

Letters from Militants

Jobless United Front in Chicago

CHICAGO.— For the first time in many years there was achieved in Chicago last night a genuine working-class united front, consisting of the three largest organized unemployed groups in Chicago; the Unemployed Councils of Cook County controlled by the official Communists, the Workers Leagues of America controlled by the United Workers Party and the Chicago Committee of Unemployed controlled by the Socialists. Despite the obvious packing of the hall by the Communist party with delegates from all sorts of paper organizations, all three groups were well represented. Among the other representations were A F of L trade union organizations, and fraternal working class groups. The bulk of representatives, however, came from the branch organizations of the three unemployed bodies, signatories to the call. Among the political organizations directly represented were the Communist Party and Y. C. L., Socialist Party and YPSL, Proletarian Party and Farmer-Labor Party. The Left Opposition was represented by three delegates.

The fact that the conference was held and able to organize itself for the tasks set out, namely, the organization of a joint march to the City Hall, energetic fight against the 50% cut in relief and other practical immediate measures, is a living vindication of the correct united front policy that the Left Opposition has so persistently advocated. The party can no longer say in Chicago that it refuses to sit in the same hall with the leaders of the "social-Fascists" and even the Left Opposition.

It is a most complete reversal of the "united front from below", so-called; the whole conference was a very dramatic one with frequent outbursts and tense moments. From the moment that the conference elected Weber as chairman by an overwhelming majority, there was no doubt in anybody's mind that the Communist party representatives came with full intentions of "capturing" organizational control of it.

The first order of business was the report of the secretary of the joint committee, Lockner. He read the demands agreed upon by the joint committee of the three organizations. He was followed by additional reporters of the three organizations, Karl Borders, Givens and Lemson. They each stressed the point that despite political differences, unity must be preserved on the question of relief, and against the system that breeds hunger. Following these three a representative of the T U L, Mike Zalisko, took the floor and launched into a tirade against the A. F. of L. Delegate McVey, representing the Farmer-Labor Party immediately started to heckle the speaker throwing the conference into pandemonium. He objected to the correct characterizations that Zalisko made against the A. F. of L. After quiet was restored, the speaker was permitted to go on.

The sensa-tion of the whole conference, however, came when John Williamson, Communist party leader, secured the floor, reading a carefully prepared speech in which he, correctly enough, criticized the Socialist party and the other reactionary organizations. However, the manner in which his expressions were formulated coupled with the usual Stalinist name-calling angered the representatives of these organizations and disorder broke out anew. For a moment it looked as if the united front was all over. It was due to the consummate cleverness of the reactionaries that the whole maneuver of the party was turned to the discredit of the party, and instead of strengthening the position of the Communists put them in the light of splitters. Most of the non-partisan workers present saw the party in this bad light and openly gave expression to their feelings.

After Williamson's speech, Borders, McVey and the others took the floor and, in substance, pointed to the attempted disruption on the part of the party, stating, however, that despite all this, no one was going to force them to leave the united front and that they would fight just as strongly as ever for the achievement of the aims of the conference. McVey's speech given in the typical trade union style won the applause of many present. At this point chairman Weber pulled a masterpiece of Stalinist imbecility. He said, "Do you know whom you just have applauded, a man who is splitting away from the conference?" McVey vehemently shouted that this was not so and that he would remain in the conference. The chairman got the horse laugh from all sections of the hall.

Comrade John Edwards, representing the Left Opposition, was the first to rise to ask for the floor in the discussion. However, the chairman simply could not see him, as he called upon delegate after delegate of all other groups. It was

after his insistent effort, together with the demands coming from all sections of the hall, that he was finally given the floor. Comrade Edwards presented the line of the Left Opposition, hailing the first genuine united front conference held in Chicago since the Stalinist regime has been in existence. He pointed to the persistent advocacy of such a correct Leninist united front on the part of the Left Opposition over the period of years. He pledged the support of his organization to the conference and warned the Stalinists, as representatives of Communism, that they must carry through the United Front on the specific issues at hand.

Attorney Goldman who was given the floor to make a collection speech made one of the finest Communist speeches heard in these parts from a Stalinist. His viewpoint on the united front was so close to that of the Left Opposition that he even used the exact words of comrade Trotsky when he stated that, in order to carry out our aims, we can make a united front "even with the devil himself." He continued, "We will criticize each other but we will have a united front because we have to have united mass action. The struggle alone will prove the correctness of the program of the different political lines. But this I know that a Socialist worker haled before a capitalist judge for participating in the class struggle suffers exactly the same fate as a Communist worker would under the same circumstances. On the other hand, a Communist in bed is as safe as a Socialist in bed. Personally I am convinced that if the workers' struggle is to be successful, the only path is the path of the Communist struggle." Later on when the names of the organizations who gave in the collection were announced he did not shy from mentioning the name of the Communist League of America (Opposition) along with the rest.

One of the most provocative speeches made at the end of the conference was that of Herbert Newton, party Negro leader. He delivered himself of some pure pieces of Stalinist ultimatum, of practically inviting the Socialists, the Farmer-Laborists to leave the conference.

The conference was not without its humorous moments. For example, after the report of the credentials committee, comrade Satir, another delegate of the Left Opposition, arose to ask why the name of our organization was not included in the list of those read. The reporter, Miss Thompson, was evidently not well versed in the intricacies of tendencies in the Communist movement. She took the Communist League to be part of the Communist party organizations and stated so in her answer. The Left Opposition delegates profusely shouted their thanks, stating that that was where they belonged anyway.

The conference adjourned with the singing of the International started by the Left Opposition delegates.

It is the opinion of the comrades here that this united front has far-reaching possibilities. A good deal depends upon the tactics pursued by the Stalinists from now on. It was obvious at the conference that the hang-overs of Stalinism are yet too strong to permit the official party's participation along genuine Leninist lines. Undoubtedly mistakes will be made. We hope that the party will not place itself in such a position as to appear to the workers as splitters and thereby continue to drag the banner of Communism in the mud. The Chicago Left Opposition will very shortly issue a statement on the conference.

—JOSEPH GIGANTI.

Miners Face Big Tasks

(Continued from page 1)

The Lewis-Walker clique is perfectly aware that the danger to their regime remains its former position does not come from the conservative elements in the new union leadership but from the Left wing. In the Illinois Miner, the sorry sheet which functions as their official organ there is a constant barrage against the Communists. Formerly it was directed against the official party, now the main guns are trained against the Left Opposition. This sheet, while attempting to define, as it puts it, the Right wing Communists, the official party, and the Left wing Communists, the League, warns against our "dirt with the Progressive Miners of America" and against our "doing the best to get control of it." This sheet further concentrates its attacks upon Gerry Allard attempting to reduce his position purely to the one of holding down a job. Of course, to this kind of scribbler no other motive is understandable than the one of holding down a soft job. They complain that Gerry was first with the National Miners Union, then with the UMWA and now with the Progressive Miners.

Such efforts to discredit a Left wing leader will not get very far with the miners, however. To them Allard's position as a militant and as a revolutionist gaining in the ability of pursuing a correct class policy is becoming increasingly clear. Nor will the rank and file miners be much disturbed over their warnings against the Communist League of America. We have taken our position squarely with the new union, as is the duty of all revolutionists, not at all in the sense of supporting the direction which the reactionary careerist elements attempt to impose upon it; but on the contrary, to help the rebellion against the enemy facing the miners in combined force and to help develop it into becoming truly a militant class union. That is the direction which our comrades and supporters in the field pursue.

—A. S.

Our Eight Page Double Anniversary Issue

15 Years of the Russian Revolution—4 Yrs. of the Militant

The fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution will be celebrated in the next issue of the **Militant**. At the same time our fighting paper will mark the fourth anniversary of its existence. With the two dates coinciding almost to the day, we are making the next issue a joint anniversary number with twice as many pages as usual.

The eight-page issue will contain a good deal of material on the Russian revolution which is not available to the average militant in this country. Some of it has never appeared in the English language; other documents are known to comparatively few readers. Among them, the readers of the next issue of the **Militant** will find:

The first proclamation of the Revolutionary Military Committee of Petrograd announcing the deposition of the Provisional Government.

The minutes of the Extraordinary Session of the Petrograd Soviet after the Bolshevik insurrection, including speeches by Trotsky and by Lenin who had just come out of enforced concealment.

The minutes of the famous November session of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik party at which Lenin and Trotsky jointly defended their standpoint against the conciliators. These minutes suppressed by Stalin we shall print for the first time.

Lenin's last speech to the Communist International in 1922, at the Fourth Congress, on Five Years of the Russian Revolution, a brilliant summary of its achievements and problems and an advance refutation of the national socialist epigones.

In addition to these and other historical documents, the **Militant** will contain many other timely articles, including one on the Russian revolution and the American Communist movement, another on the birthday of comrade Leon Trotsky, which falls on the same day as the anniversary of the Russian revolution, etc., etc.

While a special edition will be printed, it will nevertheless still be limited, and we urge that all special orders be sent in immediately and without fail.

New Forces Join the Left Opposition

(Continued from page 1)

raised the question in party meetings as to why the C. I. did not publish Trotsky's arguments. In this way, I pointed out, the party leaders would enlighten the membership. For this the district leadership looked upon me (and many other comrades who also raised this question) with distrust and suspicion. (At this point, I may be permitted to point out that even many of the present lieutenants of Stalinism, at that time, also objected to such expulsions—though in private conversations, under cover.)

The criticisms of the Left Opposition on the fundamental questions and their proposals put forward convinced me of its correctness. I, therefore, unconditionally declare myself in full agreement with the views of the Left Opposition. In my struggle against the district and TUUL bureaucracy through the fraction of the Food Workers Industrial Union, (which I shall deal with on another occasion) the proposals I put forward there, were, in the main guided by the policies of the Left Opposition.

Under the theory of the "third period", the party split the Left wing forces away from the A. F. of L., thus resulting in giving the yellow traitors a free hand for their betrayals and sell-outs. Even small, insignificant Left wing groups were also split away from the various A. F. of L. unions in order to build revolutionary unions. (Hundreds of these groups compose today the various leagues and unions of the TUUL.) For, according to the theory that the A. F. of L. is a Fascist and company union, the Left wing could not possibly afford to "lose time" working within these unions. Guided by the theory of "social-Fascism", the party also split independent unions like the Amalgamated Food Workers that for years supported the revolutionary movement. This same notorious theory prevented the party from accepting the united front in the Illinois miners' strike, even when it was proposed by the unions influenced by the Muste group.

The united front question today is one of the most important weapons of the working class against the brutal, vicious attacks of the employers to reduce the already miserable standard of living. On this question the party, due to its ruinous theory of "Fascism" and "social-Fascism" confuses this question by proposing a united front from below which is concretized as follows:

Sympathizers, who are members of the A F of L or other unions, are called to a united front conference "from below" organized by the TUUL. These members represent in reality no organization, since they were not elected by any. When the conference is ended, the members cannot report the results of the conference to their respective local union for, as mentioned above, they were not elected by it. Even if they dare make a report, the yellow leaders of the union locals, according to the law of the constitution where no member has the right to represent a local on his own initiative, could demand their expulsion. The united front conference of the FWIU held here last winter and lasting but two days, was typical of the nature of such conferences....

In spite of the slanders and calumnies of the party against the views of the Left Opposition, and the bureaucratic suppression of the party membership by forbidding them to read even the literature of the Left Opposition, and attending their lectures, the party members begin to see and realize the true Leninist role of the Left Opposition. The blind belief in the party leadership falls aside. I know of a number of party members who are in secret sympathy with the tactical and organizational program of the Left Opposition. It is only a hair's breadth that separates these members organizationally from the Left Opposition.

Long live the views of the Left Opposition and its great international leaders, Trotsky and Rakovsky, and the thou-

sands of imprisoned and exiled Left Oppositionists! Long live the World Revolution!

For the regeneration of Lenin's third International!

Comradely,
—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

Help the Illinois Miners

The heroic battle which the Illinois miners have been fighting for months against the greatest odds is in itself an appeal to every worker in the country to come to their aid. The long period of unemployment through which most of them have gone has left them in no position to conduct a struggle without assistance from the outside. Relief is now urgently required by the men and their families, and the miners' union is now making a great effort to supply the coal diggers with a minimum of assistance. The **Militant** therefore urges all its readers to do their utmost in coming to the aid of the men in Illinois. In your union, your fraternal organization, in whatever movement you may have a voice, raise the question of relief for the Illinois miners, and then contribute all that you yourself can raise among your friends and comrades.

All aid should be forwarded to the Progressive Miners of America, Gillespie, Illinois.

USE THE CLUB PLAN. GET SUBS FOR THE MINERS.

HAVE YOU SENT IN YOUR GREETING TO THE ANNIVERSARY ISSUE?

MILITANT BUILDERS

Our Club Plan

COMPLETING THE CIRCUIT

Since last week's report two more cities have stepped up to the firing line and sent in club plan subs. They are Philadelphia and Toronto. Philadelphia makes an occasional appearance in these lists but the name of Toronto is almost a newcomer. Greetings! Salute us often in like manner.

PITTSBURGH

Last week we heard from comrades Vomvas and Sifakis again. This puts them away out in front. You can judge from what they say whether this is a sudden burst or the beginning of a powerful and sustained drive. We think it is the latter and we urge all comrades to read attentively and follow suit: "with a depression like this it is very hard to approach the workers and ask them to subscribe for the **Militant** or to donate the sum of fifty cents for a miner's sub. As we know, very many workers not only can't afford to pay fifty cents but are in great need of money and it is a problem to them how to make their living. So far as we could go we succeeded in collecting 8 subs given by workers, of which 4 are of the miners and 4 for the names below. 2 have been collected by comrade Sifakis and six by comrade Vomvas.

The names of the workers who donated for the miners' subs are: M. Vasilius 50c; D. Babarin—50c; P. G. M.—50c; Bill Theocharis—50c. The sub of George Cephalos has been donated by two workers who can't read English and who knew that George could but couldn't afford to pay 50c; so they gave 25c each. Is any comment needed on this really inspiring news from our comrades in Pittsburgh?

MINERS' SUBS

In response to our appeals for subs for miners we have received \$3.50 which, according to the club plan rate, is 11 subs. 11 miners are now entered on the **Militant** mailing list who were not there before. The comrades who sent them in are as follows: J. Sifakis—\$2; P. Vomvas—\$2; J. Hamilton—\$1; H. Nash—\$.50.

This is only a small beginning. On the preliminary lists which comrade Angelo has sent us there are sixty more names. And there are other lists coming. The procedure is to transfer these names to the **Militant** list as fast as we get subs for them.

HOW TO GET SUBS FOR MINERS

The club plan drive should be pointed in this direction. There are two pivotal points. The first is to get outright

donations for this purpose from comrades, sympathizers and workers' organizations. Remittances should be made on the club plan basis. The minimum remittance should be \$2 for which we will shoot out four half-year subs. This does not mean that the \$2 must be raised from one comrade or sympathizer. No. It can be collected from three or four or half a dozen. But the remittances should be made in units of \$2.

A second way of raising money for miners' subs is to get half-year subs from workers at the old rate of \$1 and include it in a club plan of four. In this case you need send in only two names on the club plan blank and \$2, explaining that the other two names are to be filled in by us with miners' names. But be sure to explain to the subscriber that he is asked to subscribe, in effect, for himself and a miner for a half year each at the rate of \$1 for both. Explain that we are able to do this because you will include his sub with another on a club plan sub and that thereby the minimum of \$2 will be realized enabling us to fill in two miners' names.

\$30 DOES THE TRICK

\$30 will transfer the whole of comrade Angelo's list to the **Militant** mailing list. But more than that it will mean 60 miners who will read the **Militant** regularly. So let's get going. Who will be the first to knock this \$30 down a peg or two? Have no hesitation. Step right up.

THE STAFF RECORD

It looks as if comrade Vomvas is going to win that copy of the "Proletarian Revolution in Russia" by Lenin and Trotsky we are offering to the comrade who heads the staff in the anniversary issue on November 5.

P. Vomvas	\$4
H. Nash	3
W. Kreba	3
B. Morgenstern	2
A. Konikow	2
O. Coover	2
H. A.	2
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	2
J. Hamilton	1
And the record by cities:	
Chicago	\$6
Pittsburgh	8
Montreal	3.50
Toronto	3
Philadelphia	2
Boston	2
Minneapolis	2
It's going up!	

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

Left Opposition Movement Growing in Canada

The period following the last plenum of the Communist League has marked the definite expansion of the Left Opposition in Toronto. Indices of this political and organizational progress are manifest in the several fields of education and agitation, trade union contacts, literature sales, youth work, and branch recruiting, all of which strengthens the premises for a more comprehensive program of action. In appraising this activity it must not be forgotten that the Communist movement in Ontario has been declared by the courts to be illegal, and the revolutionary organizations are subjected to the most rigorous police persecution.

Educational Work
One of the outstanding undertakings of the branch has been the organization of a class in Marxism, under the direction of comrade Maurice Spector. The importance of theoretical training of cadres of the younger generation, cannot be overestimated. Reference to this urgent need was among the most conspicuous points in L. D.'s letter of greeting to the first (Chicago) Conference of the Opposition. Continuity of revolutionary Marxian thought must be maintained—never more so than in the present period of Stalinist falsification of Bolshevik history and corruption of theory in the Comintern.

The class was launched in the hottest season of the year but drew an attendance of between thirty-five to forty, throughout, although as a matter of policy (in the interests of a selection that would be stable) no effort was made to recruit in the highways and byways. The predominant element was naturally the youth, but there was also an adult proletarian element with trade union experience and connections. The first part of the course dealt with the theoretical system of Marx, the next with the strategy of the proletariat in the struggle for power, and the concluding part is to take up the problems of socialist-Soviet construction. The lectures were supplemented by mimeographed readings from the revolutionary classics, and the organization of a lending library.

It may be stated without exaggeration that as a result, the revolutionary movement has gained a number of keen, energetic and loyal militants, who have accepted the full implication of the

dictum that Marxism is no dogma but a guide to action.

It has been decided to continue the class throughout the winter and to draw in fresh elements.

Trade Union Activity

The events in the Montreal needle trades which precipitated the revolt of the rank and file in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union against the Hillman bureaucracy, also revealed the sterility of the "third period-social-Fascist" trade union strategy of Stalinism. The leadership of the "Industrial Union" (RIU) was so thoroughly satisfied with itself and the structure and objectives of the union as the final word in revolutionary engineering, that it remained blissfully unaware of the actual ferment that was going on among the "backward" masses in the Amalgamated. As a result, despite the fact that the Industrial Union had been in existence for three years it was isolated from the discontented mass in the older union, and the workers anxious to throw off the chains of the Hillman machine, set up a new union. Instead of striving for relations of close and comradely solidarity with a movement that was genuinely of the masses, the officialdom of the Industrial Union adopted a truculent, ultimatum position of antagonism. Their attitude was one of "Caesar or nothing! Join us or we will smash you." The strength of the Industrial Union did not suffice to prevent the new union from consolidating itself in Montreal but it did suffice to retard the organization of a similar mass movement of revolt under Left wing leadership against Hillmanism in Toronto. The Hillman officialdom have for the time being got the situation in hand and are busily quoting the articles of the "Industrial Union" strategists to prove that it is hardly worth while to break away from the Amalgamated for a union that is not as unqualifiedly revolutionary as the RIU.

The "third period" trade union tactics did however meet with resistance from a sector of the Left wing which rejected the ultimatum attitude. With these comrades the Left Opposition established contact and embarked on a course of friendly collaboration. The basis of this collaboration was clearly defined from the very beginning. This group of Left

wing trade unionists most of whom have passed through all the experiences of the TUUL, reject the Stalinist slander about the Opposition. They agreed that an organized Left wing, its policies proceeding from the recognition of the class struggle, is the prerequisite to any militant program of action.

Literature—The Militant—Unser Kampf
The sales of the **Militant**, which had slumped prior to the plenum, have tripled. There is a growing demand for our pamphlet literature, with the satisfaction of which the rigid censorship interferes. The Customs confiscates our material and the **Militant** is prohibited entry in the West, as being Bolshevik propaganda. Apparently the capitalist authorities are not convinced by Stalin's assurances to the contrary. The sale of **Unser Kampf** is similarly increasing and the branch has taken steps to knit the sympathizers of this paper into a stable organization.

Organization and Agitation

The branch has been increasing its membership steadily. We put into effect the principle "from each according to his abilities". No merely passive allegiance is allowed. No one is permitted to wear the badge of the Opposition by merely giving verbal adherence to its principles. Our comrades are active in defense work, trade union work, literature distribution, etc. Comrades MacDonald and Spector, to the great distress of the Stalin officials, have been called upon to speak to the various Workers Associations, forums, etc. The Stalin organ has consequently become more venomous in its falsifications. Rumors are circulated that "MacDonald opposed a demonstration in Queens Park" (in connection with a deputation from Workers and Producers Conference to place its demands before Premier Henry). Or in connection with a previous deputation for the repeal of section 98 "Spector was afraid to address the Premier". But such lies out of the whole cloth are punctured as soon as the workers read our press and see us in action.

A Canadian Organ of the Opposition

To deal more effectively with the problems of the class struggle in the Dominion, we are preparing to publish the first number of a monthly organ of the Opposition to coincide with the celebration of the October anniversary.

—S.

THE MILITANT

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