

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## Unite on May 1st Against World Reaction!

### Red Baiting in Illinois

### The P. M. A. Under Fire

In recent days, the reactionary press in Illinois has even attempted to work up a "red scare" in the Progressive Miners Union. Having failed to break the magnificent movement of the progressive miners by frontal attack, the coal operators have decided to supplement the physical terror of the state forces and the Lewis gangsters with a campaign of ideological terror within the union. They have developed a great solicitude about the political opinions of some of the leading miners in the union—especially Gerry Allard. And with their well-known concern for the welfare of the miners they are warning them to get rid of him and all others whom they identify as Communists or class struggle militants. They are saying in effect to the miners: "We have nothing against you as coal diggers. As a matter of fact, in that capacity you are necessary for the production of our profits. What we object to is the fact that you have broken with the Lewis unionism, which suited us to perfection, and have begun to fight for your rights. If you will give up this idea and stop listening to people who stir up the spirit of class militancy and resistance, we will be satisfied. In other words, if you will transform yourselves into sheep, we will eat you up and then we will have peace together."

The attack on Allard as a Communist, conducted in sensational articles in the "Taylorville Breeze" and other organs of the big interests, is obviously a part of the general campaign of reaction against the Progressive Miners. The object of the union "red scare" is to discredit the union before public opinion and thus to prepare the ground for more terrorist aggression, to intimidate the membership and consolidate the conservative right wing in the union (the concealed agents of Lewisism), and to drive the official leadership of the union at a faster pace on the path of conservatizing the organization. If they can succeed with this campaign of demoralizing the union from within, then the Progressive Miners' organization as a center of resistance to the capitalists and an inspiration to the miners throughout the country, as well as to the working class generally, will have become a thing of the past.

### The Enemy's Aim

The game of the operators and their agents is an old one. And there is only one way to meet it, as all experience has shown. That is to assert the independence of the union. To reject all advice offered to it by the class enemy. The union will not thrive and grow by conciliating the bosses, by capitulating to their ideology, by "domesticating" the union and making it acceptable to the bosses. This is what the bosses want. This is what they are aiming at with the new Communist hunt. To understand this and to fight against it is the elementary duty of the leading elements in the union, including Allard and the other individuals under attack.

But the response made to the attack in the "Progressive Miner" up till now does not in the least indicate an understanding of this strength of the enemy and underestimating the inner resources of the progressive miners' movement, as is always the case with "progressives" of all hues, they are trying to counter the brutal offensive of the class enemy with a "clever" strategy of camouflage and capitulation. They seek to ward off the attack by denying the "charges" of any Communist influence in the union. Thus, by implication, they disavow any tendency toward class struggle militancy, which is what the bosses really mean when they talk of Communism. Thus they lay the ground for the proscription not only of Communists but of all class struggle militants inside the union. And by that they concede the main demands of the bosses. Allard too, who should know better, allowed himself to fall in with this worthless strategy.

The class conscious members in the progressive miners' movement have to recognize the real purpose of this new attack of the class enemy on the ideological front. The operators and their tools have been unable to smash the movement in open struggle. Now they are trying to demoralize it from within, to rob it of the militancy which called it into life and sustained it in struggle—to purge it of those very qualities which have distinguished it from the corrupt unionism of Lewis and, eventually, to drive it back into the Lewis camp. Now is the time to call to mind the tragic fate of the previous insurgent movements which

were disorganized and defeated by these very methods. Now is the time for the real militants, who have carried the new movement on their shoulders in struggle and sacrifice, to remember the bitter experiences with Walker, Howat, and Edmondson and to say to all the leading forces in the new movement: "Nobody can lead us again onto this slippery path which leads to demoralization and defeat."

### The Present Course of the P. M. A. Leadership

The present trend, however, is in this direction. The course of the official leadership over a considerable period now has been to seek a "stabilization" of the union at the expense of its class struggle character. The negotiations and proposed agreement with Governor Horner, the ban on the demonstrations for the Taylorville prisoners, the new wage contract—in all these, and in a number of other important questions, the course of

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## WHY WE MISSED AN ISSUE

During the past week the Militant received numerous, anxious inquiries from its readers and friends asking why it had to skip an issue. No one, and least of all the small staff which struggles with mountainous obstacles to get out the paper, has to be reminded of the fact that the loss of an issue in these times is, not merely a technical setback and a loss of time, but a political setback as well. That is why the whole movement watches the appearance of the Militant with such close attention.

But it could not be helped. Here is the reason. Our financial crisis which has been deepening with the increasing depth of the general crisis of capitalism came to a head last week with an accident which made our linotype useless. A fire burned up the keyboard. To heap Pellon on Ossa the press broke down.

Just as these burdens were thrust on our shoulders our creditors took it into their heads to press

hardest for payment. The linotype company presented us with a foreclosure notice; the landlord served us with an eviction notice, the paper company cut off our credit; and a number of other people dunned us persistently.

Under these circumstances there was no alternative. We were forced to skip the issue. To make matters worse we were unable to rake together enough money to get our letters to our friends appealing to them to help us in the emergency. A mountain of correspondence had accumulated awaiting postage. At this point let us say that even this form of assistance will be a great help in the circumstances.

By almost unbelievable efforts, by straining every nerve and resource to the breaking point we repaired the press and linotype. They are working once more. But the situation remains as desperate as before. A factory ninety per cent completed is useless for productive purposes. The structure

necessary to insure the regular appearance of the Militant has not yet been rebuilt. We are still facing the loss of our machinery and the loss of our home.

It is simply unthinkable that these catastrophe will materialize. But it will unless everyone understands that this is the danger and acts accordingly and promptly. We must, we will overcome this crisis. We must have help immediately—\$200.

There is only one way to avoid the catastrophe and raise the necessary sum—resolute sacrifice. The movement is straining itself to the limit. It calls now on all its friends to make a concrete demonstration of their sympathy for the ideas of revolutionary Internationalism, for the clarification of Marxism, the Militant. Save the Militant!

Air Mail! Wire! Rush funds immediately to THE MILITANT, 126 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.

## Workers Must Join Forces in Big Demonstration Despite Sabotage of Socialist Party Leaders

The working class masses may day this year in the midst of a wave of international reaction, in a period of internal as well as external crisis. With bestial brutality bloody Fascism has smashed the proudest, the best organized, the traditionally strongest working class of capitalist Europe—the German proletariat, 50,000 thousand of its staunchest and most courageous fighters languish in the dungeons of sadistic Hitlerism. The Brown shirt pest continues its penetration of every club, of every street, of every home, Austria, a small country but a tremendous citadel of working class power stands next in order.

The dark powers of Europe, inspired by the victory of Teuton Fascism, are putting their heads together at Rome, plotting a new holy alliance, a crusade against Communism and its living fortress, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In Japan reaction stalks the land. In China the proletariat does not yet dare to lift its bleeding head. In India the spurs of British imperialism digged into the prostrate backs of the people.

And in our country too, in America, after nearly four years of economic stress and unprecedented impoverishment and misery, capitalism is consolidating its forces for a "solution" that can only further enhance the enslavement of the masses of toilers in the cities and on the farms.

Never since the days of the catastrophe of 1914, has the working class faced such a difficult time, never before has it been so threatened with attacks from without and with disintegration from within. The German debacle hangs like an ominous shadow over the future of the proletariat. Attacked by an enemy armed to the teeth, favored by a wave of unrest and disillusionment and hope born of capitalism, the organized forces of the working class of Germany have receded from the scene, beaten without a struggle.

The treacherous role of the social democracy in this miserable surrender was clear long before the fact. Social democracy has long ago, in the first great debacle of August 4, 1914, demonstrated its impotence and its capacity for working class betrayal. Nothing better could have been expected from it. Victory could come only upon the condition of the thorough unmasking of these traitors, upon the dissolution of the bonds between them and the masses who have followed them. Victory could come only if the Communist party carried out this task, if it itself proved its capacity for struggle.

It was precisely the failure to carry out this task that was precisely the disregard for its importance; the shelving of this duty for the utopian bureaucratic dream of "socialism in one country" that has made the Stalinized Communist party of Germany and Communist International a partner of the so-

## Russian Movie; May 6th, 8 p.m. Labor Temple

As announced in the previous issue of the Militant, a unique film of the Russian Revolution will be exhibited at a limited and private showing on Saturday, May 6, 1933. This film to be shown complete for the first time, reveals the actual and authentic pictures of all the important events and actions before, during and after the Russian Revolution, and covers a period of 20 years of Russia life.

A record of events from the first decade in the 20th century, from early Russia in Czarist days through the death of Lenin and the exile of Trotsky to Leningrad; the July uprising; the Kornilov movement; the Social Revolutionists; the rise of the Bolsheviks; the role of Lenin and Trotsky; and other leaders of the Bolsheviks; the Soviets; the rise to power of Bolshevism; the Civil War on the various fronts; grand scenes of all the Russias; the Comintern—this and more is to be seen in this outstanding factual film of the historic Russian revolution.

The film is being shown under the auspices of the Film Club of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America, (Opposition). The Committee in charge of the details wishes to announce to the Film Club members that they must obtain their SUBSCRIPTION TICKETS IN ADVANCE, if they wish to view the film. This is a limited, private showing and no tickets can be obtained at the door.

Members, obtain your subscription ticket at once at the headquarters of the Communist League of America (Opposition), 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C.

## S. P. Sabotages Mooney Struggle

The fourth session of the Congress Organization committee of New York United Front Free Tom Mooney Conference established that the course of the Stalinists in their back-door bargaining with the Socialist party failed to bring the latter into the movement. Palmer reported that on Thursday, April 28, Clarence Senior informed the negotiations committee that the N. E. C. of the S. P. had decided not to approve the Chicago Mooney Congress.

Our readers will remember that a negotiations committee consisting of Muste of the C. P. L. A., Palmer of the Federated Press and, as it is now revealed, Hathaway and Stachel of the C. P. had been knocking on the back door of the S. P., hat in hand, asking it to participate in the Chicago Congress. The S. P. attacked the Congress in its press, delayed, laid down ultimatum conditions and finally said no. The reason advanced by Palmer, is incredibly trivial and absurd. It seems that Mooney wrote a letter to Palmer in which he sharply criticized the course of the S. P. from 1913 up to date, and objected to the present attitude of the S. P. toward the Chicago Congress. A copy of this letter of which several copies must have been sent by Mooney to various individuals fell into the hands of the S. P. And upon this basis and other objections of an equally

## Inflation Bill Deceptive

### Roosevelt Retreats before Petty Bourgeois Pressure and Threatens Workers' Standard with New Measures

The prospects of inflation have been brought considerably closer by two actions undertaken by Roosevelt in the last two weeks: One is the embargo on gold, which cut the paper dollar international, as well as nationally, from gold and left it free to find its own level. The immediate result was a decline in the international price of the paper dollar to a discount of 16 percent, that is, an American dollar became worth 84 cents in any gold-standard currency such as the French, Dutch or Swiss, and also in the English pound, which remained stable during this period in relation to the gold currencies. Since then, the dollar has been rising steadily, and as of April 28 was quoted at a discount of 8 percent, i. e., had risen from 84 to 92 cents in gold.

In its dealings with other countries, in the exchange of commodities, capital and services, the United States received in 1932, \$131,000,000 than it paid out, against \$100,000,000 in 1931. This balance is payable directly or indirectly in gold. As long as the balance of payments remains in favor of the United States, the dollar will tend to rise toward par, because it will tend to receive more claims on the world's gold than it pays out.

The gold embargo alone therefore does not constitute inflation, which is a depreciation of the paper currency in comparison with gold. The door to inflation was thrown wide open by Roosevelt's second step, the demand for Congress for legislation authorizing him to choose any, all or none of four different kinds of inflation—through bank credit; the issue of unsecured greenbacks; the use of silver purchased in large quantities

up to a price above the present market, and the redefinition of the gold dollar to mean a smaller amount of gold, down to a reduction of 50 percent to represent. This step appears to present a maneuver of Roosevelt's under pressure from the petty bourgeoisie, especially the agrarian petty bourgeoisie, termed by the military and direct action of the rapidly developing left wing of the farmers' movement. The first test of strength came in a bill for silver currency inflation, which was defeated 43 to 33. The size of the minority and the continued agitation among the farmers decided Roosevelt to change his tactics, where Hoover would undoubtedly have continued in bull-headed opposition, both representing primarily the interests of monopoly finance-capital as against all other classes. Roosevelt's maneuver consists in offering first the appearance of inflation, through the gold embargo and the speculative rise in stocks and commodities which followed it; to be followed, in accordance with the amount of pressure put on the government by the petty bourgeoisie, by as little concession as practicable, the so-called "controlled" inflation. Should inflation on a substantial scale become necessary, finance-capital will so arrange itself (through re-borrowing from the Federal Reserve banks, through depreciation of the value of claims against the banks in the form of deposits, through increased speculation in stocks and commodities to counterbalance losses in bank investments) so as to obtain as much benefit or as little loss as possible, in the domestic sphere. On the international scale, American inflation would mean a loss of strategically advantageous positions in the export of capital, and would relatively strengthen the position of French capital, and of English capital to the extent that it was able to work out a temporary agreement with French capital. This latter perspective, pointed out in the Militant of March 8, has been verified by the recently announced Anglo-French banking and currency arrangements.

## Scottsboro March On Capital

Legally, the Scottsboro Case stands as follows: an appeal is being taken by the defense from the death verdict of the Decatur jury; the trial judge has continued the cases of the other defendants on the ground that a fair trial under the present circumstances is impossible; and, irony of ironies, he places the blame for the prejudiced atmosphere on Liebowitz!

The I. L. D. has applied for a writ of habeas corpus for two of the boys on various legal grounds. With the temporary lull on the legal front the mass protest movement alone occupies the center of the stage in this great class drama in which we are fighting for the democratic rights of the Negroes and the unity of the black and white workers. In the forefront of the protest and defense movement stands the march on Washington scheduled to arrive there on May 8.

The March to Washington The march was first projected by the Harlem, petty bourgeois newspaper, The Amsterdam News. Riding the crest of the first wave of the spontaneous protest of the Negro masses this paper issued a call for fifty thousand to march on the capital. With the entry of the I. L. D. on the scene, the inflation in organizing such a demonstration passed into its hands. Since then the Amsterdam News has shown that its first burst of enthusiasm was not sustained by the determination necessary to

## Fascist Terror Rages Against German Masses

Fascist Germany presents today a frightful picture of devastation of a once powerful revolutionary and working class movement. The Communist party has been destroyed, vanishing under heavy, well-aimed blows. The Stalinist party delivered the party, and with it the working class, gagged and bound to the fascist hordes.

The Socialist party is crippled apparently beyond recovery. Only its parliamentary skeleton is still attempting to maintain an humble, submissive existence. (The trade unions are beginning to feel the fascist lash. Many of their headquarters are sacked and now the preparations are in full swing to turn them into fascist state organs. All Communist and even social democratic delegates are unceremoniously removed from the factory councils and replaced by fascists, that is, where the councils are not dissolved altogether and new elections prohibited.)

The savage howls of the roaring fascist bandits who murder, pillage and destroy are pierced by the heart-rending groans from the torture chambers. The bestialities which actually take place are indescribable.

This is the crowning height of the many bitter experiences suffered by the German proletariat since the first serious act of treason performed by the social democratic chieftains on August 4, 1914. This first step was only the beginning of the later unbridled wrecking, the drowning in blood of the workers' revolutionary struggles of 1918 to 1921, the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the perfidious collaboration in the restoration of capitalist

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## Left Opposition Must Lead

The lead in this struggle of the working class belongs historically to those revolutionary fighters, who, in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin, swept over the head of a thoroughly discredited Menshevik social democracy to the October victory; to those heroic figures who in the years of the civil war and intervention stood at the head of the proletarian front; to those inflexible Marxist battlers who, when reaction followed revolution with the betrayal of the German social democracy for a second time in 1918, when petty bourgeois reformism filtered into the ranks of the Communist movement through the agency of bureaucratic Stalinism, stood alone but firm in the defense of the Leninist standard of world revolution against national socialism and pointed out time after time, the revolutionary road to be followed—in China, in Great Britain and last but not least, in Germany itself. The lead belongs to Trotsky and Rakovsky, to the thousands of tried and tested Bolshevik-Leninists following them in the International Left Opposition.

The attack of the forces of reaction can be countered successfully only by a struggle against disintegration from within, by the application of the Marxist policies of the International Left Opposition, in the Soviet Union itself as well as in the capitalist countries. Against the forces of reaction must be fortified the forces of progress, of revolution. This difficult task, this duty imposed by the dark situation threatening the international working class, can be solved only by the reestablishment of Marxist clarity within the Communist movement and by enforcement of the Leninist united front tactic in the general working class movement.

The May Day mobilization stands under the sign of this task. Every Communist must be made aware that only a rejection of the disastrous policies of Stalinist centrism, only a reestablishment of the Marxist perspective of permanent revolution, can prevent the destruction of October and halt the hand of reaction. Every worker must be made to realize that only the establishment of a solid, united working class front can withstand the dastardly schemes of the capitalist class in its attempt to lead the proletariat into the new Dark Ages of wage-slave savagery.

Socialist treachery and Stalinist bungling have helped the Nazis to turn May Day in Germany into a black day of the proletariat. The international holiday of the proletariat is celebrated in Berlin this year as a day of nationalistic debauch under the flag of the hooked cross. The workers in the rest of the world and here in America must show their indignation. They must protest against the Brown Shirt May Day in Berlin by a powerful united Red demonstration of internationalism. They must show the Nazi murderers by this demonstration that the international working class is girding its loins for battle.

On May 1st the whole world must know that every section, tendency and shade of the revolutionary and labor movement can stand together in a fight for a common battle can weld its forces in a united front. We have great objectives to attain the world over. In the U. S. the great battle for the release of Tom Mooney and freedom for the Scottsboro boys will be given a tremendous impetus when the proletariat fills streets in serried ranks on May 1st.

Socialist Party Sabotage In face of this, how criminal are the perfidious actions of the treacherous leaders of the Socialist party in splitting the ranks of the workers. These fakers have turned down the genuine offer of the united Front May Day Committee, composed of Communists, Mustetes, I. W. W. s., etc., for one demonstration in New York. Their obsequious, bootlicking services to the capitalist class need no other proof than this. Not content with this vile treason in breaking the workers ranks the S. P. fakers made

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carry out this mass action and the I. L. D. is undisputed leader of the march, as, indeed, it should be. If the I. L. D. is the undisputed leader of the march then, leaving objective conditions aside for the moment, the responsibility for its success or failure as an organized mass demonstration rests squarely on the I. L. D. A successfully organized and militantly conducted march can raise the protest movement of the masses to greater heights. It can inspire the terrorized masses of the south to struggle for their democratic rights and draw them further into the united mass action with the white workers. And since the whole movement is being conducted under the banner of militant mass action, which the whole working class knows, in this instance, to be the banner of Communism, a successful march must increase the prestige of Communism in the eyes of the masses.

Conversely a poor organized march with no spirit, the morale of which is low will react on the movement unfavorably. The spark of enthusiasm and contagion will not be struck. The I. L. D. would lose prestige and the prestige of Communism would also suffer.

It is from this point of view that we criticize the preparations for the march. The call asks all participants to supply their own food and the organizations sending representatives.

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