

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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HELP MAINTAIN THE WEEKLY MILITANT!

Will The Militant continue to appear regularly? That is the question which looms before us and which we pass on to our readers and supporters. The conditions imposed upon us give us no other choice.

We sounded the alarm when the Stalinist bureaucrats attempted to incite a pogrom campaign against us, based upon its frame-up murder charge. We could pursue no other course than to ask for your help in the additional needs as well as the additional difficulties which this situation imposed.

As you are being informed elsewhere in these columns, some New York's capitalist papers, and their near relative, the Jewish Daily Forward, took the frame-up charge at face value for the purpose of utilizing it against the Communist movement as a whole. Also the New York police department has taken the tip from the Stalinist leaders. We are being investigated.

At the outset we can say very confidently that the frame-up charge will not stick, nor will serious party members of Communist workers believe it. But in an indirect sense it can well be utilized as a starting point for serious interference in the activities of the movement by the enemies of Communism. This we must be prepared to fight. In this connection you will all understand the enormously important role which the continued existence of The Militant will play.

Its existence is not at all secured. As a matter of fact the recent delays in its appearance were caused by shortage of funds and in several instances we have feared that a suspension would become unavoidable. Yet in the present situation, not only in respect to the attacks upon us, but also because of the growing intensity of the class struggle, as attested to by the Illinois miners struggle, we must get out more material and the scope of our activity is increasing. The Militant has an increasingly important duty to perform. We are now sending large supplies to the Illinois coal fields and we are issuing more leaflets. We have sent a couple of young comrades, organizers to Illinois. Our tasks are growing but our means are entirely too small.

The continued existence of The Militant is endangered. It must be secured. Hence our appeal to you. We have received some response to our appeal but it is entirely insufficient so far. We ask you, every reader of The Militant, to do your bit. We think it is a duty on your part. We can assure you that we shall leave no stone unturned at our end to faith-

Police Act on Stalinist Frame-Up

As we go to press, word has come from the authorities demanding the appearance of Hugo Oehler, organizer of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and Tom Stamm, chairman of the open air meeting on August 20th before the District Attorney! All workers, attention—be on your guard! Communist Workers, members of the party, make your voices heard now!

The shameful and unexampled frame-up of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the Left Opposition has reached a new stage of abominations! The Stalinists, campaign has been picked up by the police and is being used against the Bolshevik-Leninists!

We have pointed out in a previous issue that the dastardly and demagogic agitation of the Daily Worker of August 23 and 24 against the Left Opposition and the charges made therein that the Communist League is responsible for the tragic deaths of the workers Semen and Krasiuk, victims of the Avenue A and Seventh St. incident, could not be interpreted as anything but a provocation.

This past week there have been three investigations by the police at our National Office. The investigating officers themselves openly stated that they had come after receiving information in the form of a leaflet and verbally at the headquarters of the Downtown Section of the Communist party! This is to what the degenerate Stalinists have stooped—

The Left Opposition has asked for a working class hearing on the hair-raising charges brought by the Stalinist leaders of the official Communist party against it. They refuse to answer. But the police answered.

Pogrom Fails but Police Act
Their pogrom scheme, their scheme of inciting the Left wing and party workers has failed miserably. But from this a new and more disgraceful stage has developed, the stage of the police investigation. Such are the results to date. Can anything more outrageous, can anything more damnable be imagined of people

Stalinists Reject Offer of Help

Following the Communist Party Central Committee's appeal in the Daily Worker of August 18th, the Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition sent the following letter to the District Campaign Committee. This letter is self-explanatory:

Dear Comrades:
The Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition has discussed the appeal of the Central Committee, C. P. U. S. A., which appeared in the August 18th issue of the Daily Worker, regarding the danger of the party not getting on the ballot in various districts through the lack of signatures. Aware that this danger exists in this district, we made the following decisions:

1. That we immediately secure the necessary material and involve our members and sympathizers in the collection of signatures.
2. To put at the disposal of the District Campaign Committee all of our speakers who shall be ready at all times to speak on street corners, at indoor meetings, or go before labor organizations to solicit support for the party campaign.

3. To take part in all phases of activity.
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fully live up to the confidence which you have reposed in our movement. But let us now hear from you. Send your contributions speedily to The Militant at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Miners Form New Union

Communist League Greet New Progressive Miners Union

The Communist League of America (Opposition) greets the formation of the "Progressive Miners of America." It represents a serious step forward for the American working class and one which is destined to mark the beginning of a new chapter, not only for unionism in the mine fields, but for trade unionism as a whole.

The action taken at Gillespie, Ill., on September 1, by the 273 delegates, representing 35,000 miners, in laying down a foundation and building a framework for the new union was made inevitable by the progress of developments. That action was correct and will be but more fully justified by future history. It can become an enormous aid to the working class in the serious struggles which it is about to face. It opens up the road to unity of action and final unification with the National Miners Union, the West Virginia Miners Union and with the other similar miners sections who have broken with the past corrupt practices and are attempting to eradicate the trail of wreckage and treason perpetrated by the official clique in control of the remnants of the U. M. W. of A. Pursuing this course the road will be open for the building of a powerful miners' union, national in scope, militant in make-up and solidly lodged on a class foundation. Such a course is obligatory upon the militant miners. There should be no doubt that the "Progressive Miners of America" will know how to advance surely and steadily along that road.

If the new union is to fulfill the great tasks that confront it, it is necessary immediately to take the following steps:

1. Flying in the face of the disastrous, reactionary tradition of class collaboration under Lewis and Walker, the new union should base itself frankly and solidly upon the recognition of the class struggle and the practical program of action which flows from it.
2. The new union must break fundamentally with all forms of Lewisism, particularly by establishing in its own ranks the most democratic procedure compatible with union organization. To prevent the formation of a reactionary bureaucracy, the new union ought to be based from the start upon rank and file control of the movement.
3. The new union must be imbued with the knowledge that it cannot solve the problems even of the Illinois miners by confining itself to a district scale. The miners' problems are nation-wide in scope; their organization must correspond to this fact. Consequently, the Illinois union should promptly endeavor to associate into one big national union all the militant, progressive, radical and independent miners groups and unions now in existence throughout the land.
4. All tendencies to flirt with such out-and-out reactionary forces as Lewis or Walker, or with such unreliable props who play the game of the reactionaries, like Muste, Howat, Edmondson and their like have to be sternly resisted.

Raise Struggle to New Heights National Unity -- Aim of Militant Illinois Body

Thirty-seven thousand Illinois coal miners assembled in extraordinary session voted to secede from the United Mine Workers of America and organized the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA. It was a dramatic moment in the deliberations of the state wide conference when Gerry Allard, secretary of the Policy Committee, made his report in behalf of the committee. He concluded his report by a terse, written statement analyzing the coal industry, the Lewis-Walker misdeeds with their "machine gun contract" and indicting these officials on five basic counts. Allard slowly read the recommendations of the Policy Committee:

"We propose that a definite break with the officers of the United Mine Workers of America be immediately carried out and that we proceed at once to set up an apparatus for the formation of a new union"

The applause broke into a spontaneous outburst of applause and by unanimous vote of the conference the recommendations of the policy committee were adopted. The decision of the 273 delegates was the only constructive way out. They had exhausted all other recourse.

The above mentioned recommendations were the same made by the members of the Left Opposition at the St. Louis convention of last year. Events had strongly confirmed the perspective of the Left Opposition, which had been turned down by the Party bureaucracy and Muste elements who were in control of the convention.

The complete recommendations of the

Policy committee were accepted reading as follows:

THE REPORT OF POLICY COMMITTEE ELECTED AT GILLESPIE CONFERENCE SEPTEMBER 1, 1932

The crisis confronting unionism in the mining industry of Illinois makes it imperative that we assemble in a rank and file conference to solve the problems confronting us. The problem confronting us today, is whether unionism will continue to function in the mining industry of Ill., or whether the last remnants will be dominated and controlled by the Lewis-Walker forces acting as agents of the coal operators.

Our industry, is indeed, in one deplorable situation. Unemployment, mechanization, substitution of coal by other fuel along with other general and particular conditions present the coal industry as the most chaotic one in our whole economic system. The far reaching nature of the present economic crisis forcefully pictures to us that the future for those who depend on the coal mining industry is one that will mean the continuation of untold misery and destitution that has prevailed in our industry for over a decade.

Our once powerful U. M. W. of A. has for over 42 years championed the cause of the downtrodden miners of the land. Since Lewis has come into power our union has steadily disintegrated due to the erroneous and betraying policies enunciated by this despot who has bent all his efforts to the complete destruction of militant unionism in the coal mining industry. The history of the U. M. W. of A. under the Lewis-Farrington-Walker regime has been one of healthy devoted, self sacrificing struggle on the part of the rank and file, and on the other hand the most treacherous betrayals ever experienced in the labor movement. The mistakes and surrenders of our officials since 1919 are facts known to every mine worker throughout the whole jurisdiction of our organization.

The latest betrayals in Wyoming, Indiana, Illinois the policy of out-scabbing the scabs in West Virginia, the stifling of real unionist policies in the anthracite, is the continuation of a whole series of betrayals, that has wrecked our organization in every important field excepting Indiana and Illinois. Only heroic methods on the part of the rank and file.

British Left Comes Out Openly in Fight for Leninist Policy

The great historic events shaking our planet these days do not remain without their effects on the cadres of the Communist International. Everywhere in the world party of Communism, the militant, conscientious, Left wing elements are coming to the fore, alarmed by the discrepancy between the objective situation and the lethargy of the leadership, pressing forward along the road of the Left Opposition.

Among the latest of these movements within the Comintern is the struggle of the well-known "Balham Group", a group long active in the very forefront of the struggles of the British Communist Party and constituting one of the decisive party nuclei in the London district. The group at Balham has recently come to clashes with the bureaucracy under Pollitt over the question of the attitude of the Stalin regime toward the petty anti-war congress of the petty bourgeois intellectuals headed by Rolland-Barbusse as well as on the German question. The Pollitts have retaliated with an "ideological" campaign which begins with the expulsion of the outstanding comrades of the Balham Group!

These tried and tested methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy have proved of no avail in the past, they will help even less in the future. The Leninist ideas will not be suppressed! Nothing can stop their victory. We greet our British comrades as fellow fighters and extend our hands to them in international solidarity. Their fight is our fight. In spite of the bureaucracy, in spite of all its headless and desperate tactics against the Left, the Bolshevik-Leninists will not be deterred. Together, we will re-double our offensive!

The declaration of the Balham comrades follows below:

TO OUR COMRADES IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY FROM THE "LIQUIDATED" BALHAM GROUP

Dear Comrades:
"No other party or working class organization provides such opportunity of full and open discussion by all workers." With these words the Party pre-congress discussion was opened in last Monday's Daily Worker.

Two days later the London District Party Committee "liquidated" the Balham Group; expelled Reg Groves and Harry Wicks, and suspended Henry Sara. The principal charge against the group and against these comrades is that of "Opposing the line of the Party in relation to the World Anti-War Congress."

Demand Party Congress
As part of our group work we have discussed such vital issues as the German position, the anti-war campaign and the state of our party; we have reached conclusions and have fought for them as a group. We have for some long time urged the opening of a party discussion and the holding of the long overdue party Congress. Now that the discussion has been opened, and the party Congress fixed for October, the Balham Group has been "liquidated", and its leading members expelled and suspended.

"Free and Full Discussion"
Phrase and Fact
What a contrast of words with deeds! Reassuring phrases about "full free and open discussion," but drastic action against those who advance serious criticism of the party's policy. The great tradition of Bolshevism, the method of Lenin—that of open discussion preceding party decision—is being replaced by orders from above, phrase-mouthing and bureaucratic stifling of criticism. Bureaucracy has already weakened our Party; if persisted in, it will smother real Congress discussion and prevent our party achieving the clarity necessary for struggle.

Demand Open Workers' Hearing!
Let the workers speak. The Communist League (Opposition) is ready to answer for itself before them. Let the Stalinists give up their disgusting game and bring their charges against us before the workers. Let the workers judge! We reiterate here our challenge to the party leadership, to the T. U. L. and I. L. D. to appear at a public hearing together with us, to leave the case for the workers at large to decide.

Let the miserable Stalinists answer or admit their frame-up!

On our position to the World Anti-War Congress we stand firm. There is dan-

ger of a new world war: the lives of millions are at stake. Full and serious consideration of every stage of the struggle against war is imperative. Yet the criticism of this Congress advanced by this group has been refused publication, and even our right to voice such criticism denied. Because we maintain this right they attempt to drive us from the party.

On the Anti-War Congress
This World Anti-War Congress has been convened by Barbusse—the advocate of fusion between Amsterdam and the Comintern, and Rolland, the devotee of Ghandi. Around these two have gathered intellectuals, pacifists and Left socialists, the parlor defenders of the U. S. S. R. To seek allies among the most sincere and courageous of the petty bourgeois pacifists is one thing; to entrust to them the leadership of the struggle against war, is quite another. Yet this is what Pollitt, by signing the manifesto, has declared the Party agrees to do. Our group holds that the first task of the party is to build the workers' united front against war; for upon the international proletariat rests the defense of the U. S. S. R. A world anti-war congress must be a workers' congress initiated by the Comintern with the aim of bringing to our side the masses of the workers now organized under the banner of the Second International. But the present Congress is based upon a united front from the top, on a pacifist slogan of "resistance to war."

For this anti-war campaign our Party is distributing, not the message of Lenin but the Rolland-Barbusse appeal. The message of these two conveners of the Congress invoking the aid of all classes—this pacifist poison-gas—is distributed to workers by Communists all over Britain. Congress social-patriots are given advertisement as genuine anti-war fighters; and new victims are thus taught to trust united and proven traitors. Pollitt appears united with Mandel Royden and all the other peace time war resisters. For the sake of "unity" with pacifists careerists, humbugs, and politicians, Lenin's way of fighting war is pushed out of sight. For appealing to Lenin's method against Rolland and Barbusse at this time, on the eve of war, the Balham Group is liquidated and its point of view suppressed.

On Germany
While this criminal farce at Amsterdam is described as the fight against war, the actual danger grows greater. The growth of Fascism in Germany menaces the existence of the party and the workers' organizations and brings Germany nearer to the anti-Soviet bloc.

What happens in Germany will decide for years ahead the fate of the European workers. Our group discussed the German situation, organized through the local anti-war committee, solidarity meetings; demanded discussion throughout the party, and a wide campaign amongst British workers. But the party remained silent on the German events. Not until the von Papen coup d'Etat in July did the party move; and then it only hurriedly organized week-end meetings. Even today the party fails to respond

to the march of events in Germany. There are still no leaflets, no pamphlets, no solidarity meetings on this question.

On these and other issues we feel that we are justified in breaking the ban on real discussion. The falling party membership, the declining Daily Worker circulation, the absence of Minority Movement influence, proves a real discussion to be imperative. By discussion we mean, not formal acknowledgments of the correctness of the party line, but a critical examination of the line, and particularly of its operation during the lat-

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Class Struggle in Germany

Hitler and Junkers Vie for Power in Germany

The past week has marked several aggressive steps of the German bourgeoisie on the foreign front. The pronouncements of Von Schleicher with regard to the military plans and ambitions of the Junker government have created quite a stir among the world powers. Nevertheless, the reaction against Von Schleicher's aggressiveness has not been too sharp. It is being taken generally as an attempt at bargaining by the German monopoly capitalists. The Reich imperialists naturally figure on propping up their military world positions while the situation is most favorable for them.

Temporary Neutralization of Social Forces

The temporary neutralization of the social forces in the country—working class versus Fascism—has lent the Junkers a certain balance, which they intend to exploit in their negotiations for concessions from the other governments. To be sure, the main aim of the German bourgeoisie remains the same; in the words of Schleicher—first of all to "settle accounts with the internal Schweinehund"—that is, with their working class enemy.

The capitalist class of Germany knows full well that to settle accounts with its proletariat, it will be immediately dependent upon its basis of mass support: the Nazi movement. And here too, capitalism is trying to force concessions. It is unwilling to give up its political independence entirely to the Hitler forces. It wants to strike a bargain with them. Hence we witness a situation in which the big bourgeoisie, while denying full government power to the Fascists, nevertheless stoops to some of their most outrageous demands. Thus, for instance, in the case of the five Nazi murderers of the worker Pieczuck, whose death verdict has been commuted to life imprisonment.

The Maneuvers of the Hitlerites

The Hitlerites, for their part, are content to wait. They realize that a direct and violent attack at the present time would incur, not only tremendous resist-

ance on the part of the broad working classes in one form or another, but opposition of large sections of ruling finance capital as well. On the other hand, they feel that they have amassed great power and they are disinclined to squander it recklessly. They prefer to hold out in all readiness until the big bourgeoisie sees itself forced to resort to them. And of that they can be quite sure.

In the meantime, the National Socialist are counteracting the attempts of monopoly capital at wringing concessions from them, by parliamentary horse-trading with the Catholic Center Hitler announces very boldly that he will unite with any other party in votes of non-confidence against the present government and that he will not be stopped by ever so many consecutive dissolutions of the Reichstag. But behind the scenes, negotiations have already been set afoot to receive government support for the full assumption of power by the Nazis in the provinces of Prussia and Thuringia.

Domestic Actions of Von Papen

The Von Papen government, in addition to its drastic measures in external policy, is also forging ahead with its reactionary program on the domestic front. There are definite rumors abroad of the complete abrogation of the Weimar constitution. The voting age is to be raised to 25 years. An upper-and-lower house system is to be instituted. Vote by ticket based on proportional representation is to be replaced by vote for persons, etc. On the industrial front, "labor service duty" or compulsory labor is to be introduced. All this with the active collaboration of the social democracy and the reformist trade union leaders of the A. D. B. G. (The German General Labor Confederation). The reformist leaders of the "Iron Front" are utilizing the conflict between the Junkers and the Nazis to spread new dangerous illusions among the masses about the possibility of defeating the Fascists with the cooperation of the Von Papen government.

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