



Finished with Stalinism!

Another Leader of German C.P. Revolts

Editor's Note: After the open letter of comrade Maria Reese, we are in a position now to make public another document, no less important than the Reese letter. We offer to our readers the letter sent to Piatnitsky the organizational secretary of the Comintern by comrade Karl Friedberg. Karl Friedberg is one of the oldest members of the Communist Party of Germany and of the Communist International. From the first he has held important, responsible posts in the Comintern and gained thereby, a thorough knowledge of the workings of the apparatus of the C. P. G. and the Comintern.

heavy industrialist Hermann Roehling. The Saar is governed by the League of Nations, the coal mines belong to France. In 1935 there will be a referendum (similar to that of Upper-Silesia in 1921) as to whether the territory is to belong to France, or retain the present form of administration, or be returned to Germany.

The False Policy in the Saar
Up to August last, the C. P. of the Saar was for the return to Germany. The "leader" of the C. P. declared publicly: "Even if we will have to face the gallows in Hitler-Germany, we want to return to the Fatherland". For this patriotism, he received the praise of Hermann Roehling over the radio from Frankfurt-am-Main. Let's not begrudge him it. In August Die Rundschau (official Stalinist organ—Ed.) of Basle made public the new position: "A Red Saar in a Soviet Germany". This slogan is just as

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New Year Eve Masquerade Ball for the Militant

This New Year's Eve the Militant is giving its first masquerade Ball at Germania Hall, 158 Third Avenue (16th Street). It promises to be the gayest affair we have ever arranged. Comrades, singly and in groups, are already planning their costumes drawing inspiration from such historic events as the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution, etc.

The spirit of bolshevik competition will be present for prizes are to be given for the best costumes—also for the worst. Take your choice but at all events—compete!

A program of revolutionary dances specially arranged will be given by talented comrades and sympathizers. There will also be a fine singer of folk songs. Refreshments of all kinds will be served at low cost.

A special jazz band has been hired.

The admission is only 50 cents. Get your tickets in advance.

Comrades: Make no other appointments for New Year's Eve—Celebrate with us the beginning of a big year for the MILITANT and the Communist League of America.

—PRESS COMMITTEE.

N. Y. Hotel Strikers Organize

Food Workers Union Strengthens Ranks

New York.—The strike of the Montclair Hotel workers conducted by the Hotel and Restaurant branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, which we reported in last week's Militant still continues and picketing is very effective. The National City Bank which owns the Montclair is very stubborn in settling the strike with the Union. It employs numerous thugs who attempt to terrorize the strikers and also to keep the scabs on the job. In spite of this terrorism, the strikers were strengthened last Friday with an additional sixty-five workers from the dining-room and kitchen department.

They use every means to provoke and intimidate the strikers and its leaders. They arrested Organizer Caidis under the false charge of being the leader of a gang beating scabs. These charges, however, were dropped by the very worker who made them because he understood in the meantime that he was unconsciously becoming the tool of the bosses. Upon realizing this he also joined the ranks of the strikers. For the first time in the last 17 years a hotel in New York was forced to close its kitchen and dining-room departments. The bosses are forced to keep the scabs out and night because if they go out from the hotel they immediately fraternize with the strikers and become part of them.

This strike has already succeeded in bringing home to the workers as well as to Hotel Men's Association that the Union, a branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, is in the field to secure decent working conditions for the hotel and restaurant workers. Already, many hotels like the Park Central, that up to now have refused to pay any wages at all to their waiters, are calling meetings of their waiters to discuss the question of wages. Many other hotels have increased the wages simply because they realize that the Union is organizing their workers.

He was kept in inactivity for many years through the chicanery of the bureaucracy. They refused to give him any productive work in order to paralyze his revolutionary energy.

He was a fighter for the emancipation of the proletariat whose militancy will be a pattern for us.

UNSER WORT.

Why I Did It

James McGovern, M. P. for the Independent Labor Party from Scotland has the following explanation to make of his sensational action at the opening of Parliament where he shouted defiance at the King. We quote from the British New Leader for November 24th, 1933:

"Knowing that the present session of Parliament would be opened by the reading of the proposed Government by the King, I thought I would like to hear these proposals at first hand, realizing that the new Insurance Bill would mean to the unemployed of this country."

"I arrived at the Bar of the House of Lords and gazed at the vulgar display of wealth—wonderful and expensive gowns, jewels and tiaras, worth hundreds of thousands of pounds, military and naval representatives of our own and foreign nations. Everywhere I looked I saw wealth, comfort and, self-satisfaction. I thought of the poor, wretched people outside who are to be the victims of future legislation and who, by their energy and sacrifice, provided all this wealth."

"And I could not remain silent. I looked upon the scene and, knowing that their favorite sport was chasing and killing foxes, I saw the workers being hounded down into the gutter, the grave, the asylum, and the workhouse by the legislation of this class. I remembered those who produced the wealth existing in rags, bootless, hungry, and sitting before empty grates or being evicted from their homes."

"Maxton and Buchanan (Independent Labor Party M. P.—Ed.) had for a number of years refused to attend the opening of parliament because of their disgust with this show. As I saw the performance indignation overcame me when I recalled the human suffering outside, the Means Test, Unemployment cuts, and the destruction of the social services. Something within me rebelled and I lashed out at the enemies of the people."

"Did I do wrong? Is there any worker who believes that I did not voice the feeling of every decent human being? I feel that I spoke for the working class whom I represent."

St. Paul Packing Strike

Adventurist Methods Cause Bad Defeat

St. Paul.—The workers in the packing industry throughout the U. S. have for some time been dissatisfied with their conditions. The failure of the NRA to raise wages created a situation favorable for organizational work. (The press reports that local NRA officials attribute the "unrest among the packing-house workers to the failure of the minimum wages schedules to affect any but a small number of employees".)

Strikes have been called in various plants in different parts of the country. In Austin, Minnesota at the plant of the Geo. Hormel Co. a strike took place. The workers, who were organized into independent union which embraced the entire working population of the city, seized the factory and ejected the company officials. With the aid of the local farmers they held out for several days. State and Company officials then prevailed upon the men to return to work pending arbitration. Recognition of the union was granted. One of the main reasons why the bosses were able to accomplish this so easily was the absence of conscious Left wing militants in the union.

But here in South St. Paul the strike under the leadership of the self-styled "Revolutionary Vanguard", the T. U. U. L., yielded far more disastrous results!

Armour's Swift's and Cudeby's are the three large packing companies in South St. Paul. They employ approximately 3500 workers who have long been corralled into company unions. As a result of the terrific speed-up and part-time employment under the Roosevelt "spread the work" plan their wages were reduced to a starvation level. Despite the dissatisfaction of the workers here the A. F. of L., which has a negligible section of the men organized into the Amalgamated Meat-cutters and Butchers Workers Union, conducted no activity whatsoever.

Stalinist Strike Strategy

In the Armour plant the T. U. U. L. succeeded in organizing a small group of men into the Packinghouse Workers Industrial Union. At Swift & Co. a smaller group was formed. The rest of the workers in these two huge plants knew little or nothing of these activities. Instead of a campaign in the three big plants to organize a union capable of conducting a struggle, and, when such a union was formed, to strike the three plants and simultaneously, the union decided to call a strike at the Armour plant immediately!

On November 15th a committee from the Stalinist union approached the Armour officials and presented the following demands: A 10 cents per hour increase; a 32 hour week.

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On the Death of Max Hoelz

On September 15th, Max Hoelz met with an accident in a boating trip on the Oka River (Soviet Union) and drowned. And with that the life of a fighter was extinguished, a militant who will continue to live on in the hearts of the revolutionary proletariat as the courageous revolutionist who fought with determination and strength against capitalism and for the proletarian revolution.

The lessons of the revolutionary struggles of 1920 and 1921, which were led by Max Hoelz, have not yet been eradicated from the consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat. If there was only one member of the C. C. of the C. P. U. imbued with the spirit of Max Hoelz the disgraceful, capitulatory defeat of the C. P. G. could not have been possible. The functionaries who are whispering among themselves that Max Hoelz was not a Marxist, that his deeds and those of his group had little in common with the fundamentals of the class struggle are well answered by the fact that he was not that kind of a "Marxist" who hides his cowardice behind Marxism.

An Enemy of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

The news of the death of Max Hoelz shocked all the friends of the militant. It is not true, as the social democratic and Communist papers write, that his political career came to an end with his release from prison in 1918. Max Hoelz wanted to struggle on. He was an enemy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The German C. C. covered with guilt for Hitler's victory—he hated and despised it with a violent passion.

During the prison years and the years of his stay in the Soviet Union Max Hoelz, through intensive study acquired a comprehensive

Marxist education. These were to be a strong weapon for him in the coming struggles of the German proletariat. Max Hoelz's mind was set on returning to Germany to engage in new struggles. As late as last February, after Hitler had become Chancellor, Max Hoelz addressed a request to the Comintern to permit him to return to Germany. The Stalinist bureaucracy did not allow him to do so. In order to prevent him from leaving, he was forced to become a Soviet citizen.

Stood for a New Party

Max Hoelz shared the views of his friends Wolf and Wollenberg on the collapse of the German C. P. and the Comintern. And also, as early as March he proclaimed the necessity for the creation of a new party of struggle. At the beginning of March there were many discussions in his hotel room on the situation created in Germany and in the Comintern by Hitler's victory. Max Hoelz repeatedly expressed himself in this connection that the defeat of the German C. P. and the Comintern was caused in the first place, by the false policy of the Comintern in recent years and particularly by Stalin's false policy in the Soviet Union, which has brought with it the exclusion of the best revolutionary elements in the Soviet Union as in the Comintern. He repeatedly declared that the expulsion of Trotsky and his friends was one of the greatest crimes of the C. C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary strength of Max Hoelz was shackled by the Stalinist bureaucracy. His passionate will to struggle could not

bear the tedious bureaucracy. He was kept in inactivity for many years through the chicanery of the bureaucracy. They refused to give him any productive work in order to paralyze his revolutionary energy.

He was a fighter for the emancipation of the proletariat whose militancy will be a pattern for us.

UNSER WORT.

THE LEAGUE FORGES AHEAD

We are now launching another program of expansion. Its main feature is expressed in our decision to assemble the forces for the creation of a new revolutionary party and, in preparation for this, to bring the League much more definitely into mass activity in the class struggle.

This declaration can signalize the beginning of a great upswing of American Communism. It can become the means of new inspiration in place of old disappointments which resulted from the bankruptcy of the official Communist movement alongside the manifest corrupting influence of social reformism. But it can also remain an empty gesture which will bring devastating consequences. The results to be attained depend entirely upon us and upon our supporters. Our proclaimed intentions can be proved only by deeds.

It is from this standpoint that we present our expansion program of today. It is a practical program setting up comparatively modest tasks which can and must be carried out. This Action Program we summarize herewith in brief form:

1. The transformation of **The Militant** into a popular agitation paper to be sold at a cheaper price

MEETING

DOES THE RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA MEAN THE END OF THE COMINTERN?

Speakers: MAX SHACHTMAN AL DASCH
Member of the Brownsville Section Committee of the Communist Party at **HOFFMAN'S MANSION** 142 Watkins Street (Between Pitkin and Belmont) on Thursday, Dec. 14, 1933, 8 P. M. ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

and appealing directly to the mass of the American workers.

2. The establishment of a theoretical organ—**The New Internationalist**—to which the heavier and longer articles will be transferred.

3. The acceptance of members into the League on a broader basis than heretofore.

4. The systematic establishment of united front relations and joint class struggle activities with other workers organizations, in particular with those groups with which we have some points in agreement.

5. The formation wherever possible of peripheral organizations (workers' clubs, etc.) on a broad basis.

6. The systematic registration of the League membership for enrollment in mass organizations of various kinds, above all the trade unions which have a mass character.

7. The strengthening of the central apparatus of the League by provision for the full-time employment of qualified comrades and the maintenance of at least one field organizer.

8. A series of tours of N. C. members.

9. The collection of a special fund to finance the Action Program and the execution of each project in order as rapidly as the means are provided.

Some of the points listed above have already been carried out in part. We shall make a report of this in subsequent issues. At this moment, however, our aim is to bring the Action Program to the attention of all of our supporters so that they can express their views, make additional suggestions and fully participate with us in the further execution of this program. We proceed from the firm conviction that every step outlined can be attained. We want to hear your opinion.

The League has attained a much

broader basis than before, as we shall prove by our subsequent reports in connection with the execution of the Action Program. We are thereby prepared to make further advance. But while the further preparatory steps to carry the program fully into life are being taken it is necessary to dwell upon the last points of the Action Program. That is the one upon which practically the whole program depends for its effective execution. Finances are the sinews of war—and of action.

We have set the sum of \$1500 as a minimum requirement, provided it is collected by a concentrated campaign within a short period of time. On this score we can report some results already which will also be enumerated in the subsequent issue. Meanwhile we pass the question on to all of our supporters: Will you help us carry this program into life? With a response from you, such as can be expected from supporters of the Left Opposition, we shall be able to march forward to the building of a serious Communist movement in the United States. We shall be able to march forward to the New Internationalist.

OPEN FORUM

JAMES P. CANNON on THE MEANING OF THE RECENT LYNCHINGS Maryland, California, Missouri, What Next?

Friday, December 15, 1933, 8 p. m. International Workers School Hall 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Auspices: Manhattan Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.) Questions Discussion ADMISSION 15 CENTS

Jail Two Philadelphia Militants

Philadelphia, Pa.—The entire shop, day and night shifts, of the Latex Products Co., manufacturing specialty rubber goods, is out on strike against sweat-shop conditions, long hours and wage as low as \$2.00 and \$3.00 a week. In the course of the strike struggle two local comrades, Lew Roberts and Jack Richmond were arrested for picketing. They are now serving a sentence of 30 days each in Moyamensing Prison.

Fifty workers nearly all youth and mostly girls were driven to strike by wretched conditions and wages on which it was impossible to exist. When the day shift came to work Monday at seven o'clock the boss, a Mr. Wetzman, having learned of their intention of walking out at ten, locked them out. Picketing began immediately. The night shift was stopped at three o'clock. There is not a single scab among these young workers. For nearly all of them, this was their first strike experience.

The demands of the strike are: (1) A separate restroom for women with a couch. (2) One hour for lunch (at present there is no time off—they have to eat on the "fly"). (3) A 40 hour week. (4) \$13.00 a week minimum for girls and \$15.00 for men. (5) No overtime. (6) Recognition of shop committee. (7) Protective devices (exhaust fans, etc.) be installed. Until now girls had been promised a \$6.00 a week and men \$8.00. Low enough, but when their pay envelopes were given out last Saturday all found they had been deprived of even that. Pay envelopes were for \$4.00, \$3.00 and as low as \$2.00. The average wage for the day shift was

computed to be .09 (nine cents) an hour.

The shop is located and most of the workers live in the vicinity of our headquarters where we had been running street meetings regularly during the summer. Some workers have been coming to the meetings of the Spartacus Youth Club. What was more naturally than that, when stirred to fight back a rapacious exploiter, they should come to us for advice and assistance. It was given speedily and heartily.

The boss's gag of "selling out", "moving the shop", "going out of business" were all showed up. When the picket-line was lessened by the absence of strikers for a meeting, comrades Jack Richmond of the Spartacus Youth Club and Lew Roberts of the Communist League branch were singled out for arrest. The following morning the vicious labor hating Vore benchman, Magistrate Zweig, gave both comrades on disorderly conduct charges the limit—30 days. To show further his contempt for the strikers, he read in the court-room crowded with strikers and strike sympathizers, the telegram sent by the strike committee demanding the boys release. Here Roberts dramatically singled out the police who beat them in the van. Independently, quickly and efficiently, writs were obtained for a habeas corpus hearing in a higher court on Friday.

Despite the terror, the strikers in the main are undaunted and more resolute than ever. They reject the "advice" to leave the Reds alone. The most intelligent recognize such orders for what they are: an attempt to break the unity of the strike.

November 6, 1933.

Dear comrade Piatnitsky:

Your invitation to come to Moscow has been transmitted to me, I will have to decline the invitation. Mindful of the memory of my friend Max Hoelz, I believe that I will be acting most correctly when I devote myself, for the time being as an emigrant, to the victory of Socialism—over Fascism. I cannot endure the Moscow atmosphere; lounging around, pretending to be important, crawling despicably before Stalin, etc. Official Moscow today is nothing more than a swamp. The struggle for the victory of Socialism can be conducted only in the spirit of the October Revolution, in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Results of Stalinist Policy

In my letter of March 1, 1933, written from Moscow, I informed you of my views about the situation of the German party and the road that the leaderless revolutionary German proletariat had to take. I say the leaderless revolutionary proletariat, because the German C. P. ceased to be the leader of the German proletariat years ago—just as did the Comintern insofar as the international proletariat is concerned. The downfall of the revolutionary proletariat in all countries began with the expulsion of the outstanding fighters of the October Revolution, with Trotsky at their head, from the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. and the Comintern. The victory of Fascism in Germany and the difficult situation of large layers of workers and peasants in the Soviet Union are results of this enfeeblement of the Communist International.

The realization that the policy of the Comintern in the last several years strengthened Fascism of necessity, and even made it possible, is sinking ever deeper into the consciousness of the revolutionary fighters. "Without Stalin there would be no Hitler", that is a widespread thesis nowadays. Unfortunately, it is a correct one. Naturally, you did not want Fascism. But in the last analysis it is the result that counts in politics. Let us remind you how ill-informed you were at the beginning of March about the actual doings of the C. P. That also was not an accident. It also flowed from the policy of the Comintern in the last few years and from the axiom of "socialism in one country". You all long ago lost the conviction that a strong revolutionary labor movement in the rest of the countries is the best Red Army. Stalin probably never had any such conviction.

The Guilt of the E. C. C. I.

In a conversation we had at the end of February (Knorin was present) you told me that you had many other cares, Russian worries. I knew that all the time. The fact that on account of these worries the Executive Committee of the Communist International could not be in touch with very much that was going on abroad, particularly in Germany, does not serve as an excuse for the E. C. C. I.—on the contrary, it only makes its guilt all the greater. You would have resigned your leadership, which has not really belonged to you for years, if you had left in you a spark of revolutionary responsibility and conscientiousness. But you haven't any. (I leave the Social Democratic Party out of all this polemic because we created our Communist Party and the Communist International with the full knowledge that the S. P. would not fight but rather betray the struggle.)

The Comintern appears to be disinclined to learn anything even now. I spent several weeks in the Saar. That is a coal and iron territory on the border between Germany and France, east of Metz. The whole territory amounts to only 1800 square kilometers, but it contains 782,000 inhabitants. It is the most densely populated territory in Europe. Here resides the well-known

Rivera Murals

Even though his departure from the United States has had to be hastened by a call for important work to be done in Mexico City, Diego Rivera has remained to paint two murals for the walls of the International Workers School. Diego Rivera is undoubtedly the greatest of the revolutionary painters in the world today, and is surely among the handful of truly great artists in general. His work in this country and in Mexico has been enthusiastically commented upon on both continents. The sensation created around his name and work when he broke off all relations with the directors of Radio City for demanding that he remove a reproduction of Lenin's head in the imposing murals he was painting for that edifice, was only a dramatic manifestation of his unyielding loyalty to the cause of proletarian revolution to which he has dedicated his life and work.

We are proud to be able to announce that Rivera is already at work in the School Hall on the murals. One of them depicts the foundation of the revolutionary Third International, its life and the great spirits who brought it into existence. The other deals with the coming Fourth International as the heir and continuator of the revolutionary traditions of the Third and its leaders.

It would be difficult for us to attempt at this time, before the conclusion of his work, to give our readers a detailed idea of the magnificent conception that has inspired Rivera's work. We take this occasion, however, to extend an invitation to all readers to visit the School Hall, at 126 East 16th St., and examine the murals while they are being painted.