Letters from Militants

Socialist Meetings In Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN.—

Two members of the Opposition and two party members attended a recent lecture of the S. L. P. on "Historical Materialism." The lecture was used as a "take off" for election campaign propaganda. The S. L. P. was represented as the "only" revolutionary workers' party; the Communist party was criticized as "reformist" because it took a part in the daily struggle of the employed and unemployed workers and encouraged them to fight for "reforms" or partial demands.

When the chairman called for questions an Opposition comrade immediately arose and defended the Communist standpoint, pointing out the necessity of taking part in the daily struggle of the masses in order to prepare them organizationally and politically for smashing the capitalist state and setting up a dictatorship of the working class which will organize a socialist republic. The S. L. P. replied to the effect that the Communists were trying to apply the tactics which met the situation in backward Russia to "our advanced" America. "We ought to be thankful," he said, "for the ripened development of American industry and the freedom and democracy we enjoy here." The workers have only to elect the S. L. P. to the presidency and to congress and then everything will be hotsy-totsy and heaven-like in America!

A very odd thing happened then. For the first time in this city, so far as we know, a party member got up at a rival party's meeting and very successfully defended the Communist strategy and tactics as set forth by Lenin in **"Left Communism".** (This comrade is "new" in this town, probably a T. U. U. L. functionary). All that the S. L. P. had to say after that only revealed their complete sectarianism and bankruptcy. In fact, it was so apparent to them that the small number of workers present had been won over to the Communist viewpoint more than to the S. L. P's. that after the meeting many of their members said, "Since we're trying to get new members of our party we had better not allow the Communists to talk Communism at our meetings."

Y. P. S. L.

The following night the local Oppositionists attended a street meeting of the Y. P. S. L. which has recently organized a branch here. Four speakers exhausted the usual "socialist" twaddle, denouncing the capitalists, reciting a sweet poem about Jesus' return to earth and promising to abolish unemployment by practicing their "right of eminent domain" (?) if elected.

They were obviously afraid from the very beginning that the Communists would begin to heckle them. A young Y. P. S. L. introduced a local member of the S. P. who immediately announced that there were three workers' parties but that he wasn't there to "throw mud." Referring to the S. P., S. L. P., and C. P., he asked, "Why can't we all get together?" And this certainly was one thing we as Communists wanted to explain to the workers present. But after the last speaker, who was the Y. P. S. L. organizer for Ohio, concluded, he announced that if those present had any questions to ask they were to write them down with their name and address on application cards. "Then we'll send you literature dealing with these questions," he cravenly announced as he stepped down. "QUESTIONS!" we and the party members and sympathizers called.

The Y. P. S. L. organizer got up again and with a lot of loud talk revealed very plainly to all the workers present that the "socialists" were afraid of the Communists and could not answer our questions. The crowd was with us and we explained to small groups of workers why we weren't "united" with the S. P., that the "socialists" are mere salesmen for the capitalists when really we should kick them out, and also what the Milwaukee "socialists" are doing to the workers with their sweet "right of eminent domain."

Both instances, the S. L. P. lecture and the Y. P. S. L. meeting, prove that if the Communists pursue the Leninist tactic they can win over the class-conscious proletarian elements, who are now blindly following the so-called "socialists", to the cause of Communism. We "can and must combat it ("the unthinkable confidence of the masses" in the Socialist-Revolutionist and Social-Democratic parties—M. K.) ONLY ideologically, by comradely persuasion, by reference to life's experience." (Lenin, WORKS, Vol. XX. B. I page 135). "All party agitators, in factories, in regiments, in the streets, etc., must advocate these views and this proposition (regarding Bolshevik position on Soviets —M. K.) by means of peaceful discussions and peaceful demonstrations, as well as meetings everywhere . . . taking great care to preserve strict order and comradely discipline." (Ibid, pp. 245,246). It is the Leninist duty of every Communist, particularly of Oppositionists, to protest against the breakup of workers' meetings no matter by whom organized. In the eyes of the workers, to refuse to take part in a comradely discussion of different ideas and programs is to admit the bankruptcy of your own ideas.

The Youngstown members of the Opposition are few, but we intend to take a more and more active part in the labor movement, patiently propagandizing the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

—M. KOEHLER.

The Opposition at Work

The Opposition in Davenport

SITUATION IN DAVENPORT

On September 30, 1932, a debate took place over the question of "Socialism in One Country or World Revolution" between the section organizer, Jack Wilson of the C. P. and George Papcun of the Left Opposition. Immediately after the debate both of the speakers were taken to the Police Station, where Jack Wilson first was quizzed by the Chief of Police and detectives. He stayed in the room by himself with the Chief of Police for about one hour. Then he was let go and George Papcun was taken in under protest, demanding that the comrades be allowed to go with him. After about ten minutes of questions and answers about when Papcun was born and the like, he was told that he must leave town. Then comrade Peck was called in and asked to prevail on Papcun to leave town. Peck immediately objected. This request of the Chief of Police to leave town was made as the result of a demonstration of the unemployed which took place on the morning of September 30 before the Civic Planning Commission. The Chief then decided to let Papcun decide by ten o'clock Saturday morning, October 1, whether he would leave town or not. The comrades from the debate went over to the police station with the two comrades and demanded their release. Immediately on coming out of the police station, about midnight, Jack Wilson, who remained with the crowd of workers, immediately got hold of comrade Papcun and told him to leave town, for that was the best thing to do. Comrade Papcun immediately refused to carry out this advice of the party section organizer, and the workers and party members backed him up in this decision.

October 1 at ten o'clock in the morning Papcun with a large group of workers came back and told the chief of police that he was not leaving town. Then the Chief of Police, Ward, threatened that he would be prosecuted on the charge of disorderly conduct, but he still refused and under the pressure of the workers was released. Then the workers and the party members present adjourned to a hall to discuss the situation, and it was decided that the party should back up comrade Papcun. Jack Wilson also changed his mind as to him leaving town, and in fact extended an invitation to comrade Papcun to make a statement for re-entry into the party, and that Papcun should discuss it with the Section Committee. October 3, at the Unemployed Council meeting, it was also proposed that the Unemployed Council back comrade Papcun against police terror and it was endorsed very enthusiastically by the Unemployed Council. And due to the fact that the newspapers have been raging continually about Papcun's refusal to leave town, a meeting was arranged where Papcun and Jack Wilson should speak to show that there was unity against the boss.

In the meantime the capitalist press carried on a vicious agitation against Reds and Communists generally, tried to stir up an agitation to ride Papcun out of town. Police haunted comrade Papcun's place of residence daily. On October 7, about an hour before the meeting, Papcun was arrested, thrown in jail, and held under $200.00 cash bond, charged with vagrancy. Comrade Peck gave the bond for Papcun's release. Comrade Papcun immediately proceeded to the meeting and spoke with Peck and Wilson. The comrades received him very enthusiastically and passed a resolution of protest against the persecution of workers, pledging themselves to support Papcun. From the meeting rose a bureaucrat from Chicago by the name of Becker who was introduced by the chairman as a representative of the District 8 Executive Committee. It seemed that in his opinion it was terrible that such a meeting should be taking place where the Section Organizer of the party should speak with a Left Oppositionist, so he got up and in an underhanded way attacked the Left Opposition though not openly. He began by utilizing the same old arguments, stressing the socalled "outside interference" (meaning the Left Opposition).

His actual work of destruction and the Stalinization of the membership began the next day when he began to hold meetings with the Section Committee and the comrades generally, when he made statements to the effect that the party should never have allowed the debate to go on and they should never have supported Papcun in his fight against being deported by the police. Much of his inner-party instructions and discussion was devoted to the Left Opposition and how to get rid of them and their influence among the workers in the Tri-Cities, but despite this, on October 10, when the trial came up, the court room was packed full at the city hall—about three hundred workers packing in the small room and many more standing outside in spite of the rain and snow that was going on. Many of the workers came before eight o'clock though the trial was not to start until nine, and it didn't actually start until a quarter of ten.

The trial was made into a political trial in spite of the Chief of Police and the prosecuting attorney who tried to make it a vagrancy charge. Comrade Papcun explained from the witness stand who were the Communists and the Unemployed Council. He further exposed the conditions of the unemployed workers in the city. The workers were very enthusiastic and interjected several times during the trial, and the judge threatened several times to clear the courtroom but evidently didn't have the nerve to try to do so because of the mood the workers were in. The case was dismissed after the American Civil Liberties Union lawyer made his appeal to the court.

That evening a meeting of the Unemployed Council took place where the party brought in a plan of reorganization which in itself is very good. They tried to cram it through without a discussion, but it was prevented by the workers and the comrades of the Left Opposition. A real discussion was had in the Unemployed Council for the first time, fifteen to twenty workers taking the floor. This surprised the party members, and many of them were enthusiastic over the fact that workers took the floor. One of our comrades of the Left Opposition was elected to the Committee to reorganize the Unemployed Council in spite of the fact that the party had a full slate of its own.

On October 11 a meeting took place at which Ford, the vice-presidential candidate, spoke. This meeting was held in Rock Island at the Workers' Hall, with about 200 in attendance. Ford made a very good agitational speech outside of the fact that he tried to make an attack on the Left Opposition and especially on our comrades in Illinois in the mining situation where he tried to leave an impression that they were working hand in hand with John L. Lewis, and in regards to the Five Year Plan in the Soviet Union which he tried to show that the Communist Left Opposition was trying to defeat.

It seemed that this did not satisfy the Chicago district bureaucrat or Jack Wilson, so they prepared a question period in which some of the comrades of the party were to ask questions concerning the Left Opposition and then he was forced to come out into the open with the usual tripe. Papcun then took the floor and in a very short statement exposed the real situation existing in the miners' fight. Then the crowning thing happened. A party member or sympathizer got up on the floor and tried to show that comrade Papcun deserted Council Bluffs about a year ago due to the attack of the police. This didn't go over so good because the workers knew differently, as Papcun did not leave Council Bluffs until ten months after the kidnapping and beating that took place, and that in the midst of the attack of the Fascist element he was deserted by the Party leadership who expelled him at that time because he was reading the literature of the Left Opposition. Then the meeting was in an uproar and Jack Wilson, from the platform made an attack and tried to incite to the idea that comrade Papcun should be taken for a ride from which he would not return to spread the views of the Left Opposition. Very little applause was given to these remarks of Jack Wilson. In fact many workers resented that such remarks should be made by a Communist party organizer, and some expressed themselves that if Papcun is taken for a ride Jack Wilson had better prepare himself to take the consequences.

—G. P.

Opposition Debates Socialists

YOUNGSTOWN.—

October 9, 1932

Last Thursday we held a debate with the Socialist party of New Castle, Pa., at their local headquarters. About thirty-five workers came to hear the debate and take part in the discussion, all of which was centered around the question of the different strategical and tactical programs of the social-democracy and Communism. Several rank and file members of the Communist party attended the meeting and took an active, comradely part in the open discussion.

It cannot be said that we disclosed **conclusively** the inability of the workers to succeed in overthrowing Capitalism and establishing Socialism under the leadership of the Socialists, and also the inevitable betrayal of these same leaders. The limited time and the inexperience of our comrade (this being his first attempt of this nature) made this impossible. His chief effort was made in explaining simply why Communists take part in elections, the capitalist nature of "our" democracy, what Soviets or workers' councils are, what is the dictatorship of the workers (proletariat), and other such fundamental Marxist-Leninist teachings. And this he did quite successfully.

In New Castle we are gradually but surely making progress after over six month's contact with rank and file members and sympathizers of both the Socialist and Communist parties. There is a good worker element in both groups; the members of the C. P. especially have shown their unwillingness to follow their socalled leaders blindly or to be bullied by them. We hold comradely discussions with them, and frequently they have demonstrated their agreement with us on individual points by propagandizing our views and distributing our literature, such as **The Militant,** Trotsky's pamphlets and our leaflet on the German situation.

In Youngstown, however, it cannot be said that there is a good worker element among the Socialists; we have successfully made contact with the few workers they have in their ranks. On the situation. We are going to try hard to ers misled by the Socialists. We plan to increase our activities in New Castle during the coming winter; we feel confident that our efforts will meet with success.

It is very unfortunate that, on the other hand, in the Communist party and its affiliated organizations all real ideological life has been criminally snuffed out by purely mechanical control—the puppets change continually but the strings are always pulled by essentially the same petty bureaucrats. In "Left Communism" Lenin wrote that there are "class representatives who neither think nor are capable of thinking"; we greatly regret that many of the local party functionaries fall under this classification. With our limited forces, we hope to salvage something from their wreckage and to prevent them from completely disgracing the theories of Communism and driving workers away from the movement.

—M. KOEHLER.

Needle Trades Convention

(Continued from page 1)

not met with success. The Industrial Union must have the courage to acknowledge this fact and to adapt its tactics to the situation. Only in this way can the lost ground be regained and a new stage of the struggle be unfolded.

The next step of the Industrial Union is to make an open proposal to the I. L. G. W. U. for the readmission of its membership in a body in the field of its jurisdiction. This proposal must demand the unity of the two organizations on the basis of no discrimination, no special conditions or restrictions imposed on the members of the Industrial Union, full rights for every member, union democracy, and rights of minority political expression. The proposal of the Lovestone group for the dissolution of the Industrial Union and the return to the I.L. G. W. U. as individuals is in no way justified by the situation and the relation of forces at the present moment. This capitulatory and false proposal must be rejected. The Industrial Union members must demand their readmission in a body without any discriminations. This correct and reasonable demand can gain the enthusiastic support of the masses of workers in the industry if it is put squarely and sincerely and reenforced with the proper campaign of agitation.

At the same time every encouragement must be given for the development of a genuine Left wing opposition within the I. L. G. W. U. which will work militantly and constructively for the program of unity with the Industrial Union and for a class program and leadership of the movement as a whole. All futile subterfuges and camouflage "united front" bodies, designed to nibble off little sections of the International must be done away with. The task of the hour is to penetrate deeply into the ranks of the workers in the International, to force a fusion of the two organizations by the pressure of the masses and to reunite the Left wing vanguard with the masses so artificially separated from it by the division of the organizations. The concentration of the Left wing militants on this campaign is the foremost task of the hour.

With the Greek Workers

NEW YORK.—

Last fall, as the readers of the **Militant** remember, a group of our comrades were expelled from the Greek Workers Club "Spartacus", because they insisted upon the application of the Constitution of the Club which plainly states that the nature of the Club is educational and as such aims to approach every Greek-speaking worker of N. Y. City. The official Greek Stalinists could not tolerate such criticism and therefore resorted to the same destructive tactics of expulsion toward every comrade that attempted to put an end to the many shortcomings of the Club. Last week thirty workers, through their committee, appealed to the E. C. and the membership of the Club for reinstatement in its ranks, because they are sincerely convinced that only the unification of the revolutionary forces among the Greek workers can bring about the fulfillment of the goal for which we are striving. They stated plainly that as revolutionary workers they must participate in the class struggle and that it is impossible for them to expect in a fatalist manner the spontaneous awakening of the Greek workers.

They pointed out that the responsibility for the continuation of the division of the revolutionary forces rests upon the shoulders of those who expelled them or those who will prevent their reinstatement in the ranks of the Club. Therefore the organization of another club could be prevented.

Last Monday, October 10 the regular membership meeting of the Club was held. Before the meeting was called to order some Stalinists began to attack comrade Brass with every kind of slander. Brass demanded an explanation of the conduct of the Stalinists but they flatly refused to give one. When the point of correspondence on the agenda was discussed, comrade Brass requested that the letter of the thirty workers be read to the membership in order that every worker acquaint himself with its content. Every epithet was hurled at him by some Stalinists and most of the members kept an icy silence. The comrade left the meeting protesting against the abuse of the elementary rights of the members, and was followed by other members who later returned to the meeting to fight out with the bureaucrats this shameful procedure. Next week we are going to print detailed reports of the proceedings of the meeting.

* * * *

The Empros

As we pointed out many times in the past the Greek Stalinists, with their one-sidedness towards the **National Herald,** have clearly given the impression to the workers that they were under the control of the notorious lackey Vassardakis. The reasons of this suspicion were created on account of the total absence of any revolutionary news in the columns of the **Empros** and its entire preoccupation with the personal love affairs, religious rights of its editor and every other kind of news befitting a tabloid but not a Communist newspaper. The Greek party members protested to the high priests of Stalinism, and the scandal reached such proportions that they were forced to remove the famous editor Sacellarios whose despicable record in the labor movement we printed in the **Militant** last year. The new editorial board condemned the past course and promised to the Greek workers that in the future they will follow a correct policy which will not give any suspicions of favoring the monarchist organ **Atlantis.**

To dispel any suspicious of the workers they printed a statement which reads as follows: The collection thieves, in their attempt to color the revelations of **Empros** against them as a personal struggle, attempted to connect Mr. Vassardakis with the **Empros.** We considered this pretension of theirs as needing no repudiation, because every one knows that only members of Communist party participate in the direction of a Communist newspaper. And Mr. Vassardakis is not a Communist but belongs to the bourgeois class. (**Empros,** June 25, 1932.)..

For the last 3 months they discontinued their one-sidedness and began to attack both newspapers as equally responsible for the exploitation of the Greek workers. At that time we warned the Greek workers through **Communistes** that they must always be alert in order to prevent the repetition of the old course because we were sure that the mere substitution of one bureaucrat by another will not change the evils. How the course of time justified our warnings is proved by the last three issues of the **Empros.** Serious issues of the class struggle are either eliminated from the columns of the **Empros** or are given an insignificant space, and the main issue is becoming again the publication of Vassardakis' affairs with his former master in the Greek and American courts. About the Greek elections they preferred to mention nothing before the elections to enlighten the Greek workers concerning the struggle of the Communists in Greece. Even the Scottsboro case is not considered of such an important nature to be given, prior to the demonstration, any space at all. Well, the Greek Stalinists can pride themselves on being more ideal representatives of Stalinism in America. This claim of theirs we granted to them and they really deserved it.

——A. C.

MILITANT BUILDERS

Our Club Plan

A QUESTION BY COMRADE COOVER

Last week comrade Coover, whom our readers may know as a star sub-getter from Minneapolis, sent in a couple of subs and raised a question about the club plan: "I collected $2 from the business agent of the branch for a year's sub and then applied the two fifty cent pieces to two Left wing unemployed members' subs. Hope I can get by on this as a club of four."

We don't like to be too formal about the legal aspects of the club plan. So we have decided to let comrade Coover get away with it. But it's wrong. A club of four is a club of four half-year subs. That means just what it says—**four half-year subs.** It does not mean one one-year sub and two half-year subs. Nor does it mean one paid one-year sub and one free. No. It means only what it says. In the future we shall have to disallow any such doings. So beware.

ALL AROUND THE CIRCUIT

Since last week's report some additional club plan subs have come in. That was to be expected, of course. The encouraging feature about this growing response is the fact that the subs are coming in from cities, which, as a rule, have been behind the others in our sub drives. It is a long time since we have heard from Montreal, but last week they stepped up to the firing line and delivered the goods. Boston, too, sent in a club plan sub. And so did Minneapolis. We still have to hear from New York, Philadelphia, Newark, Clevleand, Youngstown and several other places. Let us complete the circuit, comrades.

SUBS FOR THE MINERS

Subs are still coming in for the miners. The latest is from comrade Nash of Montreal. We want more. Now more than ever it is important to reach the miners with the **Militant.** The Right wing victory at the Gillespie convention places upon us the task of presenting the Left wing program for the miners. We cannot draw back now. We must continue to speak out for Communism and the Left Opposition. We must make the **Militant** the recognized spokesman for the views of the Communist Left. So get subs for the miners.

THE DOUBLE ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

Some greetings to the double anniversary issue have come in. Most of them have been gathered in by the New York branch. There is little time left, comrades. If we are to realize our plan of printing a back page of greetings a little speed is necessary in getting the greetings.

The eight pager will appear. The question is whether we can get a whole page of greetings. We think we can. And we want you comrades to get busy and prove that it can be done.

THE STAFF TO DATE

H. Nash	$3
W. Konikow	2
O. Coover	2
H. A.	2
P. Vomvas	2
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	2
J. Hamilton	1

The appearance of the name of Coover on this list means trouble for the others. If Coover broke into the list that means there will be local rivals in Minneapolis who make it a point never to let Coover go it alone. That means the whole murderers' row up there will swing into line. Let'er go.

The record by cities follows:

Chicago	$5
Montreal	3
Pittsburgh	2
Boston	2
Minneapolis	2

Watch it grow!

MILITANT BUILDERS CLUB PLAN BLANK

A $1 HALF YEAR SUB of 26 ISSUES for 50c in CLUBS of FOUR or MORE.

THE MILITANT, 84 E. 10th Street, New York City.

Enclosed find $2 for which send the **MILITANT** for 26 weeks to the following:

NAMES	ADDRESSES	CITY	STATE

MILITANT BUILDER ..... Address .....

City ..... State .....

Help Circulate a Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers

Our Anniversary Number

We are only two issues away from our first eight-page issue—the double anniversary number, celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the Bolshevik October, and the fourth year of the **Militant.** We are busily preparing the necessary material; the historic documents never before published in the English language, which we promised and other material dealing with the four years' fight of the **Militant** for the ideas of revolutionary internationalism.

We know that everyone is eagerly awaiting the appearance of this issue. They are expecting us to keep our promises. For our part we will do the very best we can. We will come through. The question we want to pose now is: Is every comrade and sympathizer discharging his obligation to this isse? We must say frankly that there is a noticeable lag in the response on the part of our comrades and friends to our appeals for greetings and special bundle orders.

Everyone knows that the only way of meeting the added expenses of this isse is through the support of our comrades and sympathizers. Unless they send in greetings and special bundle orders we will be unable to meet the expense.

But more than that. We put the question even more emphatically. We want this issue, as far as the greetings are concerned, to be a demonstration of the sympathy and prestige which the **Militant** enjoys all over the country and abroad. The greetings will be one wa of making this demonstration. Let us show the world that we are solidly behind the fight of the Communist League and the **Militant** in its historic fight for the line of Leninism.

A greeting is only a quarter. Everyone must be able to raise at least that sum. Let us flood the **Militant** with our greetings Make it a political demonstration! Use the blanks below.

So much for individual greetings. Do you know workers' organizations sympathetic to us? There are good number. Get greetings from them. The rates for greetings are: a one-inch, one-column wide greeting is $1.; a two-inch, one-colmn wide greeting is $1.75; a five-inch greeting is $3. For two column greetings the rates are double. These greetings can also be had from newsstands and bookstores which handle the **Militant.** The blank below can also be used for this purpose. Now let us go to work in earnest and get greetings.

THE MILITANT
84 EAST 10th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed find.....for which p lease enter my greeting in the Jubilee Anniversary Issue, November 5, 1932.

Name ..... Address .....

City ..... State .....