

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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ON THE SPOT

LET'S SHAKE HANDS ON THIS

This is not good hot weather stuff but even during the glare of an election campaign and the fury of peace proclamations there are indications that some of our best professors are devoting their brains to serious thinking. The French Academy of Science, than which there is none more scientific, approved by a majority vote that it is safer from the hygienic point of view to osculate than to shake hands. The learned doctors lamented this hygienic deviation on the unfortunate germ who is unable to speak up for himself but we dare to state that the doctors simply prefer to kiss than to shake hands.

SMITH MAY KEEP HIS SHIRT ON

When Al Smith, lost leader of the Democratic Party, issued his expected statement pledging fealty to the Democracy in the election campaign, he avoided mention of the presidential candidate as if Franklin D. Roosevelt were Martin Luther running on the platform of the Prohibition Party. Four years ago when Al got the nomination at the Houston convention, William Gibbs McAdoo, his old rival, announced that he was going to take off his coat for Al and Democracy. Instead he put on a new suit and took a boat to Paris where he stayed until the weather got cooler in the United States. If the working class voters who work themselves into a lather over the confidence men of the capitalist parties took of their coats to work for Communism in the election campaign and all the year around before long the genus capitalist politician would be issuing statements from the zoo.

OLIVE IS WASTING HER OIL

In an effort to lubricate the Du Pont soul, Mrs. Olive Johnson, editor of the Weekly People, writes an open letter to the powder barons. Of course she probably believes that the bourgeoisie of this country, like the ruling classes of all times will not surrender their power without a violent struggle, but just a letter from the editor of the Weekly People might induce those dynamic gentlemen to step down gracefully. Perhaps they manufacture dynamite in order to provide employment, and promote wars with the same worthy aim in view. It is too bad people get killed in the process. It is also too bad Mrs. Johnson did not make her appeal to the exploited wage slaves of Du Pont. They would probably pay at least as much attention to it as the T. N. T. mahatmas.

WHOEVER WINS WE ARE FOR THIS FIGHT

We are informed that there was a wild session at the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Legion of New York County over the bonus question. The Legion bosses fought hard to prevent the passage of the resolution for payment but their patriotic efforts were of no avail and we must announce with great regret that those boys (hic, hic, hooray) who fought for their country in France and even in Paris, insisted on demanding now what they were only supposed to get when they were dead or legned near it. I feel as keenly about the Legionnaires fight for a bonus as I do for the troubles of the King of Siam who had his fun and still is having a lot of it if his spies correctly report on him, and in a fight between a bunch of patriots who were organized to smash the labor movement and their bosses who organized them but now refuse to pay them for their patriotism, I am somewhat like the Irishman who was neutral in the late war, "I am not for England nor against Germany."

THE RASCALLY POOR SIMPLY WON'T BE GOOD

The nasty report is hitched on to a drive for funds but there is reason to believe that the moral turpitude of the working class knows no bounds. In the years of prosperity—write your own editorial about that—they went around riding in automobiles, wearing silks and satins and indulging in other debaucheries which were supposed to be strictly within the domain of the ruling classes. But it seems they are bound to sin in periods of depression as well as in periods of prosperity. The Salvation Army is raising a fund and in the press agent's report that I have on my desk, or whatever you want to call it, the heart appeal is based on the amazing fact that this is the most bastardly year in the history of this country. We have no objection to the bar sinister at all. In fact before our respectability became so shocking we used to quote with great gusto the axiom used by a Monarch of England when he was repulsed by the daughter of the Earl of Warwick. "A king's bastard is a house's pride," quoth he. Yes, there were kings in those days. But anyhow the working class should have more sympathy for the Salvation Army than they seem to have.

—RDEM.

A WARNING OUT OF THE PAST

There has recently been an increase in the number of violent physical encounters between members of the Communist party on the one hand, and members of other labor organizations on the other. On several occasions, organized groups of party members have attempted to break up meetings of the Left Opposition—only quite recently at Wilkins and Intervale Avenues, Bronx. At the same corner, a number of nights later, a violent battle took place between members of the Communist and Socialist parties at an S. P. meeting. On another evening, a similar fight took place at a socialist meeting in a downtown corner of Second Avenue in New York. In still other places, meetings of the Lovestone group have been disrupted by organized groups of opponents.

Should such a course be perpetuated, it can bring only the greatest discredit and harm to the Communist cause in general and to the party in particular. A stern warning throughout the party ranks against such an attitude towards working class opponents, and particularly towards the socialist workers, must immediately be issued so that everybody may know that the Communists will not take any responsibility for street fighting of any kind between workers.

In 1925, a severe crisis broke out in the German Communist party. The ultra-Leftist line of the party leadership, originally inspired by the Comintern chiefs themselves, produced the inevitable disastrous results for the party. The party had become increasingly isolated from the non-Communist masses. A huge wall had been erected between the

best section and socialist workers—to the tremendous satisfaction of the socialist leaders. Innumerable cases were recorded of fights in the streets and halls between both sides, which only further alienated the socialist workers from the party.

So harmful had such a development become that the Executive Committee of the Communist International was compelled to refer to it publicly, before the whole working class of Germany, in its famous Open Letter to the German party in the middle of 1925. We quote a significant passage:

"In order really to find a path to the best section of the German social democratic workers, a struggle must be launched against those excesses which originate in the period when the struggle was conducted with arms in hand. The greatest harm to the cause of the working class is brought, for example, by cases of mutual fights between Communists and social democrats (at meetings, among the youth, etc.), which still take place to this very day, for which the social democrats are to blame without the Communists being blameless either. Such mutual fights play right into the hands of the counter-revolutionary leaders of the German social democracy, and these leaders naturally instigate deliberately such a struggle. The Communists must take the initiative for a final elimination of such phenomena, which naturally presupposes the good will of the social democratic workers."

With little change, this entirely sound and necessary advice of 1925 applies to the American party at the present time.

It is quite ludicrous to read the lamentations of the socialist press about the party's disruption of S. P. meetings, especially when it is remembered that the Hillquits were the first to introduce violence as a means of settling their disputes with the Left wing, not only inside the party in 1919, but in the trade unions under their control; and further, that the socialists in power have not hesitated a moment to crush the Communists under an iron heel. At the same time, the falsifications in the official party press about the increasing encounters do not conceal the well-known fact that the party not only encourages hooligan disruption of opponent meetings, but frequently initiates and organizes them. Workers who are moving towards Communism—non-party workers as well as rank and file Left wingers in the S. P.—are repelled from the party by such conduct. They are caught once more by the reaction, and so far as the Socialist party is concerned, Hillquit owes more to the criminal stupidity of the Stalinists than he thinks.

The party which talks today about "overcoming our isolation", must call a halt immediately, openly and in unmistakable terms. The lessons of 1925 must not be allowed to pass by without leaving clear traces on the consciousness of the Communist workers. Those who are seriously concerned with the movement will repeat the warning of the past and demand that it be heeded today.

Put an end to hooliganism and street fighting between workers of different views! Burn such a disgraceful method out of the revolutionary movement!

Five Expelled from Y.C.L.

Chicago Communist Youth Fight Campaign against Opposition

CHICAGO.—

The expulsion of four members of the Young Communist League, and the exclusion of one more, for refusing to denounce the Left Opposition as counter-revolutionary, and for conducting a fight against the paralyzing bureaucraticism in the League follows right after the expulsion some months ago of comrades Satir, Gould and Andras. Unable to refute the telling charges of incompetence and bureaucraticism, in the League, the petty functionaries have resorted to their classic reply: expulsions. The ideas of the Left Opposition, which the Stalinists have sought to repress by force, are making their way to the Communist workers and particularly the younger, militant comrades. The new addition of forces acceding to the Left Opposition in this case is a most welcome and significant sign of the progress we are making.

The expulsion of the comrades in question brought forward the following statement signed by all of them. We urge all comrades in the League and Party to take up this question and demand an end to the destructive, bureaucratic policy of suppression of Communist opinion within the movement.

STATEMENT OF THE EXPULSIONS OF PERN, BARSHEVSKY, SOLD, AND HANKIN AND THE EX- CLUSION OF FAREFIELD TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE:

Last July at the District convention of the Y. C. L. a group of comrades presented a series of criticisms regarding the intolerable situation in the League and condemned the bureaucrats activities of the leadership. These criticisms were confirmed by the Young Communist International in its resolution on the American League. The Y. C. L. although it condemned the Satir group by name, was forced to make the same criticism of the American leadership as was made by that group. Comrade Satir, Gould and Andras, leading comrades of District No. 8 were expelled by the bureaucrats so that their incompetence might not be exposed and that they might remain at their sinecures.

The criticisms of these comrades were:

1. Rooting ourselves in the factories
2. Against bureaucracy.
3. Raising the ideological level of the League
4. Insufficient anti-militarist work and numerous other points.

Again the bureaucratic and terroristic leadership has manifested itself not only in wholesale expulsions but also in the exclusion from membership of Dave Farefield.

The latest victims of the bureaucratic and terroristic lash are Phil Sold, Irving Bern, Yetta Barshevsky, Dave Farefield and H. Hankin. Phil Sold, organizer of the Lake Street Unit and very active among the young Negro workers was expelled six months ago for fraternizing with Satir and Gould, whom he considered revolutionaries of high standing and for refusing to condemn them without study the Left Opposition. He has applied for readmittance, and upon maintaining his stand was refused reinstatement.

Bern and Barshevsky, both young Communists who have proven themselves

active sincere fighters since pioneer age, and who have been brought up to believe in Leninist democratic centralism have been expelled for

- (1) fighting the bureaucracy, which is undermining the Y. C. L. and is so detrimental to the League's growth as a leader of the working class youth.
- (2) Refusing to denounce as counter-revolutionary comrades who have proven themselves sincere fighters. (Satir and Gould)
- (3) They dared to study the question of the Left Opposition.
- (4) These two comrades refused to condemn the Left Opposition as counter-revolutionary since the Y. C. L. leadership had failed to prove the incorrectness of certain policies of this group.

Dave Farefield, a young comrade who after being convinced by members of the Tuley fraction applied for membership in the Y. C. L. and was refused admittance because he dared to question the policies of the Y. C. L. This especially illustrates the bureaucratic attitude of the leadership, since comrade Farefield was refused the right to study both sides of the question. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that the leadership was unable to prove wherein the counter-revolutionary tendencies or activities of the comrades lay, they insisted that Farefield condemn Bern and Barshevsky as counter-revolutionaries.

Comrade Hankin, a new member of the League had several misconceptions of Negro work. Upon being shown his error he quickly, sincerely and openly recognized his mistake and condemned his previous stand at an open meeting. The comrades of his unit, especially the Negro comrades, greeted this frank speech with loud applause. Yet, for questioning the position of the Y. C. L. on the expelled comrades and the Left Opposition he was expelled as a white chauvinist

Hoover & Unemployment

Republican Party Platform Ignores Vital Problem of Jobless

More than 13,000,000 men found the pavements of plentiful America, out of work, with no hope of finding employment. Both the conservative Department of Labor and William Green, president of the A. F. L. corroborate these high figures of unemployment. All data published to date point to a daily increase of the jobless army.

It is no longer a matter of being jobless for a few weeks. These weeks have turned into months, and the months are rapidly becoming years. The prospects for work are as slight as the greatly reduced wages. The crowds at the factory gates are dwindling into mere hand-fuls. Even the brazen lies of Henry Ford, of putting thousands back on the job attract far less attention from the unemployed than they did some months ago. The most glibly begin to eye these deceptive statements with suspicion. One finds the curious anomaly in the want ad sections of the newspapers. It is no more the bosses who ask for "help". Today the workers spend their last dollars in advertisements, begging, pleading,

imploping some kindly capitalist to give them employment.

Jobless in Extreme Need

Two years ago unemployment meant the loss of a few luxuries. One could manage to exist without a radio and an automobile. But as the crisis continued, the lack of a job forced the worker to make payments on his home, and tens of thousands have gone under the auctioneer's hammer. Whatever savings the worker possessed have either been used up or have passed into the bankers' hands in the innumerable bank crashes. For some time, thousands of jobless have been kept afloat by assistance from more fortunate friends and relatives. But this situation is coming to an end, if it is not already concluded. The proletarian friends and relatives have been cast into the workless army. Or, if still working, their wages have been cut so low, that not only is assistance impossible, but they themselves are in dire need of relief of some sort. The picture is changing. The unemployed are ceasing to look for

(Continued on page 2)

Socialist Edict Paves Road for Hitlerites

Communists Must Form United Front Now

While the danger of a Fascist victory in Germany becomes increasingly accentuated, the social democrats are playing their classic role of restraining the workers from any concerted mass action to crush the Hitlerite viper before it is too late. Under the guise of opposing a concentration of Fascist power, the social democratic leaders are working hand in hand with the reaction to prevent "violence on both sides"—that is, to prevent the workers from uniting militantly against the Nazis. A special cablegram to the New York Times of July 14 gives the following significant report about Severing, the social democratic minister of the Interior for Prussia:

"While Baron Wilhelm von Gayl, Reich minister of the Interior, was on his way to confer with President von Hindenburg at Neudeck in East Prussia on what was to be done about the carnage in connection with the election campaign, Carl Severing, the Prussian Interior Minister, issued orders today forbidding local police authorities to allow demonstrations and meetings unless they were sure that a sufficient police force was available to stifle violence at its first sign. The edict stipulated that the police must be adequate not only to control assemblies but to provide safe conduct

home for all participants as well as restrain them from committing acts of violence after the meeting's dispersal.

"Herr Severing's orders rest on the last presidential emergency decree, which made political demonstrations reportable to the police in advance."

Such an edict can apply essentially only to the Communists, even though ostensibly it is to include Fascist meetings as well. The Fascists are now under the direct protection of the federal government, which has removed the most important bans that existed prior to the formation of the von Papen government. The police administrations are shot through with Hitlerites and sympathizers. The Fascists are already organized on an efficient military basis, with strong support from the Reichswehr. They can be checked only by the united manifestation of working class strength in the country. By a "fair" opposition to "all" demonstrations, the social democratic priesthood is really playing right into the hands of Fascism, clearing the streets of proletarian demonstrations so that Hitler may have a clearer road to power.

At the same time, the Stalinist leaders are playing a dangerous game of hide-and-seek with the key to the whole situation—the united front of all the workers against the Nazis. Under the crushing weight of the situation, the fantastic theory of "social-Fascism" is being slowly shattered. But the desire to maintain the bureaucratic prestige of the party leaders prevents them from throwing the whole business overboard, bag and baggage, publicly, frankly, so that all the militants may understand the why and wherefore and be able to act accordingly. The situation cries out imperatively for strike-cut policies. The Stalinists are fooling around.

In some sections, the party has made a shameful turn towards the united front policy. In Berlin, it has gone so far as to address itself to the social democratic party. Why in Berlin and not nationally? Does "social-Fascism" hold good federally but not locally? Can a real united front be fought for if the old theory which prevented it is kept in reserve?

The half-measures being taken now are worse than no measures at all, in one sense, because it makes confusion worse confounded. In 1925, the Executive Committee of the Communist International had to declare to the ultra-Leftists in the German party, in connection with the Hindenburg-monarchist danger, which was far from being as acute as the Fascist danger today:

"The Red Front Fighters League must address an open letter to the Reichsbanner with the proposal for a common struggle against the monarchists. Our slogan is: Wherever you will fight against the monarchists, we shall support you unconditionally. . . . It is necessary to adopt a new tone towards the social democratic workers, emphasizing with all strength the readiness of holding back much of what separates the Communist party from the social democratic workers in the name of the common struggle against the monarchist danger. . . . It is necessary to make clear to all the members of the German C. P. and all workers that the main thing is the approachment to the social democratic workers in the factories". (Inprecorr, June 16, 1925.)

While some of the formulations contained here are not entirely accurate, the spirit applies a hundredfold stronger to the present situation. A plain, public, candid turn completely away from the miserable theory of "social-Fascism". A recognition in full of the Opposition's proposal for a united front of the Communist and social democratic parties against the Fascist danger, a united front that will mobilize the million-masses of Germany's proletariat not only against Hitler and Co., but also against the treacherous policy of the socialist leadership. The party leadership which has already accumulated a menacing heap of blunders, must be driven to the wall on the question. The Communist workers in this country must lend their support to the policy we advocate.

It is not too late yet but neither is there too much time. Events are moving with express speed, and the party's policy must be changed accordingly. Fascism must be crushed now!

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC

The New York Branch of the Communist League of America will hold a picnic at Tibbetts Brook Park, on Sunday, August 7th. It is planned to get all members, friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York to attend.

Keep the date open. Watch The MILITANT for further information.

Leon Trotsky -- THE BARBUSSE CONGRESS

Dear Comrades:

I have before me the June 4 number of the Paris magazine Monde. Monde is published by Barbusse and serves at the present time as the central organ for the convocation of the "great Anti-War Congress". On the third page of this magazine there is an extract from an appeal by Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse. The character and spirit of the appeal are sufficiently clear from the following words: "We call upon all people, all groups, regardless of their political affiliations and all labor organizations—cultural, social and trade unions—upon all forces and all mass organizations! Let all join us in the International Congress of War against War."

Then follows a passage from a letter addressed by Rolland to Barbusse: "I am wholly of the opinion that the Congress should be open to all parties and non-partisans on a common basis of sincere and determined struggle against war." Further on, Rolland expresses his agreement with Barbusse, that the first place in this struggle should be occupied by the working class. Still further, we read the first list of those who have joined the Congress. It consists of radical and half-radical French and German writers, pacifists, members of the League of the Rights of Man, and so forth.

This is followed by an aphorism from the well-known Emile Vanderveelde. "Everywhere war gives birth to . . . explosions of revolutionary dissatisfaction on the one hand and the rabid reaction of fanatical nationalism on the other. It is of the utmost necessity that the Internationals unite their forces closely in order to prevent war."

Finally, after these words by Vanderveelde, quoted from the socialist journal Le Peuple of May 29, 1932, we read a quotation from the central organ of the French Communist party, l'Humanite, of May 31, 1932: "Reply 'Present!' to the call of Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse for participation in the International Congress at Geneva."

In the last issue of La Vie Ouvriere, the central organ of the Unitary General Confederation of Labor, there is an article in which complete agreement is expressed with the initiative taken by Rolland and Barbusse.

The picture is now perfectly clear. The French Communist Party and the trade union organization led by it, stand behind the Initiators of the Congress. Behind French Communism stands the leadership of the Comintern. What is involved is the danger of a new world war. In the struggle against this danger it is necessary to utilize also the fellow-travellers, who appear or may appear to be, to a certain extent, the most honest and determined in the ranks of the petty bourgeois pacifists. However, this is in any case a question of tertiary or still lesser importance. The initiative in this matter, it would seem, should be taken before the eyes of the international proletariat, by the Comintern and Profintern. The most important problem is the successful attraction to our side of the working masses of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals. As a

(Continued on page 4)