

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

League in Action in Philadelphia

Philadelphia.—A sectional united front conference against evictions was called on March 30. The unemployed councils of West Philadelphia called it. The conference made an effort to be broad—in composition only. It was almost treason to connect local with national or international problems. No trade unions were represented, one Y. P. S. L. local, one church.

Nothing was said at the conference of social-fascists or of a "united front from below". As a matter of fact the party made a complete somersault and now appears ready to enter into united fronts with social reformists, without reserving the right to criticize. In such united fronts Bender, the conference leader, feels like a fish in water. He said: "This conference was called to compel 'our representatives' in the legislature to keep their promises;" and "that only by mass action can the workers end their misery".

Comrade Roberts criticized the narrow parliamentary base as well as the creation of illusions that under capitalism the workers can end their misery. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can do that, but in order to lay the foundation it is necessary to fight back the attacks of the bosses, "the real fruit of our victory lies not in the immediate result but in the ever-expanding union of workers". At the conclusion of the speech Roberts was given a good round of applause.

The Communist party as an organization was not represented until reminded in the resolutions committee by comrade Hirsch of the Left Opposition. As usual, our proposal of long-term credits to aid recognition of the Soviet Union, was rejected as having nothing to do with the conference. A proposal that all workers' organizations from the Soviet Union down to the smallest workers' group boycott German goods, met with same rebuff.

We did, however, succeed in passing some resolutions, which the conference leaders had completely forgotten. They were: (1) against the commissary plan; (2) social insurance at the expense of the government and employers; (3) against Roosevelt's reforestation plan; (4) six-hour day, five-day week without reduction in pay. Of particular interest are the last two. The narrowing down of the conference proved a boomerang to the Stalinists. Resolution number 3 was met with the objection by a delegate from the Paolo Zionists but this was beyond the scope of the conference.

The conference adjourned with the election of a committee of action which is to carry on the work of the body. Roberts was elected to this committee. Nothing was said about our class war prisoners (Tom Mooney, etc.). When, after the conference, Roberts asked the reason for this, the cynical answer was given: "Do you want us to be here all night?"

The Anti-Nazi Demonstration in Philadelphia

The Stalinist policies and tactics permitted the rabid, the capitalist politicians to capitalize on the anti-Semitism of the Nazis (and to divert it into safe channels). This Thursday, April 6 the C. P. of Phila. arranged a protest demonstration against Hitlerism under its own name at Reburn Plaza. Not even the rain can account for the fact that only 500 workers participated in the parade. Preparation were extremely meager. Only the closest party circles participated. Almost all were foreign born and Negro workers—who due to lessons of the past respond quickest against Fascist terror. Not all the cheers for the C. P. of Germany and the U. S. A. could remove the doubt, still unvoiced, from the minds of these workers as to the correctness of the Stalinist policies.

The paraders were glad to see us of the Left Opposition in the march with them. Perhaps we were right after all? The comrades were unable to understand the absence of an attack on the socialist position. No campaign of clarification and of honest explanation is undertaken. Only this week has the party begun a discussion. This demonstration should be an indication to the party members that only a sincere and honest turn can bring results and extend the influence of Communism among the masses.

Stalinist Opportunism in Mpls. Elections

Minneapolis.—On April 22 the United Front Conference for the Workers Ticket Election Campaign was held in Minneapolis. The major part of the conference work was expended on clearing up wreckage wrought by the party's opportunist policy at the "preliminary" conference held some weeks before. The opportunism of the district leadership consisted in this: they attempted to get around the deepest prejudices of the reformist-minded worker by approaching him with a "united front workers ticket" behind which would hide the C. P. At the same time this form for the Communist ticket would allow the party to unite with individual candidates who have a following in the labor movement and that would bring to the polls votes for the C. P. candidates on the "Workers ticket". Just such an individual did they have in Walter Frank, a free-lancing radical who has made the circuit of all political tendencies in labor movement, and is at present flirting with the party in the F. S. U. and T. U. C. for Unemployment Insurance. He was endorsed by the party-controlled conference upon his endorsement of the "workers ticket" platform which consisted primarily of immediate demands and was void of the revolutionary aims and objectives of Communism. It did not even uphold the need of an independent working class political party, a Communist party.

Frank was out to be elected, he accepted the help of the party, and had promised nothing in return. Walter Frank's first leaflet practically told the workers they needed no political party, but instead "Workers Unity". The result was that the party's back-stage dickering with this opportunist office-seeker had to be exposed by the Left Opposition. We frankly told all party members we met that if the party persisted in its opportunist we would file a Communist candidate against Frank in that ward. As though from somewhere, they issued a leaflet one week before the second "United Front Workers Ticket Conference" violently attacking Frank, repudiating his endorsement by the party, calling for support of the "Workers ticket" platform on the grounds of its "class struggle" character, in other words made a fair, general statement of the Communist program and principles.

At the conference proper they submitted a platform with paragraphs added, others deleted, and on the basis of it proceeded to "thrash" Frank for being what he always was in the united front, an opportunist radical politician. Frank's defense before the workers in the conference was that the party had broken its agreement with him and had changed the original platform. A disgusting melee.

Meanwhile the Opposition delegates were unseated on the report of the credential committee. An honest party member made the report. When he came to the matter of why the Opposition should not be seated, he stopped, went into a huddle with the leaders, came back and stammered out the "reasons". The chairman drove the motion through the meeting without allowing discussion. While the conference rejected Frank, the only non-party candidate, and thus destroyed its united front character, the party continued to call it a united front, for well thought-out opportunist reasons. It is to be the name, the cover for the C. P. a demagogic frill, to pick up workers and store-keepers votes. The Germanic candidates, all Communists, have election cards bearing no mention of Communism, just "candidate on workers' ticket". Leaflets are the same, carrying the name of the Conference with occasional mention of "endorsed by C. P.". At an aldermanic campaign meeting the Opposition criticized this aspect of the party campaign. Petty functionaries rose one after another, each giving a more confused, opportunist, explanation of the "united front workers ticket". A confused Farmer-Labor party faction leader in the Ward F. L. P. Club who was chairman of this meeting arranged by the Workmen Circle branch, sided with the party arguments on an "election united front", cited the "farmer-labor united front" of 1924-28, greeted this "new" policy, and then unconsciously clinched the truth of our contention for the party not to play with election united fronts. He said, "Did not we have in this hall (Workers Hall Ass'n.), a Left wing of four hundred followers, did not the party lead us into the Farmer-Labor party? Why did it leave us there? Was it not because you told us it was a working class party?" The last election united front policy of the party founded, nurtured, and built the formidable reformist Farmer-Labor party, a bulwark against Communism in the masses. This last united front election policy launched the opportunist Walter Frank into his race for political office with the label, "workers candidate", fighting for "workers unity". Despite the masquerade of names and the comedy of endorsements, the Left Opposition will support the Communist candidates in the city elections, and campaign for them on a clear-cut out-spoken Communist banner and program.

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The S. P.'s. Continental Congress

The role of social reformism, how it arises and grows, has been sufficiently established by the Marxists since the post-war period. It grows simultaneously with the advance of the revolutionary movement. Its aim is to act as a brake upon rising tide of struggle. The more acute the class struggle the more active do the reformists become. They pretend at a struggle, only to retreat, cripple and destroy such conflicts at their decisive moments. In the "democratic era" of capitalism they flourish like the proverbial mushrooms after a rain. When capitalism resorts to an open and naked dictatorship (Fascism) as in Germany they are thrust aside as a hindrance to the process of completely decapitating the proletariat.

Quite contrary to the "third period" theorists of Stalinism, social reformism in the United States is not dead, nor is it in the process of extinction. The "span of life" of reformism in this country is not the point under discussion at present. The decisive question is whether or not reformism has the possibilities of activity and growth under the given conditions and state of class struggle in the United States. And to this we must answer in the affirmative. To deny the "Fascist Hoover Government" and "Fascist Commissions" as the Daily Worker does in its most delirious moments, results only in confusion and error. In doing that it signifies that the path of reformism has already been beaten and is covered with the footsteps of American Fascism.

Four years of crisis have torn deep roles in American capitalism. They have posed weaknesses that appeared absent during the "prosperity" years. The impact of the crisis is demonstrating to American imperialism more clearly than ever, that it must direct and base its economy on a world scale. We will witness a greater participation of the United States in world affairs on the political field, and an intensified activity in the sphere of international economy. In preparing for this stage, American capitalism must first of all settle accounts at home. It proceeds to lower the standard of living of the American working class nationally. Since the crisis a series of uninterrupted wage-cuts has taken place. This process is being completed. And it is being completed thus far, without apparent resistance by the working masses.

Whatever the level of recovery may be it will be carried through by smashing the living standards of the masses. That is inherent in the situation. American capitalism has not yet been seriously burdened with the problems of relief and social insurance. With brutal callousness it has resisted every demand for these. To expect that these demands would have been

I. L. D. Refuses Aid to Greek Worker

On April 22nd last year, Nick Gramataikis, unemployed worker, was arrested while participating in the unemployed demonstration in City Hall which was turned into a blood bath by the savage attacks of the police. The city's "finest" on horseback, and afoot charged into the crowds trampling them under hoofs and beating them with clubs, men and women alike, indiscriminately. When a woman comrade was being brutally clubbed, Nick Gramataikis fearlessly intervened. This resulted in his arrest.

The Daily Worker of April 23, 1932 gave considerable prominence to the story of the arrests and police brutalities, but failed to mention the name of any of the workers arrested except that of George Powers, the leader of the demonstration. Two days later it announced a mass protest demonstration against the police terror to be held April 29th. It failed to report this demonstration and never once did it mention the names of these class struggle victims.

In the hands of the police, the unemployed worker Gramataikis was frightfully beaten, causing him to be confined in the hospital at Welfare Island for about a month. On the expiration of this sentence, he was sent to Ellis Island for deportation.

At the time of his arrest and during all these events, Gramataikis was a member of the Spartakos Club, the Party's Greek workers' organization and he was detained by the I. L. D. After being held for a month or more at Ellis Island, he was released on bail, a \$1,000 bond being put up for him. This bond was given by a surety company and the security for it was provided by a member of the Spartakos Club.

Since that time, some petty quarrels arose between Gramataikis and the ruling clique at the Club, the Stalin clique causing his expulsion. Soon after this took place, he received a notification from the Ellis Island authorities to present himself there, informing him that the surety company which had posted his bond was in the process of liquidation, and that he was required to put up a new bond. The letter of notification was addressed to him at the Spartakos Club and was not delivered to him by them until the very evening before he

Communists Must Break Thru 'Closed Door' Policy

granted without an intensive struggle on the part of the workers is a serious error. It is precisely because on a national scale such struggles were absent and serious resistance was not recorded, that the ruling class in this country was able to carry through its drive against the masses to lower their living standards and at the same time refuse aid to the unemployed without serious difficulties.

The weakness of the subjective factor: the state of consciousness of the American workers, are flowing from this the absence of a mass Communist party with correct policies, and a militant labor movement, is in the main the reason for the lack of great class battles. Whatever struggles have taken place were at best sporadic, intensive though some of them may have been. The gains however were small and localized and thus their scope is entirely too narrow. The bulk of the struggle was carried on almost primarily through the direct initiative and activity of the Communists.

Growing Mood of Struggle

The crisis will prove to be a great impulsion to the class-conscious development of the American workers. This is evidenced by a growing mood of struggle seen in great demonstrations of unemployed, the auto strikes, the movement of the Illinois miners and the recent organization of the "Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee" at Gillespie. In all of these events the Communists have played an active and leading role. This role will increase with the development of the struggle. It is important to remember this.

With these remarks let us examine the call for a "Continental Congress of workers and farmers for Economic Reconstruction" to be held in Washington on May 6 and 7. The leading elements in framing the call and their allies in the American Federation of Labor, page one of the call is adorned with a cartoon showing how labor is driving the moneybags out of the Capitol. This cartoon is supposed to describe the statement of William Green, arch-reactionary head of the A. F. of L., also appearing on page one, as an introduction to the call itself.

Green declares: "For we shall soon be on the march... We shall FIGHT with every legitimate weapon at our command.... We have come to what we are determined to do: the END OF SUFFERING.... We prefer the council table, but we do not shun the BATTLEFIELD.... I am ready to LEAD the hosts of labor into a BATTLE.... The die is cast for

THE BATTLE out of which labor expects a new America!

What strange words, coming from the reactionary leader of the organized labor movement who has done everything in his power to throttle the slightest note of militancy in its ranks. The apostle of class collaboration will lead the hosts of labor into a battle, a battle for a new America!

This is the introduction to the call addressed to the workers and farmers of the United States, to convene and "draw up a program to right the grievous wrongs we have suffered and set up a national council of the working people in the city, state and nation to ensure its realization". And to this congress are invited: "(a) Progressive organization of farmers; (b) Organization of Labor; (c) Cooperative Societies; (d) The Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties, single taxers, and other liberal political groups; (e) Labor fraternal bodies and unemployed leagues WHOSE PURPOSES ARE IN HARMONY WITH THE OBJECTS OF THIS CONFERENCE." The call further declares: "Through vigilance, the strength of a just cause, and the pressure of our democratic mass strength we shall ENDEAVOR to win for all men, women and children of this Nation a TRUE FREEDOM—FREEDOM FROM POVERTY, HUNGER AND ECONOMIC SECURITY". (Emphasis mine—G.)

The mere statement of Green, veneered with a dash of militancy, is an indication, above all, of a fear of a developing movement of the American proletariat for militant struggle. This fear is accentuated by the thought that this developing movement may form under the leadership of the Communists who have until now been the main factor in those class struggles already taking place. It is axiomatic that when a Green wishes to do battle in the interests of the proletariat the real purpose in such militancy is to check the movement of the workers, to choke it before it begins, or if unsuccessful in that, to canalize it into the stream of reformism.

Aim of Conference

In that respect at least there are no differences between Green and his socialist comrades who signed the call and have taken the initiative in bringing about the conference. They are going to bring about a true freedom, a freedom from poverty, hunger and economic security. Under what kind of program will this political, economic and social change take place? Under the program adopted at this congress that will be attended by the widest variety of elements. Is this a merely another utopian plan? No, its main aim is to head off and destroy at once the growth of the revolutionary movement. To do this it is not enough to organize a united front movement in the struggle for the demands of the suffering unemployed. These people must rely upon something else; a substitute offering for social reorganization that will sound "reasonable and capable of achievement" and yet be a far cry from the revolutionary program of the Communists.

Isn't this clear in the nature of the call? To secure this aim all organizations are invited except the Communists and revolutionary workers. Even the single taxers (!) are invited. But the Communist party, the T. U. U. L. and the Unemployed Councils, the revolutionary wing of the proletariat are not invited. The intention is to build a movement that will go into "battle" for a "true freedom". What kind of a battle and what kind of true freedom will this be when the heart of the proletariat is to be excluded from participation? The answer is: there will be no battle nor a true freedom if the leaders of this movement carry through their purpose of excluding the revolutionists from the conference. The real aim is the building of a reformist movement that will attempt to check the rising class-conscious American proletariat.

That the socialists, who consistently profess their "adherence" to Marxism and socialism, take the lead in this movement only testifies to their theoretical and political degeneration. It is in the name of Marxism that they are creating this movement. It is in the name of socialism that they are attempting to bring about a true freedom in joint "struggle" with the reactionary labor leaders, liberal political groups, single taxers, etc.

The Communist, revolutionary and militant workers must break through the closed-door policy of the congress. The congress without doubt, will be attended by many workers' organizations of all shades of opinions and aims. While exposing the program of disunity and reformism, the Left wing must counter with the demand for a genuine united front. It must fight against the exclusion of any section of the working class. It will have to present a counter-program of action, free from the confusing reformism designed to throttle the growing class consciousness of the American workers. Such a tactic, intelligently and correctly carried out, will win the support of the workers assembled in the congress. It may prevent the emergence of an organization whose main purpose will be that of fighting the Communists, and turn it into an organization of militant class struggle whose purpose will be to fight for the interests of the working masses.

A report of this case was sent to the Daily Worker, which has failed to publish it. The I. L. D. must not be permitted to abandon a militant worker in his need. The Spartakos Club is trampling the banner of Communism in the dirt by putting petty revenge above elementary class duty and class solidarity. We call on all healthy elements in the I. L. D. and in the Spartakos Club to take up the case and demand that their leaders take immediate action to free Nick Gramataikis.

—ESTHER FIELD.

NEW SUB DRIVE

Well we're back at you. We're off on a new sub drive. This one is scheduled to run from now to the end of June, roughly about six weeks. And it's got to hum from start to finish.

THE GERMAN CAMPAIGN

As a result of our German campaign, we're a bigger organization now. We cover a greater amount of territory. There are more of us. The Militant reaches and is read by a greater number of workers. Interest in it is keener. All the objective requirements exist for a successful drive.

It's just a question of putting your back into it. There is urgent reason to put this drive over with a great big bang. The financial situation of the Militant is not what it should be. It's nip and tuck to get the issue out. All kinds of troubles descend on us. One week it's the press, the next it's the linotype. We laugh them off. They're growing pains. Our battling average is pretty high.

But how about it in the field? Are you in this thing? Are you lying awake nights contriving schemes to get subs to put a sounder and firmer and wider base under our paper? If you are you will welcome this drive. If you have been sleeping too soundly now is the time to get up and hop to it.

Have you got all three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky? Here is your chance to get a set for nothing. All you have to do is to come out on top in this sub drive. That is the goal every comrade can shoot at. Let's repeat it so there'll be no misunderstanding about it. To the comrade who gets the greatest number of subs by the 30 of June we will give without any strings tied to it a set of the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky.

And to console the runner up, to save that smart that you get from ruminating along that almost if tanged we'll give a bound volume of the Militant, either former, new or old, according to your fancy. Now isn't that somepin? So whale away comrades.

CLUB PLAN SUBS Yes. Everything goes. All subs count. New ones, renewals, club plan subs. We want to pile up a total that'll put all the former records in the shade.

But if you're smart you'll concentrate on the club plan prepaid cards. That's where the heavy scoring will be done. You haven't forgotten about them? You remember they come in minimum units of four, prepaid (don't forget that; that's important). And each one at 50c is good for a regular \$1 half-year sub. And they count for four subs. A tip to the wise—

Now if you're very wise you'll pay close attention and follow out our advice to the letter. Take two dollars, shoot them in here for four of these prepaid cards and ring up a starter of four subs. Then you can go out and resell these cards. When you resell them you have your two dollars back. Now shoot them in again for four more prepaid cards. As far as you're concerned they're the same two dollars. But they're working overtime piling up a score toward the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution. What could be simpler. Somebody once called it a revolving

fund. That's one name for it. But call it what you will it's a swell way to build the Militant.

If you don't like revolving funds that shouldn't stop you from getting four of these cards. You can give them away to unemployed workers. One way or another you can use these prepaid cards to build the Militant. So pitch in. Give it a boost. Help put the drive over. Get started right away.

Of course New York will have an advantage being closer to home and being able to start sooner. But New York has had to occupy second place before. It isn't always a New York comrade who comes out on top. If memory serves us right it's usually a comrade from some other city who shows the race a clean pair of heels. If you're west of the Hudson call it a handicap race and set out to give New York a drubbing. But you'll have to step some. So let'er go!

And watch next week's issue for the first reports.

Unity on May Day

(Continued from page 1)

a united front with the Police Department! First they attempted, with rotten congratulations to the new police commissioner to whom they stated: "We have always cooperated with the police and have not attacked them", to get the police to deny the united front demonstration the right to Union Square on May 1st.

The pressure and the anger of the workers without and within their ranks forced these vile "socialist" lackeys to retreat from this dastardly maneuver. But they were not to be deterred in their "cooperation" with Commissioner Bolan, the smasher of the March 6th, 1930 demonstration, to keep the workers divided. Forber, Lee, Claessens and their stripe are now dickering with the police chief not only to prevent a united demonstration but to prevent the socialist workers, who will demonstrate on Union Square before the United Front demonstration, to remain and join the latter demonstration. They demand of their collaborator, Bolan, that the "Square be cleared" before the United Front parade enters it! ! !

The workers must close their ranks in a united manifestation of international solidarity. The socialist brethren of Wels and Breit-scheid and all those who have directly sold out the German workers to Fascism, have rejected every effort toward a joint Communist and socialist demonstration. They have preferred, following the bosses' police in an effort to sabotage united struggle. The American workers must show the socialist saboteurs that they have learned their lesson from Germany. They must show that they will not permit their ranks to be split, that they will march together on the First of May, in spite of everything.

Show that the tragedy of the German proletariat will be avenged by learning the lessons of reformist betrayal and Stalinist national socialism which made it possible demonstrate under the banner of Leninist internationalism, under the banner of the Bolshevik Left Opposition!

Alteration Painters United Front

The "new United Front policy" of the Comintern is now making its appearance in the trade union field. The mechanical application of this policy by the Alteration Painters Union is a half-hearted attempt to correct some of the worst errors of the old "Third Period" sectarianism. But Centralism here also shows its half-ness and inadequacy to advance a policy and a perspective that meets the demands of the present situation. Without a real change there can be no improvement.

Recently the Alteration Painters Union sent an open letter to the central bodies of the A. F. L. Painters Union, outlining the conditions in the trade, and calling for the organization of a large conference representing the membership of both unions for united action for the improvement of the conditions of the painters in this city.

It is quite obvious that this is not sufficient, as an examination of the problems and the relation of forces in the industry will show. The painters in the city are divided into three groups, the first being the unorganized, who constitute the majority, the second are the workers in the A. F. L. which controls the bulk of the organized painters and the third is the militant minority which is isolated in the independent organizations the Alteration Painters' Union.

In such a situation the key to Left wing strategy is the struggle for unity, because the workers, experiencing drastic reductions of their wages and working conditions, widespread unemployment, on the one hand, and the disunity of the painters, on the other, feel the need of a united struggle and will support the militants if they are convinced that the militants are really fighting for this policy. This would also facilitate the task of organizing the unorganized. This struggle for unity in the present situation should be formulated as follows: 1. Propose to the District Council of the A. F. L. that the

Alteration Painters Union be admitted as a body with full membership rights.

2. On this basis to revive the Left wing in the A. F. L. to fight for the unity of the two organizations.

3. All the independent work of the A. P. U. will be strengthened in the meantime because the union will be in a position to justify its independent existence and to prove to both the organized and unorganized workers that the bureaucrats in the A. F. L. are against the unity of the painters and that the A. P. U. is leading the struggle for unity, class struggle.

Even for such a proposal as made in the open letter, this broad tactic is necessary (call for united action pending unification). The present proposal hangs in mid-air as it gives no perspectives, let alone that of unity in one organization.

—WILLIAM KITT.

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