page 6)

Paterson On Strike

N. T. W. Must Take Initiative in United Front of All Silk Workers

Paterson, scene of bitterly-fought battles of the textile workers in past years, is again occupying the center of the strike field. The National Textile Workers Union has issued the call for a walk-out of the silk and dye workers of the city, involving some 20,000 black and white workers of both sexes. The N. T. W. demands include the eight-hour day, an increase in wages, an end to discrimination against Negroes, young workers and women, equal pay for equal work, opposition to the speed-up system, unemployment insurance and recognition of the Union. These demands are virtually identical with those advanced by the United Textile Workers and the Associated Silk Workers which, under the influence of the Muste group, have recently voted to amalgamate on the eve of the strike which they planned to call in their own name on August 1.

The Paterson strike follows directly upon the heels of textile strikes under N. T. W. U. leadership in Providence,

Central Falls and Pawtucket, R. I., and a silk workers strike under the A. F. of L. in Allentown, Pa. All these movements are indicative of the deep ferment of dissatisfaction among the textile workers in the country with the conditions of misery and intense exploitation to which they are subjected, and speak eloquently about the splendid opportunities offered to the labor movement to mobilize the workers on a broad scale for resistance to the ruthless capitalist offensive. How seriously undermined the living standards of the Paterson workers are, is evidenced by the fact that they are compelled—in order to live—to demand an increase of about one-third in wages.

The conflict in strike dates resulting from the division of the ranks into two antagonistic unions, presents a serious handicap to the progress and success of the strike. There is no doubt that the joint leadership of the U. T. W. and the A. S. W. has demonstrated a great vacillation and protraction in the negotiations with the manufacturers—in face of the fact that the bulk of the workers involved are keyed up to a high point of enthusiasm for the strike. The N. T. W., on the other hand, is not showing itself capable of measuring up to the complicated situation. The attempt to hasten the strike by precipitous actions will not prove to be the best way of mobilizing the majority of the workers for a successful strike struggle.

What is further already evident, on the first day of the strike as this is being written (Wednesday), is that the N. T. W. cannot expect to make the necessary progress by a pure and simple "head-on collision" with the reformist unions in the field. The response on the first day has been very limited, embracing only a very small minority of the 20,000 workers. As a matter of fact, less than 1000 have thus far responded to the suddenly issued N. T. W. call, although the prospects for broadening the strike are still excellent, making it possible to overcome initial blunders.

The N. T. W. dares not repeat the mistake made in the mine fields by the official Left wing, particularly since its application in the Paterson situation involves even more pointed dangers. The combined membership of the U. T. W. and the A. S. W. is in the vicinity of 3,000. The N. T. W. has little better than a small core in Paterson. This situation dictates the immediate need of initiating and carrying through a genuine united front policy. To confine themselves to the purely formal, empty gestures of the united front "only from below" would be the greatest mistake the Communists could make. Even more than in the coal fields, where the rivalry is not so direct, the N. T. W. must call upon the other union organizations for a united front conference, to coordinate all the forces, to seek a joint strike committee in which each side on an equal plane, shall have full freedom of criticism and action. This is the road to winning the workers to the side of the mil-

lits, the road to a successful conclusion of the strike. Up to now, only the motions of a "united front" have been gone through, with the usual empty results. The workers cannot be deceived by formalities: the realities must be given to them.

In the united front, the workers will learn through their own experience—not by unimpressive denunciation—of the contending forces in the trade unions offer them the best program and the best leadership. From such a process of learning, the Left wing can and should have nothing at all to fear.

The strike is just at its beginning. The coming weeks are rich with opportunities which, unfortunately, have been so cavalierly passed up by the Left wing in the past, and at this very moment are being passed up in the mine fields. The N. T. W. in Paterson must seize the opportunity.

—M. S.

Pointed Questions To The I.L.D.

Another week has been added to the period of silence which the officials of the International Labor Defense have maintained on the case of Leon Goodman and Bernard Morgenstern, two Left Oppositionists who have been convicted under the notorious Flynn Anti-Sedition Act of Pennsylvania.

The August number of the *Labor Defender* just off the press announces an "Amnesty Campaign" by the I. L. D., with conferences between August 2 and August 8, and demonstrations on the Sacco-Vanzetti anniversary August 22. The various victims of capitalist persecution are listed: Communists, syndicalists, Negro workers, A. F. of L. men and others. Goodman and Morgenstern are deliberately omitted. Why? Solely because in addition to the "crime of violating" the Flynn Act, they have committed the great "crime" in the eyes of the Stalinist officials of the I. L. D. of belonging to the Left Opposition!

We ask: Is the I. L. D., built up as a non-party class defense movement, to be transformed officially into an organization defending only those who agree with the present leadership of the Communist party? Are other endangered militants to be left in the lurch? Let the workers demand an immediate reckoning from Engdahl, Maurer and Co. Let the party and I. L. D. members demand that the I. L. D. take over the defense in reality, that it discontinue its disgraceful conduct which can only provoke the joy and satisfaction of the capitalist prosecutor.

In the meantime funds are urgently needed for the defense. Money should be sent to K. M. Whitten, treasurer of the Morgenstern-Goodman Defense Committee, 2041 Appletree Street, Phila., Pa.

LEON TROTSKY

Result of Spanish Elections

The Victory of the Socialists and the Tasks of the Communists

1. I have before me a Turkish paper (in French) of July 1, containing the first news about the Spanish elections. Really, everything is happening up to now in a strictly "foreseen" order. The slide to the Left has gone on with a particular regularity. Let us hope that our Spanish comrades will analyze the results of the elections very carefully, on the basis of materials. We must find out how the workers voted, especially the anarcho-syndicalists. In certain regions, the answer should flow clearly from the election statistics. It is extremely important, of course, to know how the peasants voted in the various provinces. At the same time, all the "agrarian programs" which were presented by the various parties in all the corners of the country must be gathered together. All this is an urgent and a very important work.

The Socialist Victory
2. As was to be expected, the socialists won a great victory. This is the crux of the parliamentary situation. The socialist leaders consider themselves happy over the fact that they have not the majority in the Cortes and that their coalition with the bourgeoisie is thus justified by parliamentary statistics. The socialists do not want to take power because they are afraid, and not without cause, of the socialist government becoming a stage towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. It follows from the

speech of Prieto that the socialists have decided to support the coalition so long as the proletariat can be restrained. In order later, when the pressure of the workers becomes too strong, to pass over into the opposition under some radical pretext or other, and to leave it to the bourgeoisie to discipline and to crush the workers. In other words, we have before us a variant of Ebert and of Tseretelli. Let us remember that Ebert's line succeeded while Tseretelli's failed and that in both cases the strength of the Communist party and its policy played a decisive role.

3. We must immediately denounce the plan of the socialists (this political game of falling back), confounding them in every question. This of course holds true above all for the Spanish Left Opposition. But this is not enough. There must be a clear political slogan which corresponds to the character of the present stage of the Spanish revolution. The results of the elections make this slogan absolutely clear: the workers must break up the coalition with the bourgeoisie and compel the socialists to take power. The peasants must help the workers, if they want to have the land.

4. The socialists will say that they cannot give up the coalition because they have not the majority in the Cortes. Our conclusion must be: demand the election of a genuinely democratic Cortes (Continued on page 6)