

The Record Speaks! Centrism Month by Month...

THE SAME BLOODHOUNDS

"We must show that the social Fascist Factory Councils and functionaries in the factories are the agents of the blood-stained Noske-Severing-Zoerglebel policy... that they are just the same bloodhounds as the Noskes, Severings or Zoerglebeis."

—Rote Fahne, end of 1929.

"MANY COMRADES..."

"Many comrades see nothing at all except social Fascism, even in things that have not the slightest to do with Fascism. For many comrades there are no longer any social democrats and any social democracy, but only social Fascists and social Fascism. Workers, ordinary workers, who have nothing more to do with Fascism than that they have voted social democratic, are designated as social Fascists."

—Remmele, Die Internationale, No. 5-6, 1930.

THE SLOGAN OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH

"Drive the social Fascists out of the factories, out of the employment bureaus, out of the trade schools!"

—Junge Garde, end of 1929.

THE SLOGAN OF THE YOUNG PIONEERS

"Beat the smallest Zoerglebeis out of the schools and playgrounds!"

—Die Trommel, end of 1929.

THE "RED" FACTORY COUNCILS ON PAPER

"The Factory Council elections in which the Communist Party of Germany came forward for the first time in the sharpest struggle against reformism as the bearer of the united front of the organized and unorganized, became a triumphal march in the most important industrial fields and large factories. The labor masses elected countless Red Factory Councils under the banner of the struggle against the state power, the employers and reformism."

—Wedding Congress, C. P. G., June 1929.

THE "RED" FACTORY COUNCILS IN REALITY

"As a result of the defective contacts of the Red Factory Councils with the workers of their number, it was possible to eliminate a number of Red Factory Councils without any struggle or protest action of the plants... In many cases, Red Factory Councils did not stand their ground and capitulated before the sharpened pressure of the common enemy: employer, reformist bureaucracy and state apparatus. Their work was in no way distinguished from the policy of the reformists, or else they remained in complete passivity."

—Congress of the Trade Union Opposition of the C. P. G., Nov. 1929.

MUENZENBERG ON THE UNITED FRONT

"A temporary, or even an alliance, or even a bloc joint operation in individual actions between the Communist party and the Social Democratic party in Germany against National Socialism, would forever discredit the Communist party among the broad masses of the workers, tolling peasants and middle strata, and draw it into decline."

—Willi Muenzenberg, February 1, 1932.

A THOUSAND TIMES LESSER EVIL

"A social democratic coalition government, confronted with a non-combative split-up, confused proletariat would be a thousand times greater evil than an open Fascist dictatorship, against which would appear a class conscious proletariat, resolved upon struggle, united in its mass."

—Der Propagandist, September 1931.

THE "OFFENSIVE" BEGAN IN 1929

"The working masses, who a year ago still hesitantly set themselves in motion with dull, ponderous steps, are marching today under the blaring fanfare of the proletarian offensive against the capitalist system."

—Rote Fahne, May 1, 1929.

AGAIN: THE "OFFENSIVE" IN 1929!

"The relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has changed fundamentally. The working class is striding forward from the defensive to the offensive... In the Berlin May struggles, broad masses stepped beyond the framework of bourgeois legality, offered resistance to the police action and opened up the political-revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois state power... The Berlin May struggles constitute a turning point in the political development in Germany."

—Theses, Wedding Congress, C. P. G., 1929.

ILLUSIONS ABOUT DISTINCTIONS

"On the basis of the social Fascist evolution of the lower cadres of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the illusions of the working class are being destroyed in the belief that there is a distinction between the leadership of the SDPG and the lower cadre of functionaries of the SDPG."

—Theses of Wedding Congress, C. P. G., 1929.

FASCISM BROUGHT TO A STANDSTILL... IN 1930

"No wonder that all this affects the National Socialist worker elements like a cold douche. They are beginning to feel that they have gotten enough from Hugenberg and Hitler... On the land, particularly where the agricultural proletariat found a resolute leader in the Communist party, the advance of the Swastikas has been brought to a standstill in recent months."

—Rote Fahne, May 9, 1930.

THE PARTY LATER, HEINZ NEUMANN WAS THE SCAPEGOAT

"Today the slogan of the people's revolution is a central, comprehensive propaganda slogan, the main strategic goal to which we are leading the masses along the line of our social and national emancipation program..."

—Ernst Thaelmann, January 1931

WHO WAS GUILTY OF UNDERESTIMATION?

"We assert it openly: For a long time we underestimated the danger of the National Socialist movement. It is high time to catch up, to exterminate the weaknesses and to conclude the real fighting proletarian united front against Fascism. A front of all workers regard-

—Thaelmann, Central Committee Plenum, February 1932.

less of party under our relationship."

—Saechsische Arbeiter Zeitung (C. P. G.), June 23, 1930.

AFTER SOCIAL FASCISM—"BRUENING" FASCISM

"Hindenburg's black Chancellor yesterday declared the Fascist financial dictatorship with the aid of article 48."

—Rote Fahne, March 17, 1930.

MORE "BRUENING" FASCISM

Communist Deputy Neubauer in the Reichstag: "What is taking place in Germany now is nothing but the desire to heal the deep-seated wounds of capitalism with the methods of Fascism... This means nothing else than that the system of terroristic Fascism is to take the place of the so-called democratic system."

—ROTE FAHNE, July 16, 1930.

HITLER'S GREATEST DAY

After the September 1930 elections: "Last night was Herr Hitler's 'greatest day', but the so-called election victory of the Nazis is the beginning of their end."

—Rote Fahne, September 15, 1930.

MORE BUREAUCRATIC OPTIMISM

"The 14th of September was the high point of the National Socialist movement in Germany. What comes after this can only be decline and fall."

—Rote Fahne, September 16, 1930.

FASCISM "AGAIN" AT A STANDSTILL (1931!)

"The party succeeded, by a resolute offensive, in bringing the desultory advance of National Fascism to a standstill."

—Communist Party of Germany, Political Bureau decision, September 24, 1931.

"LET THEM COME TO POWER"

"If they (the Nazis) once come into power, the united front of the proletariat will be established and sweep everything away... They will come to grief more speedily than any other government."

—Remmele in Reichstag, Rote Fahne, October 16, 1931.

THE GREAT LEADER SPEAKS...

"The fact that, for example, in our revolutionary trade union work, united front offers could be made from above to district trade union leaderships or other instances of the reformist bureaucracy (Ruhr district), also shows that our principled struggle against the social democracy was not conducted resolutely enough to make such mistakes impossible."

—Thaelmann, Die Internationale, No. 11-12, 1931.

VON PAPAN IS ALSO FASCISM...

"Before all, we must make it clear to the social democratic workers that what we have today is the Fascist dictatorship... The same holds for the illusion that the S. D. P. G. or the General German Trade Union Alliance are also organizations of the anti-Fascist struggle. Whoever would aim to build on the idea that by 'appeals' to the SDPG or other reformist organizations, a struggle would come about, would disarm the proletariat."

—Rote Fahne, July 26, 1932 Central Committee Statement.

DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM REAL FASCISM

"The Fascist overturn in Prussia on July 20 was possible only because the

Fascist Papen government knew that the leaders of the trade unions would exert the full power of the apparatus to prevent the mass strike movement." —Walter Ulbricht, Rote Fahne, August 25, 1932.

Sandino Passes...

The report that the petty bourgeois Nicaraguan general Augusto Sandino has made his peace with the puppet government of American imperialism, recommending himself with the bayonet which was lifted into power by the gangs of the U. S. Marine Corps, will come as a surprise only to those who attributed to the Central American general a revolutionary stature which he never attained, nor ever could have. From the beginning of his guerrilla warfare in Nicaragua, the Stalinist Comintern bent all its energies to conduct an international advertising campaign for Sandino which was not one whit better or more justified than the campaign carried on by the Kuo Min Tern for Chiang Kai-Shek and company. Communists from Mexico and Central America were sent into Sandino's army, not to act like proletarian revolutionists, but as aides-de-camp to Sandino.

Sandino was touted everywhere by the official Communist apparatus. Like dozens of others of the same stripe, he was one of the big leaders and "attractions" in the Hippodromes conducted by Willi Muenzenberg for the Comintern. Sandino was one of the "revolutionary leaders" in the struggle against imperialism at the Congresses and on the directing committees of the World League Against Imperialism. At the abominable masquerade at Amsterdam recently, where adventurers, reformists and pseudo-Communists gathered to "fight against war" and "defend the Soviet Union", Sandino was among the most prominent, even though he was absent. Just a few weeks before his open capitulation to the Nicaraguan agents of American imperialism, the Amsterdam Committee of Muenzenberg, Stalin and Co. announced in its press releases that General Sandino had been selected to represent Nicaragua on the International Committee!

Like H. G. Wells, Sandino must again be denounced by the Stalinist press as a "traitor". The traitor he is indeed, but largely in the sense that he too has served to throw light on the wretched policy pursued by the Comintern which leads the proletariat from one surprise to another, from defeat to defeat, to confusion and demoralization. Sandino's passing tears with it another piece of the veil that still covers the nudity of the Stalinist faction.

International Workers School

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS The Movements and the Men A Series of 8 Popular Lectures on American Labor History and Its Outstanding Personalities by JAMES P. CANNON Single Lectures—15 Cents One Dollar for the Course. SUNDAY 8 P. M. 126 East 16th Street

THE MILITANT

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swaback SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1933 Vol. 6, No. 6 Whole No. 153

Stalinist Policies Throw Food Workers Union Into Serious Crisis

It is impossible to understand the present crisis in the Food Workers' Industrial Union and its effects upon the membership without tracing its causes to the past and bringing into the open the crimes and errors committed by the party and union leadership under the Lovestoneite and present regimes.

The Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers was under party control for many years. Its main activities were confined exclusively to the hotels and restaurants. More than once the leadership rejected the proposal to undertake an organizational drive among the cafeteria workers on the grounds that the masses were to be found among the hotel workers. What happened in the spring of 1929 when these same people, without exception, were in favor of a general strike in the New York cafeterias, and at that, with no preparation at all? Did the leadership realize that their previous position was incorrect? No. Far from it. As we will prove, this sudden change was based upon the interests of its faction.

The Lovestone faction was then in the leadership of the party and the union. A party convention was to take place during that time. Lovestone, in order to "strengthen" his prestige before the convention suddenly "discovered" the necessity for mass work. Secret meetings were immediately arranged by those members of the leading fraction who supported Lovestone. They decided to set the union building located at 133 W. 15th St., and declare a general strike in the garment section. On the eve of March 16th, I was informed by a comrade that such a meeting was to take place. When I entered the meeting Bert Miller was reading the following decision of the District Executive Committee: the strike was to take place not later than April 4th; preparations were not necessary; it was sufficient merely to place pickets before the cafeterias; the needle trade workers will not patronize them and the bosses will thereby be compelled to settle with the union.

No arguments were strong enough to make them change their decision, for, as mentioned above the strike was to serve as a weapon for the Lovestoneites in the convention. I immediately appealed to the Central Executive Committee against the District E. C. decision. I pointed out that "no matter how great the support of the needle trade workers it is entirely incorrect to declare a strike without the strikers. Such a decision will play into the hands of A. F. of L. bureaucracy, who, in order to cover up their treacherous role of serving as a scab agency against the strikers, will claim jurisdiction over this territory. In view of this it is urgent to propose a united front with the A. F. of L. unions. Particularly at this time when the masses are in revolt against their officials. By their refusal we will, to a large extent, be able to prevent them from playing the role of scab agents during the strike." (I am reminded that during this period, A. F. of L. locals No. 1 and 719 issued leaflets urging cafeteria workers to join the union.)

Comrade Foster, to whom I also gave a copy of my appeal, told me that my position was correct, but that at the present time, due to the situation in the party, it was impossible to change the decisions of the District E. C. in any way.

On March 18, the first leaflet was issued to the cafeteria workers, calling them out on strike. Eighteen days later, on April 14, the general strike was declared in the garment center. As a first step, "pulling committees" composed of party members and sympathizers were organized. The duties of these committees were to pull the workers from their jobs while picketing was being organized in front of the cafeterias. In several cases workers were actually forced to leave their jobs. Such actions are justifiable, in any case, against strike breakers, in any strike. But in this instance the workers were not even aware that a strike had been called. In spite of the lack of preparations for the strike hundreds of workers, driven by the unbearable and slavish conditions in the cafeterias, responded to the strike call.

Although we have described, in previous articles in the Militant, the heroism displayed by the workers in the 1929 cafeteria strike, it is not out of place to repeat that it will remain one of the greatest struggles in the history of the labor movement in New York City. Though hundreds of workers were arrested and jailed, time and again, their fighting spirit could not be broken. They courageously fought the brutal, vicious attacks of the gangsters and the police. Injunctions issued against them were torn up and thrown in the faces of the bosses and the police. Such was the prevailing spirit among the strikers during the first 5 or 6 weeks of the strike.

Without the knowledge of the leading fraction, not to speak of the general fraction, the officials of the union, together with Lifschitz, Lovestone's lieutenant, who was local secretary of the T. U. E. L. at the time, settled up some of the shops where all of the scabs remained on the job. They also agreed upon the ten hour instead of eight hour day. This was done in spite of the promises and guarantees made to the strikers every evening in the strike halls. In speeches at these meetings, they said, they would not settle with any shop until all the demands were met. The clandestine settlement of Lifschitz and Co. was enough to demoralize even the most militant strikers.

A few days later the majority of the striking workers left the organization in deep disgust. This event marked a decisive turn in the strike. Following that, only paid workers, with the exception of

a few militants, could be obtained for picketing. Attempts were made to dramatize the strike. Demonstrations were organized by party members and sympathizers together with the YCL and the Pioneers. An airplane was hired to spread leaflets all over the city. More than \$65,000 was spent in a period of three months. But all was in vain. If a few more shops were later compelled to settle with the union it was on the same basis as mentioned above.

The situation became much worse because the union failed to protect those workers sent out as extras during rush hours. They were refused employment by the bosses because of their reputation as militant strikers. This helped to disrupt the unity of the employed and unemployed, which unfortunately, to this day has not been corrected.

It is significant to point out the opportunist policies of the union during the feverish wave of the strike, with regard to injunctions. L. Oak, the publicity agent for the strike, reported to the capitalist press that the union defied the injunctions issued by the capitalist courts. The officials of the union issued a statement to the press, pointing out that the report—that the union would defy injunctions—was not the position of the union; that this was written by the publicity agent without the knowledge of the leadership. For this deed the publicity agent was removed from his post. This statement by the union was demanded by the lawyer who claimed that it would give him better grounds in his fight against injunctions in the courts. This demand is, of course, in accord with a lawyer's business. But for a militant organization whose membership defies injunctions it is a ruinous and extremely opportunistic course. But this was not accidental for the leadership. It coincided fully with the general line pursued by them during that period.

—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS.

Boston Activities

BOSTON.—

On January 13 comrade A. Konikov debated Louis Marcus of the Socialist party on the subject "Socialism versus Communism". Louis Marcus gives courses at the S. P. headquarters and is considered the local theoretician of the S. P. There were about seventy socialists and five sympathizers of the Left Opposition present. Each speaker had thirty minutes and then the floor was thrown open to general discussion and questions before a rebuttal of ten minutes by the speakers. The discussion period showed that comrade Konikov had done a good job. The younger workers particularly had it in for the socialist speaker. After the meeting some of these young militants invited comrade Konikov to go with them for coffee and there they discussed their problems with her very frankly.

The debate was a huge success from our point of view. Each sympathizer of the Left Opposition became a center of a group of S. P. members after the meeting. They wanted to know more about the Opposition. Many Militants were sold and given away. The big bugs of the S. P. were conspicuous by their absence, apparently not approving of this debate. However, the younger element wants another debate and this has been arranged for Thursday, February 2, at 8 P. M. at 6 Byron St. Glen Trimble will represent the Socialist position.

On January 22, comrade W. Konikov spoke before the Independent Workmen's Circle, Branch 27 on What the Left Opposition Stands For. Thirty members and a few visitors were present. The question of period showed that the majority of those present had a clear idea of the Left Opposition and are sympathetic. After the meeting one member discussed the possibility of joining the Opposition with comrade Konikov. Several copies of the Militant and Kampf were sold.

On January 24, comrade W. Konikov spoke in Lynn before the Lynn unemployed Council on the subject "A Doctor Looks at Unemployment." An audience of sixty members were present and asked many questions. Many of the comrades' wives were present and after the meeting arrangements were made for a lecture by comrade A. Konikov. Credit for these meetings was given to comrade Cooperstein who alone represents the Opposition in Lynn.

In our last report we spoke of the Social Science Club (an organization for Marxian study which began with a course on Elements of Marxian Economics in November). The first quarterly meeting of the club was held on Jan. 10. About fifty members were present and comrade W. Konikov gave a lecture on "Communism versus Socialism." Following the meeting he was invited to give the same lecture for a Ypsel organization in one of the suburbs of Boston. Two classes were organized. One, on the "Three Internationals" by comrade A. Konikov meets in Tremont Temple, Room A, every Tuesday at 8 P. M. Visitors are welcome. Seventeen members have enrolled for this course and several visitors have attended the first two meetings. The other course is a repetition of Elements of Marxian Economics, this time given by comrade W. Konikov. Ten members are taking this course which includes a careful study of the first volume of Marx's "Capital". This course meets every Tuesday at 8:30 P. M. at 11 Keswick St.

—C. S.

Confusion Marks Stalinist Policy on Fight Against War

(Continued from previous issue)

We must ask, naturally, if the initiators of the congress feared presenting a Communist position of the question of war, prior to the congress, and even if it is true that pressure was put on them and that a majority of delegates were Communists, were they not afraid then of driving away the pacifists? What was the attitude of the Pacifists and Socialists? Both saw that the Communists were the overwhelming majority of the congress. The pacifists expressed themselves as follows: We want a practical program of work when we get back to the campus. We are not concerned with your resolutions since you will adopt them, anyway, notwithstanding what we say. Go ahead, we will wait for a practical resolution. The Socialists were similarly unconcerned. It is clear again, that you cannot play around with the question of program. The policy of playing hide and seek with pacifists and liberals and socialists is a fatal one and even more fatal is the one to attempt to unite on the basis of a liquidation of principle which the Communists came very near doing, completely. As such they maintained a minimum political correctness as expressed in the main resolution.

The congress was thrown into a crisis when a member of the YCL introduced a motion to condemn the betrayal of the 2nd International during the war. The Socialist delegation quite sharply objected and stated that they would leave the congress if this resolution carried. They were not opposed to condemning those leaders of the 2nd International who betrayed the working class during the war, but insisted that all those who

betrayed the proletariat during the war be similarly condemned, and they specifically named Foster and Cachin. This motion was changed to conform to the proposal and attitude of the Socialists and carried. Upon the passage of another motion calling for support of the Amsterdam Congress in the form of the American Committee against War, the Socialists ceased to participate in the congress because, said they, the passage of this motion signified accepting the attacks against the 2nd International contained in the decisions of Amsterdam, which they as Socialists could not accept. The discussion was extremely heated and indicated a split situation.

The split situation became evident upon the election of an executive committee to carry through the decisions of the Congress. The Socialists declined to accept because of the passage of the above-mentioned resolution. The Pacifists would not accept unless the Socialists did. Pleas for unity came from all sides of the hall and upon those pleas a YCL member introduced a motion to rescind the motion upon which the socialists broke from the conference. In spite of the Opposition of Henderson and a large section of the delegates, this motion carried and the Socialists remained and were accepted on the Committee.

An amusing incident took place which indicated just how the Socialists and pacifists were actually fooled by the character of the congress. The pacifists declared that all tendencies must be represented on the Committee. If only NSL members were on the Committee with pacifists, that would mean that the committee would be primarily Com-

munist with no other representation. They demanded that on this committee there must be socialists in addition to pacifists in order to make a united front committee that would consist of all three tendencies. In spite of the efforts of the leaders of the NSL, the Party and YCL all through the pre-congress period, to hide and cover up their Communist color, the NSL in the congress was synonymous to Communism in the eyes of the pacifists and socialists, and they conducted themselves accordingly. When acceptances were taken up for the executive committee each delegate was to answer in addition to his school organization, his political affiliation. The YCL members of the NSL in accepting on the committee replied: member of the NSL; the socialists answered: League for Industrial Democracy and Socialist. Our pacifist answer should be clear. Our comrade Geltman in reply declared himself member of the NSL, and Communist. When this roll was taken again the YCL members continued to hide their identity which was clear to all. On this round comrade Geltman announced that he was a Left Oppositionist much to the dismay of the YCL.

Thus the congress ended. What did it actually accomplish? It gathered together a number of students from various parts of the country to decide upon holding meetings on the campus to declare against war and militarism, to fight against the ROTC, to propagate and agitate against war. It is now almost a month since the congress ended. For all practical purposes the congress might not have existed. The ripples caused by it have like those of Amsterdam, settled into a dead calm. The criticisms that we made prior to the congress, and at the congress through the speeches of our comrades remain correct and real to this day. The weak-

ness of the congress are to be sought in its political character. It was separated, in spite of everything from the working class. It was not based upon reality. There were no worker delegates to give character to the congress. The attempt to transform the political nature of the congress toward its close only brought confusion among the delegates. Those Communist delegates who argued so vehemently against the position of the Opposition had later to defend the main political contentions of the Opposition against the attacks of the pacifists and socialists. The congress itself vindicated every criticism that the Opposition made. It was false to hold such a conference before a working class movement on a united front basis existed, to fight on concrete issues. If such a proletarian organization had been in existence, it might have been possible to organize a student movement that would attach itself to such a workers' movement. As it is the congress remains suspended in mid-air trying to find a place for itself. That the congress changed many of its plans is true. But the original sin remains.

The responsibility for the whole affair falls upon the shoulders of the Party and the YCL. To be more precise upon the Communist International under the aegis of Stalinist revision of Communist policies. The Party was represented officially by Browder in the form of a speech. The YCL was absent, just as it was absent at the New York conference last summer. The original attempt made to hide the face of Communism resulted in confusion and error. The future of the committee elected by the congress is dubious. What shall be its mission? How will it carry through the struggle against war? Under the circumstances it can do nothing but disavow itself.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.