

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Stalinists in Monstrous Frame-Up Against Left Opposition

EMERGENCY CALL!

A vicious campaign, inciting to black hundred pogrom action, has been launched against the Left Opposition and its supporters. It is a desperate last resort. Physical violence in place of logical argumentation—that is the method of the depraved Stalinist bureaucracy stooping to the lowest depths. By copying the dastardly frame-up from the capitalist enemy they hope to squelch the ideas of the Left Opposition.

But our ideas live and grow. Our answer is political hammer blows to strike yet deeper roots for the Marxian views within the party and within the working class. We will cut this dirty murder frame-up to pieces; and we pledge ourselves to fight for the eradication of these vile methods from the proletarian ranks. We fight with clean hands to uphold the banner of our revolutionary leaders and to restore the movement of Marx and Lenin to its rightful place.

But we need your support, you readers of the **MILITANT**, sympathizers of our

views and you who agree with our determination to maintain the principle of freedom of expression for working class opinions within the labor and revolutionary movement.

You can do your part now. You must help us banish the pogrom method from the movement. You must help us educate the misguided workers who have become caught in the Stalinist vise. It is a momentous task. It requires enormous efforts at which we do not hesitate in the least. But it entails almost unsurmountable expenditures on our part in the form of leaflets, enlarged issues of **The Militant**, agitation and propaganda. You can help us make this part of the burden lighter. But you must help immediately for quick action. The object is worthy of your greatest sacrifice. We ask that much from you.

Will you help and do your share? Will you help immediately? Will you send funds to **The Militant** without delay?

With the Embattled Miners

Diggers Reply to Terror With Increased Militancy

Defy Bosses, Fakers, and Police in Tremendous Advance

Latest developments in the Illinois miners' strike carry the clear indications of this being the most powerful movement yet witnessed in that state. A picketing army of 30,000 miners are, at the moment of this writing, marching upon the southern field to strike the few small mines still at work there. Three of the largest mines in that territory, in Franklin County, were forced to close almost immediately after the murder of Joe Colbert. The widow of this martyred miner single handed struck one of them, a mine of 1,100 men. The heroic working woman thus paid the highest tribute to the memory of her husband felled in battle by the bosses' hired gunmen.

Sheriff Robinson of Franklin County has boasted that 30,000 "citizens" will meet the "invading army", but the press simultaneously reported a measly 250 men deputized. And how could he make good his vain boast. This is a mining community. The miners have already shown where they stand. 15,000 miners marched in the funeral procession of the fallen Joe Colbert. Others workers in the community are making common cause with the strikers. These are the reasons why the operators and the degenerate union officials are restoring to intensified gunmen methods, killings and wounding of striking miners increasing and riot warrants being issued wholesale. But even this is destined to melt away in the face of the splendid mass formations of the embattled miners.

From the Front

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

All the forces of the coal operators have been hurled against us in the present bloody struggle that rages in the Illinois coal fields. The Federal government, with its deportation terrorism, the entire state apparatus under the thumb of Governor Emmerson, the county sheriffs, Lewis and Walker sluggers, and gangsters from the underworld run at large throughout the mining camps as "open season" is declared on reds and Communists.

Miners are corralled, terrorized, jailed and beaten. Leaders of the rank and file opposition are jailed and never know when they are to be "spotted". Miners' wives are jailed, beaten and molested. A group of students from various universities, led by their professors are prevented from bringing food to our starving industrial army. Professor Carlson of the Chicago University and a student group from the Commonwealth Labor College and Chicago University, are beaten and jailed, later told to leave the county and never return. Gerry Allard, one of the leaders of the opposition movement and his wife Irene, are also jailed. Allard is openly told, in the presence of the student group that he will be murdered; this is resolutely told by Marion Hart, States Attorney Prosecutor of Franklin County. The following morning Joe Colbert, close personal and political associate of Allard's and one of the leaders of the Illinois miners' opposition, is murdered while picking mushrooms for something to eat.

In Taylorville deputy Sheriffs shoot down a miner's wife. The coal fields run mad with killers driven to desperation by the greatest offensive ever launched against the coal operators and the Lewis-Walker combine. War is declared as 7,500 troopers move southward from Camp Grant stationing themselves 30 miles from strategic coal centers. The rank and file root themselves firmly. A picket army 14 miles long also starts southward from Gillespie, Springfield, Bend, Breeze and from every nook and corner of northern Illinois, striking every coal mine on the road. 1,500 deputies in Christian county, owned by the Peabody Coal Company, melt like a snow-

ball on a hot July day as 17,000 of our army invade the Harlan counties of Illinois. Mine guards are disarmed and disciplined, gangsters are driven from mining camps. The Illinois miners' strike gains impetus, day by day.

Already 45,000 of the 50,000 Illinois coal diggers have closed their ranks and production of coal in Illinois will cease as long as there is a breath of energy left in the leadership and rank and file of the opposition movement.—This is a newsreel glimpse of the struggle that takes place at present in the Illinois coal fields.

Why the Fight

And why do the miners of Illinois fight like they never have in years? Because the miners fight for the very right to breathe and live. That is why. For forty-two years we have had a union in Illinois. For thirty-five years we have been solidly organized. The fight to build the Illinois United Mine Workers of America was no bitterer than the present fight to retain a miners' union. We have again been sold on the block to the highest bidder by our faking, thieving leadership. They have taken from us every liberty that we have ever achieved during those long years of

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Bureaucrats «Answer» Our Policy by Inciting to Pogrom

Left Opposition Demands an Open Hearing on the Stalinist Frame-up

The National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) has addressed the following self-explanatory letter to each of the organizations specified:

In the **Daily Worker** of August 23, there appears an accusation that members of the Communist League of America (the "Trotskyites") were responsible for the killing of a worker named Michael Semen and the wounding of another worker named Nick Krusluk, who has since also died, at a meeting last Saturday night at 7th St., and Avenue A.

Today we came into possession of leaflets in the English, Russian, and Ukrainian languages, repeating and amplifying the accusation against us. On the night of August 23rd a mass meeting was held at 7th St., and Avenue A, where Communist Party speakers incited the crowd against the "Trotskyites" as the murderers of the two workers. There is taking place a general campaign of incitement for a pogrom against us which also has the elements of provocation to the authorities.

In order to bring the truth of the whole affair before the working class public, we propose the holding of a public trial and hearing under the auspices of a joint committee representing the following central organizations:

Communist Party of U. S. A.
Trade Union Unity League
International Labor Defense
American Civil Liberties Union

Conference for Progressive Labor Action
Communist Party (Majority Group)
Industrial Workers of World

We are prepared to submit to this committee at public sessions complete and indisputable proof that the members of the Left Opposition had no part whatever, in the attack which resulted in the killing of the two workers.

We are prepared to bring before such a committee at public sessions complete proof that the Left Opposition has always opposed any physical attacks on the meetings of other labor organizations, and that we have publicly protested even when these attacks were directed against those in sharpest political conflict with us.

We leave aside here the motives for this provocation against us. Our aim in addressing this letter to you is to ask if your organization will participate through a delegate to a joint committee before which the truth can be brought out in public.

We realize quite well that the accusation of murder makes our members liable to inquiry and prosecution before the courts of the class enemy. But we are not concerned with the capitalist court. We want to defend ourselves in public before the court of working class opinion.

In view of the extreme seriousness of the accusation, we request a prompt reply to this communication.

National Committee,
Communist League of America (O.)
SECRETARY.

Slander the Opposition as Murderers of Two Workers at N. Y. Street Meeting

The hammer blows of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) against a policy of capitulation before German Fascism and against the pacifist masquerade in the anti-war conference aroused a wave of support in the party ranks. The expanding movement of protest against the official policy has thrown the Stalinist bureaucrats into a panic. The attempt to expel the movement by expulsions, which held the Communist workers in check before, is breaking down.

Great world events are on the agenda, and nobody can stop a discussion of them. It is a question of the fate of the U. S. S. R., of the working class of the entire world. The Communist workers are awakening to this burning fact. Nobody can stop their mouths with the threat of expulsions. Sebastian Pappas, the heroic Communist militant who is loved by every Left wing trade union fighter, has raised his voice for the position of the Left Opposition on Germany. They have expelled him, but behind Pappas stand others who also are determined to speak out at any cost. And behind them are others. Deeper and deeper into the Party the Left Opposition is penetrating.

Confronted with this rising tide of sentiment for the Left Opposition, and powerless to cope with it by political means, the panic-stricken bureaucrats, corrupted to the core, have resorted to a desperate adventure.

They are trying to frame up the Left Oppositionists as murderers!

They are organizing and inciting black hundred pogrom against the Bolshevik-Leninists, whose criticism they fear and whose arguments they cannot answer!

They are directing the attention of the police to the "Trotskyists" as the mur-

derers of the two workers, Semen and Krusluk, who lost their lives in a tragic street fight with which the Left Opposition had no connection whatever.

Here are the Facts

1. We started a meeting on the evening of August 20th, at 7th St., and Ave. A, as one of a series in our campaign on the situation in Germany.
2. Immediately after we started, organized attempts were made to disrupt our meeting by Stalinist elements.
3. A fist fight ensued in which the Opposition held its ground and after which it once more set up the platform for a brief meeting.
4. The Left Opposition held the platform until word came of the impending arrival of the police. Then it was decided to wind up the meeting in order to prevent the disgraceful spectacle of the capitalist police intervening and deciding a conflict between factions of the Communist movement.
5. The Left Oppositionists and a number of sympathizers then assembled in close formation, singing the Internationale, and returned to headquarters.
6. That was the end of all our connection with the events at 7th St. and Avenue A on the evening in question. What happened after that happened without any participation on our part.

The **Daily Worker** of August 23 (city edition), which contains the criminal provocation against us, admits that we left the meeting place and that another meeting under Party direction began after our departure. We know nothing whatever of what occurred at that second meeting. We do know that that neighborhood is infested with all kinds of reactionary elements—white guards, Russians, etc. There is a post of the American Legion in the same block. Communist meetings have been attacked on this corner time and time again by these reactionary elements with brick-bats and other missiles.

The Party bureaucrats know very well that this was the case at the meeting in question. They know that the Left Opposition had nothing to do with the affair. They know that we are opposed in principle to the breaking up of other working class meetings and that we have persistently explained in **THE MILITANT** the reasons why such hoodlignism plays a reactionary role.

But it does not serve their purpose to tell the truth. They have lied about us systematically and misrepresented our position on every occasion. But this game is playing out. The Communist workers have begun to see through these lies. They are beginning to see the principle line of the Opposition through the fog of official misrepresentation.

That is why the desperate and furious Stalinist leaders had to resort to this shameful method of frame-up, provocation and pogrom. The bodies of the martyred workers are to be lifted up as a banner for a bankrupt political clique which is not worthy to touch them with one finger. They want to coin the grief and rage of the Communist workers against the murder of their comrades into a weapon against the revolutionary Marxists. Communist workers! Be on your guard against this monstrous deception. Stop and weigh the consequences of this dastardly black hundred scheme. Raise your voice in protest against it. Do not be intimidated by the reactionary campaign of terror unleashed against those who criticize and ask questions.

Look to the heroic example of the Bolshevik-Leninists of Russia, the true inheritors and representatives of the October revolution. They held the banner of Marxism in the face of everything, just as they did in 1917, as they did in the civil war, in the red army—on every front. Frame-ups were devised against them also by the Stalinists (the affair of the "Wrangel officer"). Pogroms were conducted against them. They were slandered, expelled, imprisoned, exiled, beaten, shot. But for all that their ideas remain unshaken and will prevail.

We stand by their banner, for it is the banner of Communism. We hurl back into the craven faces of the Browders, Fosters, Amers, Hathaways, and all the rest of the depraved and soulless functionaries of Stalinism, the answer of revolutionists:

You cannot terrorize us with your black hundred pogrom!
You cannot break the bonds which tie us to the Communist workers with your dirty frame-up!

You cannot prevent the victory of the Left Opposition by any means, for it is the veritable representative of the teachings of Marx and Lenin with great historic events vindicating with lightning speed.

—NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Communist League (Opposition)

Party Holds First Meeting on Danger of German Fascism

After months of ardent and persistent agitation on part of the Left Opposition, the Stalinists of the official Communist Party of the U. S. A. finally yielded to the pressure our agitation caused within the party ranks and called the first meeting on the Fascist danger in Germany at the Central Opera House in New York last Friday. It is significant that this meeting was called at the very same time that Sebastian Pappas, the leading party comrade who raised the first strong voice of alarm against the Hitler threat within the party, was officially expelled. It is characteristic of the Centrist bureaucrats to stifle every word of criticism coming from the rank and file and simultaneously to camouflage by a semi-acceptance of the same criticism and by half way concessions to it behind the scenes.

Nevertheless, the convocation of the meeting shows that the Stalinist leaders have been forced to take a step

forward on this most important of all the present day issues, the German situation—the key to the international situation, the key to the concrete war danger against the Soviet Union. In this sense, the step of the party leadership is a victory for the International Left Opposition.

Opposition Ideas Penetrate Party

The German meeting was strongly under the influence of the Left Opposition propaganda. For the first time, slogans directly borrowed from our literature appeared above the signature of the party. The leaflet that was issued by the New York District of the C. P. read in part as follows: "An open Fascist dictatorship will attempt to drive the whole working class of Germany to starvation and slavery. A Hitler dictatorship in Germany means immediate war on the Soviet Union and world war. A Fascist dictatorship in Germany means sharper international reaction and more brutal capitalist attacks on the

living standards and rights of the workers of the United States."

These words, which have been ringing forth from these pages week after week were actually subscribed to by the New York District of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.! Moreover they were supplemented by a correct and sharp Communist characterization of the treacherous role of the social democratic leadership in which the silly and absurd theory of social Fascism found no place. To be sure the leaflet still retained the vaguely misleading claims about the strength of the "Red United Front" and some of the ultimate illusions attached to it—but all this was couched in very vague and extremely reticent language. The half-turn toward the Leninist United Front tactic was especially prominent in the closing slogans:

"Rally to the Mass Meeting! Support the German Communist Party"

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LEON TROTSKY Let Us Reenforce Our Offensive!

The physical attack of the Stalinites against the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Salle Bullier at Paris evokes, alongside with intense indignation, a feeling of the deepest shame for the present leadership of the Comintern. For it is not a matter of rank and file Communists, not of workers—these would never debate themselves with such abominations!—but of a centralized bureaucracy which is carrying out the demands of its higher staff. The aim: to provoke within the Communist ranks such furious embitterment that all arguments of reason would lose their force. Only in this way can the Stalinist bureaucracy yet save itself from the criticism of the Left Opposition. What frightful degeneration!

The history of the Russian revolutionary movement is particularly rich in bitter factional struggles. For three and a half decades I have observed this struggle very closely and participated in it. I cannot recall a single instance in which differences of opinion, not only within the ranks of the Marxists but also between Marxists, Populists and Anarchists, were settled by the organized reign of the fist. In the year 1917 Petrograd seethed with continual meetings. At first as an insignificant minority, then as a strong party and finally as the overwhelming majority the Bolsheviks conducted an annihilating campaign against the Social Revolutionists and the Menshevik. I cannot recall a single meeting where the political struggle was replaced by fist fights. I have not been

able to find a single indication of such an instance in the press of that time, although in the course of the last two years I have been studying the history of the February and October revolution thoroughly. What the proletarian mass wanted was to listen and to understand. What the Bolsheviks wanted was to convince. Only in this manner can a party be trained and the revolutionary class united about it.

In the year 1923, Ordjonikidze, in the heat of the disputes between the Caucasian Stalinists and Leninists, struck one of his opponents in the face. Lenin lay seriously ill in the Kremlin. The news of Ordjonikidze's conduct literally shook him up. The fact that Ordjonikidze stood at the head of the party apparatus in the Caucasus only magnified his guilt in Lenin's eyes. Lenin sent his secretaries Glasser and Fotieva to me several times urging the expulsion of Ordjonikidze. Lenin recognized and foresaw in Ordjonikidze's thuggery a whole school and an entire system: the school and the system of Stalin. On the same day Lenin wrote his last letter to Stalin in which he declared that he was breaking off all "comradely relations" with him. A whole series of great historic causes has since led to the triumph not only within the C. P. of the Soviet Union but also in the Comintern, of the school of "rudeness" and of "disloyalty". The abomination of Bullier is its indubitable and unadulterated expression.

Nine-tenths of the apparatus people

regard the Stalinist system with growing alarm if not with direct disgust. But they cannot tear themselves free from its claws. Each of the decisive links in the chain has its Semard and its Yaroslavskys, as well as its Besedovskys and Agabekoffs. From slander and falsifications these gentlemen have now gone over to organized physical attack. The initiative comes from Stalin. The command is now being transmitted to all sections of the Comintern. Will it be of any avail? No, it will not. The necessity of ever stronger means proves the ineffectiveness of the preceding struggles against the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Tremendous events are taking place in Germany. The Comintern maintains its silence. The leaders appear to have filled their mouths full with water. Do not the German events require the immediate convocation of a world congress of the Comintern? Of course, they do. But at the congress an answer will have to be given. The Stalinists, however, have nothing to say. By their mistakes, their zigzags and crimes they have completely devastated themselves. To remain silent, to go into hiding, to wait passively for the outcome—therein lies, at present, the whole policy of the Stalinist faction.

But the Bolshevik-Leninists will not be silenced. And they will not allow others to remain silent. Despite their small number, our French comrades are giving evidence of splendid perseverance in unfolding the burning questions of the

proletarian world revolution before the workers. By pouncing upon them like hoodligns, the Stalinists have only paid tribute to their revolutionary energy. Just as soon as the Bolshevik-Leninists in Moscow warned against Chiang Kai-Shek, the Stalinist bureaucracy incited against them, persecuted and smashed the Bolshevik-Leninists. Just as soon as the Parisian Bolshevik-Leninists beat the alarm against Fascism, the Stalinist clique is organizing to smash the Bolshevik-Leninists. These facts will not remain unpunished. From great facts the party learns, the class learns.

We are not, naturally, making the rank and file Communists responsible for the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Bolshevik-Leninists will not change their position toward the French Communist party nor toward the Comintern. The attempt to erect walls of hatred between ourselves and the millions of Communists in the entire world will not succeed. That justice is on our side, is patent. The workers are listening with ever greater attentiveness to our words.

The more the Stalinists lose their heads, the more perseverance the Leninists will show in their activity. Under our criticism, under the sweep of our arguments the bureaucracy is twisting and squirming. All the more apparent, therefore is our correctness and our force. Let us double, treble and decuple our offensive!

—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, August 6th, 1932.

The Communist and Election Activity

The approaching election finds the parties of reaction, reform and revolution in full swing. The stock market is bolstered up, the bourgeois economists speak of a revival, the papers talk of wage increase, the politicians dodge the real issues and spout demagoguery. The reactionaries do this in an effort to keep the workers from moving to the Left.

And to the left, the parties of reform: the socialist party; the socialist labor party; the farmer-labor party, etc., are struggling in their own way, to keep the workers from moving into the revolutionary stream, toward the Communist party, to paralyze their militancy.

The capitalists have done all in their power to keep the revolutionary party off the ballot. At present we have only 11 states on the ballot. In many states a struggle to get on the ballot has not yet been won. Meetings throughout the country have been broken up by the police. Foster, the presidential candidate, has been arrested several times in different parts of the country on his national tour.

A Criticism of the Stalinist Methods in the Campaign

Germany and devoted their main blows at Hoover who drove the veterans out of Washington with machine guns, tear gas bombs, and tanks. This important climax of the Bonus March was elevated above the more important question, rather than used as a springboard to the explanation of the war danger connected with threatening Fascism in Germany. We pointed out before that the demand for emergency relief for the farmers was wrong and must be changed to emergency or immediate relief for the WORKERS and Farmers. In New York the party tried to correct this error but only created more errors. The party-controlled unemployment councils called a conference on August 15th, and a Relief March on September 10th. The whole program is based upon immediate relief for the workers. They first separate the demand for immediate relief from the more fundamental demands against capitalism and second, they forget entirely that capitalism which is the cause of unemployment must be overthrown. Nowhere in their propaganda, articles, or speeches are these three factors coordinated. First to leave the demand out of the program and then to base a campaign in New York exclusively on the demand of immediate relief that was omitted from the platform—these are flip-flops, detrimental to the party and the class.

The platform forgets the struggle for the shorter work day. However, the bosses have not forgotten this struggle and are busy trying to reorganize labor power (overpopulation to production accumulation), a necessary step for their way out of the crisis. If they succeed in reorganizing and "reducing hours" at the workers' expense it will give them a breathing spell. On the other hand if, through class struggle we force through the "Six Hour Day, Five Day Week, with NO REDUCTION IN PAY", our class will be able to take a big step forward. The Communists must give the lead in this struggle.

For a Realistic Defense of the U. S. S. R.

In the election platform the defense of the Soviet Union is linked with the defense of the Chinese people. Events have proven that the danger of Fascism in Germany is the determining factor in world politics and the election platform

and campaign can only put life into the slogan of the defense of the Soviet Union by mobilizing the workers to support the fight against Fascism in Germany. The Stalinists fail in this major task.

In New York the party has issued the slogan, "For Bread and Freedom,—With Foster, Ford and Amter." As the election date nears we find Stalinism floundering deeper into the swamp of opportunism.

These activities—the Bonus march, reduction of hours, immediate relief, Anti-War activity and German struggles are not utilized in the election campaign to contrast the party of revolution to the parties of reform and reaction. Rather the party's way of handling these tasks under the Stalinist leadership has pushed the membership and the party farther to the right, farther into opportunism. Not satisfied with the distance to the right the leaders have dragged the members they top the whole thing with a statement in the *Daily Worker* which has nothing in common with Marxism.

Who Was Exposed?

First they issue a blast against E. Haldeman-Julius, the well-known reformer, a socialist. They "expose" him. Catch him red handed stealing Foster's acceptance speech. He changes the word Communist to socialist and prints Foster's speech for his platform. We know Haldeman-Julius. It is not Haldeman-Julius who has made a mistake. It is not Haldeman-Julius who should be criticized. He recognized his reformist wares even when they were labeled Communism. Labels don't mean much to reformers. Purcell and Hicks recognized the wares of the "four-class party." Chang Kai-Shek recognized the wares of the "four-class party." Barbusse, Roland and Sinclair recognized the wares of the Stalinist World Anti-War Congress. The name, Communism, without the content of Marxism frightens no one.

The election campaign must be based upon the pressing immediate needs of the class, formulated concretely, but not divorced from the class struggles of the world that develop between the convention and election day. The political consciousness of the workers during the election campaign can only be transformed into class consciousness by the correct coordination of these two factors on the broad basis of our International program which must run as a red thread through the election platform and the election campaign.

—H. O.

The Party's Meeting on German Fascist Danger

(Continued from page 1)

and the United Red Front Against Fascism, Hunger and War! Fight the Socialist leaders, the Forerunners and Allies of Fascism! etc."

The meeting itself was poorly attended and lacked the enthusiasm and the vitality that the issue requires. This is easily comprehensible. For it was called in all haste, without any serious preparation and advance propaganda, on the spur of the moment, under the direct fire of the Left Opposition campaign and under the pressure from the ranks. It was meant by the bureaucrats largely to offset and to side-track the flow of rising criticism within the party and to screen their own, previous miserable silence and lethargy.

The Meeting Revolves Around E. O.

Max Bedacht spoke before an audience of no more than 400. Since the manifesto of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) was carefully and energetically distributed to the participants, the speakers naturally had to revolve their speeches around the position of the Left Opposition. The chairman, Alexander, as well as Bedacht slandered and attacked the Left Opposition very feebly before an altogether unresponsive audience of workers. As if in answer to the impotent screeching of the bureaucrats; the workers in every part of the hall held the Opposition leaflets in their hands, many of them reading it on the spot.

The Stalinist speeches were dominated by all sorts of apologies and sophistries. On the other hand, Bedacht tried to prove that the Berlin-Brandenburg United Front action contradicts the Opposition's criticism. On the other, he queried indignantly: "Can comrade Thaelmann be expected to sit at one table with the Noskes?" All without an attempt to reconcile these two conflicting views, without any attempt at a Marxist explanation, displaying ignorance of even elementary facts. For instance, he did not even know that the Central Committee of the German C. P. had repudiated the Berlin-Brandenburg United Front action. And as a matter of fact, Bedacht expressed approval of it! But if we know our Max, he'll manage to come clean again—if it isn't too late.

With this party meeting, the Left Opposition has won a heat. Our campaign has gained ground. The treacherous, bureaucratic silence of the Stalinists have been broken. The international struggle against Hitlerism has gathered momentum. We will not stop at this point, we will continue our campaign tirelessly, until the whole party wakes up to its task, until every party member becomes a conscious fighter for the German revolution, a powerful agitator for international solidarity with the German working class in their struggle against Fascist reaction, against the danger of imperialist war on the Soviet Union.

Expulsion of Carl Coster

Mink and Bureaucracy Run Rampant on the Waterfront

On Thursday, August 11, the *Daily Worker*, in an obscure corner of an inside page, announced the expulsion of Carl Coster from the Communist Party and the Marine Workers Industrial Union "for gangsterism and Lovestonism". The name of this comrade is not unfamiliar to readers of *The Militant*. We have referred to the struggle against bureaucracy in the Marine Workers Industrial Union before and to the parts played by such militants as Coster, Johannesen and Jacobsen in this fight. The expulsion of Coster is another outrageous act of the Stalinist bureaucracy which deserves the attention of all revolutionary workers.

Carl Coster has been one of the most active leading workers of the party on the waterfront for many months past. His organizational ability, his courage, his devotion are unchallenged facts. He has been entrusted with responsible posts ever since he joined the Marine Workers Union. From the first, he carried on a struggle against the bureaucracy within the union, all the time remaining at his post and fulfilling his tasks in exemplary fashion. About a year ago, the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy came to a head on the New York waterfront. The bureaucracy countered by breaking up what it termed the "clique" of the militants fighting against it. Johannesen was "exiled" to Duluth, Coster to Boston.

and from the C. P. was announced at a membership meeting of the union. This happened at 9 o'clock in the evening. At 11 o'clock, the *Daily Worker* appeared with the expulsion statement. Coster was not even given the formality of a party trial, he received no hearing. The expulsion took place in typical, ungarish, bureaucratic style.

Nevertheless, members of the Marine Workers Industrial Union were aroused by this treacherous act of arbitrary action and the bureaucrats became uneasy. On Wednesday night, August 17, the membership meeting for the M. W. I. U. was packed with the henchmen of Mink. Coster demanded to be admitted for a hearing of his case. Several Stalinists immediately pounced on him and carried him bodily out of the hall. Workers on the inside protested vigorously and requested the floor. The bureaucrats running the meeting, Mink, Hudson and Co. quickly got their heads together and organized a steam-roller.

Speeches from the floor were immediately restricted to 3 minutes, under shouts of protest from the rank and file. In their brief and forcibly limited speeches, the comrades from the rank and file nevertheless forced the bureaucrats to cut their words and retract the charge of "Lovestonism". Coster has been known far and wide as an unremitting fighter against the Right wing opportunists. They pushed Mink to the wall and made him admit his dastardly, anti-Communist and reactionary threat. But the bureaucrats had the meeting packed and in spite of their damaging admissions, made in the presence of all workers, they nevertheless succeeded in railroading the militant Coster by a fake vote.

The marine worker, Robert Kohl, a Communist militant with a revolutionary past both in Germany and in this country left the meetings in disgust after protesting strongly but to no avail against the tactic employed by the bureaucrats against Coster. The latest reports have it that Kohl too has been expelled from the union with no other charge against him except his action in defense of Coster's membership rights. The bureaucratic frenzy knows no bounds!

The revolutionary marine workers have with their own eyes witnessed a spectacle that reflects the very height of bureaucratic degeneracy. They have seen the whole repulsive face of the Stalinist bureaucracy. They are just aroused. Their task is now to draw the political conclusions from the fight against bureaucracy. It is the whole reactionary, non-Leninist line of Centralism that makes bureaucratism possible in the Communist Party and in the class struggle unions. The fight of the marine militants is the fight of the Left Opposition. The bureaucracy can be swept away only by returning the Communist movement to the path of proletarian internationalism—to the path of Lenin and Trotsky.

—P. S.

German Campaign of Czech Opp.

Months ago, the International Left Opposition already declared that Germany had become the key to the International situation. The Czech Left also pointed to this crux of the world situation and the general tasks of the proletariat flowing from it, at its Spring conference, in its newspaper, in many discussion meetings and wherever the opportunity arose. But the Stalinists, elsewhere, here too did not notice the decisive struggles approaching in Germany at a rapid tempo. They subscribed for the most part to the view that the influence of Fascism would be liquidated by Hitler seizing the power himself.

Sabotage German Campaign

This salutary thought was always behind the lethargy of the Stalinists distinctly expressed in the following incident. When, upon the proposal of the Left Opposition comrades, the Prague leadership of the Red Building Trades Union called a plenary meeting with the subject "The Struggle of the German Proletariat against Fascism", the meeting was called off at the last moment through the bureaucratic intervention of

the Red Trade Union Central Committee. The reasons given for calling the meeting off are significant: "Due to an overabundance of work, there is at present (that is, in June 1932) no man available in the Central Committee of the Unions, who is informed on the situation in Germany at the same time, has the time to speak on it."

The leaders of the C. P. C. conduct themselves with such manifest shamelessness in fateful hours like these. Even the sympathetic layers of intellectuals showed a better understanding of the political situation. In an open meeting

Effects of the Prussian Coup d'Etat

The Prussian coup d'Etat and the half-turn of the German C. E. C. in the united front tactic first woke up the C. C. of the C. P. CZ from its slumber. It finally called upon the Czech and Slovak workers to come to the aid of the German proletariat, but postponed concrete action till August 1. The Left Opposition immediately issued a manifesto to the members of the C. P. CZ in which it demanded the acceptance of the proposals of the German Left Opposition made in October 1931. The leaflet created very favorable repercussions. When Left Oppositionists distributed the leaflets before a meeting of party functionaries in Greater-Prague, the party leaders attempted to provoke physical attacks by sending out uniformed and falsely informed shock-troops against the alleged "counter-revolutionists". But the party proletarians recognized in the Trotskyists comrades-in-the-struggle, and instead of attacking them, they discussed with them the situation in Germany and the tasks of the International.

Last week there was an open meeting in a Prague suburb in which there was introduced, exceptionally enough, a free discussion. The Left Opposition took advantage of the situation immediately and its representatives presented the situation in Germany and explained the tasks of the German proletariat.

The predominantly proletarian audience expressed its agreement with the proposals of the Left Opposition in vivid fashion. Characteristic for the developments in the International is the fact that the Left Opposition speakers were "refuted" with "arguments" which have in Germany already been dropped. The official party speaker stressed the view that the united front can never be made with the "top" and further said that the situation in Germany is not at all so critical, it is only a matter of changing the methods of bourgeois rule!

No matter how threadbare and shopworn these phrases may sound for our German comrades in their struggle, they have nevertheless a special sense in this country. They show that the Stalinists in Czechoslovakia are not prepared to draw the necessary lessons from the German mistakes on the one hand, and on the other hand, that the progressive proletarians of Czechoslovakia are coming closer to the International Left Opposition and are partly, already showing their warmest sympathies for the fighting German Left Opposition.

Prague, August 2, 1932.

—K. SCHMIDT.

The Convention of Father Cox's Quasi-Fascist «Jobless Party»

August 18th, 1932.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Father Cox is a priest who has grown politically ambitious. He went to Europe to "talk it over" with the Pope of Rome, with the agents of Mussolini and Hitler. He received more support and the Jobless Party was organized "to solve the hardships and injustices of the present social order".

The "Jobless Party's" demagogic platform included—Government control of the banking system and public utilities, immediate payment of the soldiers' bonus, conscription of wealth "in case of an emergency", pros-beer-ity, "mighty" army, navy, and air forces, unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, 5 day week and 6 hour day abolition of "unjust" injunctions and yellow-dog contracts, relief for the farmers, and right to "peaceful" picketing in strikes. This was similar to Colonel "Cohn" Harvey's Liberty Party's confused program "against usury and for the free coinage of silver, etc." and inasmuch as both agreed "down with the communists", agreements were made to merge both parties and to hold a national convention of the fusion, the Jobless-Liberty Party.

The site picked out was St. Louis. Cox to lead the masses from the East, and Harvey to come with the hordes from the West. Cox issued advance press notices stating that one million jobless from all parts of the U. S. would be in attendance. Naturally immediate objections to the convention were raised by the St. Louis police. The Chamber of Commerce visualized riots of hungry unemployed. Cox replied that "no hungry bums will be delegates", that only "business men" would be elected and that they would spend upwards of a million dollars for hotel accommodations, food, etc.

But the city administration remained adamant; the contemplated program was too radical. Accordingly advance arrangements were made for the convention to be held on Aug. 17th and 18th, in an old mosquito-bitten race track, in St. Louis county, at Creve Coeur Lake.

Cox now revised his figures downwards and stated "only" 50,000 would be at Creve Coeur. Then the St. Louis County Health Officials threatened an injunction, claiming that there was not sufficient water for such a crowd, nor laboratories, nor garbage dispensaries, and that the convention would be a "health menace" unless adequate preliminary arrangements

were made for the necessary sanitary facilities. Cox replied he would defy the injunction if it was issued, and if necessary would hold the convention on the state highway.

Thus was the situation when the Harveyites with their "White Ribbons" (Liberty Party delegates) came to Creve Coeur Lake. Fifteen concession stands were waiting for the 50,000 customers and only two persons were in sight, lolloping about, rubbing mud on their mosquito-bites, both of whom admitted they were curiosity seekers, and incidentally "broke". The press stated Cox was on the way from Pittsburgh with a motor-caravan of approximately 500 people. The National Committee of the Liberty Party was exasperated. They had brought about fifty people with them (from Arkansas, Oklahoma, Washington, California) and were beginning to see that they had been uncombed by Cox as to the number he would bring. The Liberty Party immediately issued statements to the papers saying they would hold a separate mass-meeting under their own auspices several miles from the site of the proposed united convention. Harvey said they still expected to merge with Cox but that Cox had bitterly disappointed them by the smallness of his delegation.

The automobile arrival of Cox's caravan was to have heralded the fusion of the confusionists. Meeting in a one room cabin, the national committees of both parties met, hallowed, shook hands and posed for the newspaper photographers before getting down to brass tacks. Instead of the celebration of the birth of the Jobless-Liberty Party a furious fight started over who should be the political god-father.

The Jobless-Liberty Party split right on the hyphen. The fight was not concerning their respective platforms—they both agree they have practically identical programs. The demagogues debated, discussed and disagreed on—who should be the presidential candidate? Cox or Harvey? Priest or Colonel? Tweedledee or Tweedledum?

Forty-five minutes of verbal fighting and shouts of "liar"; one minute the reverend priest denouncing religious intolerance, the next moment the old Colonel repeating that he had just celebrated his 81st birthday and should be the people's choice. Father Cox's hopes that Harvey would approve him as presidential candidate and Colonel Harvey's expectation that Cox would see the wisdom of him being the nominee both were

groundless. Neither withdrew, except for mud to plaster their mosquito-bites, and the meeting was summarily adjourned. Harvey and his 50 "White Ribbon" Libertyites holding their own convention several miles from Cox.

The "Blue Shirt" Jobless Party, with approximately 1,000 in attendance (500 or more curiosity seekers) ratified the proposals and program of their national committee, nominating Father Cox for presidential candidate and Doctor Tisdale, 32nd mass-degree mason of Elk City, Okla., as candidate for vice-president. Then everyone jumped in their machines and immediately started returning home. The Missouri mosquito was the real victor.

However despite all the setbacks and mosquito-bites and trials and tribulations that beset Father Cox in launching his Jobless Party, the importance of the entire affair is his he eoihrndu entire affair is that this is the FIRST APING OF THE EUROPEAN FASCIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. The blood brother of Hitler and Mussolini can be readily recognized by its demagogic platform and all of the well-known Fascist trimmings, vehemently anti-communist, blue-shirt, caesar salutes, etc. In the words of the Reverend Cox, its members are to be "not only working people but business men who have been pushed out of their business enterprises and unemployed professional men." And "we are not reds—we are anti-Communist. Our Party is the only organization that can save the country from a Communist revolution this winter."

Of course, none of the Communists have the perspective for a "Communist" revolution this winter (U. S.) but it is indisputable that a section of the capitalist class quiver in their boots everytime the workers hold protest meetings or mass demonstration, and a portion of them would support a Fascist movement in the United States. The only reason all of the capitalist are not in favor of Fascism (except as a last resort) is because the Fascist system of continual, unrelenting terror, armed dictatorship, spies, and general thuggery is more expensive than maintaining the democratic illusions of "freedom, justice and equality".

If Hitler comes to power in Germany, it will mean the immediate strengthening of the reactionary forces in the United States, and their simultaneous growth. So all eyes and all support to the German workers.

—MARTIN PAYER.

LEON TROTSKY

WHAT NEXT?

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

BUCHANAN? NATIONAL SOCIALISM? HINDENBURG? LEFT OPPOSITION? ADOLF HITLER? SOCIAL DEMOCRACY? PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION? LENIN? ULTIMATISM? THAELEMANN? RED STRATEGY? RED ARMY? HILFERDING? BOLSHEVISM? DICTATORSHIP? SEYDEWITZ? CENTRISM? FASCISM? SWALIN? COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL? SOVIET UNION? BRUENING? DEMOCRACY?

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Miners Reply to Terror With Increased Militancy

(Continued from page 1)

bitter and bloody struggles. John L. Lewis, in cahoots with all the forces of reaction, was about to complete his life-long ambition—the shackling of militant unionism in the coal mining industry. But the Illinois miners have hurled back in the teeth of the iron heel that they will take their union in their own hands and rebuild it nationally.

The twenty-nine demands that we presented to the coal operators as a basis for a new contract were flatly turned down by our officials. They answer our progressive demands by taking away from us the meager rights that we worked under prior to the beginning of the strike. We demanded the 6 hour day, our "leaders" sign a contract permitting the operators to work twelve. We demanded a 90c raise, our leaders cut our wages 18 to 35 per cent. Lewis says as consolation to the mine wage earners: "I am astonished that under the present conditions the coal operators can pay such high wages." Walker re-echoes: "One dollar now will buy more than any time since the war, and besides Illinois produces the best corn in the world. The best of foods are made from corn. The miners should not fear hunger."

This cynicism is almost openly telling the miners that they ought to take a greater wage cut than what the operators have agreed to. Walker's statement is as good as telling the miner of Illinois to build stocks. And even horses die from eating too much corn. These are the words of wisdom and consolation we get from our official staff, while they reap from \$15,000 to \$25,000 salaries per annum.

Fakery of the "Leaders"

The constitution of the United Mine Workers of America and the convention decisions call for a referendum vote on the part of the membership to decide the acceptance or rejection of the tentative proposals. This has never been carried out by the misleaders within our union. The first referendum rejected the wage cut and all the other inhuman impositions by an overwhelming majority of 15,000 votes. The returns of the second referendum were stolen by Hughes, vice-president of the district organization at the instigation of Walker and Lewis. Lewis and Walker then proclaimed a "state of emergency" and declared that a contract had been signed by them with the coal operators association. A copy of the contract has never been given to the membership for their consideration.

Reports leak out from the circle of the fakery and operators that the new contract calls for the operators to check off dues and assessments and to send them direct to Lewis at the International headquarters! A Pit Committeeman cannot be elected by the local union unless his candidacy is endorsed by John L. Lewis! Other enslaving clauses are contained in the contract, the membership is flatly refused the right to have a copy of the contract until they return to work!

These oppressive measures coupled with the many years of unemployment, part time work and a terrific speed up system, have left the miners of Illinois with but one thing to do and that is to FIGHT! And they are fighting now against the greatest combine that has ever openly come out against them. They have turned the battle from almost complete demoralization into victory that inspires the miners and workers of America to surge forward to militant action. The present rank and file opposition

movement of Illinois is a broad united front of all militant and progressive forces. Rank and File members of C. P., Communist League of America (Opposition), I. W. W., Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party, C. P. L. A. and various independent groups have united with us for the common cause of fighting the immediate struggle before us. The official Communist party is the only organization that thus far has attacked our leadership and the movement. We appeal to the party members to change this false course and fall in line with this movement that will defeat the coal operators and their agents. We plead for their solidarity at a time when our men are being shot down, hounded and jailed.

Basis of the Battle

We have centered our struggle against the coal operators on this basis:

1. We demand the six hour day and five day week.
2. Equalization of all work.
3. No discrimination on account of age or youth.
4. No reduction in pay.
5. Abolition of the docking clause.
6. More air in the mines.
7. Unemployment insurance.
8. The operators are to deal with the rank and file leaders. The old leaders are no longer our representatives.
9. No victimization. All militant miners that have been fined for their Union activities to be reinstated to their jobs.

We have indicated our officials on five basic counts and repudiate them, barring them from office forever for:

1. Refusing to comply with the majority decision of the membership.
2. Discrimination against foreign born miners.
3. Use of gangsters and all agencies of the law against members of our union.
4. Robbing tally sheets of referendum vote.
5. Openly allying themselves with the coal operators and violating the oath of obligation and the constitution of the United Mine Workers of America.

Miners and workers of America! We ask for your solidarity in our fight. We ask you not to do the same thing as was done in the Mooney case, when Tom asked all progressive fighting labor organizations to close their ranks in the fight for his release. We are fighting a struggle for the entire American working class. Some of our comrades have already fallen, more will fall. But no prison bars, no terrorism, no gunman's bullets will stop the miners on their onward march to rehabilitation—to success—to victory.

With your solidarity, with your collective intelligence and understanding, with your undaunted determination we will inevitably march forward to the final victory that will place the control of production and distribution in the hands of the toilers of the world.

Come to our defense and aid quickly!
—GERMANTAL

READ THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT will carry week by week a survey of the great struggle the Illinois miners are fighting against the terror and aggression of the coal operators and their agents.

From the front, the Left Oppositionists will write as they fight. Besides the events week by week, healthy analytical discussion and the correct Leninist course will be brought forcefully to all militants who read our official organ.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

The «Daily Worker» and the Miners' Strike

The official Communist party, due to the criminally false policies which its leadership has attempted to foist upon the Illinois miners over a period of time, today finds itself practically isolated from the strike movement. To make up for this, the incompetent bureaucrats resort to the vilest, insinuations and slander against such sterling militants heading this gigantic scrap as Gerry Allard, throwing in other leaders of this splendid movement for good measure. Example: "There are about 5,000 working in the whole state, mainly in Taylorville, West Frankfort, Zeigler and Johnston City. West Frankfort, Zeigler and Johnston City are the home towns of Gerry Allard, the Trotskyite, and the Musteite leaders, Ansbury and Jack Allen."—Yes, the citadel of world imperialism, Wall St. is located in Wall St., the home town of the Posters and Bowders and all the other raving Amters.

Example 2. The Daily Worker of Aug. 21. An account of the Bend mass meeting . . . "The Musteite Ansbury and the Trotskyite Gerry Allard were sharply criticized for their program . . . Hersey brought before the meeting instead the Rank and File Opposition program . . . Allard, an expelled Communist Party member then demagogically attacked Hersey as a Communist." These Stalinist scribblers know that they are brazen liars. They know only too well the fighting qualities, the abilities as a leader and the actual leadership of Allard in this as well as in previous battles which have earned for this young militant the deep respect and confidence of the thousands of Illinois coal miners. The miners of Illinois are already giving the proper answer to the Stalinist slanders in their splendid fight in their sterling solidarity with Allard and the others.

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

Two New Articles by Leon Trotsky:

1. Alliance or Struggle Between Bourgeoisie and Proletariat?
2. Socialism, Petty Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

Both highly actual, dealing with latest development in Germany.

My Fallen Comrade—Joe Colbert, by Gerry Allard, a tribute to a Fellow Fighter by one of the revolutionary leaders of the striking Illinois miners.

Lessons of the N. Y. Furriers' Strike.

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS

By N. Lenin

Containing Lenin's famous APRIL THESIS with which, in comrade Trotsky's phrase, the Bolshevik party was rearmid; the Thesis submitted by Lenin to the First Congress of the Comintern at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919, under the title, BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT; A LESSON ON TACTICS; and other short pieces. Paper cover—82 pages; Limited number on hand.

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«Hoover Cities» -- An American Idyll of 1932

Every industrial city in the United States today has its "Hooverville". Patriotic citizens consider them blights and attempt to disperse them or to cover them up. In each city, provided you look, you will find them . . . under bridges, on vacant dumps, near garbage plants. . . In St. Louis, for example, there are several under the great Mississippi span. In Chicago, they are scattered, usually on condemned city property; Akron and Cleveland have theirs on the outskirts; Minneapolis has the river "cliffs". And so on.

They are standing condemnations of the capitalist system, and it is not surprising that social workers and lackeys of big business studiously avoid this aspect of human degradation. For that reason serious students of American conditions should analyse this phenomenon from the standpoint of a deceased eruption on the surface of capitalist economy.

On first observation, they appear to be glorified "jungles", spots every town in the country has them—where migratory workers hide improvised cooking equipment. Closer inspection reveals a totally different purpose and mood. The jungle spirit is carefree, transient, on the go; here, however, you find the haggard, despairing psychology of men driven to the last extreme, their spirits at the breaking point.

What Capitalism Has in Store for Us
If the readers of The Militant would really like to see a typical American Hooverville, if they are not already in one—let them go down to Youngstown, in the heart of America's steel industry. There, on the 5 or 6 acres behind the municipal incinerator plant, they will see in brutal outline, the squalor and destitution resulting from the capitalist mode of production. Here is a picture of what capitalism has in store for us when we are no longer necessary for profit making.

Upward of 1000 shacks, huts or shelters hastily constructed from radio containers, boxes, crates, etc., some just large enough for a man to crawl into out of the weather, some buried in holes in the ground, on property that has for years been the dumping ground of filth, are the homes of several hundred men, who, having spent the best years of their lives in the steel mills and coal mines of Ohio and Pennsylvania, are now literally thrown on the garbage heap to starve, or—to claw over the miserable refuse collected each morning by the City Sanitary department. You will not believe it till you see it. Restaurant cast-offs make the choicest morsels. The alternative is the notorious "soup line." The men prefer to mull over garbage than to expose themselves to the miserable soup. It is almost impossible to beg food in Youngstown because of the large numbers of the hungry.

The writer personally interviewed a number of these men. It was easy to see that they are not of the hobo type. Their calloused hands and powerful frames are not characteristic of the lumpenproletariat. They are men who have spent 10, 20 and 30 years of their lives in the steel mills, in the coal mines, in the rubber mills of Akron and on the Great Lakes traffic. They are men who have learned the industry from the bottom. They know steel, how it is made, how coal is mined, all about rubber, railroads, shipping. Step by step the ruthless Plutocracy of Steel has crushed them with the brutal club of starvation and exposure. Recently they built a

sign over the huts with this legend: HOOVER CITY. The local bourgeoisie considered this a dangerous affront to their rule. And rightly so. They swooped down on them with a threat that they would be driven off even this property, and they demonstratively destroyed the sign.

II.

The Steel industry is shot to hell. Never operating at more than 85% of capacity at the peak of prosperity, it now functions at 10% or less. In Youngstown, the Brier Hills Mills, subdivision of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube, consisting of two blast and 12 open hearth furnaces, closed down completely in April. Carnegie steel has been working two to four days a week since 1929 and closed down June 24th for good. Only the Republic Steel seems to be able to eke out one or two days a week, and that only in some departments. Others are closed down completely.

Less than 15% of the workers in the entire steel industry are now employed. Those still working part time have been cut 10% in October 1931 and again 15% on May 15 of this year. As if that were not enough, the vicious "deductions" system assails every pay envelope. These are taken out of the workers' wages without his consent. First, Life Insurance (only for period of employment, on the "group" basis) then, Community Chest ("make the workers pay their own damn relief!") then, Unemployment Relief (which means nothing to those per- un- commonly laid off). It is therefore not uncommon to see pay envelopes of 50c and 75c for the week. This will serve to indicate how near to "Hoover City" even the employed workers are.

It would seem as though there is absolutely no way of housing these unemployed workers except in crates and filth. It would seem as though the housing problem is insoluble. Still there are more empty houses and buildings in Youngstown today than there have ever been in its entire history. Those that are occupied hardly yield rent. Large sections of the population have simply ceased paying rent. Landlords encourage the better class of tenants to remain or to move in on the prospect of future rent—or at least to protect the property from vandalism done to plumbing and fixtures. Most of the buildings have fallen into the hands of the bankers, who can't take care of their property themselves. Only under capitalism is the housing problem insoluble.

In the poorer sections, evictions go on apace. Gas and electricity are promptly shut off. City water was cut off 4,000 families in the middle of June. Of the 50,000 workers in the city of Youngstown, approximately 42,000 are on the relief list and these have been officially warned by the city fathers that there will be no more relief after July. Will these workers be cast into "Hoover City"? Can't the bankers, bloated with wealth, see the handwriting on the wall, the spectre of Communism embracing these destitute workers? Will they not understand that this misery marks the decay of capitalism at the end of their system?

The Creed of Capitalism

I think not. As a class they are too selfish, too stupid. Engels has magnificently described their attitude in his "Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844." He says: "I have never seen a class so deeply demoralized, so incurably debased by selfishness, so corrupted within, so incapable of progress, as the English bourgeoisie. . . For it nothing exists in the world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded. It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold. In the presence of this avarice and lust of gain it is not possible for a single human sentiment or opinion to remain untainted. . . It is utterly indifferent to the bourgeoisie whether his workmen starve or not, if only he makes money. All the conditions of life are measured by money, and what brings no money is nonsense, unpractical, idealistic bosh. Hence, political Economy, the Science of Wealth, is the favorite study of these bartering Jews. The relation of the manufacturer to his operatives has nothing human in it. . . He could reach his highest perfection in a wholly ungoverned anarchic society where each might exploit the other to his heart's content. Since, however, the bourgeoisie cannot dispense with government, but must have it to hold the equally indispensable proletariat in check, it turns the power of government against the proletariat and keeps out of its way as far as possible."

The class interests of the bourgeoisie are identical the world over, and this description is particularly applicable to the American ruling class. One can find no better characterization of the Capitalist attitude towards relief and charity than the following remarks of Engels in the same book:

"Philanthropic institutions, forsooth: As though you rendered the proletarians a service, first sucking out their very life blood and then practising your self-complacent, Pharisaic philanthropy upon them, placing yourselves before the world as mighty benefactors of humanity when you give back to the plundered victims the hundredth part of what belongs to them!"

—CARL COWL.

READ THE DECLARATION OF THE BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS (LEFT OPPOSITION OF THE COMINTERN) TO THE WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM ON PAGE FOUR.

N. Y. PICNIC

Sunday, September 11th

at
Tibbetts Brook Park, Plot 8
Take I. R. T. Woodlawn-Jerome
train to last stop. Street cars
or bus to park.

SPECIAL:
OPEN AIR BANQUET
(In case of rain we will hold
banquet at 84 East 10th St.)

Lovestonites Play Lackies in Doll Strike

The Doll and Toy Workers Union have called a strike. About one third of the workers in New York, the center of the industry, have answered the call. They are fighting for a 35% increase in pay a 44 hour week, recognition of the union and other important union demands.

The success of the strike depends upon the extension of the strike, upon mass picketing, in order to close all the factories now when the busy season starts. Negotiations can only be effective upon this basis. To win the strike we must first obtain a shutdown in the decisive section of the industry and bring these workers into the union. At this stage of the struggle the members must see that the union spends less time negotiating and running after individual bosses, and more time to close all the factories with mass picketing.

Kowtow to A. F. L. Fakers—Prevent Left from Speaking

The Union is at present independent. The officials are negotiating with the A. F. L. Within the union there are many class conscious workers and some Lovestonites such as Rosen and Ravitch who have influence. On the picket lines, members of the Left Opposition have been fighting to extend the strike.

The strike meetings are well attended and have been addressed by Trecca from the anarchists, Thomas from the socialists, and Gitlow from the Lovestonites who was introduced as a "Labor Leader". Members of the picket committee and officials of the union were in favor of having Hugo Oehler from the Communist League of America speak to the strikers, but found Ravitch and other Lovestonites when this out they objected and used their influence to prevent Oehler from getting the floor. The Lovestonites believe it is alright for socialists and anarchists to speak but not for the Left Opposition.

After we were refused the floor, Marks of the A. F. L. spoke for affiliation and practically took charge. He informed strikers that the sub-contractors carry A. F. L. cards and are members of the Communists. The Lovestonites did not take the floor and oppose his line. They were content to serve to keep Communist speakers off the platform when they knew that Marks of the A. F. L. was on hand. For this capitulation the Lovestonites were later rewarded by Marks with a curt "Shut Up"—the reward of lackeys.

Our Successful Anti-War Meet In New York

On August 17, the Communist League of America held an Anti-War meeting at the Stuyvesant Casino where the delegates from the New York Anti-War Congress spoke to a packed hall of over 200 workers. Many party members attended, to hear the suppressed speeches of the Left Opposition. The speakers presented the position of Leninism and contrasted it to the pacifist position and the pacifist resolution of the Stalinite apparatus supported at the New York Conference. An analysis of the world conditions, how the Communist must fight against war and how the workers can defend the Soviet Union was presented.

It can be said without fear of contradiction that this meeting has been the only Anti-War meeting held in New York in the present campaign organized around the World Anti War Congress that presented the Marxist position on Imperialist Wars and Civil Wars. The series of meetings held throughout District Two of the party, primarily by auxiliary organizations and the F. S. U. were a disgrace to the Communist movement. All of these Stalinite meetings, decorated with liberals presented, the line as outlined in the suppressed Stalinite document published in this issue of The Militant. In contrast to this pacifist line our meeting held to the line of the Bolshevik-Leninist resolution.

A number of questions followed the meeting, enabling the speakers to elaborate on the Marxist position on War. One worker who was a delegate to the Anti-War Conference was allowed the floor to defend the Stalinite position. It is unfortunate that the meeting did not have more such workers to "defend" the Stalinite line, because this worker as well as the audience left the meeting with a new understanding of the position of the Left Opposition.

ATTENTION!!!

Entertainment and Dance
Given by the
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
Saturday, September 3rd, at
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Refreshments — Admission 25c

A SUPPRESSED STALINIST DOCUMENT EXPOSED!

We publish below a suppressed Stalinist document, it is the resolution that was passed by the New York Anti-War Conference on August 8, 1932 at the Labor Temple. This is the resolution Ogin, Markoff, Brodsky and the other Stalinist leaders present counterposed to the Leninist resolution of the Left Opposition delegates, which they helped to defeat.

This shameful pacifist document, entirely imbued with the spirit of Holland, Barbusse, Arthur Garfield Hayes and the other petty bourgeois "friends of the Soviet Union" enjoyed the official support of representatives of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.:

Nowhere in the Stalinist resolution is the capitalist class character of imperialist war stigmatized, nowhere is any distinction drawn between revolutionary wars of emancipation and the capitalist wars of oppression. The approach to the war question is thoroughly petty bourgeois humanitarian, has nothing whatever to do with the Marxist class struggle interpretation of war.

Nowhere is the approach to the war danger made from the angle of the class struggle, from the point of view of the revolutionary working class. Instead, the approach is to "all sincere anti-war forces"—the approach of the impotent pacifists, of The Nation, of the New Republic.

Nowhere does it take up the burning war danger of the moment—the threat of Fascism in Germany.

Nowhere is there a bold enunciation of our own concrete task—the fight against American imperialism.

Nowhere is the proletarian anti-war slogan of Lenin—"Turn Imperialist War into Civil War"—even given mention! Instead, the Stalinist resolution, "answering the call of Romain Rolland"—to "all peoples (sic) and all classes"—"declares its whole-hearted support" of the Rolland-Barbusse congress with all their vagueness, with all their pacifist illusions, with all their confusionist aims.

Yes, this is the view that was opposed by the Stalinist henchmen to the Leninist views of the Left Opposition. Our campaign for a Marxist struggle against war has struck the Stalinist regime to its patric core. The bureaucracy has become frightened. That is why they are suppressing their own wretched, pacifist resolution, that is why they are initiating a campaign of physical terror against

Resolution Submitted by the American Comm. for the World Congress against War

War is no longer merely a threat. Today war is raging in the far East. Japanese imperialism has invaded China, has slaughtered thousands of helpless women, children and old people and forced its government on Manchuria in order to make this a jumping-off place for a war against the S. U.—a war which cannot be confined to the Far East, that will inevitably lead to a world war.

In the last World War workers and farmers were sent to the battlefields to slaughter and be slaughtered. They were told they must fight to make the world safe for democracy. This war took twelve million lives and left 22 million wounded and permanently maimed.

The League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact, which are supposed to peacefully settle disputes between the nations, proved in practice to be the smoke screen behind which Japanese imperialism attacked on the Chinese people and is being carried on. This same "peace" body turned down the proposal of the Soviet Government for complete disarmament of nations, the only sincere peace proposal to be offered by any government. Not only this, but practically all the member nations of the League of Nations, as well as the U. S., are today shipping munitions, gas bombs, and chemicals to arm Japan in its war on China.

The Left Opposition to cover up their own hideous, opportunist face.

The resolution printed below has never appeared in print before. The Daily Worker does not dare publish it! The Stalinist centrists do not dare defend their views before the onslaught of our Leninist criticism!

Communist workers! Read this document carefully. Judge between the pacifist

states are armed to the teeth. War budgets are mounting sky-high. While 40,000,000 workers are unemployed and starving in Europe and America while most other industries are at a standstill, munition factories are increasing their production schedules and rapidly reaching their full capacity. World imperialism, thru its statesmen, profiteers and politicians, is offering another war as a way out of the present economic crisis.

In the next year the wholesale slaughter will not be confined to the men at the front. Entire civilian populations will be wiped out by poison gases and disease germs spread over whole cities by death-dealing planes.

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All this will be done under some new battle, as false as the least one. "To make the world safe for democracy"; again we will be called upon to produce, load and ship munitions, to fight in defense of the profits of the rich, to be slaughtered in order that a few profiteers and bankers may increase their ill-gotten gains.

Answering the call of Romain Rolland and the American Committee for the World Congress against War, be it

RESOLVED, that this Anti-War Conference, representing meeting in session at Labor Temple, N. Y. on August 8th, 1932, declares its whole-hearted support of the World Congress Against War. Be it further

RESOLVED, that we urge the World Congress to adopt a program of action that will unite all sincere anti-war forces in the struggle against the growing war threat on Soviet Russia. Be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon the entire working class to halt the manufacture and transport of war munitions against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. Be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon all organizations to intensify their anti-war activities, to give full publicity to the work of the World Congress, and send resolutions of support and greetings thereto.

A Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Left Opposition of the Comintern)

To the World Anti-War Congress at Amsterdam

The danger of a new world war is becoming more manifest every day. The causes of this danger have been bared in irrefutable fashion by Marxism.

For a long time now, the productive forces of humanity have grown beyond the limits of private property as well as beyond the boundaries of the national states. The salvation of humanity lies in a socialist economy based on an international division of labor. Under the influence of a conservative leadership, the proletariat has not fulfilled its revolutionary task. The world war of 1914-1918 was its retribution. The democratic champions of "peaceful development", the opponents of the revolutionary methods bear the direct responsibility for the dozens of millions of dead and wounded incurred by the imperialist slaughter.

The fifteen years that have passed since, have proved that the imperialist world has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Its internal contradictions have been further sharpened. The present crisis has revealed a frightful picture of the social disintegration of capitalist civilization, with its clear symptoms of developing gangrene. The salvation of humanity is possible only through the surgical action of the proletarian revolution.

Capitalism in Blind Alley

The ruling classes are turning and twisting about in the straits of this hopeless situation. Their financial difficulties and their fear of the masses of the people prevent them from seeking a solution in the imitation of armaments. On the other hand, by raising the tariff walls ever higher, by restricting imports, the rulers are further strangling the world market, deepening the crisis, making more acute the national antagonisms and preparing new wars. The reformist parties who are today, just as yesterday, opposed to the revolutionary solution along the road of socialism, are once more taking upon themselves the whole weight of the responsibility for the misery of the crisis as well as for the approaching horrors of a new war.

Only in Czarist Russia power was wrested away from the hands of the bourgeoisie. Due to its revolutionary leadership, the young Russian proletariat was able, for the first time in world history, to show concretely what inexhaustible possibilities are contained in the régime of the proletarian dictatorship and of planned economy. The gigantic economic and cultural achievements of a backward country transformed into the country of the workers and the peasants show where the real road to salvation leads for all of humanity.

We are now awaiting from the Soviet government the completion of the second five year plan by a plan of a broad economic collaboration with the advanced capitalist countries and the development of the gigantic perspectives of human power before the masses languishing under the yoke of the crisis and of unemployment. No matter what practical, immediate results such a plan would have, its power of attracting to socialism would be immense for millions and millions of proletarian minds.

Soviet Union in Danger

The present social régime in the land of Soviets is, to be sure, still a long way off from socialism. But its incommensurable significance lies in the fact that it is started on the road toward socialism. It will all the more surely and quickly go over to socialism the sooner the proletariats of the advanced countries seize the power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and create the definitive premises of a new society, one that can only be achieved on an international basis.

The danger of world war is a danger to the very existence of the first workers' and peasants' state. No matter what the causes will be, no matter in what states the war will break out, in its ulterior development it will inevitably turn against the U. S. S. R. The world and the European bourgeoisie will not leave the scene without attempting a transfusion of blood from the arteries of the young workers' state into those of agonizing imperialism.

The past year alone has showed precisely how the flames of war lunge at the frontiers of the Soviet Union simultaneously from the Far East and from the closer West. At the same time strangling the independence of China, Japan constructs in Manchuria fortresses from which to strike at the Soviets. The antagonism between Japan and the United States cannot hold back the militarists of Tokio, for in a future war against the Soviets they will consider themselves in advance, as the very vanguard of world imperialism.

On the other hand, the coup d'Etat carried out by Hindenburg on Hitler's orders not only clears the road for the Fascist régime in Germany but also opens up the perspective of a struggle for life or death between a Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. Big events are approaching for Europe and for the entire world.

The struggle against war signifies under these conditions the struggle to save the lives of dozens of millions of workers and peasants belonging to the new generation which has grown up since the great slaughter, to preserve all the conquests of labor and of thought, to save the first workers' state and the whole future of humanity.

Clarity on War Danger

All the greater, therefore, is the task and all the more necessary is clarity in the question of its solution. To condemn war is very easy, to conquer it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which combine in their hands all its productive forces and all its destructive weapons. By meetings, by resolutions, by moral indignation, by newspaper articles and by congresses it is not possible to prevent war. As long as the bourgeoisie will have at its disposal the banks, the enterprises, the land, the press and the state ap-

paratus, it will always be able to drive the people to war whenever its interests demand it. But the possessing classes never cede power without a struggle. Look at Germany. When the fundamental interests of the propertied classes are threatened, democracy cedes its place to open violence. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible only with guns in hand. That is to say: to imperialist war there can only be opposed—civil war.

We Bolshevik-Leninists absolutely reject and denounce the deceptive differentiation between a "defensive" and an "offensive" war. In the armed struggle of the capitalist states such a differentiation represents only a diplomatic screen with which to deceive the masses. In reality it so happens that the capitalist brigands always conduct a "defensive" war, even when Japan marches against Shanghai and France against Syria or Morocco. The revolutionary proletariat only distinguishes between wars of oppression and wars of emancipation. The character of a war is for us defined not by diplomatic falsifications but by the class which conducts the war and by the objective aims for which it proceeds with it. The wars of the imperialist states are, independently of the external pretexts and of political rhetoric of an oppressive character, reactionary and hostile to the people. The character of a war of emancipation cannot be anything else but that of the wars of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations. The armed insurrection of the proletariat against its oppressors is inevitably transformed after its victory into a revolutionary war of the proletariat state for the reinforcement and the extension of its victory. The policy of socialism is not and cannot be of a purely "defensive" character. It is the task of socialism to conquer the entire world.

Pacifism -- Poison for Masses

Therefrom we deduce our position with regard to all forms of pacifism, purely imperialist pacifism (Kellogg-Briand-Herriot, etc.) as well as petty bourgeois pacifism (Rolland-Barbusse and their partisans in all parts of the world). The essence of pacifism lies in this, that in a hypocritical or in a sincere manner, it condemns the use of force in general. By weakening the will-power of the oppressed, it serves at the same time the cause of the oppressors. Idealist pacifism opposes its moral indignation against war as the lamb opposes its plaintive bleating before the butcher's knife. But the task consists of this: of opposing the knife of the bourgeoisie with the knife of the proletariat.

The most influential pacifist force is the social democracy. In a period of peace it is not niggardly with cheap tirades against war. But it remains on the ground of "national defense". This decides the question. Every war no matter in what manner it may begin, menaces each of the warring nations. The imperialists know in advance that the pacifism of the social democracy will at the first roar of cannon be transformed into a most servile war patriotism and become the most important reserve of militarism. That is why the most intransigent struggle against pacifism, the unmasking of its treacherous character, is the very first step on the road toward a revolutionary struggle against war.

The League of Nations is the citadel of imperialist pacifism. It represents a transitory historical grouping of capitalist states in which the stronger ones command and buy out the weaker, crawl on their bellies before America or attempt to resist her; in which all are equally enemies of the Soviet Union and prepared at the same time to cover up any and every crime of the most powerful and the most rapacious among them. To consider the League of Nations directly or indirectly, today or in the future, as an instrument of peace—this only the politically blind are capable of, only those who are altogether helpless or the avowed poisoners of the conscience of the people.

Disarmament -- a Lever for War

The question of this pretended "disarmament" has nothing and can have nothing in common with the question of preventing war. The program of "disarmament" only signifies an attempt—up to the present only on paper—to diminish in peace-time the expense of this or that sort of disarmament. It is above all a question of military technique and of the imperialist coffers. The arsenals, the munition factories, the laboratories and finally, what is more important, capitalist industry as a whole—preserve their force in all the "disarmament programs". But men do not fight because they have arms. On the contrary they forge to fight. In case of war all the peace limitations will fall aside like so much chaff. Already in 1914-1918 the states did not fight any more with the armaments which they had provided for themselves in peace time, but with those which they manufactured during the war. It is not the existing arsenals but the capacity of production of the countries which is decisive. For the United States a limitation of armaments in Europe during peace time is very favorable because it allows it to manifest all the more decisively its industrial domination in time of war. The German bourgeoisie tends toward a reduction of armaments so as to equalize the handicap in case of a new bloody conflict. For Germany, general "disarmament" has the same meaning as naval parity with France has for Italy. Of what value all these plans will really be depends upon the combination of imperialist forces, the state of the budgets, the international financial settlements, etc. The question of disarmament is one of the levers on the arena of imperialism in which the new wars are being prepared. It is pure charlatanism to attempt to distinguish between defensive and offensive machine guns, tanks, airplanes. The Ameri-

can program is also dictated therein by the particular interests of American militarism the most terrible of all. War is not a game which is conducted according to conventional rules. War demands and creates all the weapons which can annihilate the enemy with the greatest amount of success. Petty bourgeois pacifism which sees in the project for ten percent, thirty-three percent, or fifty percent disarmament the "first step" towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and all the asphyxiating gases, because Melinite and Yperite can only do their work because the broad masses are poisoned in peace time by the pacifist fumes.

Who Has the Weapons?

Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or for the limitations of armaments, the revolutionary proletariat poses one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* All sorts of weapons in the hands of the imperialists are identically directed against the working classes, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. On the other hand, weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of sweeping our planet clean of oppression and of war.

The struggle for the self-determination of nations, for all peoples, that is to say, for all parts of humanity which are oppressed and which strive for independence is one of the most important parts of the struggle against war. Whoever supports directly or indirectly the régime of colonization and of protectorates, the domination of British capital in India, the domination of Japan in Korea or in Manchuria, of France in Indo-China or in Africa, whoever does not fight against colonial enslavement, whoever does not support the uprisings of the oppressed nations and their independence, whoever defends or idealizes Ghandism, that is to say, the policy of passive resistance in questions which cannot be solved except by force of arms—is, no matter what his intentions may be, a lackey and an apologist or agent of the imperialists, of the slave holders, of the militarists, and aids them in preparing new wars in the name of the old chains or the new.

The principal force against war is the proletariat. It is only through its example and under its leadership that the peasants and the other plebeian layers of the nation can rise up against war. Within the proletariat two parties are struggling for influence: the Communist Party and the social democracy. The intermediate groups (The S. A. P. in Germany, the P. U. P. in France, the I. L. P. in England, etc.) cannot expect to rise an independent historical role. In the question of war, which is the other side of the question of the proletarian revolution, the irreconcilable opposition between Communism and social patriotism will reach its extreme acuteness.

C.I. Capitulates to Pacifists

Whoever attempts to put all the programs, all the parties, all the flags into one bag in the name of pacifism, that is, of the superficial struggle against war, in words, renders the best service to imperialism. In the question of war, no less than in all the other questions, the Communist Party must seek to free the working masses from the disintegrating and demoralizing influence or reformism.

Monde, the organ of Barbusse, Gorky and the other organizers of the Anti-War Congress, is pursuing a systematic agitation for the fusion of the Communist and the Second Internationals. For a struggle against war, Barbusse addresses himself in the same manner to Lenin as to Vandervelde. That is merely falsifying Lenin and rehabilitating Vandervelde. We reject the policy of Barbusse and his followers and we condemn it as the most dangerous political poisoning. We consider as a serious mistake of the Communist International and of the Red Trade Union International their leaving the initiative for the call of the conference to the unprincipled and impotent pacifists.

We consider the non-entrance of the U. S. S. R. into the League of Nations as altogether correct, practically as well as in principle. We regret all the more, therefore, the fact that the Soviet Union has covered with its authority the Kellogg pact, which is a complete humbug and whose role it is to "justify" only such wars as correspond to the American interests.

We also consider as erroneous the tendency of Soviet diplomacy to embellish the policy of American imperialism and particularly its initiative in the question of disarmament. We recognize fully the importance for the U. S. S. R. of normal economic and diplomatic relations with the U. S. A. But this aim cannot be achieved by verbal capitulations before the maneuvers of American imperialism, the strongest and most rapacious of all. We are awaiting from Soviet diplomacy a clear and public expose on the question of the war danger and the struggle against it. It is necessary to alarm the peoples in a loud voice. The less Soviet diplomacy adapts itself to the maneuvers of the imperialists in this burning question, the more courageously it raises its own voice, the more closely they will align themselves with the U. S. S. R. the more surely they will defend it against the rising danger.

Free the Bolshevik-Leninists!

At the same time we consider it our task to declare here openly: Now, in the face of the terrible danger that is drawing close, it is necessary to finally repair the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the revolution and Communism; it is necessary to free the thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists, the organizers of

the October revolution, the creators of the Red Army, the participants of the civil war, the inflexible revolutionary fighters from the prisons and exile. For the dictatorship of the proletariat and the world revolution, against imperialist war, they want to fight and they will fight with an energy incomparably greater than that of the drawing room pacifists and the numerous Stalinist bureaucrats.

The years of the furious campaigns of slander, of the most cruel persecution and violence against the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists have been and will remain also years of the uninterrupted and unimpeachable confirmation of the criticism exercised by them, of the perspectives outlined by them and of the policies proposed by them. Through the action of Stalin, with the blessings of "humanists" a la Barbusse, Lenin's most trusted companion-in-arms of the Red October is confined to Fascist Turkey, laid open to the murderous plans of the White Guards. While the Stalinist bureaucracy maintains in the face of the fateful events and the gigantic tasks, an embarrassed silence—there is ringing forth from Prinkipo and Barnoul the voice of the genuine champions of revolutionary Marxism, the voice of L. D. Trotsky, the voice of Ch. G. Rakovsky. In this hour of approaching decisions, this alone must be demanded: Return to the vanguard of the world proletariat its revolutionary leadership. Bring back Trotsky to the Soviet Union! Bring back Rakovsky from the Siberian exile! Put them and the thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists at their revolutionary battle posts!

The policy of the united front in the struggle against war demands special attention and revolutionary perseverance. The Communist Party can and must propose openly, without these doubtful intermediaries, to all the working class organizations to coordinate their efforts in the struggle against war. For their part the Bolshevik-Leninists propose the following points on the basis of which struggle agreements are possible, at the same time maintaining a complete guarantee of the independence of the organizations and of their banners.

We Propose:

1. Renunciation of all hopes in the League of Nations as well as other pacifist illusions.
2. Denunciation of the capitalist "disarmament" programs, which serve to dupe the peoples.
3. Refusal of all votes for military budgets and drafts to the capitalist governments—not a man, not a cent.
4. Exposure of the humbug of "national defense", because the capitalist nation defends itself by oppressing and dividing the more feeble nations.
5. A campaign for economic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. on the basis of a broadly laid out program in the elaboration and realization of which mass organizations of the working class are to be drawn into participation.
6. Continual and systematic exposure of the imperialist intrigues against the first and only workers' state.
7. Agitation against war in the war factories, among the soldiers and sailors. Preparation of revolutionary points of support in the war industries, in the army and in the navy.
8. The training of the Red Army not only in the spirit of a courageous defense of the socialist fatherland but also in the spirit of constant readiness to come to the aid of the proletarian revolution in the other countries and of the uprisings of the oppressed peoples.
9. Systematic education of the laboring masses of the entire world in the spirit of the greatest devotion to the first proletarian state. Despite the indubitable mistakes in the policy of the present ruling faction, the U. S. S. R. remains the genuine fatherland of the international proletariat. Its defense is the unflinching duty of every honest worker.
10. Indefatigable explanation to the workers of the entire world that a socialist society can be established only on an international scale, and that the real support of the U. S. S. R. lies in the extension of the proletarian world revolution.

Foreign Representation of the Russian Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)

- Left Opposition of the C.P.G.(B.-L.)
- Left Opposition (B.-L.) of Greece
- Communist Left of Spain
- Communist League (Opp.) France
- Communist League of America (Opp.)
- Communist Left Opposition of Belgium
- Left Opp. of Czechoslovakia
- Left Opp. Group of the C. P. G. B.
- Left Opp. of the Swiss C. P.
- Bulgarian Left Opposition
- Left Opp. of Italy (N.I.O.)

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