

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

The Stalinist Shift To the Right

The second session of the Congress Organization Committee of the New York United Front Free Tom Mooney Conference revealed that the turn of the party on the united front is showing a dangerous drift to the right.

Dicker with Thomas

Politically this meant that they were asking Thomas to lay down the conditions on which the S. P. would participate. Thomas, according to the report, pledged himself personally to work for the participation of the S. P. on the basis of a management committee for the National Congress to be held in Chicago.

The Left Opposition immediately demanded that the entire proceedings be made public and that all future negotiations be conducted openly before the entire working class. This demand provoked a discussion. The discussion revealed much confusion on the part of the Stalinists who are in control of the Committee.

Winter, Nessin, Moore, Ballam united to hamstring the attempt to make the negotiations public. They so qualified the conference pronouncements that what will be issued will omit the essential facts given above and give a highly distorted picture of the proceedings.

It has come to this. Yesterday our Stalinist masters of revolutionary strategy and tactics shouted down the wind that we could make no united front with the "social fascist leaders". Today they are beginning to crawl on all fours before these treacherous fakery. They are trying to prove to the Thomases that they are good Communists!

Bureaucrats Fall Out

In the discussion Winter and Nessin once more took different stands. Nessin again advocated a Rightist position. Winter's role is becoming clearer. He is carried along in the Right drift. His job is to put a plausible face on the thing. His proposals are designed to make it possible to point to efforts made for a genuine united front.

Ballam poured oil on the troubled waters and evoked the anger of Moore. It is a pitiable sight to see these bureaucrats fall out among themselves. How shame must be the fight in the party if it is carried out into the open at every meeting! Why is it confined to the top? Why isn't the party membership allowed to participate in the discussions? Why is there no discussion in the party press?

The Stalinist bureaucracy cannot allow the party membership to intervene in its disputes. That would be disastrous for its position and prestige. So it maneuvers desperately to retain its weakening grip on the party. But its base is narrowing and the day of reckoning is approaching. Then as now the Left Opposition will know how to act to build the party shoulder to shoulder with the party membership.

-T. STAMM.

Chicago Meet Adopts Joint Protest

Chicago.—The mass meeting on the German situation held by the Chicago branch of the Communist League, proved to be a great success. Over two hundred workers gathered at Redifer Hall on March 26, to hear the position of the Left Opposition on the united front and the turn of the Communist International, presented by comrade Albert Glotzer.

The main feature of the meeting was the discussion that followed Glotzer's speech. An invitation was extended to any party representative in the hall to take the floor and present the position of the party. One active party member, Hans Pfeifer was given twenty minutes in which to present the position of the party and to defend its line. His remarks only further strengthened the position of the I. L. O. But he made a plea for the unity of the Communist forces, and declared that he would investigate the charges of violence against members of the Left Opposition and protest such methods of solving disputes between Communists.

In the course of the discussion a resolution on the German situation was presented by a member of the Chicago Left Opposition, who proposed its adoption and suggested further that the resolution be sent to the German consulate and the Daily Worker and Militant for publication.

The resolution signed by the committee elected by the mass meeting represents further evidence of breaking down the walls between the party members and the Left Opposition. It signifies that the campaign on German has not been in vain; that it has really penetrated the ranks of the class-conscious workers. The bankruptcy of the line of Stalinism becomes more and more evident in the course of the active life of the movement.

Resolution Adopted

Approximately 200 workers, representing various revolutionary tendencies, gathered in mass meeting to discuss the German situation at Redifer Hall, 30 North Wells Street, in Chicago, on Sunday, March 26th, 1933, under the auspices of the Communist League of America (Opposition), record their strenuous protest against the Fascist terror reigning in Germany today against the proletariat of that country and its revolutionary leadership, the Communist party and the Young Communist League, also against the terror inaugurated against the class conscious working masses in the social democratic party and the trade unions that are struggling against Fascism.

The German bourgeoisie through its henchmen, Hitler and the National Socialists have been persistently attacking the German proletariat.

Today, aside from the hundreds and thousands whose "heads have rolled in the sand" following the attacks of the Fascist forces, thousands of leaders and members of the Communist party are rotting in the Fascist dungeons and undergoing tortures paralleled only by that of the medieval period.

Comrades Thaelmann, Torgler, Pleck and Rennele, the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany are in prison. Direct information as to their condition is not available. But that they are victims of the "mustard-rub" and the "castor-oil" has already leaked out.

In this regard, we assembled in mass meeting today, protest and demand the immediate cessation of the murder and torture of the German working class and its leaders, by the Fascists.

We demand the immediate release of comrade Thaelmann and other leaders of the German Communist movement. We demand the release of all victims of Fascism notwithstanding their political tendencies. Forward to the revolutionary united front of the working class organizations against Fascism!

Submitted by the Communist League of America (Opposition) Signed The Committee elected by the meeting. HANS PFEIFER, member of the Communist Party of America. NATHAN GOULD, member of the Spartacus Youth Club of Chicago. JOE GIGANTI, member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). NORVAL ALLEN, member of the Communist Party of America. ALBERT GLOTZER, member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition).

A "United Front" At Any Price

Davenport, Iowa.—A united front conference was called for March 27, 1933 by the official party. The conference was called a united front action against hunger. Again the party has shown how it zig-zags from one extreme to another. I am going to give a review of this conference as it is of great importance to the workers, not only in the Tri-Cities but throughout the entire country.

While the Resolutions Committee was meeting Tony Minerich, representing the state anti-hunger march committee, was seated as a delegate and spoke for one hour. The pitiful part of Minerich's speech was that he actually said nothing of interest outside of stressing the united front at all costs and making a bid for unity with the leaders of the Federation of Labor in the Tri-Cities at all costs.

After that a general discussion took place with several workers participating. Much confusion existed. The representative of the Left Opposition spoke presenting the policy of the Left Opposition the name of the branch.

During the morning session the Credentials Committee tried to side-track the seating of the Left Opposition delegate by hemming as to the name of the organization and by announcing that it has only ten members so it is a question of whether it should have a right to a seat or not. But upon a slight insistence when it came to voting the delegate was recognized and had the full right of the floor to the discomfort of the party leaders.

Rank Stalinist Opportunism

After the discussion, the Resolutions Committee reported. Wilson was the reporter, bringing in a resolution against intimidation of workers and against forced labor which was adopted unanimously. A resolution to endorse the state hunger march in Illinois on April 7 was also adopted by the conference. Then a resolution on investigation of the conditions of the unemployed and to bring in suggestions as to remedies and to deal with unemployment generally was brought in, with clauses in the resolution that one Catholic, one Hebrew, one Protestant, one Chamber of Commerce, one Retail Merchant Association, one Unemployed Council, one Federation of Labor be represented on this committee to investigate these conditions.

A healthy reaction on the part of the delegates was immediately had, and on a motion of one of the trade unionists the resolution was voted on paragraph by paragraph. The paragraph which dealt with the Chamber of Commerce and the Retail Merchants Association came in for quite a discussion. On the motion of the delegate from the Left Opposition, seconded by several in the hall, it was moved to strike-out the Chamber of Commerce and the Retail Merchants Association. A discussion took place where Left wing after Left wing, party members and sympathizers and some trade unionists opposed the adoption of the paragraph with the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. fighting for its adoption, with the delegate of the Left Opposition taking the lead against its adoption. It looked as if the paragraph would be rejected by the conference when Jack Wilson, the party organizer, made the closing speech which lined up the party and its followers who spoke against its adoption but who voted for it after the speech of Jack Wilson, with only the vote of the Left Opposition against it.

Then the next resolution on Germany, against Hitlerism and Fascism was recommended not to be adopted as it didn't concern the workers of Rock Island County and was turned down by the conference with only the vote of the Left Opposition against turning it down. This was the statement of party representatives.

The Tom Mooney resolution was also brought up without recommendation by the resolutions committee and here again the Left Opposition, through its delegate, made a motion to adopt the resolution. The reactionaries made a fight against the adoption through making an amendment. The gathering fairly rocked as the struggle for the resolution was put up, and in a very sharp talk the representative of the Left Opposition made his position clear, not only on the German resolution which dealt with the German situation, but pointing out that it would be an actual betrayal if this resolution was voted down. This forced the party through Jack Wilson to come out in favor of the resolution.

Then a compromise was made not to elect delegate from the conference but to endorse the resolution and recommend it for favorable action to the local unions and the organizations represented at the conference. The Party has gone from one extreme of no united front to united front at all costs. It may be asked "What price united front?" The Right wing of the party can be seen by the actions taken at the conference. The party tried to hide its face even to the point of not sending official delegates. Nobody spoke officially in the name of the party. Not one criticism

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THE HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION

A Series of Lectures by Max Shachtman, Editor of the Militant Four sessions have already been held on the following topics: The Fight for Party Democracy; "The New Course" by Leon Trotsky; The Defeat of the German Revolution, 1923—"The Lessons of October" by Leon Trotsky; The Opposition Program for Industrialization. The Left Opposition Program for Collectivization. The Anglo-Russian Committee. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927.

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The Second Gillespie Conference

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but behind this motion the "new federations" rallied against the combined forces of the other delegates.

After these motions passed the policy committee recommended that the conference endorse the TUUL conference in Detroit in September and send fraternal delegates. They read off the entire agitational call. The Stalinists saw no inconsistency in opposing a new federation along with the Left Opposition and other Left wing delegates, but at the same time asking the conference to endorse the TUUL conference. This gave ammunition to the Right wing elements and those who had just advocated a new federation, and they used it effectively. The spirit of the conference went down a few notches. When delegate Fraser obtained the floor he moved that we cooperate and send fraternal delegates, and pointed out why we should not endorse. The Stalinists compromised and agreed to this and it carried by 107 for and 15 opposed, but only after much harm had already been done.

Next the policy committee asked for 15 fraternal delegates and again the opposition forces made hay. But again, when delegate Fraser could obtain the floor, he moved that we send three delegates. Again the TUUL supporters compromised and this motion also carried by an overwhelming majority.

Later they elected the fraternal delegates to the TUUL conference. Five were nominated and all unanimously elected. The delegates are: Hugo Oehler, Sol Larks, Hank Mayer, J. Crocker and Hines. The conference unanimously passed resolutions in favor of the Franklin County strikers; Taylorville frame-up victims and for mass pressure; Mooney; and also elected delegates to attend the Chicago conference; for the Springfield Hunger March and for the release of Minerich and others who were arrested; for the Scottsboro boys and against the danger of Fascism in Germany.

Another motion was passed to get up a joint committee of action with the TUUL to carry on work in different areas. This is putting the cart before the horse and making a mechanical caricature out of the motion quoted above. United front action of such bodies must spring out of concrete struggles and not mechanical paper organizations to be established here and there. All through the conference a struggle had to be put up against the new "federations" on the one hand, and the Stalinists who desired to hurry the process of development; and with their wrong tactics shifted the conference toward a new federation under the arm of TUUL. Between these two forces flirting dangerously with a new federation, the young committee received some hard knocks.

The Stalinist Proposal Another struggle developed over the motion presented by the Right wing socialists who asked for the endorsement and sending of delegates to the "Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers for Economic Reconstruction" to be held in Washington, which is not a united front and has excluded all Left wing and Communist forces. The Congress is a political rallying center for reformism against the revolutionists and class conscious workers and is to be used as an anti-Communist rally. Our delegates opposed this and pointed out what is meant, recommending that first a communication be sent asking if all working class organizations are invited, and if not, we do not send delegates. The Left wing socialists and other class conscious workers supported this proposal. The TUUL delegates, the Stalinists and Gerry Allard supported the motion to send two delegates against the above recommendations. The motion to send two delegates was carried and Weber and Allard were elected.

Stalinists and the Upholsterers

The attention of the entire New York movement should be called to the latest example of how not to make the united front and the consequences. The scene is the Furniture Workers Industrial Union of the TUUL. On February 16, this union took the initiative and called a shop ("united front") conference consisting of workers from a number of shops, union and non union, for the purpose of devising ways and means of effecting the unity of the entire trade into a single militant union.

At the conference a Unity Committee of 32 was elected to carry out the ideas of the conference, namely: (1) the organization of united shop committees to fight against wage cuts and layoffs and (2) the organization of one strong union in the upholstery trade. A sub-committee of 12 was also elected to visit the membership meeting of Local 76 of the UIU of the A. F. of L. They were to ask for the endorsement of a printed leaflet calling for the unity of the trade. The leaflet called on all upholsterers in the shops to unite regardless of union affiliations, to organize shop committees and to fight wage cuts and layoffs.

It passes human understanding, or just plain common sense why a committee from the A. F. of L. union was not invited to participate in the preparations. How can a union man or sympathizer understand that we are really fighting for unity when we fly in the face of this simple organization procedure? So intimidated are the Stalinist union functionaries by "social-fascism" that it was with the greatest difficulty that they could be induced even to SEND the leaflet to the union itself, that is to say, to the secretary of the

was made of the reactionaries. All compromises were made in favor of the leaders of the A. F. of L. —GEO. J. PAPCUN.

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Huan Ping and Chen Du-Siu

Fresh in the memory of all readers is the despicable role played by the official Stalinist press in connection with the arrest and imprisonment of our comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, leader of the Chinese Left Opposition. This founder of the Chinese Communist movement, and the leader of the party during the whole of the revolutionary period, was the special object of Stalinist hatred because he honestly acknowledged the role he had played in the Chinese revolution and revealed at the same time that this was to be attributed to the fundamentally false and Menshevik policy of the Comintern. At the time of his arrest, the Stalinist journals all over the world could scarcely contain themselves with joy. Instead of helping arouse the spirit of solidarity of the workers to save comrade Chen from the imprisonment and execution at the hands of the Kuo Min Tang butchers with which he was threatened, the Stalinists hastened to assure all and sundry that Chen was an agent of the Kuo Min Tang!

Comrade Chen is still imprisoned, and no news about him can be obtained. But only a short while after his arrest, took place the arrest of one of the official party leaders, Huan Ping, "Commissar of Foreign Affairs" of the short-lived Canton Soviet of 1927. In this instance, the case was made the subject for an international agitation. In this protest movement, of course, the party was only doing its elementary duty, in which they were criminally remiss with regard to the arrest of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, and are so to this day.

New we receive the news from a Left Oppositionist in Shanghai that while comrade Chen's fate continues to remain unknown, Huan Ping, like so many Stalinists before him, has turned renegade and joined the Kuo Min Tang—thus escaping from the fate which the counter-revolution held in store for him!

The organ of the Left Kuo Min Tangist, Wang Chin Wei, the People's Tribune of February 16, 1933, prints a sensational article by Huan Ping—"Why I Left the Communist Party". In this article, the renegade repudiates his whole Communist past, "exposes" the Communist International and the Chinese party and announces that "as a result of my conversion to the Kuo Min Tang, I was thus released, together with comrades Yu Fei and Hsu Shih-Keng, who have also come to the same conclusion". Yu Fei was nothing less than Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Hsu a member of the presidium of the Communist International and head of the red trade unions of Shanghai. "It is essential", concludes the turncoat, "before anything constructive can be undertaken, that the Communist movement, which in many respects is hardly distinguishable from common banditry, be completely suppressed. It was in order to assist the National Government in this campaign, and also to rectify my past errors, that I, together with comrades Yu Fei and Hsu Shih-Keng, have left the Communist party, and will strive, under the banner of the Kuo Min Tang, for the attainment of the goal which I have always had in view—the betterment of the conditions of the Chinese workers and peasants."

Like Bessedovsky and other creatures of Stalinism, Huan Ping was a mighty Trotsky-Killer before he jumped over the fence into the camp of the reaction. The bureaucratic regime in the Comintern trains up such types, whose only qualifications for leadership are their servility to the apparatus, a willingness to be made the scapegoat for the blunders of their superiors in the machine, a cynical ever-readiness to sign statements "to rectify my past errors" unquestioning obedience to which all careerists, adventurers and spineless place-hunters are able to adjust themselves. The genuine revolutionists, who think for themselves and have the courage to express unpopular opinions and defend them—are expelled from the party and consigned to the category of counter-revolutionists. Therein lies the essence of exploitation of how the Chen Du-Hsius could be expelled from the party, baited by the bureaucracy and left in the lurch when attacked by the class enemy, while the Huan Pings could rise to leadership, be defended by the bureaucracy and, having been trained in the school of irresponsibility, betray the revolution at a crucial moment.

The communication from our Shanghai correspondent, which contains some very interesting information, will be found below. Shanghai.—The Japanese drive into Jehol is now in full swing. The Chinese defenders have recoiled before the first onslaughts, although there has been some fierce fighting. A combination of circumstances has acted to compel the Nanking Government and its cohorts in the North to make at least a show of resistance to this latest Japanese advance. There is no official sincerity. Nanking has no desire to fight and is putting up nothing more than a show, wantonly sacrificing the lives of countless Chinese soldiers in a struggle it does not take seriously. This lack of seriousness is sufficiently indicated by the fact that not a single airplane has been sent into Jehol to aid the Chinese defenders, while the Japanese are reported to be using over 100 bombers. The Nanking Government reserves its airplanes for bombing re-

calcitrant peasants in Kiangsi, Hupeh and other provinces. Nanking's lack of seriousness in the present campaign was even more clearly indicated by T. V. Soong, minister of finance and acting chairman of the government. He said to a local newspaperman: "We simply have to put up some resistance this time. The public opinion of the world has turned against Japan. The League has given China a favorable verdict. How would it look, in such circumstances, if we failed to resist Japan's invasion of Jehol?" It is simply a matter of "face", to use a Chinese expression. But another important factor which has determined the government's attitude is the popular clamor for resistance to Japanese imperialism which in recent weeks has grown more and more insistent. The government could no longer, with safety, ignore it. This clamor has come from bourgeois and petty bourgeois circles who see their interests menaced by the further unchecked advance of Japanese imperialism. They have been joined by the liberal intelligentsia. But the workers' organizations, the trade unions (little as they really exist today), have been silent. The mood of lethargic despair which set in after the heavy proletarian defeat of 1927 has still not lifted. The workers are sunk in apathy and the Communist party has, as far as one can see, proved singularly incapable of penetrating their ranks and arousing them from their slumbers.

Jehol will be taken by the Japanese. Of that there can be no doubt. Only a revolutionary awakening and a determined counter-attack by the masses of the workers and peasants could prevent it. The first step would have to be the overthrow of the Nanking Government and its militarist allies in other parts of the country. For this a Communist party is required, but there is no Communist party, only its caricature—a comparatively small group in the cities, torn by internal dissension and shot through with traitors and spies. The party, such as it is, has obviously no clear understanding of the tasks of the Chinese revolution even at this late date, and spends much of its time spreading made-to-order slanders of the Left Opposition. Leaders are arbitrarily changed on orders from Moscow and even more frequent changes in the leadership result from the constant arrests brought about by the betrayals of spies and traitors within the ranks. Under such conditions, the party cannot possibly grow.

The arrest not long ago of Chen Du-Hsiu, a leading member of the Left Opposition, was used by the C. P. as an occasion for the spreading of vicious reports. It was rumored that Chen had sold out to the Kuo Min Tang and was proceeding to Hankow for a personal interview with Chiang Kai-Shek, who was then directing a military campaign against the peasant armies in the interior. This calumny was published in the bourgeois press and sedulously spread by the C. P., which made no effort to conceal its satisfaction at Chen's fate. The Kuo Min Tang prison in Nanking to which he was sent has literally swallowed him up. Whether he is dead or alive is not known. No one but his jailers, presumably, has seen him. No "interviews" attributed to him have been published.

Now a contrast! On December 14 Huan Ping, a prominent Stalinist "yes-man" who was Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Canton in 1927 during the December Communist putsch, and lately president of the All-China Trade Union Federation and a member of the presidium of the China branch of the League Against Imperialism, was arrested in Tientsin. A prominent member of CEC, aroused a storm of protest in Europe. Einstein, Russell, and others poured in portests to the Nanking Government, where they maintained silence over the arrest of Chen Du-Hsiu (Madame Sun Yat Sen alone made one feeble public protest at Chen's arrest).

Meanwhile Huan Ping was taken to Nanking and there are reasons for believing that he has ratted to the Kuo Min Tang. It is reliably reported that he is living in a private residence in Nanking under surveillance, and that the government is not satisfied as to the genuineness of his conversion to Kuo Min Tang principles. But that he is alive and not in jail is definitely known.

Whether reports of Huan Ping having become converted to Kuo Min Tang principles as a result of his arrest are reliable or not, the fact is there have been so many such "conversions" of late that one sounds quite credible. However, a statement entitled "Why I Left the Communist Party", which seems to bear the stamp of authenticity, and purportedly written by Huan Ping, appears in the February 16 issue of the People's Tribune organ of the Kuo Min Tang. "Leftist", Wang Chin Wei, I enclose this article for your information and use. It speaks for itself. February 28, 1933 —ROBERT.

All comrades and readers of the Militant are requested to help us build up as large as possible a section of the paper devoted to the life and work of the Left Opposition branches throughout the country and events in the class struggle. Report your activities! But bear in mind the limitations of space. Reports should be brief and to the point and as sparing as possible. Every comrade should feel himself a part of the paper and its contents, so that the Militant may accurately reflect the work and progress.

Communism and Syndicalism by LEON TROTSKY Some fundamental considerations on the relation of the party to the trade union movement with particular reference to the experiences of the French labor movement. . . . 15 cents Pioneer Publishers 84 East 10th Street, New York.