

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME V, NO. 20 [WHOLE NO. 116]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

Comrades, Readers, Friends!

An emergency exists. The life of the weekly MILITANT is at stake. Unless we raise our \$1,000 press fund we shall be forced to retrench.

It is not our habit to exaggerate. When we say that the life of the weekly MILITANT is at stake we mean exactly that. For a long time we have been struggling against a deepening financial crisis of our own. It has developed to the point where we are forced to say categorically—the life of the weekly MILITANT is at stake.

To every comrade, every reader and sympathizer falls the duty of coming to the aid of our press. Comrades active in the press drive should double and triple their efforts. Those not in it should immediately put to himself the question—what can I do to help the Opposition press?

The first form this response should take and, at the moment, the most important, is—a donation. Upon reading this appeal every comrade should send us as much as he can spare. No amount is too large, no amount is too small. And every bit helps.

Upon our own members devolves the added duty of canvassing their friends

NEW YORK PICNIC—MAY 29th

The drive now going on for the Left Opposition Press will culminate in New York on the last Sunday of this month—May 29th—in the form of a picnic to be held at Tibbets Brook Park. At the same time it will be the occasion when the comrades and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York will greet the return of comrades Morgenstern and Goodman, our two Philadelphia comrades now serving jail sentences for "sedition".

Food and refreshments will be on hand. We will have a brief social program, games, rowing, ball-playing and other enjoyments. Keep the date open—Sunday, May 29th.

Militant Builders

Comrade Hedlund is still at the head of the list although a number of comrades are slowly cutting down his lead. Those who figure on overtaking him with ease are counting without their host. They fall to take into account that Minneapolis is undertaking a systematic canvass of all their subscribers and sympathizers. In this work comrade Hedlund will, no doubt give a good account of himself. On the other hand comrades who want to win one of the prizes described in the last issue should hustle.

The staff and its record to date is as follows with the figures for the month of May (in dollars) in parenthesis: C. Hedlund (6)—11; V. Dunne (6)—9; L. Roseland (3 1-2)—5; M. Dunne (3)—8; L. Nagy (2 1-2)—3; C. Forsen (2 1-2)—3; A. Buehler (2)—2; M. Rosen (2)—2; O. Coover (2)—3; L. Basky (1 1-2)—2; R. Sacharow (1)—4; R. Ruskin (1)—2; W. Curran (1)—2; S. Zaimanoff (1)—1; P. Carlson (1)—1; C. Cowl (1)—5; F. Schulman (1)—1; F. Barach (1)—4; C. Johnson (1)—2; S. Lessin (1)—1; N. Berman (1); G. R. Herman (1); J. Ross (1); H. Milton (1-2)—1; T. Drohny (1-2)—2; J. Carr (1-4)—3; C. Skoglund—3; F. Cheloff—2; G. Ray—2; M. Gottlieb—1; M. Koehler—1; W. Wynne—1; J. Carter—1; H. Capelis—1; W. Herman—1; A. Swaback—1; A. Glotzer—1; L. Logan—1; A. Kaldis—1; M. Sterling—1.

Bring the Unity Negotiations into the Open!

The revelations in last week's Militant about the secret negotiations between the Party leaders and the expelled Right wing have awakened a new interest among the Communist workers in the question of unity. And the informal discussion arising from it, according to the reports we have received, is not confined to the horse-trade behind the scenes between the Centrist bureaucrats and the Lovestone group. The revival of sentiment for unity with the Left, that is, with the bona fide revolutionary faction, is noticeable.

There is a logic in this development that was never thought of by the machinists. In part, it is an expression of the fundamental solidarity which the proletarian militants in the Party feel toward the Left Opposition. It is also a sign of resentment against the under cover maneuvers to readmit the Right opportunist leaders; the proletarian elements want a revolutionary counterweight in the Party. Therefore our choice will be heard in the back room conferences, even though we are not there as invited guests. The time is opportune for a restatement of the attitude of the Left Opposition on unity.

and acquaintances for subs and donations. Every comrade on his metal! No stone must be left unturned. Wherever a spark of sympathy exists for our ideas and our struggle the question must be put bluntly—How much can you give to save the weekly MILITANT, to help the Opposition press?

Our readers too can participate in this work. They should not wait to be canvassed. They should respond at once. If possible they should canvass their friends and acquaintances. If they are not in a position to do this they can send in the name and addresses of likely contributors. We will approach them. But in the first instance they should respond with a donation.

The response to this appeal must be immediate; it must continue until we reach and pass our quota of \$1,000. Comrades, readers, sympathizers, will you help?

The Party and the May Day Demonstration

The May Day demonstrations organized by the Communist Party this year, when taken throughout the country as a whole, were bigger and more impressive than any before in its history. Even when we discount any wildly exaggerated figures of numbers participating and accept a realistic estimate of, for example, about 40,000 in the New York march, 20,000 in Chicago and 8,000 in Minneapolis, it affords a good cross section of the splendid working class response. First of all, this, of course, bears testimony to the effects of the yet deepening crisis moving the American workers toward the Left. But it is also worth noting that, while the Socialist Party this year ventured into street demonstrations of a sort in several cities, it attracted only much smaller numbers. In this comparison we exclude Milwaukee, where the Socialist Party is in control of the city administration.

We have, therefore, in politically backward America a growing response to Communism, a distinct growth of Communist influence. That is clearly expressed in the May Day demonstrations. Also we have an ever more distinct expression of the fact that the new forces set into motion gravitate toward the official Communist Party. That is in the nature of things and holds bright prospects for the party's future. But it should be a telling answer to those disappointed "revolutionists" who persist in looking for revolutionary awakening separate and apart from the party. They will themselves only remain hopelessly outside of the movement.

In practically all of the major cities the party further affirmed the right of the working class to demonstrate for its demands on the International Labor Holiday. In this sense the demonstrations were militant turnouts. And we can say this, even when discounting the disgraceful scene of attacks upon Left Oppositionists in Minneapolis. But yet, compared to these turnouts, the party weaknesses as an actively moving force in the class struggle are all too apparent. Such a comparison reveals an enormous gap which must be closed.

Experiences from Recent Struggles

The gap is revealed most glaringly in the fields where the party leads actual struggles. We are not speaking in this instance of the question of militancy dis-

For Communists the unity of the revolutionary vanguard is not and cannot be the basis for any kind of maneuvers. It is no object of private understandings and agreements. Unity concerns the class whose interests are bound up with the organization of its political vanguard. Only people who are in reality separated from the Party and the class and freed from their control can think of discussing unity, its terms and conditions, its possibility or impossibility at the moment, in secret.

What the Left Opposition has to say on the subject needs no concealment. Unity or division, like all other vital questions of the movement, must be understood by the Party and decided by the Party before the eyes of the proletariat. Only so can the decisions be firmly grounded. Therefore, our first demand is a discontinuance of the whispered negotiations behind the back of the Party; for the elevation of the question from the level of a deal between business men into a discussion of principle considerations by the entire revolutionary vanguard. Bring the unity negotiations into the open!
(Continued in Editorial Notes—Page 4)

DEBATE

I. W. W. Representative
Communist Representative

Is the Program of the I. W. W. Sufficient for the Emancipation of the Working Class?

AFFIRMATIVE:

C. B. Ellis
Editor, Industrial Solidarity

NEGATIVE:

James P. Cannon
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

on
SATURDAY, MAY 14th at 8 P. M.
at the
LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and Second Avenue
ADMISSION: 20 Cents

Sponsors: Joint Arrangement Committee

played in such struggles—though that is important in itself and cannot be disputed—but we are speaking here purely in the sense of how does the party lead and what support has accrued to its leadership. We will mention only some of the outstanding examples. There is, first of all, the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners strike of last year. A splendid struggle with excellent militancy displayed. Yet it did not result in a strengthening of the miners positions, organizationally or otherwise. It failed entirely to unite the Left wing and progressive forces in the mine fields. Today there is very little of the National Miners union organized in these districts. We experienced the Paterson and Lawrence textile workers strikes. The party, through the T. U. U. L. union had the leadership of a section of the workers in both places. Yet it conducted a strike policy which resulted in a comparative strengthening of the A. F. of L. forces and a weakening of the Left wing. Practically the same situation has resulted from the recent strike of the New York needle trades workers. To this should be added the fact that the struggle for the unemployed, despite the very large demonstrations at the beginning of the crisis today, has narrowed down to a movement almost exclusively of the conscious vanguard alone.

What is the Policy Pursued?

How can such a contradiction be possible? We witness a splendid response to the May Day demonstrations organized by the party while in actual struggles it fails to really win the working class confidence and loses ground. The reason for this must be sought essentially in the policies and methods the party leadership pursues. It is not to be sought merely in the question of insufficient party contacts in the factories, nor in the smaller items which are being brought out in so-called self-criticism. Voluminous theses and resolutions have been written on these questions without, however, striking at the essential issue. With a correct policy and a correct orientation these difficulties—although they are considerable—could nevertheless easily be overcome. What is involved is essentially the failure of an orientation which will unite the workers in struggle.

The important question confronting the Communist Party today is particularly the one of a correct united front policy. We have no intention at all to propose that a united front policy is a universal solution for all times and under all conditions. On the contrary we think that the method pursued in the May Day demonstrations of a purely formal united front appearance does not at all serve the purpose. May Day demonstrations have become a revolutionary tradition and should be so maintained. It would be far more correct for the party to conduct these demonstrations in its own name, also in the formal sense, and call upon the working class to give its support on that basis. For the participation in the coming elections this is more so the case. The party has the duty of presenting a Communist program and entering Communist candidates and appealing for the working class support to Communism. To assume a formal guise of a united front election activity is merely to confuse the essential issues and does not help in the least.

The matter of actual struggles for the elementary needs of the workers is, however, an entirely different affair. And that holds true under politically advanced conditions as well. In Germany today, the threatening danger of Fascism demands imperatively the working class united front. In the United States today the conditions of the working class struggle demands it just as imperatively.

Tom Mooney Must Be Freed!

Free Tom Mooney! Free Tom Mooney! shouted tens of thousands of workers in New York's May Day parade. Free Tom Mooney!—with a spirit the rain could not dampen. One knew that all over the United States hundreds of thousands of his fellow workers were shouting the same demand with the same spirit. It was the voice of the class conscious vanguard, the future troops of the revolution, demanding the freedom of the living symbol of their struggle against capitalism. One had only to hear the measured beat, the deep tone of their shouting to realize how profoundly stirred they were by the monumental hypocrisy and brazen impudence of that watch-dog of capitalism, his excellency, the governor of California, he, who "convinced" himself of Mooney's guilt and refused to free him.

Free Tom Mooney! It was the response of the American working class to the impassioned cry of Mooney himself against this latest insulting verdict of capitalist class justice. Mooney's letter of April 23 to Ralph says clearly that his place is in the ranks of this vanguard, in the front rank of the war against capitalism. Tom Mooney—has today grown to be a mighty oak, admittedly too dangerous to be at liberty during this desperate economic crisis, because he symbolizes the onward march of the revolutionary workers toward a better civilization—"You have continued in the role of your predecessors in making of me a symbol of the cause of labor. I accept the high honor you have conferred upon me with the greatest of humility. This service I will ungrudgingly render to my class, with the greatest of devotion, loyalty and fidelity. I give—gladly and willingly—my very life to the cause of the toilers all over the world, regardless of race, color, creed or nationality. I will never cease this holy struggle until every last instrument used in this dastardly frame-up is completely liquidated and a classless society will replace what now passes for civilization." This is revolutionary talk.

Under the circumstances, for what better mandate to organize the movement to free Mooney could Communists ask? Mooney is ours even in his thinking. Will we take his mandate and mobilize the masses behind the vanguard? This depends now upon the leadership of the Communist Party.

This has been amply demonstrated in the very strikes mentioned above. The building of a serious Unemployed Movement is quite inconceivable without an approach to the existing workers organizations for united pressure to obtain the demands which in reality involves the employed and unemployed alike. A serious movement for the liberation of Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys and all class war prisoners requires this tactic. And above all, the defense of the American working class in the present reactionary onslaught upon their elementary rights and conditions demand a definite change toward employing the united front tactic.

OPPOSITIONISTS SLUGGED IN MINNEAPOLIS ON MAY DAY

By comparison with standards established during the past few years, the Minneapolis May Day demonstration was a gratifying event. Without doubt it was the largest turnout of workers for a parade and demonstration since 1924. The method of assembling the workers from the different sections for general mobilization at Bridge Square was well (Continued on page 2)

The Police Shootings in Melrose Park

Last Friday witnessed another manifestation of Capitalist democracy in this land of the free and home of the brave. In one of the suburbs of Chicago, in Melrose Park, the brave defenders of law and order opened up a volley of machine gun fire on a meeting of unarmed, defenseless unemployed workers who had gathered to protest against police brutality and to demand the elementary right of free speech, of demonstrating in common against the ravages of the capitalist economic order which has reduced some twelve million toilers to starvation in the United States alone.

Nine workers were wounded, three of them seriously. The shooting took place with the approval and under the command of the local authorities of Melrose Park, known for their intimate connections to the local industrial nabobs, the American Cak Company. American legionnaires, racketeers and reactionaries of every description participated on the side of the authorities. In reporting the event, even the capitalist press had to assume an apologetic tone, in line with its general hypocrisy. The Melrose Park incident will take its place together with the Chicago massacre of

The responsibility is theirs. The rank and file has already demonstrated its determination to fight. What is necessary now is to begin without delay a serious approach to the whole working class with the idea of setting them in motion for the freedom of Mooney. They must be approached in the first instance through their organizations.

We do not care how reactionary the leaders of the reformist organizations are, the cause of Mooney is dear to their rank and file. And our mandate gives us the right to be heard. If for the nonce the shouters of names, the Stalinists, will restrain their vocabulary of epithets and denunciation, will substitute for slander and abuse the simple proposal of a united front of working class organization on the sole issue of freeing Mooney, the Communists can and will succeed in winning the support of the workers. Of the possibilities which this would open up for the fight for relief and for Communist influence, we need not speak here.

The Stalinists insist nowadays upon being assured in advance of the leadership of any movement they enter. For example this is what they proposed to the Marine Workers' Defense Committee. Failing this they make every attempt to smash the movement. They smashed the Mooney conferences in Staunton and Belleville, Illinois last winter because they could not slander their way into the leadership. In Minneapolis and St. Louis—the same story.

Mooney has almost guaranteed that the Communists shall lead the movement for his freedom. What are the Stalinists waiting for? Do they want personal

France After the Parliamentary Elections

The victory of Herriot's Radical-Socialist party in last Sunday's run-off elections in France only culminated the recent trend toward the bourgeois Left in that country. The Radical-Socialists who, as one of the writers in the capitalist press so aptly puts it, are neither socialists nor radicals, gained some forty-three seats, rising from 113 to 156. The socialists, the French section of the Second International received an increase of twenty-three seats making their present total in the Chamber of Deputies 129. All the Right wing bourgeois parties lost heavily, especially the party of Tardieu. The Communists retained their 12 seats (Two former Communist deputies in the French parliament had been expelled from the French party and that accounts for the false figure of 10 representatives ascribed to the C. P. in the old house by the bourgeois press. The acknowledged parliamentary leader of the French Communists, Marcel Cachin, suffered defeat in a constituency from which he had been returned to the Chamber time and again for years.

The capitalist press expresses surprise that the French moderates should attain such an advance so shortly after the constant gallop of the reactionaries in Germany. But there is nothing at all to be surprised in all this. The Radical-Socialists have not for one moment concealed their intention to uphold the traditional French policy, the unconditional defense of the treaty gains of the world war, through which France has obtained her immoderately expanded political domination in Europe. On the other hand, the French politicians know full well that a reactionary regime in Germany will be even more dependent upon French "good will"—because of the in-

ternal situation such a regime would produce in the Reich—than the present Bruening government. Taking all this into consideration, it costs the French bourgeoisie very little to provide a safety valve for the growing dissatisfaction of the masses languishing under the rapidly progressing economic crisis—in this self-same Radical-Socialist party.

Despite the election trick of Tardieu—the attempt to utilize the assassination of President Doumer by a White Guard Russian for the purpose of creating a wave of reaction through misrepresenting the assassin as an "agent of the Comintern"—the "cound reasoning" of the republican bourgeoisie prevailed in the elections. Herriot and his followers are preparing to take the helm. Their position, as a result of last Sunday's poll is so strong that they are not directly obliged to any of the other parties for support. Naturally, the leaders of the socialist party, greedy for the ministerial chairs, are making all sorts of overtures to the victors. But, from indications in the press, it appears that the latter are more inclined to bargain with the Centre parties, allegedly for the purpose of avoiding any serious repercussion on the Bourse that might result from the constitution of a "Left" cabinet. Painleve, the Herriot men's choice to succeed Doumer in the presidency according to the latest newspaper reports has withdrawn in favor of Lebrun, the candidate of the Centre-Right, so as to "maintain national unity and the continuity made necessary by the President's death." If this report is true then a definite trend toward collaboration between the election victors and Tardieu is in order.

The results, in so far as the Communists are concerned, are not very encouraging. The French party has barely been able to hold its own, at a time when increased unemployment, wage reductions and general poverty sweep the country. Reports are still forthcoming as to how the party carried on its election campaign, but judging from the results, it could not have been anything but defective. In France, which is commonly known to be the hearth of reaction in the world today and which also figures most prominently in all plots and planned attacks against the Soviet Union, the importance of influencing the working class in a revolutionary direction, is self-evident. To allow the reformists and the bourgeois demagogues to canalize the resentment of the toiling masses of France at this time is especially dangerous. The future will bring far greater tests than the elections. If the French Communists are to be prepared for them, the policy of the party which is closely bound up with the entire policy of the Comintern must be re-oriented accordingly. The results of the French elections represent another warning for the Communists and the revolutionary workers. They point to the necessity we have stressed time and again, of reexamining the fundamental principles, strategy and tactics of our International.

appointments written on the stationery of the Comintern and witnessed by a notary? What holds them back? What limits them to demonstrations of the vanguard and street runs?

They have reached an impasse. The masses, it is now clear even to them, are not their property and do not obey their beck and call. They must now go to the masses in their organizations and work with them as equals. For this they have every requisite in the objective situation and every help from Mooney. But for this they must throw overboard their fake united front from below and their ideological weapons of slander and abuse.

This turn is not easily made. There are the "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyites who have been agitating for this turn right along. They will lose face when the party rank and file sees that the "counter-revolutionists" were correct after all. Bureaucratic prestige is no small matter. It is not to be lightly thrown away.

The party rank and file can resolve this dilemma. It can raise its voice through discussion and resolution. It can and must say that it demands the immediate calling of genuine united front conferences of all working class organizations on the sole issue of fighting for Mooney's freedom.

For its part, the Left Opposition will continue to hammer home this theme. And when the conferences are convened, as in time they must, we will enter them to fight with the party rank and file for the freedom of Mooney, for the unity of the Communist vanguard and the advance of Communism.

—T. S.