

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Why Is the Comintern Silent on Germany?

The Militant to Appear Three Times A Week During Drive!

The National Committee Issues A Call to Action!

CALL TO ACTION
To all branches, members, and supporters
of the Left Opposition.

Dear Comrades:
CONCENTRATE ALL ACTIVITY ON
THE GERMAN CAMPAIGN OF
THE LEAGUE!

The League is reacting to the German crisis with the greatest campaign in its history. It is precisely at the moment of sharp turns and world-shaking events, when the Centrist bureaucracy reveals its impotence and bankruptcy, that the Left Opposition must show its political initiative, its boldness, and its capacity to multiply its activities many fold. From this point of view the National Committee has already taken a number of decisive steps which are shaking the Communist movement in New York to its foundations.

The first of these actions, and the pivotal point of our campaign, is the decision to publish the MILITANT during the next month THREE TIMES A WEEK!

This decision was made with the greatest deliberation and sobriety and will be carried out in life. It is not a bluff or an empty gesture, and must in no case be so regarded by a single member of the organization. At the time of making the decision we had no money on hand—not a penny, in fact; nothing but pressing bills and obligations. Our resources for the execution of this ambitious plan consist exclusively in the burning world importance of the German crisis and the movement we shall create on the basis of that issue. That is enough.

The correctness of our decision from a practical as well as from a political standpoint was confirmed to the hilt at the magnificent mass meeting of the Left Opposition in New York Sunday. Never since the days following the Russian Bolshevik revolution has New York seen such a meeting—such unrestrained enthusiasm, such a stormy assertion of the spirit of proletarian internationalism. And—what is no less significant—one could see by the size of the splendid audience, by its fervid demonstration of support of our campaign, how quickly the Left Opposition, if it acts boldly at the moment of great happenings, can bound forward and rally the Communist workers around its banner. The financial contributions alone—five and ten dol-

lar bills in the fourth year of the crisis!—registered a spirit of sacrifice that stops at nothing; a spirit that has not been seen in the years of Stalinist degeneration.

This glorious beginning of our great campaign filled us all with unbounded confidence, that we can carry it through and fulfill our international duty in a manner worthy of a section of the International Left Opposition. The appearance of the MILITANT three times a week in this fateful period cannot fail to electrify the Communist workers, to shake them out of passivity and routine. It cannot fail to awaken them to an understanding that the defense of the German proletariat against the dreadful scourge of Fascism is a matter of days, perhaps of hours. This is our aim—to awaken the Communist workers. This is why we begin our campaign and center it around the triple editions of the MILITANT.

But the struggle of the Left Opposition will not be confined to the literary sphere. Our three-a-week MILITANT must be for us not merely the propagandist, but also the agitator and organizer of a great movement, as Lenin said a Communist paper should be. Mass meetings must be held everywhere. Workers meetings, shops, gatherings of every kind must be invaded boldly with the burning message of the Left Opposition on the German crisis. Every member of the organization, and every sympathetic worker, must be mobilized for daily activity to distribute the MILITANT. The whole revolutionary labor movement must be shaken from top to bottom with the message of internationalism.

And now the capacity of the Left Oppositionists for material sacrifices must really assert itself. We expect that every Bolshevik-Leninist will put his duty to the German revolution above every personal consideration and see to it that the funds necessary to assure the steady appearance of the MILITANT on the new schedule are forthcoming without delay. Do this, comrades, do everything, not tomorrow but today!

With Communist Greetings,
National Committee,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)
JAMES P. CANNON,
National Secretary.

500 Workers Pack New York Hall To Hear Opposition on Germany

Despite the bitterly cold weather five hundred workers packed the largest meeting yet held by the Left Opposition in New York, to hear our speakers in the Stuyvesant Casino present an analysis of the acute crisis in Germany today. With Martin Abern in the chair, the meeting got under way with a recounting by Max Shachtman of the role played in the victory of Fascism by the treachery of the social democracy, on the one hand, and on the other the criminal policy of blundering pursued by Stalinism in Germany. James P. Cannon dealt with the significance of Fascism, the imminent threat to the Soviet Union, and the Communist International. The question of the united front of Communist and social democratic workers and their organizations, for the purpose of crushing Fascism was emphasized in the speeches and the summary. The intense interest of the audience may be gauged by the fact that more than 50 questions were sent up to the chairman by representatives of all tendencies. In summing up, Shachtman pointed out that it was impossible to reply to all the questions; when the proposal was put to call another meeting two weeks later, to discuss the German events further, it was enthusiastically endorsed. Despite this proposal, the floor was given to a spokesman for the official Communist Party who offered a sad example of the mis-education of the Communist workers by Stalinism. Not only was a good collection taken, running close to \$100., but in several instances, amongst them being several core party members and Lovestonite sympathizers, voted with enthusiastic unanimity (save for four contrary votes!) for the following resolution which was put for adoption:

This mass meeting of 500 workers assembled at Stuyvesant Casino at the call of the Communist League of America (Opposition), raises its voice in vigorous condemnation of a regime of Fascism in Germany and declares its unyielding solidarity with the struggle of the German working class against the Hitlerist monster. We appeal urgently to the Communist party and the Communist International to take cognizance of the critical situation and fulfill its responsibility by leading the German working class to the victorious struggle against Fascism, employing the tactic of the united front as it has been expounded by Lenin and after him by the International Left Opposition.

We appeal to the Communist Party of the United States to initiate at once a series of huge united front demonstrations against the Hitler regime and to demand of the Socialist party and the trade unions that they take part in the single united front movement of the American workers in solidarity with the embattled proletariat of Germany.

Long live the united front of the working class!
Down with the Fascist murderers!
Long live the German proletarian revolution!

Now more than ever we demand the return to the Soviet Union and to the party of Leon Trotsky and Christian Rakovsky, the leaders of the International Left Opposition and the proletarian world revolution!

(Six votes were cast against this resolution by show of hands, whereas the rest of the several hundreds present voted enthusiastically for it.)

Opposition at Gillespie

League's View Triumphs at Progressive Miners Conference

170 delegates, more than a half of whom came from the locals of the Progressive Miners of America, assembled at the conference in Gillespie, Illinois, on January 29 in response to the call of the Gillespie Trades and Labor Council to discuss the project of a new federation of labor. The representation at the conference and the sentiments expressed by the great majority of the delegates gave a most emphatic confirmation to the estimate which the Militant had made of the new movement and of the proposal to organize a new trade union center. The conference revealed most convincingly that the organizational basis for a new general labor movement is by no means sufficient at the present time, and the project was taken off the agenda. Instead of that, a realistic program of agitation to coordinate the work of militants inside and outside the A. F. of L. was adopted.

A Mistake Avoided
This outcome of the conference should be a matter of great satisfaction to the militants throughout the country who warmly support the new rise of the progressive miners' movement and who feared that it might handicap itself at the beginning by a dangerous mistake. At the same time, both by its size and by its spirit, the conference refuted those conservative and sterile formalists, such as the Right wing Communists, who look upon the Progressive Miners organiza-

tion as simply another unfortunate split. The conception of the Stalinists that the Progressive Miners of America is just another edition of the Lewis' type of union could likewise find nothing to nourish it at the Gillespie conference.

The P. M. of A., whose locals furnished the driving force and the bulk of the delegates at the Gillespie Conference, is a movement pulsing with life. It is calling out new resources of proletarian energy and militancy, new hope and vision. In the course of epic struggles it is throwing up a cadre of new leaders from among the young miners who, if they still lack experience and ease of orientation in complicated problems, are, by that uncorrupted and unspolied by the deadening routine, conservatism, and treachery of the old bureaucracy, behind them is a surging militant rank and file. From all these aspects one who looks at the Gillespie conference with a clear eye can see that although it could not constitute the basis for a new labor federation, it did nevertheless, represent a significant step on the path of a regenerated labor movement, and contained forces which are destined to be a dynamic factor in advancing that movement.

The program adopted by the conference tallied very closely with that of the advanced Left wing labor elements nearly everywhere. Industrial unionism, shorter work day, unemployment insurance (Continued on page 4)

Hitlerites Move Forward; Communists Mark Time

Nine days have passed since the Austrian adventurer, Hitler, was appointed Chancellor of the German Republic by the social democratic "Bulwark against Fascism" President Paul von Hindenburg. To sum up this brief period into which so much has been condensed, we must say:

The forces of reaction, and primarily the forces of Fascism have been enormously strengthened and consolidated, become more insolent and audacious.

The forces of proletarian resistance to the triumph of Fascism have not yet rallied into serried ranks. The social democracy still plays its treacherous role of "watchful waiting", which is synonymous with a passivity that plays into the hands of a relentlessly advancing Fascist. The Communists have not yet been able to stir out of that impotence with which the pernicious policy of sectarianism paralyzes it.

In a word, right in the midst of a situation where days are substituted for months and years, where hours count in place of days, the Fascists are gaining in strength and strategic position, while the Communists, who alone can lead a genuine struggle to smash the brown-shirted monster, are marking time, demoralized and not knowing in which direction to move.

The Comintern Is Silent!
And above everything else, with nine precious, crucial, fateful days already gone by, the general staff of the world revolution, the leadership of the revolutionary movement, the Executive Committee of the Communist International—IS SILENT! Instead of guidance to the Communists and the militant working class of Germany in this zero hour—the Communist International preserves an ominous silence. Instead of a ringing call to arms, which the Communist International is duty-bound to issue at such a moment—Moscow is as silent as the grave. Instead of a flaming appeal to the workers of the whole world for solidarity action with the hard-pressed German proletariat, the International Stalinist staff maintains—what milder term can be applied?—a criminal and treacherous silence!

What is happening? What should have happened?
The minute Hitler was appointed Chancellor, and took the first real steps to establish the genuine Fascist dictatorship of blood and iron, the working class should have replied, with the same unanimity it displayed during the days of the Kapp putsch, by a general strike. But the German working class could not declare this general strike without a leadership to organize and direct it. The social democracy wants no militant struggle which may lead to the triumph of Bolshevism; true to its role, it continues to hold the restless masses in check. The Communist party could not call the strike, or more exactly, its call met with no response from the bulk of the working class. And for cause: the ultimatum policy of the party in the past, the demand it made that the workers of all tendencies first recognize its leadership, has not increased its hold over the organized, socialist, workers. The general strike could not be on the order of the day because the party had not energetically pursued the policy of the united front which would have made possible the mobilization of the masses around a concrete program of struggle. Result: the first call for a general strike issued by the Communist party ended in a fiasco, for the masses did not respond. In this way the Communist party, and by the same token, the German proletariat, is playing heavily for the blunders and crimes of Stalinism.

The Hitler regime has been quick to press its advantage. Its aim is: weaken the proletariat further, bleed it slowly by the dirk and the bludgeon, exhaust it and distract its attention with parliamentary maneuvers, press harder on the institutions of the proletariat, and then deliver the final blows with drawn saber, torch and machine gun. How has it proceeded?

One: the Reichstag has been dissolved and elections set for March 5. Will the elections decide the question of Fascism, or power? Preposterous! The beginnings of that decision are being made right now on the streets of Germany. Hitler has no illusions about the possibilities of ruling by a constitutional 51 percent majority in the Reichstag. But he loses nothing by distracting attention from the decisive extra-parliamentary field and centering it upon the illusionary parliamentary elections. On the contrary, by this procedure he gains valuable time in which to consolidate his positions.

Two: The Prussian Diet has been dissolved, and the elections also set for March 5. The arbitrariness of the dissolution is only a foretaste of blood (Continued on page 4)

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How We Plan «New Militant»

The decision to increase the frequency of appearance of the MILITANT to three times a week, is the biggest step forward yet taken by the Left Opposition in this country. That it is being taken at the moment when the situation in Germany—the key to the international situation—is reaching its most crucial stage, with long-lasting consequences for the whole revolutionary and labor movements, is of the utmost significance.

The official Stalinist press is dealing with the latest development in Germany as if it were some chance episode, of no considerable importance to the proletariat in this country. The MILITANT intends to break down this despicable national narrow-mindedness, this blindness to the historical events passing right before our eyes, and to fulfill the role of the revolutionary newspaper by stimulating the internationalist spirit of the American working class.

Despite the enormous burden we are undertaking to carry, we feel confident that the response to our initiative will be broad enough to enable us to go through with the enterprise. We have made all the technical arrangements. And the first issue of the three-times-a-week MILITANT will appear on next Monday morning, February 13, 1933.

The MILITANT will continue with the same format, although the number of pages will be cut down from four to two. In addition, to improve the looks of the paper and increase the amount of material that is to go into each issue, we have decided to change the number of columns to the page from six, as at present, to seven.

Above all, we are determined to make the MILITANT available to every worker. Therefore, we are changing the price of each copy of the MILITANT.

From Five Cents to One Cent

We are so confident that a larger circulation will immediately be obtained for the new MILITANT during the period of the German crisis, that we calculate on the additional numbers sold covering the deficit involved in reducing the price of each copy so drastically.

The new MILITANT will go to press on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday nights, and appear for sale, at least in New York and vicinity, on MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY MORNINGS!

To carry on during this period, we need two things above all. One: generous financial support—it is the German revolution and the world proletarian cause which is involved and we feel that we are in a position to make the most imperative demands for financial assistance from every militant worker and sympathizer.

Two: technical assistance in the office: We will have an enormous task of mailing and distributing to do, and every offer of help will be gratefully appreciated. Come immediately to the office to ask for the comrade in charge of this work, Martin Abern.

All comrades and friends—help put this historic drive over the top! Without your help, our difficulties multiply. With your cooperation, we are assured of a powerful advance!

Oehler Starts National Tour On Germany

In the campaign of the Communist League on the German crisis comrade Hugo Oehler will begin a speaking tour at Utica, New York on Friday, February 17. All energy must be concentrated to arrange big mass meetings on the occasion of comrade Oehler's visit. Action is the slogan of the hour. There is no time to rearrange dates. All readers take notice of the meetings in the various cities on the following schedule:

- Utica, N. Y.—Feb. 17
- Buffalo, N. Y.—Feb. 18
- Pittsburgh, Pa.—Feb. 19
- New Castle, Pa.—Feb. 20
- Youngstown, O.—Feb. 21
- Cleveland, O.—Feb. 22
- Chicago, Ill.—Feb. 24, 25, 26
- Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27
- Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 28
- Kansas City—March 1, 2, 3
- St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5
- Illinois Coal Fields—March 6

BRONX MASS MEETING

The CRISIS in GERMANY

SPEAKER: James P. Cannon

Hollywood Gardens
896 PROSPECT AVE., Near 161st St.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1933, 3 P. M.
ADMISSION 15 Cents