

Read carefully the resolution presented by the Left Opposition to the New York Conference Against War at the Labor Temple on August 8. It is printed on page 3 of this issue. The resolution contains Lenin's revolutionary views on the struggle against war. It is Lenin's language, in letter and spirit! It is the language of Bolshevism which every Communist and militant worker must agree with. Why did the Stalinist leaders force the 300 Party members, delegates to the New York Conference, to vote against it? Why were Lenin's views rejected by the bureaucrats in favor of a petty bourgeois pacifist resolution? Why was the "Christian pacifist" Barbusse hailed while Lenin was howled down?

WORKERS
OF THE
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UNITE

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Left Opposition Alone Raises the Voice of Lenin at N. Y. Congress Against War

Stalinists Unite with Liberal Pacifists to Reject Resolution of League Delegation on Fight Against the War Danger

A conference composed of more than 200 Communist workers at which a resolution giving Lenin's views on how to combat imperialist war, is jeered at and voted down. A conference to discuss the war danger at which only a small handful of Opposition delegates, representing

an expelled faction of the Communist party, defends the standpoint of Bolshevism. A conference at which the representatives of official Communism take upon themselves a stubborn defense of pacifists, advertise them, praise them, and at the same time seek to gag the

voice of the revolutionary followers of Lenin. A conference which not only turns down a Lenin resolution, but gives a thunderous vote of endorsement to a resolution presented in the name of a committee of pacifists and petty bourgeois liberals.

That was the Conference on August 8 at the Labor Temple in New York called by the American Committee of the World Congress Against War organized by Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Albert Einstein, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Maxim Gorky and others.

We intend to present here an extensive report on all the important phases of this conference, not only in order that the misleading and deliberately inadequate report in the official Communist party press may be rectified, but to enable the militant, class conscious workers to have a complete picture of the depths of opportunism to which the Stalinist bureaucracy has sunk in the crucial question of working class politics: the question of war.

The Petty Bourgeois Liberals Set the Tone

The conference, as the report of the credentials committee showed beyond argument was composed overwhelmingly of Communist workers and the closest sympathizers of Communism. The Committee at the door, the committee on the platform, the chairman of the conference, and its real managers, were all Communists, taking painful precautions to conceal their political identity. Yet, it was left to the outstanding liberal at the Conference to strike the keynote—pacifistic through and through.

With a repulsively unctuous parade of studied respectability—the polite introductions of "Mister Baldwin" and "Miss So-and-so"—Roger Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, was called on to open the Conference in the name of the absent Theodore Dreiser. In an introduction by a Communist secretary whose party press only yesterday catalogued the same Baldwin as a "social Fascist". Baldwin purchased immunity from a similar attack by per-

mitting the use of his name as a screen for the organizational manipulations of the Conference behind the scenes by the Stalinists. But for this, he received in return an infinitely greater concession from his opponents: the uncritical adoption by them of his pacifist program.

With Baldwin's speech, from one standpoint at least, there can be no quarrel. He adhered rigidly to the aims of the Congress as expounded by its initiators and directors, and repeated them faithfully. Need his speech be given here? It is better to present it in the form of a quotation from the Anti-War Congress call sent throughout the world from Paris:

"We make an appeal to all peoples, to all parties, to all men and women of good will. It is not a question of the interest of one nation, of one class, of one party. All are concerned. All are in danger... We do not have to make a plan of action in advance. That would mean hampering the liberty of those we are summoning, and it is they who in the Congress will freely present their different plans and finally try to come to a decision as to common action. What we want is to raise an immense wave of opinion against war whatever form it may be, wherever it may come from, whenever it may menace."

This call was signed not only by such social patriots as H. G. Wells and Upton Sinclair, who have the right to sign it because it really corresponds to their confused petty bourgeois pacifism, but by Sen Katayama, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, that is, by the real organizer of the whole enterprise!

Baldwin expressed his support for civil liberties and his opposition to war. He pledged the support of the Left wing intellectuals to a movement against war. He had no idea to present as to what the program of such a movement should be to deal effectively with the problem, nor could he be expected to have. He was in favor of revolutionists being in the movement. "The Communists must be in this movement", he said, "Not as a party, because no political parties are to participate." In this he was only partly correct; more accurately, he was correct up to forty-eight hours before he

spoke. For, as we shall see, the original plan to hide the face of the Communist party was changed and by a forced march the party sent its delegates at the last minute.

Baldwin delivered the speech of a sincere liberal opponent to war, to war in

general, to war as something beyond the realm of classes and the class struggle. But that is the limit of the criticism that may be leveled against him. He spoke according to his lights.

But Baldwin not only was allowed to (Continued on page 2)

The Hitlerites at the Gates!

Alarm Signal!

On the anniversary of the German republic, Hitler stretches out his hand for power. The bloodthirsty Storm-Troops of Fascism are mobilizing outside of Berlin. The social democratic hero of the "Iron Front", Hindenburg, is negotiating directly with the Fascist chieftain concerning participation or leadership in the government. It is now no more a question of months and weeks; it is a question of days and hours. The blindest of the blind must now see the imminency of a Fascist coup d'Etat. Shall Hitler come to power without the most furious resistance of the proletarian masses? From the social democratic leadership, we expect nothing but the playing of the last act of treachery. But what is the Communist party doing? Dreadful, menacing, fatal silence! With Hitler on the threshold of power, we say openly to the working class:

If the Communist party allows Fascism to take the helm in Germany without organizing the broadest and most violent movement of mass resistance, it will have committed an act of betrayal which will brand it eternally in the history of the proletariat!

If the Communist party does not fight to the bitter end against the Fascist triumph, its betrayal will stand at the same abyssal depths as the social democratic treachery on August 4, 1914!

A terrific, historical responsibility rests upon the shoulders of Stalinism. It is being tried before the masses of the world. A greater responsibility rests upon the party members and Communist workers in general. Speak out, workers, speak out before it is too late! The knife of Fascism descends upon our throats!

Fascism Must Not Take Power Without Armed Resistance

All dispatches confirm the news of the Fascists' concentration of forces around Berlin. Hitler himself is right on the scene, but remains incognito. There are well-founded rumors of pressure from the Brown Shirt ranks for a march on the capital, for a coup d'Etat. Hitler is said to utilize the threat of this pressure in his bargaining for a "legal" seizure of power with the Junkers in control. Constitution Day also brings with it, ironically enough, the information that President Von Hindenburg is to offer Hitler the portfolio of Chancellor.

But most ironical of all is the proclamation of the new decree "against rioting." This decree provides for nothing more or less than a counter-revolutionary tribunal. The chief provision in the establishment of the bloody tribunal which is to mete out capital punishment to "whoever commits homicide on an assailant from political motives (that is, in the struggle with the Fascist assassins) or on a policeman or any person summoned to his aid (read: the Brown Shirt auxiliaries) is: "a special court which can refuse to take evidence for the defense." All of this is proclaimed in the name of Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution—the ingenious handwork of Hilferding, Wels, Kautsky and Co.

The Governmental Manipulations of the Bourgeoisie

Hindenburg's offer of the Chancellorship to Hitler is accompanied by several "conditions":

1. The Constitution is to be respected.
2. The Fascist militia must not be employed as auxiliary police.
3. There must be no equality between the Fascist militia and the Reichswehr, or regular army.
4. There must be no party government relying on storm detachments for support.

The sham of these conditions is all too apparent. Hitler is to be asked to respect a constitution which the spokesman of the present government itself declares "does not unite but divides the nation." These are the words of Von Gayl's, the Minister of the Interior in the Von Papen cabinet, at the Reichstag celebration.

The "conditions" and the proposal of Von Hindenburg are the farce behind the scenes of which the Junkers are handing over the reins of power to the logical heir of a capitalism seized by the throes of social agony. The apparatus for the "legal" extermination of the workers' organizations has been rigged into shape. Only the finishing touches are still to be applied to the Nazi coup d'Etat. Whether this will be done with the official sanction of Hindenburg's Field Marshal or by a march on

Berlin is of secondary importance, Germany stands before the deluge.

Social Democracy—Perennial Betrayer

Most wretched of all, clinging on as if to a last straw, is the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Driven from its Prussian government posts by a little band of 13 infantry soldiers, dispersed by Von Papen, who rules by the grace of the Hindenburg dictatorship, it nevertheless still stuck to its democratic popguns. It appealed to the Reich Supreme Court for a decision against Von Papen! The Supreme Court knew its class task and told the social democracy in so many words that it does not give a fig about the democratic forms. But the last defenders of bourgeois legality are not to be outdone. After dragging the German working class from debacle to debacle, they now resort to a pure declaration of faith: "Hitler will perish, democracy is eternal"

The social democracy is even today holding back the proletariat of Germany from establishing the united front of the class, from open and determined action against the murderer clutching at its throat. The social democratic funkies are scared for their own skins, they know that working class action will sweep them away with one blow and clear the road for the proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are ready to sell out the workers of Germany on a last and desperate speculation on saving their hides. They would still rather trust the bourgeoisie which is kicking them down with both feet than break the inaction of the working class.

Where is the C. P. G.?

Where is the German Communist Party, the revolutionary party of the proletariat? After a half-turn in the direction of the Leninist united front on June 20, when it proposed to the leadership of the Berlin district of the S. D. P. G. common action against the suppression of the social democratic Vorwaerts, after participating together with the socialist workers in demonstrations conducted by the S. P. D. G. fakery and in spite of them and their rejection of the Communist proposals—after reaping profit therefrom by an appreciable increase in the C. P. vote at the Reichstag elections of July 31, the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party has slunk back into its old, catastrophic error, content to rest upon its meager parliamentary laurels at a time when the class struggle is about to be decided on the arena of brutal, open combat. The latest reports reaching us from Germany bring the information that (Continued on page 4)

Monarchist Putsch in Spain

Militarist Coup in Seville and Madrid is Quickly Crushed

The military cabal headed by general Sanjurjo which sought to overthrow the republican regime in Spain and raise again the banner of the degenerate Bourbon dynasty, has been crushed by the governmental forces without great difficulty. In Seville itself, where the monarchists had concentrated about 6,000 troops, they were swept out of control within 24 hours. In Madrid, where a putsch was attempted by a smaller group, the monarchists received even shorter shrift. Their whole movement now appears to be thoroughly dissolved.

Significant in the whole affair is the prompt popular response to the monarchist challenge. The hatred accumulated in the breasts of the masses under the bloody regime of Alfonso, Primo de Rivera and the Jesuits, was given vent again on this occasion. Just as last year when the threat of a monarchist plot in Madrid brought the whole city to its feet in militant reprisals which took the form of burning to the ground several of the ecclesiastic and lay centers of the black reaction. Immediately upon learning of Sanjurjo's attempt, a similar popular storm burst upon Madrid, Seville and other centers, with the people emphasizing their hostility to the reaction, which has been watered down systematically by the republican-socialist governmental coalition, by razing numerous monarchist and militarist clubs and centers, destroying their press and demonstrating in every spontaneous form a relentless opposition to the return of the dynasty and all the things associated with it.

That the monarchists should choose the present day—scarcely more than a year after the proclamation of the republic—for an attempted comeback, is itself a reflection on the present regime, which, the leaders of the uprising hoped, had created sufficient discontentment with itself among the masses to make possible a monarchist victory. The discontentment of the masses is indubitable, only the militarists gauged its temper incorrectly. The opposition to them has not been altered in the minds of the mass.

The government of Azana, supported by the socialists, has remorselessly robbed the masses of every achievement that was looked forward to when the republic was proclaimed. Not one of the problems confronting the country has since been solved satisfactorily. The land-hungry peasantry, still groaning under the exploitation of the large landowners are the agricultural laborers whose lives are a monotonous permanency of misery, have not received an iota of assistance from the Madrid government. The sole "advance" written into the statutes for the workers, the eight-hour day, remains a dead letter; for the suffering masses of the unemployed it is a cruel mockery. The expectations of the Catalonians have been trampled, and they are as far away from independence as they ever were. The civil rights promised the people have been ruthlessly torn from them by the law for the "Defense of the Republic", which contains Draconic measures of suppression and despotism directed exclusively at the working people. Strike movements have been suppressed with Bourbon cynicism.

In all this, the working class and peasantry has groped blindly for a way out, deprived of leadership. The socialists have betrayed them into the hands of the bourgeois republicans. The anarcho-syndicalists, themselves leaderless and utopian, have only brought confusion into the ranks. The official Communist party has made a terrible debacle since the beginning of the revolutionary events in Spain. That is why the recent proletarian rising in Alto Lobregat, instead of becoming a new point of departure for progress, marked a high point in-

producing a wave of depression among the masses.

The emergence of the monarchist pestilence may have the effect of re-invigorating the proletarian movement, and thus offer increased opportunities for the Communist movement. It is notable that in Seville the aroused populace released the imprisoned Communists and syndicalists from jail and bore them on their shoulders. A Leninist—not a Stalinist course—could make this symbolic gesture a national revolutionary reality in the not distant future.

Lessons of the Bonus March

With their dispersal following their forceful eviction from Johnstown, the worker-vets have rung down the curtain on the first act of the fight for the bonus. It is the close of the first act but it is not the final scene. The fight they put up against the iron fist of "democracy" was too dramatic, too fraught with forebodings of the treatment the capitalist class holds in store for its wage slaves for the working class to forget it.

Under the remorseless pressure of the steadily deepening crisis, goaded to action by the cynical indifference of "their" government to their misery, and still permeated by illusions about the institutions of democracy, the vets spontaneously marched on Washington from all parts of the country to demand their "back wages". The outstanding aspect of that march was its spontaneity. It was not prepared for. It was not organized in advance. In this sense it may be said that the vets were thrown up by the flux of the class struggle.

Waters Leadership

During the six weeks they were encamped in Washington they tolerated the leadership of the Oregon cannery ex-superintendent who watched their fight with the police and their heroic resistance to the military from the side lines. This individual organized a military police which beat up the Reds, and worked with the secret service men to terrorize and intimidate the men. He conferred regularly with chief of police, Glassford and together with him arranged for the segregation of the vets who followed the leadership of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League.

Under Waters' leadership the fight assumed a narrow character, limiting itself to a demand for relief without any class content or class issues. No attempt was made by the vets to link up their fight with the broader fight for class relief led by the Communists. By this policy the vets were condemned to fight an isolated struggle without the active support of the masses of the working class who watched their fight with the greatest interest.

By all this the vets gave abundant evidence of their lack of class consciousness. Perhaps this was to be expected. The average age of the vets was somewhere between thirty-five and forty. They had come through the years of "prosperity" with profound illusions about the "difference" of American capitalism from the old world imperialism. They were deeply impregnated with the democratic nature of "our republic".

The tactics of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League in denouncing every body not a faithful follower of the one true Bolshevism, Stalin, alienated them from the masses of the vets and made their isolated demonstrations easy for the police to break up. They failed in their elementary Communist duty of raising the class consciousness of the vets. For this (Continued on page 4)

Trotsky Elected to Anti-War Meet

On June 27, 1932, the Fourth National Congress of the League of War Invalids and Victims of Greece met in Athens. Fifty-seven delegates from all parts of the country participated in the deliberations. The years of existence of this militant organization have been filled with heroic struggles against the bourgeoisie and militarism, and the report rendered the delegates by the National Committee was not only accepted but the complete confidence of the membership was expressed in the leadership it had presented. The National Committee of the League is composed entirely of mem-

bers of the Greek Left Opposition, Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists), and it was unanimously re-elected at the end of the sessions.

The Congress decided to send delegates to take part in the international "Congress Against War" organized under the names of Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. As an indication of the sentiments of the former soldiers of the Greek bourgeoisie, the Congress elected as its first delegate the leader of international Bolshevism, comrade Leon Trotsky!

Mass Meeting THE COMMUNISTS AND THE WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS

LENINISM VS. PACIFISM
HOW SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS FIGHT AGAINST WAR?
WHAT RELATIONS HAS STALINISM WITH PACIFISM?
HOW SHALL WORKERS DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION?

Hear the Opposition Delegates to the New York Anti-War Conference Deliver the Speeches Suppressed by the Bureaucrats

JAMES P. CANNON MAX SHACHTMAN
HUGO OEHLER, Chairman
on WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1932, at 8 P. M.
at STUYVESANT CAY, 2nd Avenue and 9th Street
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