

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Stalinists in Monstrous Frame-Up Against Left Opposition

EMERGENCY CALL!

A vicious campaign, inciting to black hundred pogrom action, has been launched against the Left Opposition and its supporters. It is a desperate last resort. Physical violence in place of logical argumentation—that is the method of the depraved Stalinist bureaucracy stooping to the lowest depths. By copying the dastardly frame-up from the capitalist enemy they hope to squelch the ideas of the Left Opposition.

But our ideas live and grow. Our answer is political hammer blows to strike yet deeper roots for the Marxian views within the party and within the working class. We will cut this dirty murder frame-up to pieces; and we pledge ourselves to fight for the eradication of these vile methods from the proletarian ranks. We fight with clean hands to uphold the banner of our revolutionary leaders and to restore the movement of Marx and Lenin to its rightful place.

But we need your support, you readers of the MILITANT, sympathizers of our

views and you who agree with our determination to maintain the principle of freedom of expression for working class opinions within the labor and revolutionary movement.

You can do your part now. You must help us banish the pogrom method from the movement. You must help us educate the misguided workers who have become caught in the Stalinist vise. It is a momentous task. It requires enormous efforts at which we do not hesitate in the least. But it entails almost unsurmountable expenditures on our part in the form of leaflets, enlarged issues of *The Militant*, agitation and propaganda. You can help us make this part of the burden lighter. But you must help immediately for quick action. The object is worthy of your greatest sacrifice. We ask that much from you.

Will you help and do your share? Will you help immediately? Will you send funds to *The Militant* without delay?

With the Embattled Miners

Diggers Reply to Terror With Increased Militancy

Defy Bosses, Fakers, and Police in Tremendous Advance

Latest developments in the Illinois miners' strike carry the clear indications of this being the most powerful movement yet witnessed in that state. A picketing army of 30,000 miners are, at the moment of this writing, marching upon the southern field to strike the few small mines still at work there. Three of the largest mines in that territory, in Franklin County, were forced to close almost immediately after the murder of Joe Colbert. The widow of this martyred miner single handed struck one of them, a mine of 1,100 men. The heroic working woman thus paid the highest tribute to the memory of her husband felled in battle by the bosses' hired gunmen.

Sheriff Robinson of Franklin County has boasted that 30,000 "citizens" will meet the "invading army", but the press simultaneously reported a measly 250 men deputized. And how could he make good his vain boast. This is a mining community. The miners have already shown where they stand. 15,000 miners marched in the funeral procession of the fallen Joe Colbert. Others workers in the community are making common cause with the strikers. These are the reasons why the operators and the degenerate union officials are restoring to intensified gunmen methods, killings and wounding of striking miners increasing and riot warrants being issued wholesale. But even this is destined to melt away in the face of the splendid mass formations of the embattled miners.

From the Front

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

All the forces of the coal operators have been hurled against us in the present bloody struggle that rages in the Illinois coal fields. The Federal government with its apparatus terrorism, the entire state apparatus under the thumb of Governor Emmerson, the county sheriffs, Lewis and Walker sluggers, and gangsters from the underworld run at large throughout the mining camps as "open season" is declared on reds and Communists.

Miners are corralled, terrorized, jailed and beaten. Leaders of the rank and file opposition are jailed and never know when they are to be "spotted". Miners' wives are jailed, beaten and molested. A group of students from various universities, led by their professors are prevented from bringing food to our starving industrial army. Professor Carlson of the Chicago University and a student group from the Commonwealth Labor College and Chicago University, are beaten and jailed, later told to leave the county and never return. Gerry Allard, one of the leaders of the opposition movement and his wife Irene, are also jailed. Allard is openly told, in the presence of the student group that he will be murdered; this is resolutely told by Marion Hart, States Attorney Prosecutor of Franklin County. The following morning Joe Colbert, close personal and political associate of Allard's and one of the leaders of the Illinois miners' opposition, is murdered while picking mushrooms for something to eat.

In Taylorville deputy Sheriffs shoot down a miner's wife. The coal fields run mad with killers driven to desperation by the greatest offensive ever launched against the coal operators and the Lewis-Walker combine. War is declared as 7,500 troopers move southward from Camp Grant stationing themselves 30 miles from strategic coal centers. The rank and file root themselves firmly. A picket army 14 miles long also starts southward from Gillespie, Springfield, Bend, Breeze and from every nook and corner of northern Illinois, striking every coal mine on the road. 1,500 deputies in Christian county, owned by the Peabody Coal Company, melted like a snow-

ball on a hot July day as 17,000 of our army invade the Harlan counties of Illinois. Mine guards are disarmed and disciplined, gangsters are driven from mining camps. The Illinois miners' strike gains impetus, day by day.

Already 45,000 of the 50,000 Illinois coal diggers have closed their ranks and production of coal in Illinois will cease as long as there is a breath of energy left in the leadership and rank and file of the opposition movement.—This is a newsreel glimpse of the struggle that takes place at present in the Illinois coal fields.

Why the Fight

And why do the miners of Illinois fight like they never have in years? Because the miners fight for the very right to breathe and live. That is why. For forty-two years we have had a union in Illinois. For thirty-five years we have been solidly organized. The fight to build the Illinois United Mine Workers of America was no bitter than the present fight to retain a miners' union. We have again been sold on the block to the highest bidder by our faking, thieving leadership. They have taken from us every liberty that we have ever achieved during those long years of

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LEON TROTSKY Let Us Reenforce Our Offensive!

The physical attack of the Stalinists against the Bolshevik-Leninists, in the Salle Bullier at Paris evokes, alongside with intense indignation, a feeling of the deepest shame for the present leadership of the Comintern. For it is not a matter of rank and file Communists, not of workers—these would never debate themselves with such abominations!—but of a centralized bureaucracy which is carrying out the demands of its higher staff. The aim: to provoke within the Communist ranks such furious embitterment that all arguments of reason would lose their force. Only in this way can the Stalinist bureaucracy yet save itself from the criticism of the Left Opposition. What frightful degeneration!

The history of the Russian revolutionary movement is particularly rich in bitter factional struggles. For three and a half decades I have observed this struggle very closely and participated in it. I cannot recall a single instance in which differences of opinion, not only within the ranks of the Marxists but also between Marxists, Populists and Anarchists, were settled by the organized reign of the fist. In the year 1917 Petrograd seethed with continual meetings. At first as an insignificant minority, then as a strong party and finally as the overwhelming majority the Bolsheviks conducted an annihilating campaign against the Social Revolutionists and the Menshevik. I cannot recall a single meeting where the political struggle was replaced by fist fights. I have not been

Bureaucrats «Answer» Our Policy by Inciting to Pogrom

Left Opposition Demands an Open Hearing on the Stalinist Frame-up

The National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) has addressed the following self-explanatory letter to each of the organizations specified:

In the *Daily Worker* of August 23, there appears an accusation that members of the Communist League of America (the "Trotskyists") were responsible for the killing of a worker named Michael Semen and the wounding of another worker named Nick Kruzniuk, who has since also died, at a meeting last Saturday night at 7th St., and Avenue A.

Today we came into possession of leaflets in the English, Russian, and Ukrainian languages, repeating and amplifying the accusation against us. On the night of August 23rd a mass meeting was held at 7th St., and Avenue A, where Communist Party speakers incited the crowd against the "Trotskyists" as the murderers of the two workers. There is taking place a general campaign of incitement for a pogrom against us which also has the elements of provocation to the authorities.

In order to bring the truth of the whole affair before the working class public, we propose the holding of a public trial and hearing under the auspices of a joint committee representing the following central organizations:

Communist Party of U. S. A.
Trade Union Unity League
International Labor Defense
American Civil Liberties Union

Conference for Progressive Labor Action
Communist Party (Majority Group)
Industrial Workers of World

We are prepared to submit to this committee at public sessions complete and indisputable proof that the members of the Left Opposition had no part whatever, in the attack which resulted in the killing of the two workers.

We are prepared to bring before such a committee at public sessions complete proof that the Left Opposition has always opposed any physical attacks on the meetings of other labor organizations, and that we have publicly protested even when these attacks were directed against those in sharpest political conflict with us.

We leave aside here the motives for this provocation against us. Our aim in addressing this letter to you is to ask if your organization will participate through a delegate to a joint committee before which the truth can be brought out in public.

We realize quite well that the accusation of murder makes our members liable to inquiry and prosecution before the courts of the class enemy. But we are not concerned with the capitalist court. We want to defend ourselves in public before the court of working class opinion.

In view of the extreme seriousness of the accusation, we request a prompt reply to this communication.

National Committee,
Communist League of America (O.)
SECRETARY.

Party Holds First Meeting on Danger of German Fascism

After months of ardent and persistent agitation on part of the Left Opposition, the Stalinists of the official Communist Party of the U. S. A. finally yielded to the pressure our agitation caused within the party ranks and called the first meeting on the Fascist danger in Germany at the Central Opera House in New York last Friday. It is significant that this meeting was called at the very same time that Sebastian Pappas, the leading party comrade who raised the first strong voice of alarm against the Hitler threat within the party, was officially expelled. It is characteristic of the Centrist bureaucrats to stifle every word of criticism coming from the rank and file and simultaneously to camouflage by a semi-acceptance of the same criticism and by half way concessions to it behind the scenes.

Nevertheless, the convocation of the meeting shows that the Stalinist leaders have been forced to take a step

forward on this most important of all the present day issues, the German situation—the key to the international situation, the key to the concrete war danger against the Soviet Union. In this sense, the step of the party leadership is a victory for the International Left Opposition.

Opposition Ideas Penetrate Party

The German meeting was strongly under the influence of the Left Opposition propaganda. For the first time, slogans directly borrowed from our literature appeared above the signature of the party. The leaflet that was issued by the New York District of the C. P. read in part as follows: "An open Fascist dictatorship will attempt to drive the whole working class of Germany to starvation and slavery. A Hitler dictatorship in Germany means immediate war on the Soviet Union and world war. A Fascist dictatorship in Germany means sharper international reaction and more brutal capitalist attacks on the

Slander the Opposition as Murderers of Two Workers at N. Y. Street Meeting

The hammer blows of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) against a policy of capitulation before German Fascism and against the pacifist masquerade in the anti-war conference aroused a wave of support in the party ranks. The expanding movement of protest against the official policy has thrown the Stalinist bureaucrats into a panic. The attempt to expel the movement by expulsions, which held the Communist workers in check before, is breaking down.

Great world events are on the agenda, and nobody can stop a discussion of them. It is a question of the fate of the U. S. S. R., of the working class of the entire world. The Communist workers are awakening to this burning fact. Nobody can stop their mouths with the threat of expulsions. Sebastian Pappas, the heroic Communist militant who is loved by every Left wing trade union fighter, has raised his voice for the position of the Left Opposition on Germany. They have expelled him, but behind Pappas stand others who also are determined to speak out at any cost. And behind them are others. Deeper and deeper into the Party the Left Opposition is penetrating.

Confronted with this rising tide of sentiment for the Left Opposition, and powerless to cope with it by political means, the panic-stricken bureaucrats, corrupted to the core, have resorted to a desperate adventure.

They are trying to frame up the Left Oppositionists as murderers!

They are organizing and inciting black hundred pogrom against the Bolshevik-Leninists, whose criticism they fear and whose arguments they cannot answer!

They are directing the attention of the police to the "Trotskyists" as the mur-

derers of the two workers, Semen and Kruzniuk, who lost their lives in a tragic street fight with which the Left Opposition had no connection whatever.

Here are the Facts

1. We started a meeting on the evening of August 20th, at 7th St., and Ave. A, as one of a series in our campaign on the situation in Germany.
2. Immediately after we started, organized attempts were made to disrupt our meeting by Stalinist elements.
3. A fist fight ensued in which the Opposition held its ground and after which it once more set up the platform for a brief meeting.
4. The Left Opposition held the platform until word came of the impending arrival of the police. Then it was decided to wind up the meeting in order to prevent the disgraceful spectacle of the capitalist police intervening and deciding a conflict between factions of the Communist movement.
5. The Left Oppositionists and a number of sympathizers then assembled in close formation, singing the Internationale, and returned to headquarters.
6. That was the end of all our connection with the events at 7th St. and Avenue A on the evening in question. What happened after that happened without our participation on our part.

The *Daily Worker* of August 23 (city edition), which contains the criminal provocation against us, admits that we left the meeting place and that another meeting under Party direction began after our departure. We know nothing whatever of what occurred at that second meeting. We do know that that neighborhood is infested with all kinds of reactionary elements—white guards, Russians, etc. There is a post of the American Legion in the same block. Communist meetings have been attacked on this corner time and time again by these reactionary elements with brick-bats and other missiles.

The Party bureaucrats know very well that this was the case at the meeting in question. They know that the Left Opposition had nothing to do with the affair. They know that we are opposed in principle to the breaking up of other working class meetings and that we have persistently explained in *THE MILITANT* the reasons why such hoodlumism plays a reactionary role.

But it does not serve their purpose to tell the truth. They have lied about us systematically and misrepresented our position on every occasion. But this game is playing out. The Communist workers have begun to see through these lies. They are beginning to see the principle line of the Opposition through the fog of official misrepresentation.

That is why the desperate and furious Stalinist leaders had to resort to this shameful method of frame-up, provocation and pogrom. The bodies of the martyred workers are to be lifted up as a banner for a bankrupt political clique which is not worthy to touch them with one finger. They want to coin the grief and rage of the Communist workers against the murder of their comrades into a weapon against the revolutionary Marxists. Communist workers! Be on your guard against this monstrous deception. Stop and weigh the consequences of this dastardly black hundred scheme. Raise your voice in protest against it. Do not be intimidated by the reactionary campaign of terror unleashed against those who criticize and ask questions.

Look to the heroic example of the Bolshevik-Leninists of Russia, the true inheritors and representatives of the October revolution. They held the banner of Marxism in the face of everything, just as they did in 1917, as they did in the civil war, in the red army—on every front. Frame-ups were devised against them also by the Stalinists (the affair of the "Wrangel officer"). Pogroms were conducted against them. They were slandered, expelled, imprisoned, exiled, beaten, shot. But for all that their ideas remain unshaken and will prevail.

We stand by their banner, for it is the banner of Communism. We hurl back into the craven faces of the Browders, Fosters, Amers, Hathaways, and all the rest of the depraved and soulless functionaries of Stalinism, the answer of revolutionists:

You cannot terrorize us with your black hundred pogrom!

You cannot break the bonds which tie us to the Communist workers with your dirty frame-up!

You cannot prevent the victory of the Left Opposition by any means, for it is the veritable representative of the teachings of Marx and Lenin with great historic events vindicating with lightning speed.

—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, August 6th, 1932.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Communist League (Opposition)