

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



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“I MUST SPEAK OUT.”

## Warns Party on Germany

Leading C.P. Member Appeals for United Front against Hitlerism

To the Members of Unit 2, Sec. 3  
To the Party Members of Dist. Two  
To the Central Executive Committee  
of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.  
Comrades:

The latest events in Germany make it impossible for me to remain silent any longer. The coming into power of Von Papen, the dictatorial action of Hindenburg in Prussia, the direct aid given by the government to the Fascists (“National Socialists”)—lifting of the uniform ban, special permits for demonstrations, suppressing of the working class press, etc., in their attacks against the workers—are unmistakable danger signals for every conscious revolutionist.

**At the Brink of the Abyss**  
The ruthless military dictatorship established by the reactionary Junkers is pushing Germany to the brink of the Fascist abyss. A disunited German working class is facing an increasingly arrogant and confident army of Fascism marching to power. Germany is already in the midst of a civil war. The blood-thirsty hordes of Hitlerism are on the streets, shooting down the militant workers, creating an atmosphere of terrorism, while behind the scenes the final preparations are being made to drive the Communist party underground and—for the seizure of power by Fascism. The government of Von Papen is only a stop-gap. It is there only to clear the path for the triumph of Hitler.

The victory of Fascism is a horrible event to contemplate! We know already from the tragic experience of the Italian working class what it has meant in the past. If it comes to power in Germany, the consequences would be much greater. Hitler in power means the crushing of the Communist movement. It means the wiping out of every other working class institution. It means a set-back for the whole proletarian movement, throughout Europe and the rest of the world. It means the beginning of a new and lengthy period of reaction everywhere, the strengthening of the bourgeoisie in every country. It means that our proletarian fatherland, the Soviet Union, is directly and immediately menaced by the strangulating bloc of reactionary nations all along its western frontier.

In a civil war, in a fight between the classes in Germany, all of the imperialists will undoubtedly take the side of Hitler against the workers. They will extend the fight against the German workers to a struggle against the international working class, and in the first place—against the U. S. S. R. Hitler would be the outstanding military agent of world imperialism in a war to crush the workers' republic.

**Arouse the Working Class!**  
To arouse the working class of Germany and of the rest of the world to the imminent danger of Fascism immediately, to crush Hitler before he comes into power—that is the task of the hour, if the revolutionists are to defend the interests of the world proletariat, and above all—to defend the Soviet Union.  
But this is just where the tragedy lies at the present moment. When Fascism threatened in Italy, Lenin and the whole C. I. left no stone unturned to arouse the working class of the world against the danger. Now, when far greater dangers to the proletariat are involved, our world leadership, the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, are silent. No burning appeal—one that would stir the Communist into action—has come from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Our press, particularly our central organ, the *Daily Worker*, has maintained a virtual silence on the threatening developments in Germany, bringing only scant news reports. The party has not even attempted to awaken the American working class to the terrible danger that impends. Not a single leaflet has been issued on the subject of Fascism moving toward power. Not a single mass meeting has been arranged to arouse the interests and activity of the American workers. Not even the party membership has been awakened!

**“I Must Speak Out Now”**  
That is why I feel that I must speak out now as loudly as I can in an attempt to arouse my party comrades to the danger that threatens, so that we may be able to fulfill our duties as international revolutionists. In this declaration, I am moved only by the deep interests of the proletarian revolution and of my Communist party, to which I have belonged and which I have served loyally for many years, and in many struggles. The first obligation of an internationalist is to arouse the active interest and participation of the workers in the life and struggles of the comrades in the other countries.

Trotsky first indicated in his pamphlets “The First Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation” and especially “Germany—the Key to the International Situation”—the great seriousness of the Fascist danger, the mistake of looking upon Fascism as a movement that will swiftly disintegrate. He and the Left Opposition pointed out the

serious danger of confusing the workers by throwing the Fascists and the reformists into one pot under the theory of “Social Fascism”. They correctly restated from the first the Leninist policy of the united front in the struggle against Fascism.

My studies and the observations have brought me to the following serious conclusions: The viewpoint of Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the German situation has been fully confirmed by the events. It is now absolutely necessary to give full attention to this viewpoint and to discuss it, so that our party and our International may draw immediately and without delay the greatest benefits from it.

**The Party's False Course**  
Our party leadership in Germany and the C. I. have been following a false and dangerous course toward the danger of Fascism on the one hand, and the social democracy on the other. While the Fascist danger was minimized for a long time, the party continued to set up a wall between itself and the socialist workers by the theory and practice of “Social Fascism”. Instead of proposing a united front of all the workers against the onward march of Hitler's bands, our party compromised itself with the slogan of “National and Social Emancipation” and by its active support to the Hitlerite referendum (July 1931) in Prussia. Our party played into the hands of Fascism by this policy and made it possible for the social democratic traitors to continue their murderous policy (Continued on page 3)

## Seb. Pappas Expelled

As we go to press, we learn from the *Daily Worker* of the expulsion of Sebastian Pappas, leading Communist militant and strike leader in many of the battles of the Food Workers Industrial Union. Pappas is expelled from the Communist Party of the U. S. A. “as a Trotskyite and a disruptive element.”

The specific charge against him is that he “recently issued a letter to the party, hundred of copies of which were printed and distributed to party and non-party workers. In his letter he not only disagrees but attacks the line of the party. He accused the Party leadership and the Comintern of following a false and dangerous course toward Fascism and social democracy. He proposes that the Party and the Comintern make an open demand for united front with the social Fascist leaders and disagrees with the party's estimation of the social democratic leaders as social Fascists.” (*Daily Worker* of Thursday August 18, 1932.)

**Stalinist Silence Broken**  
The expulsion of Pappas follows upon a whirlwind change in the attitude of the party leadership toward the German situation. It is only today, on Friday, August 19, that the party is first calling a mass meeting on the danger in Germany at the Central Opera House in New York. The change has indubitably been brought about by the intense campaign on Germany of the Left Opposition and particularly by the response this campaign is receiving inside the official Communist party itself, as evidenced by this mass meeting being called, but more than that, the apparatus of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been thoroughly alarmed and has seen itself forced to call special functionaries meetings to take up the German situation.

The statement announcing the expulsion of comrade Sebastian Pappas does not, as will be observed, even make an attempt to take up any arguments, it does not even mention the word *Germany*, the word *war* danger, which run through the Pappas letter like a red thread. The Stalinist bureaucrats mean to suppress the revolutionary alarm cry sounded by comrade Pappas and to drown it out with filthy catechisms and by hasty, insincere and half-way concessions to the demand made in the letter.

The Left Opposition greets the action of comrade Pappas as a courageous and important step in support of the revolutionary reawakening of the Communist party and the Comintern, as first aid within the American official party to the cause of the German revolution and proletarian internationalism.

The party document of comrade Pappas, which the bureaucrats of the Stalinist apparatus are attempting to hush up, is in the first column. Let the Communist workers judge for themselves!

THE ONLY ROAD

## VON PAPEN & HITLER

BONAPARTISM AND FASCISM

By Leon Trotsky

Let us endeavor briefly to realize what has occurred and where we stand.

Thanks to the social democracy, the Bruening government had at its disposal the support of the parliament for ruling with the aid of emergency decrees. The social democratic leaders said: “In this manner we shall block the road to power of Fascism”. The Stalinist bureaucracy said: “No, Fascism has already triumphed, it is the Bruening regime which is Fascism.” Both were false. The social democrats palmed off a passive receding before Fascism as the struggle against Fascism. The Stalinists presented the matter as if the victory of Fascism was already behind them. The fighting power of the proletariat was sapped by both sides and the triumph of the enemy facilitated and brought closer.

In its time, we designated the Bruening government as Bonapartism (“caricature of Bonapartism”), that is, as a regime of the military-police dictatorship. As soon as the struggle of two social strata—the haves and the have-nots, the exploiter and the exploited—reaches its highest tension, the conditions are given for the domination of bureaucracy, police, soldiery. The government becomes “independent” of society. Let us once more recall: if two forks are stuck symmetrically into a cork, the latter can stand even on the head of a pin. That's precisely the schema of Bonapartism. To be sure, such a government does not cease being the clerk of the property-owners. Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss, (Continued on page 4)

## Opposition Campaign On Germany

With the rising tide of Fascism in Germany and the enormous crime being concocted in the Stalinist kitchens the Left Opposition has been struggling to discharge the great tasks imposed on it by the historic situation. The League has opened a national campaign of mass meetings in an attempt with the forces at its disposal to reach the masses of workers who are instinctively watching the development of the German situation with the greatest interest. We have printed and are distributing thirty-two thousand leaflets stating our position on the German situation.

**Yorkville Meeting**  
In New York City we have increased the number of our street meetings in addition to our other activities. Recently we have broken into new territory where we have shown the face of the Left Opposition for the first time and delivered our message. In Yorkville which has a large German population we have held a number of successful meetings. The last one was attended by between three and four hundred workers. They listened attentively to the speakers' analysis of the German situation, the unspeakable, despicable treacherous role of the degenerate social democracy, the fatal policy of the central committee of the German C. P., the cowardly and treacherous silence of the Stalinized Comintern, and what must be done if the workers are not to be deluged in a frightful blood bath.

They found nothing “counter-revolutionary” in what we said, asked a number of questions which revealed their intense interest in the German situation and their slowly growing grasp of the nature and role of the International Left. So systematic were they that when late-comers, party members on their way home from other meetings, tried to disrupt our meeting by heckling they warned the misguided party members to keep quiet and listen.

**Brownsville Meeting**  
More recently we broke new territory in a section of Brooklyn, the outskirts of Brownsville. We spoke to an interested audience of about a hundred workers who appeared to be impressed by our position on the German situation, asked

many questions and bought our literature. Not all of our meetings have been as successful as the two just reported. Last Saturday, August 13, our meeting at Avenue A and Seventh Street was broken up by an organized gang of party members and members of the local Unemployed Council which is situated a few doors away. From the account which follows it can be seen that they were whipped into a lynch mob by the party bureaucrats in retaliation for the powerful blows we have dealt them at the Anti-War Conference and in connection with the German situation. Not since the battles in the Labor Temple in the early days of the Opposition and the tours of comrade Cannon and Shachtman has an Opposition meeting been broken up with such premeditated and organized violence.

The meeting was one organized by us in our regular schedule of speaking activities. Comrades Milton, Carmody, Glee and Wynne attempted to open the meeting with comrade Milton on the speaker's stand distributing our leaflet on the German situation. In a few minutes a crowd of more than one hundred workers gathered around the stand to listen to the speaker. Across the street a party bureaucrat mustered his misguided gang. Suddenly they rushed across to the stand, snatched our literature, hurled comrade Milton from the stand and overthrew it.

To the credit of some party members it must be said that they protested verbally against such gangster tactics, and a few even attempted to assist our comrades physically. One Y. C. Ler said in the heat of his indignation that he was going to resign from the Y. C. L.

Our comrades retired to another corner with the platform to await help for which one comrade was sent. When all the comrades that could be mustered on short notice had assembled, a short meeting among themselves was held to organize the defense of the meeting. Our comrades then returned to the corner from which they had been driven, in a second attempt to hold the meeting.

They set up the platform un molested amid an ominous silence. By this time the crowd has grown to more than five

## Illinois Miners Revolt

### Spreads Thru State

Thousands of Miners on Strike against Lewis Machine and Wage-Cuts

The Illinois miners' struggle has sustained its first victim. Joe Colbert, president of Local 393, Orient, Illinois, was murdered in cold blood by Lewis-Walker gunmen firing from an automobile in front of his home.  
Joe Colbert was known as one of the staunchest militants. He held a long record of fight against the corrupt Lewis machine. He acted as chairman of the miners revolt mass meeting at Beld, Ill., at which the present strike found its organizational initiation. Colbert held his post in the ranks to the last. He died fighting. All honor to the fallen militant!

The Illinois coal fields are again seething with revolt spreading throughout the various sections and directed against the most brazen official treachery yet recorded. A powerful rank and file move-

ment has sprung up in which the young militant miner Gerry Allard is one of the leading spirits, gigantic mass meetings have been held from which marches are being organized to close down the mines which reopened under the operators' reduced scale of wages.

Since April first, the Illinois miners have been on strike refusing to retreat from the basic wage scale of \$6.10 per day formerly obtaining. The operators called it a suspension and meanwhile prepared to have their trusted agents in control of the union, John L. Lewis and his handmaid, “weeping” Johnny Walker, make all arrangements ready for the treacherous sell-out. A new contract with a reduced basic wage scale was offered. It was submitted to a referendum and defeated by a vote of more than 20 to 1. But this did not at all deter the official leeches. They had more ways than one to attempt to defeat the will of the rank and file and pursue their deadly work of destroying the union. So they arranged to have the tabulated tally sheets of the referendum vote stolen, declared an emergency, signed a new contract providing for a \$5.00-a-day basic wage scale and manipulated a counterfeit referendum vote, which they now “confidently expect to be carried.”

**Life of Union At Stake**  
It is this new outrageous action which gave the signal for the present revolt movement. The rank and file is once more taking matters into their own hands. They know only one method and when set into motion they do not hesitate. Their method is the one of militant fighting fully recognizing their class enemy. In that lies their strength. They have learned from many bitter experiences that the union officials have long ago become part and parcel of the enemy class, ready, at every favorable opportunity, to do its bidding and yet, these officials, skillful in the art of treason, have succeeded again and again to circumvent their militancy and to inflict heavy defeats upon them step by step reducing the union. Now it is the very life of the union itself which is at stake.

The Illinois coal fields harbor the last stronghold of the United Mine Workers of America, and practically the last of the organized miners' movement which, thoroughly proletarian in composition, has established such a glorious tradition in American labor history. It is due to the indomitable spirit of the rank and file, despite wreckage of treason inflicted upon them, that they have been able to preserve an organization. But the present can now be no thought whatever of further preserving the union until that job is finished, until the whole crew of corrupt officialdom is completely cleaned out. In this sense the movement must be clear on its double aim, viz: To defeat the attempts of the operators to further reduce the now miserable standard of living prevailing and to clean out, root and branch, their agents in the official union positions.

**Extent of Present Movement**  
There are good indications that such is actually the aim of the present movement. Despite the great confusion deliberately provoked by the whole method of defeating and betraying the referendum vote, the opposition to the sell-out is rapidly organizing. Reports at this stage of developments are still somewhat unclear, but it appears that everywhere the local unions are meeting and deciding to reject the put-over agreement and to prevent the mines from resuming operation by throwing strong picket lines around them. In rapid succession the locals are falling in line with most of the sub districts remaining solid on strike.

A mass meeting in Beld had an at- (Continued on page 3)

## New York Tailors on Strike

This article was written a few days after the stoppage was declared. At the present moment when we are going to press most of the workers are back in the shops. Hillman has carried out his program completely. Wage cuts have been foisted upon the tailors in most shops. In addition a 5% and 10% tax has been levied on them.

Hillman has thru this stoppage strengthened his hold on the New York organization. The tailors have suffered another defeat and gained a little more experience with Hillman's treachery.

♦ ♦ ♦  
A stoppage has been declared in the New York Clothing shops. The ostensible purpose of this stoppage, as presented by the A. C. W. officialdom, is the enforcement of the following demands: (1) stop wage cutting; (2) stop the exodus of bundles to sweat shops; (3) reestablish union control of labor conditions in plants in which such control is now lacking.

After the experience of the New York clothing workers with last year's stoppage, called for similar purposes, and ending in a general wage cut and worsened conditions, the tailors had no reason to believe that the present stoppage will bring them any improvement in their conditions. Moreover, the whole atmosphere surrounding the preparations for the stoppage are extraordinarily peculiar. Only a couple of weeks ago the New York Joint Board of the A. C. W. decided to give officialdom a free hand in granting reductions to the manu-

facturers, considering the situation unfavorable and even disastrous for a strike.

**Hillman Grants Cuts**  
The biggest shops of the Clothiers' Exchange received considerable wage cuts amounting in some cases to 25%. What is the purpose, then, of this sudden general stoppage? Despite these suspicious circumstances, the masses of tailors left their shops, manifesting tremendous courage on the picket lines, conducting a heroic fight against the scab expressmen and the police, exposing their bodies to the police clubs and bullets. Only their intolerable conditions and their desperation can explain this fact. The tailors in this stoppage, just as in last year's, looking for a way out of their misery, have clutched at this stoppage as a drowning man grasps at (Continued on page 3)

## August 22: Fifth Anniversary of the Murder of Sacco-Vanzetti

Five years ago, at midnight of August 22, 1927, two revolutionists of immortal memory were martyred in the electric chair in Boston at the hands of the blood-thirsty bourgeoisie of the United States. The legal murder of Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti was relentlessly executed after millions of workers throughout the world had raised their voices in behalf of the two Italian anarchist workers. The supremely contemptuous of these protests, the executioners

took their toll of these workers who had dared commit the crime of loyalty and devotion to their class.  
Five years afterward, another legal murder is being prepared, this time against the Negro boys in Scottsboro. The voices of Sacco and Vanzetti, which are not still even in death, call out to the working class of the world to join hands in a ring of solidarity around these boys which will break the death clutch reaching out to assassinate them. The scores of

militants still imprisoned are the blood-brothers of Sacco and Vanzetti and a heavy obligation lies upon the working class to free them: Mooney, Billings, the Centralia men, the Communists throughout the country.  
Remember Sacco and Vanzetti, shining martyrs of the proletariat!  
Unite in millions to save the Scottsboro boys from murder!  
Join hands to liberate our political prisoners!