WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

EMILITAI

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY JUNE 3, 1933

Problems of the United Front THE JOBLESS MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Today, very clearly and sharply,

Movements of the unemployed

cialist Party, the CPLA (Muste-

These movements of the unem-

now existing various unemployed

United Front on a national scale.

movement, to work for its achieve-

ment, irrespective of other political,

economic, racial, etc., differences

should be accepted as elemental.

The False Views of the Lovestonites

make up the constituent parts of

(Continued on Page 4)

The Meaning of the Farm Revolts

In the last two years, and par-organizational manner.

But what does not appear to be

VOLUME VI, NO. 29 WHOLE NO. 176

The condition of the millions of a case of "sowing dragons' teeth unemployed in the United States is and reaping flies." more miserable and critical than ever before. Such resources as they opportunistic and even reactionary may have had themselves or through views are being put forth in the friends, relatives, etc., are wholly movement of the unemployed, not exhausted. Dependance upon organs alone by the known labor fakers of charity and governmental assis- of the A. F. of L. and the charlatance is greater than at any time tans of the socialist party-from hitherto. Yet at this moment, gov- them that is to be expected-but ernmental relief of the cities and also among so-called Communist other agencies is being either elements. We cannot here deal with sharply or entirely cut in numerous them all; we take only those concommunities, such as New York. cepts brought out by the represen-The "New Deal" of the Roosevelt tatives of the Lovestone, Right administration has failed thus far wing Communist, group. to touch to any noticeable degree th misery involving the unemployed have been organized in a large millions. All these factors tend tomeasure through the instrumentaday, as much or more than hitherto, lity of various political parties and to give a strong impetus to the tendencies in the labor movement: growth of a militant and broad among these are the official Commovement on behalf of the unemmunist party (Stalinists), the So-

Of a positive and beneficial char- ites), Lovestone (Right Communist acter is the growth of tendencies Opposition) and others. which aim for a merging of the various unemployed movements into ployed take, or should take on, the a single, national organization on organizational expression of the a united front basis. But as a united front of all organizations consequence, in part, of this for- ready to take part in the movement ward direction, resulting essentially of the unemployed. A correct obfrom the objective conditions and jective must be the merging of the demands of the unemployed, other questions have again come sharply movements into a single and broad to the front. These questions must be decisively revolved soon; they For the immediate demands theminvolve the growth or crack-up of selves of the unemployed movement the unemployment movement, and can be fought for successfully only particularly its development in a on a planned, national scale. Such class conscious direction.

The numerous conferences of the common, minimum program of unemployed, especially the Confer-ence held recently in Chicago which binds all those adhering to the brought together various political tendencies, reveal that certain basic requirements still confront the movement on behalf of the unemployed. Some of the more important ones are:

Basic Requirements

1. Working out ways and means for cooperation and joint action of the employed and unemployed.

2. Drawing the trade and labor unions, particularly of the American Federation of Labor, into the movement of the Unemployed, for reciprocal results and benefits.

3. Developing a political con- ticularly in recent months, there The importance of this spontasciousness among the mass of workers, in this instance, the movement aggressiveness of the American geoisie and petty bourgeoisie must of the unemployed.

Various movements of the unemployed arose in the past years in the hope that through mass pressure and organization, the sistance to attempts to foreclose these struggles. From the peasant the working masses there still miserable lot of the unemployed mortgages, in such widely-scattered revolt or "jacqueries" of France of glows the hope that everything will millions can be partially alleviated. These are necessary and immediate of the structure of ate objectives that must be sincerely and militantly fought for by all significance? forces taking part in the unemployed movement. For Communists, divided into three classes: the at times were in conflict with the The Left wing of the social this is elemental, or ought to be large capitalist farmer, owning revolution, and up to the present democratic opposition made the As in other fields of daily class several hundred to several thous- time in the Western provinces of first attempt to act when it called struggle, so in the unemployed and acres, regularly exploiting la- China where the famous Chinese upon the masses to demonstrate in movement, we put forward imme- borers; second, the middle-sized "Soviets" and the Chinese "Red the center of the city. The call diate demands in themselves of farmer, operating 50 to 200 acres Army" dominate, history is full of had no effect. It could not have greater or lesser importance. These (20 to 80 hectares), using little or the experience of independent ag- any effect, because leadership canhave been more or less accurately occasional hired labor; and the rarian revolts without the leader- not come from an anonymous orworked out and need no repetition small farmer, comparable to the ship of the only revolutionary class, ganization. The workers want to We present immediate de- European peasant, the tenant far- the proletariat. mands because as living and not mer and the share-cropper. sterile revolutionaries, we fight for The middle and to some extent, the interests of the workers today. the small farmer have been the At the same time we set forth our most actively engaged in the farm but against certain immediate reultimate program for the abolition strikes and the militant actions of capitalism and its replacement against foreclosure of mortgages. by the rule of the working class. The broadest masses of the agra-

But, if we forget for one instant our basic class approach, namely, agricultural workers have had a our need and task to revolutionize limited share in this activity. On for agricultural commodities rethe workers; if we allow ourselves the other hand, particularly in the sulting from the control of the state to get lost in a maze of immediate mddle West, there has been a disdemands and become absorbed, how- tinct tendency for the revolting soever militantly, solely in the farmers to seek the assistance of struggle for these demands, little or workers, particularly unemployed, nothing will be gained for the work- from the nearby cities. ing class. What we reap will be illu- To a large extent this has been sions among the workers, the growth spontaneous, although the Commuof opportunism and the chance for nist party and other labor organiopportunists and fakers to deceive zations have tried to give direction

The opportunist theory of social-1 the USSR and the Comintern. They the strength and the organization ism in one country is showing its stand in opposition to it and fill with which to carry it out, under fruits. A correct revolutionary, the jails and places of deportation these circumstances the agrarian

> negligible factor whose interests of a stabilization and "prosperity." had to be subordinated to diplo-Overextension, excessive productive macy. Then non-aggression pacts, capacity, low prices in relation to participation in the Kellogg Peace manufactured goods, a low rate of Pact, struggle for international profit, severe competition with

Soviet diplomacy has rid itself of Britain.

(Continued on Page 3)

Right Wing Move to Expel Militants from P.M.A.

Gillespie, Ill.—The class collaboration policies of the Right wing of the Progressive Miners of America has been weakening the union in its struggle against the operators and their agents. The red baiting campaign of the operators aiming to divide and weaken the union forces, has been picked up by the Right wing element and is now being followed up in an at-tempt in the Springfield subdistrict to expel about three dozen militant Left wingers. The first three slated to go are Joe Angelo, Freeman Thompson and Voizy. In the period of formation of

the PMA, special provisions were made to admit into the progressive union all miltants expelled by the company and who laid the groundbuilt. Now, President Pearcy does functioning for months. Further, one cannot get a job in the mines unless he has a union card. Perhaps Pearcy wants them to get a job in the scab mines?

The Left wing is organizing to on their own hook. smash this attempt to exclude and expel the most militant element in a united front must work out a

The need of an organized Left that exist in the movement. This in the Militant, is now a living reality in the coal fields. The Stalinites are trying to catch up accepted as elemental is who shall with events in Illinois.

After the National Miners Union (Continued on Page 2)

Aims of Agrarian Revolts

sults of that system: super-exploi-

dence in the stability and desira-

But when, on the one hand, the

exsting system cracks open and lays

bare its inner decomposition, dur-

ing a revolutionary crisis; and on

the other, the proletariat, guided by

(Continued on Page 4)

bility of the existing system.

LEON TROTSKY Lessons of May Day in Austria

(REFLECTIONS FROM AFAR) On the First of May the workers fight. Once again it became apparent how easily all the bureaucrats and semi-bureaucrats, the official ones as well as those of the half-hearted opposition, disguise their own lack of decision as a 'depressed sentiment" among the masses. The workers want to fight. This is the most important conclusion from which we must proceed.

masses entered into struggle and Morgan institution dominates thru suffered defeat; before the masses, its financial affluence a huge section in support of the conspiracy, original and the Little Entertee not remember or is trying to for- in case the masses entered into of the American industrial life. get these provisions. The Right struggle and achieved a victory. wingers tell these militants to first it is hard to conceive of a more to his outright or partial control counterpart the Four Power Part get a job and then they will ob- disloyal and outrageous policy. It tain a card. However, all are mem is disloyal because it leaves the Nor does he depend upon abstract with vosistance from Warrand bers of the union and have been masses with the illusion that they for indirect methods to keep the have a party and a leadership. It government, both major political have a party and a leadership. It government, both major political is outrageous because, in their most parties, subservient to his interests which the Pilsudsky regime fears. difficult hour, it leaves the masses and needs. Practically half of the which are accustomed to a central- national committee of the Repubized leadership, to seek a way out

The policy of the social democratic party excludes the possibility of a victory of the proletariat. At the same time, it excludes the poswing in every local of the PMA to fight for a program of class struggle and against the steady shift to the right and the policy of class colla- and of hope for a revolutionary boration, as pointed out for months solution. The bourgeoisie lives in constant dread of civil war. The military-police measures reveal their unreliability more and more every day. The petty bourgeois masses are becoming more and more nervous. The big bourgeoisie is becoming more and more convinced that without the dictatorship of Fascism it will not be able to mantain its order. In this way, the social democracy paralyzes the proletariat with its doubly disloyal, locquacious and cowardly policy and pours grist to the mill of Fascism.

has been a great increase in the neous revolt of the agrarian bour-The semi- oppositionists of the farmers in their efforts to throw not be overestimated, so long as it type of Max Adler (can Otto Bauer off the burden of the crisis. The is but little bound up with the still be counted among them?) forms of this activity have been workers' struggles and particularly cover up and protect this policy of varied-strikes, farm holidays, re- with the revolutionary direction of disloyalty "from the Left." Among struggles as having revolutionary century Europe, the independent to point out the way of struggles peasant struggles in Soviet Russia In this manner, irretrievable weeks The American farmer can be after the October Revolution, which and months are lost.

know with whom they are dealing

It is not, naturally, a question of These revolts are not directed persons, but of the banner, the proagainst the system of capitalism, gram, the slogan, the organization. Several Left social democrats who want to fight, are perplexed because tation by finance capital, excessive they have no "names." The name taxes to support the capitalist is created in the course of the rian petty bourgeoisie and of the state, high prices for manufactured struggle. As long as the Left social democrats do not come out with goods, compared with low prices a platform of struggle, their calls will get no echo.

The Communist party is paralapparatus by finance and its allied industrial capital. The aim of yzed by the criminal policy of these revolts has been to remove the Stalinist bureaucracy in Ger-"abuses" and "excesses" of the many, by the theory and practice existing system, not to destroy the of social Fascism, the hopeless existing system and build a new muddle in the question of the united one on its ruins. Even the agrarian front, the regime of simulation and rebels themselves still have confifalsehoods.

for connections with the genuine radicalization of the workers," the revolutionary elements in the Communist party and the social democratic opposition. It is not true that everything is lost in Austria. Great shake-ups, transformations in its revolutionary party, steps for-the masses are still possible. A ward as the one class in society small organization which knows what it wants can play an historical role under such circumstances

> - LEON TROTSKY Prnkipo, May 7, 1933

cus is off the press and ready for their line. sale. Featuring National Youth Day, it contains the International was here, he introduced the theory among the Illinois coal miners. Left Opposition's statement to the of "social-Fascism." This was im-Youth Anti-Fascist Congress at mediately taken up by the leader-vited the members and sympathi-Copenhagen. This is a powerful ship with enthusasm, and they zers of nearby Branches of the document which should be seriously proceeded to thoroughly thrash Communist League. Special invistudied by both youth and adult the Labour Party with it at every tations have been extended to the comrades. It should add in clari-opportunity. Not realizing that they Newark and Philadelphia branches. fying the question of the relation only represented an insignificant between the general class move minority of the workers, they in on the job with preparations for ment and th youth. Among the discriminately labelled every social fun and good food. in the Trenton and New York Doll to open antagonism and hostility train to the Woodlawn station—the

The puppets of Wall Street on Capitol Hill are "investigating" the House of Morgan. A sop to the petty bourgeoisie and a sham in its aims, the Senate Banking Committee has disclosed damning evi of Vienna showed that in spite of of J. P. Morgan and Co., which all deception, treachery and disappointment, they do want to financial, industrial and political

The revelations of the investigation are vindication of the contention of the Marxians propounded decades ago. Finance capital wields its conrtol over the banking institu-tions of the nation thru a meshwork

Matin, reveals the whole machinaspearhead. The French merely want of interlocking directorates which cunningly evade all laws aimed at the metal at the matter of the result in the conditions of the Four Power than by the trust laws aimed at the matter of the result in the conditions of the Four Power than by the trust laws aimed at the matter of the result in the conditions of the Four Power than th The First of May policy of the class. The trustified industries, with public in an effort to hold Poland itself wrangles for a more Workers who were the first to lead to social democratic party consisted the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: becompany and who laid the ground-fore the government in control by the struggle against Lewis and control by the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: becompany and who laid the ground-fore the government in control by the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: becompany and who laid the ground-fore the government in control by the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: becompany and who laid the ground-fore the government in control by the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: becompany and who laid the ground-fore the government in control by the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: becompany and who laid the ground-fore the government in control by the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: becompany and who laid the ground-fore the government in control by the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: becompany and who laid the ground-fore the government in control by the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: becompany and who laid the ground-fore the government in control by the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself and the control by the struggle against Lewis and the Little Entente in line, a prominent place. fore the government, in case the control by the Morgan trust. The difficult for Qui D'Orsay diplomacy work upon which the PMA was masses entered into struggle and Morgan institution dominates thru due to the rigors of the world-wide

to assure his dominating influence. lican party, including Edward T. committee, John R. Nutt, are personal beneficiaries of Morgan's benevolence. The same goes equally for present Roosevelt administration, Russians there in 1920." through the medium of the secretary of the treasury, Woodin, have received "gifts" from the House of no one in the major party set-ups. Letters from the above-named individuals, disclosed at the investi-(Continued on Page 4)

New Deal' Fakers Push Inquiry into Bankers' Deals Attackon USSR

Danger of Imperialist Intervention Imminent. Western Powers Haggle Over Vantage Points in Coming Anti Soviet War. Japan Cinches Position with the Help of the Kuomintang and War Lords

news of a Hitler-Pilsudski plot colonization. against the Soviet Union. J. Sauer-

But J. P. Morgan does not trust gnally concocted by Nazi statesmen, would seriously weaken them. counteract the Four Power Pact Sauerwein writes:

pensation territory in Soviet Ukraine in the direction of the Black raine in the direction of the Black Sea. It is a German idea... Marshal clear—the Nazi-Polish alliance

From the report, which Monseiur Hitler? Sauerwein says, the French consi-Morgan which discriminates against tained from "secret sources," one thing stands out most clearly, Namely, that on every side of the European diplomatic tangle the way out is seen-in an attack against

From Paris comes the alarming Soviet Russia and in its subsequent

Furthermore, in this attack, spearhead. The French merely want French authorities made the news Pact, with Poland as a subsidiary.

That the French are losing their grip somewhat is apparent. With Mussolini to the South and Hitler over Poland and the Little Entente parately.

Hitler, on the other hand, would like nothing better than to gird to provisions for rearmament made himself for the French by an alliance with the other notorious adventurer of Eastern Europe, Pilsudski. In this he no doubt hopes "The idea of the Nazi scheme, as for Washington's blessing. The the French understand it, is that Roosevelt "peace message," which Rickard, financial adviser to Her-Poland would make a big territorial the Nazi chancellor was only too years, and the chairman of fhis committee John R Nutt are perstag address, leaves ample room for such an aspiration.

the Democratic party, whose ex-national chairman, Raskob, and the Ukraine ever since he fought the USSR. What else has Hitler to offer Pilsudski? On what other grounds can Pilsudski meet

Yet, no matter which way the Franco-German tangle is solved with France directing or with Hitler in the lead under American auspices ultimately, the line-up must be against the fatherland of the workers. It will be concluded. That much is obvious. Only the purblind cannot see this. To trust in nonaggression pacts, as the Litvinoffs and Stalins and Karakhans do, means under thes conditions, to prepare the ground objectively for a smashing defeat of Soviet Russia.

To put confidence in the imperialist contradictions alone, as the present regime in the Soviet Union does, means to go to the slaughter points out that when they refer to blindfolded.

The Western powers are heading for an intervention agreement. Japan, in the Far East, is making ready for collusion in the attack by the seizure of the Chinese Eastforgotten that the workers have ern, by the setting-up of a new a habit of remembering, so that North China vassal state, by the when, in a frenzied endeavor to set conclusion of a binding truce with up "a united front from below" they the lackeys of the Kuomintang. approach these self-same workers From all sides, imperialist ambus-

> Stalinism has paralyzed the Communist International, the arm of world revolution.

> Stalinism has betraved the Chi-

Stalinism has betrayed the Gernan working class by a senseless inrealistic policy which has played into the hands of Fascism.

To what end? So that socialism promised" with Chiang Kai Shek

It must be plainly said: It has open to attack from without by The lead that they give is purely against the world revolution It (Continued on Page 4)

Organize Australian Opposition

We reprint below a letter re- the Labour Party a wonderful weaceived from the secretary of the newly organized opposition in Communist party. Recently, this the Communist Party of Australia. It is still further evidence and confirmation of the wreckage perpetrated by the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International. But more than that, it is a glowing tribute to the great historical role of the International Left Opposition the effectiveness of The Militant, whose guiding voice reaches the serious and sincere Communist workers in far-off Australia.

To our new fellow-fighters and comrades in Australia-greetings! As to ourselves, this tribute from the South Seas should spur every comrade on to greater activity. With redoubled energy and enthusiasm, forward!

Sydney, April 14, 1933

Comrade.

In an endeavor to get a clear conception of the international situation, and to get a correct estimate of the present line of the C. I. ment with others of the movement in Australia have decided to open with the issuing of mechanical di- "practical policy," which has "comup communication with your organization.

For the past two years something has been definitely wrong with the C. P. in Australia. The and that "No revolution can be sucsupport that was gained when the cessful unless we lead it!" Then led to the isolation of the revolueconomic crisis began to be felt, they apparently sit back in comfort tionary fatherland. It has laid it was never crystallized gradually and await the rallying of the toilfell away. Today we find that de ing masses around their office doors. opportunist compromises directed spite the continued reiteration of The Bolshevik-Leninists must look the statement; "The ever increasing facts are that an increasing number or movement launched by the C. P.

vious Right opportunist errors, many good members have been expelled. It is significant that the

and gave the opportunist leaders of last stop. From there take a

the social-fascists they only mean the leaders of the social democrats. "From Below" in the Office Unfortunately however, they have

Communist party. Recently, this

method of approach (?) has been

altered, and the party carefully

with this brand new form of orga- cades lurk ahead for the fortress nization (or is it a factic?) the of the world revolution. workers greet them with stony silence, and the comrades retire to lick their wounds in isolation. They then proceed to indulge in selferticism sufficiently for them to nese proletariat and helped into launch another campaign. Then power the Kuomintang bandits, who they go out and repeat the same have sold out to the Japanese agold mistakes time and again. gressor. Result: Their isolation is becoming

During these honest, but futile attempts of the party membership from your point of view, I, in agree- to overcome their weakness, the might be built in one country-in party leadership contents itself Russia!? Where has this wise, rectives from above. They reiterate to a point of monotony thru and alienated the bulk of the rethe party press that they are the formist working class of the world, "Vanguard of the working class!" led to? (Continued on Page 2)

keep away from any demonstration or movement launched by the C. P. New York Branch to Hold Picnic for For criticizing the leadership in an honest endeavor to correct ob-

majority of these expelled members New York Branch of the Commu-Brook Park. have good records of struggle in hist League of America (Oppositheir leadership of the workers. tion) will hold its first picnic of While pretending to follow in the the season at Tibbetts Brook Park footsteps of Lenin, the party leader- (Picnic ground to be announced Park ship gives lip-service to the revo-later in the Militant). The picnic, lutionary movement instead of en- apart from the good time assured «Young Spartacus» Out gaging in the concrete work among for all who attend, has the necessary of the state of the masses so necessary if they sary and excellent objective of The June issue of Young Sparta- wish to win concrete support for raising money to maintain the weekly Militant and to assist in When the Comintern instructor the work of the Left Opposition

To this picnic have also been in-The picnic committee is already

other articles are those on Ger-democratic worker as a counter | To get to Tibbetts Brook Park many, unemployment, reforestation, revolutionary and an enemy of the from New York City: Take the and working class youth struggles working class. This of course led I. R. T. Wooddawn-Jerome Ave.

On Sunday, June 11, 1933, the McLean Ave. trolley to Tibbett's

Comrades and sympathizers: Reserve SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1933 for an all day frolic at Tibbetts Brook

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC

TIBETTS BROOK PARK

(Field to be announced later) on SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1933

Games - Refreshments - Speakers Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.) (DIRECTIONS: From New York

City -- Take I.R.T. Woodlawn-Jerome Avenue Subway to Woodlawn Station — last stop. From there take McLean Ave. car to Tibbetts Brook Park.)

Stalinist Diplomacy Leaves Trail of Treachery for International Proletariat the other, the proletariat, guided by its revolutionary party, steps for-

the workers. In short, it will be to this elemental movement in an

Marxist Russian Foreign Policy, in the state for which they have revolt is swept along behind the based upon the theory of the permanent revolution, would have arisen on the basis of the reaction-forces it. Depending on the relative seen its chief tasks in the problems of the Chinese, the German, the country, which stands in contradic national economy, this reinforceworld revolution. Of greatest importance was the Comintern as the instrument of world revolution. To its interests, diplomacy, which only has a technical significance, should have been subordinated.

Thus, with a correct policy, the central problem of the Soviet Union in the last few years should have been the struggle against German Fascism, which should not have been permitted under any circumstances to seize power. Furthermore, China should have been supported against the brigand invasion of the Japanese.

But the representatives of this correct, international tactic which conforms to the objective requirements do not decide the policy of

that has a definite policy and has fought. Bureaucrats who have proletarian revolution and reinary theory of socialism in one importance of agriculture in the tion to objective reality, decide the ment may be decisive, as in Soviet policies.

Nationalist Foreign Policy—A Logical Consequence

Russia, or substantal, as it would be in the United States; or even negligible, as it would be in Great all control by the Comintern and The present basis of American made an opportunist practice out agriculture is unstable and cannot of a juridical fiction in the Soviet be maintained for very many years constitution. If Russia alone could longer, as is shown by the perbuild up socialism, it had to con- manent crisis which has corroded duct a nationalist foreign policy, American agriculture ever since the Comintern had to become a 1920, and even during the years

disarmament "as the only means of new countries like Canada, Argen-

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Crucago Branch in 'Militant' Drive

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago branch

comrade Cannon who is now on tour for the Left Opposition. Comrade Cannon's lecture on the perspective of the American revolution was very enthusiastically received by the workers present. The attendance was excellent in spite of the fact that it was the first warm addresses in order that we may notify them of future meetings and altogther, the Left Opposition will reap many benefits from this meet-

The climax of the week's activities was reached at a meeting of the members of the Left Opposition and its sympathetic organizations on Thursday. After an address by comrade Cannon on the work of the Left Opposition in the most important class battles waged by the workers recently, the possibilities of further participation in the class struggle and the resultant growth of the Left Opposition, the Bolshevik-Leninists present gave concrete evidence of their devotion to their class and their enthusiasm in the accomplishments of the Left Opposition.

Without hesitation they agreed to raise Chicago's quota of \$400 in the expansion campaign of the Left Opposition. Pledges_were called for. One comrade pledged \$100.00. An-Pledges of tens and fives came rolling in. Unemployed comrades, having no money of their own, volunteered to canvass their acquainof unemployment, pledged \$5.00. It the authority for their action, they impromptu meeting of the steering in Germany will be invincible. gram. They gave the committee was very evident that every com- said that they were acting on inrade present was making every structions from the conference sacrifice and effort to do his or committee which had decided not ceeding in giving their violation of and Vienna! Long live Commulother Left wing groups, some that her share to further the work of to admit anybody else. They althe Left Opposition. Approximately ready had enough delegates. \$90.00 in cash was raised at this Left Opposition and all its symformed to carry on the work of our comrade from the hall. various comrades as they are able the committee demanding an ex- cal violence. The Spartacus Youth German army advanced even though sociations committee and that this ation exercises not a word was men-

absent members for pledges. Comrade Cannon will be back in he will speak at a mass meeting in Humboldt Hall, 2231 W. Division to answer for their misleadership the reason for this hos- no more copies available. It orig- tion will do all that is possible to activities. Saposs was also one who of the German proletariat, if they reorganized the committee in tile maneuver, shunned an answer inally sold at one dollar a copy. Iron out the difficulties created by helped Muste to oust Calhoun from can. We will carry the campaign the headquarters of the Needle or shifted the responsibility though We are selling it for 25c. (twenty the Stalinites and bring all Left Brookwood. from this point on to a successful Trades Workers Industrial Union, they had undoubtedly inspired it. five cents) each, 15c (fifteen cents) culmination with a picnic to be so that it is composed of party The demonstration, luckily for the in groups of ten or more. Order united front Left wing group. The when the annual meeting of the held the latter part of June.

This campaign marks a definite step forward in the work of the Left Opposition in Chicago as well as nationally. Definte plans were made to secure a permanent headquarters and to draw new members into the branch from the many sympathizers we have won in the course of our work during the last few years. The Left Opposition is preparing to play its role in the important struggles that lie ahead. - R. S.

others it is only 50 cents.

Greek Stalinists Exclude Protomagia

of expansion inaugurated by the established for the purpose of mouthings and jingo speeches of American Left Opposition. The preparing plans for a conference the military sides of the bankers last week has witnessed a series (which was held last February) of of successful activities here which all Greek workers' organizations, will bear rich fruit in the near to outline a common program of action for unemployment relief Last Sunday, May 21st, we held from the Greek charity organizaa very successful mass meeting with tions and the church of the city. At the conference ther was also represented the Greek workers' educational club Protomagia, with adopted that the conference go on record to elect a permanent committee composed of one delegate each from the participating orga-Sunday following several weeks of nizations. Another resolution was cold and rainy weather. A good proposed by the notorious Stalinist number of Stalinists were present editor of the Greek party organ, and although the subject was not Empros, to the effect that all parof a polemical nature, they re-ticipants shall accept the program mained throughout the meeting and of the party-controlled unemployed gave the speaker their undivided councils and that the Empros shall attention. A considerable number be the official organ of the comof workers took advantage of the mittee. We of the Protomagia, prochairman's invitation to leave their tested against this resolution which proposed to use the committee as

> with the statement that we do not accept the resolution. That aroused the hostility of the Stalinist bureaucrats against our club and immediately they started a campaign of slander against us, delegates to withdraw.

an organization superceding all or

ganizations and not a genune uni-

ted front body. But we remained

and participated in the committee

The Stalinists were determined to do away with us at any cost. actions. When their original pressure failed, they proceeded to use open hooli-

gan methods.

Upon our delegate's insistance to meeting. A joint committee of the patricipate, a party member, Karamanlis by name, assisted by three pathetic organizations present was others, used physical force to eject

Our club has sent a letter to to meet them and to canvass the planation. This letter has not been Club held its ground when sund- Soviet Russia had declared the end caucus GO TO THE OTHER LEFT tioned about the future policy of Chicago on June 9th, at which time mittee as a super-organization by "red front fighters" who fenced off tive was open: Lenin proposed the means of which to liquidate all the Spartacus Youth Club delega- signing of a peace treaty with Ger-Street, on "The Tragedy of the Secondly, they entered into an altion. They claimed the reason for Russia and Germany at Brest meantime, as a first step the L. O. Why in Poughkeepsie? The answer the participating organizations tion from the rest of the demonstra- many—a "Tilsit Peace."* German Proletariat." We invite all liance with the Greek church, with this unheard of action was to pro-Stalinists to attend this meeting to clearn what a correct united front the advantage of the church. And motives were obviously sinister.

The VCL leaders when approached by Dispose that we organize that we organize to the kind of the church and motives were obviously sinister. The VCL leaders when approached by Dispose that we organize to correct united front the greek bishop using them for tect(!) us from violence, but their School of Social Research. After Left wing groups in as many correct wing groups in as many correct united front the advantage of the church. And motives were obviously sinister.

The VCL leaders when approached by Dispose that we organize that we organize to correct united front the advantage of the church. And motives were obviously sinister. tactic is and how to apply it, and finally, in order to cover up their The YCL leaders, when approached by Pioneer Publishers there will be members and members of party Stalinists, ended without any alter- now before it is too late! affiliates only. A week ago they announced in the Empros that a

conference was held on May 18 . . This exposes the hypocrisy of the whole policy of the Stalinist buand use splitting tactics. They use warn again that this road will lead which to prepare their own "war feat the Right wing, the Operators percent Right wing clique as offireaucrats. They talk united front revolutionary phrases but act no to disaster and isolation from the, of independence" 1812-1814, which and their Lewis agents. different from the reactionaries.

- J. BANANOS

STREET MEETINGS The New York Branch is holding open air street meetings on current working class problems Thursday, SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT! Friday and Saturday evenings in A Half Year sub to the Militant Manhattan, the Bronx and Brookis \$1. On a Club Plan with three lyn. Our sympathizers and friends lare urged to attend.

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RUSSIA & GERMANY At BREST-LITOVSK

By Judah L. Magnes

A day-to-day documentary study of the negotiations between the German imperial staff and the Bolshevik delegation headed by comrade Trotsky. Lenin, Trotsky, Kamenev, Karakhan and others move and speak through the 192 pages of the book. What they said and did is quoted from documents and the sources are given.

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- PIONEER PUBLISHERS -84 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.

N.Y. YouthMarch Against War

New York-Approximately five thousand young workers paraded the streets of Harlem, N. Y., on the New York-Last January the third anniversary of National Youth

and the munition manufacturers. war demonstration the tone of the slogans, due to the environs of the parade, swerved radically from its original purpose to a Scottsboro protest march. The spirit of the marchers was highly enthusiastic but little expression came from the three delegates. A resolution was YCL and sympathizing bodies of an anti-militarist nature. It remained for the Spartacus Youth Club, affiliated to the Left Opposition, which was present in a goodly contingent, to give the internationalist spirit to the gathering.

Until the day of the parade, the ore the label of the united front.

The Stalinists, finding themselves the Russian Bolshevik Party. clusion from the committee, which to the four winds. Leaflets were February 4, 1918, Zinoviev, in the was packed with party members ripped from the hands of the Love- name of Petrograd Soviets ad- Left wing shows no improvement did not want such a radical change Lewis? representing non-existing organizations. They used all forms of were torn to shreds by rowdy elerepresenting non-existing organizations. They used all forms of were torn to shreds by rowdy elerepresenting non-existing organizations. They used all forms of were torn to shreds by rowdy elerepresenting non-existing organizations. They used all forms of were torn to shreds by rowdy elerepresenting non-existing organizations. They used all forms of were torn to shreds by rowdy elerepresenting non-existing organizations. They used all forms of were torn to shreds by rowdy elerepresenting non-existing organizations. They used all forms of were torn to shreds by rowdy elerepresenting non-existing organizations. They used all forms of were torn to shreds by rowdy eletions. They used all forms of the VCV mith no manual forms of the past. They have already in Brookwood in the past, and he
tions. They used all forms of the past of t gangsterism in order to force our ments of the YCL, with no word of panions in arms, by your strikes turned to their old formula.

the united front a "legitimate" nism!"

character. Stalinists approached our delega- no war" that is, the termination draft program, asking other groups They do not want to commit themtheir hands and threatened physicals allies of the Soviets. The tion proposed that we elect a nelum or policy. At the recent graduanswered to this day. First the denly it found itself surrounded of the war and withdrawn its Stalinists tried to use this com- by a cordon of uniformed self styled troops from the front. No alterna-

Book Review

Pioneer Publishers have just obtained a batch of copies of an ex-

early days of the Revolution. The history of that period, and particularly the role of comrade

Trotsky, has been grossly distorted by the Stalinists. With the exception of the book under considera-English on this subject. Here are and at no time did they present the CPLA, the fight was forced out that would be very embarrassing ringuish on this subject. Here are proper political criticism and di- into the open with the result that to J. B. S. Hardman, who is first organization of National Youth Day Workers' Republic, speeches and statements of Trotsky before, dur-The Lovestonites, the Spartacus ing and after the signing of the Youth Club, branches of the Young Treaty of Brest Litovsk, famous provisional committee. A concess Russian Congress of Soviets in helped intrench the Right wing in the CPLA. This would give them article was prefaced with profuse sion was even offered by the Stalin-March 1919, and the actual terms the saddle at the very start. ists to the YPSL to refrain from of the treaty. Trotsky's summary all criticisms of the war record of of the peace negotiations (pages the reformists in the case that the 134 to 145) is a brilliantly concise feat forced a turn in America and latter would participate in National exposition of the meaning of the

arrogant casting all their smooth class and particularly the prolecriticism or attempt made by their and demonstrations and the crealeaders to stay their provocative tion of your Soviet of Workers' ganize a Left wing and start at calling him a "Left" and a revand Soldiers' Deputies you have once to call a state conference one olutionist? Let Muste's record as When the parade marched into shown that the Austro-German week later on the 28th. They the dean of Brookwood, and since have had the opportunity to establish the circle, where the speaking was working class will not allow the consulted no one who is not a the formation of the CPLA speak to take place, both the Left Oppo- hangmen and spoilers to impose a Stalinist or close sympathizer of for itself. The Greek bureau of the party sition and the Lovestoneites as peace of violation and annexations the party and proceded to call the organized a group of party mem- well as the chairman of the Ameri- on the Socialist Republic of Sp- state conference. They said they bers to be used as a "strong arm can Youth Federation (who had viets . . . The destined outcome of tried to reach everybody but did wood. squad" against us. On April 17th, made some objections, unpleasant the peace pourparlers is being de not have time, and with such a when the committee was supposed to the bureaucrats) were confronted cided not at Brest Litovsk but in flimsy excuse proceeded to exclude other pledged and paid \$50.00 to meet, our delegates went over with a refusal to allow them speakto participate in the meeting. But ers in spite of the previous agree- and German and Austrian cities those who stumbled upon their when our delegate entered the hall ment to the contrary. The excuse . . . Comrades, members of the plan and broke in on them. of the Spartakos Club, where the was that there were already too Soviets of the Workers' Delegates In the caucus, they proceeded, committee was in session, the hoo- many speakers (from organizations of Berlin and Vienna, your victory over the advice and motions of the tances, and raise all the money they ligans confronted him and ordered controlled by the YCL). Vigorous will signify the full and indisput- Left Opposition miners' fraction possibly could. A worker who had him to leave. Upon our delegate's objection was voiced and the able victory of Socialism, for two and others to organize a provisional just found a job after eight months demand for an explanation as to Stalinists were forced to call an victorious revolutions in Russia and committee, and adopt a draft pro-

> But the Soviets formed in Berlin Then commenced the real provo- and Vienna in early 1918 were tee on the narrow foundation of Since Muste was ousted from cation of the meeting. Rabid young crushed. The policy of "No peace, tion, faunted them with insulting of the war without an actual and tendencies TO COME TO US, selves as to whether they are for remarks and tore literature from treaty, failed to arouse the natural the Left Opposition miners' frac- a change in Brookwood's curricu-

to the gangster tactics of the "third Peace" imposed by Napoleon the will not go as far as we desire. period, will only bring disgrace First on Prussia in 1807. Inevitable, But at the same time we realize the Communists are about to capupon themselves and discredit their it was accepted by the Prussians that only the inclusion of the ture Brookwood, lined up the gradumotives in the united front. We and used as a breathing spell in broadest layers will be able to deating class and elected a hundred broad masses of the toiling youth. brought about Napoleon's downfall.

Stalinists in PMA

(Continued from Page 1) was defeated and became a paper

Opposition proposed the return of J. C. Kennedy and Katherine American Labor Movement. heartedly entered into the campaign that a provisional committee was the hypocritical Decoration Day cellent documentary book on the left wing in the UMWA, the Pollack the CPLA was left like a lt is a grand glorious boast of foreign policy of the Soviet Union Stalinites opposed the Left wingers forsaken child in the cold. All the CPLA that they alone are from November 7, 1917, to the who took this course. Later when these "militants" are faculty mem-fighting against labor racketeering. signing of the reaty of Brest the rank and file movement split bers of Brookwood and only yes- It is true that the Labor Age de Ostensibly an anti-imperialist of the tone of the in September 1918. "Russia and the Left Opposition proposed that in September 1918. "Russia and the Left Opposition proposed that the Left Opposition proposed t Germany at Brest Litovsk" is an all Left wingers enter and build a mering underground for the past have no access to these unions and exposition in detail chronological Left wing in the new union moveexposition in detail enrollogical left wing is the form of the struggle between the ment the Stalling systems of the struggle between the ment the Stalling systems of the struggle between the ment the Stalling systems of the struggle between the ment the struggle between the struggle between the ment the struggle between the Soviet Union and the imperialist movement and its conventions. Still should be a training school for powers, particularly Germany in the later, when the revolt broke out budding Musteites. and the Progressive Miners of inites did not understand the move-

united front after the German de absent in the CPLA.

committee which they packed with Long live the Soviets of Workmen's power to call another conference CPLA. This is Muste's record as fake "militants" of the CPLA will a couple of non-members, thus suc- and Soldiers' Delegates of Berlin later and to get in touch with all a revolutionary and a Left winger. were formed before the caucuc.

Stalinism and the adoption of a Brookwood, the faculty is silent WINGERS, and that together, these forces, upon a broad foundation, through the united front, call a quietly. The faculty staff consists meeting where a provisional com- of S. P. ites. Mark Starr is a memmittee is established. In the ber of the S. P. in Poughkeepsie.

wing tendencies into one broad Left Opposition miners fraction at fellowship took place at Brookwood the same time realized that many an interesting incident occured This reversion of the Stalinists * The reference is to the "Tilsit of the other Left wing tendencies The Right wing which always hol-

Statement of Chicago Branch to National Jobless Meet

NATIONAL UNEMPLOYED CONFERENCE

GREETINGS!

The Communist League of Amerin this conference:

duction for profit and not for use. and organizational steps: propriation upon the foundation of bosses and their government. contradiction which cannot be week with an increase in wages. the capitalist mode of production. This is especially true now when tion. the accumulation of capital pro-

The present crisis with its 16 velopment of capitalism. A stage propose the following organizaof war or revolution represents an tional steps: intensification and higher stage of the ruling class to solve these con- fying the various unemployed ortradictions will shift the burden of ganizations (Workers Committee on the backs of the working class, both Unemployed Leagues, Workers' employed and unemployed. It be- Leagues, etc., etc.) should be put comes clearer day by day that a into effect. In this United Front, genuine solution to the problems of each organization retains its organ-

TO ALL DELEGATES TO THE the working class lies in the abounizational independence, refrains lition of capitalism. Towards the acheivement of this against each other, but maintains

put the working class in motion in and freedom of criticism. a struggle for its immediate needs. no circumstances can the United ica (Left Opposition) wishes to This conference must adopt a pro- Front exclude or bar any unemaddress the following statement of gram of action for the struggle for ployed organization from participaits views to the delegates assembled these immediate demands. The dele-tion. Should the leadership of any gates and representatives of unem- unemployed organization attempt to You are gathered here as the ployed organizations from all parts prevent the entry of its organizarepresentatives of the victims of of the United States, assembled tion into the United Front, continthe most advanced productive sys- here are carrying on a fight for ued efforts must be made to force tem in the history of mankind, immediate relief and unemployment them into the united front. In con- Movement. where in the midst of abundance, insurance. These are necessary formance with the above, this conmillions go hungry and in the need first steps. But it would be wrong ference must dissolve to effect a ily a working-class college whose of the barest necessities of life, to confine the struggle of the un- United Front with the Unemployed The workers standard of living has employed only to these demands. Councils which have been excluded ism and the class struggle. been reduced to a starvation level. In addition to these, the Commu-This is not due to an inability to nist League of America (Left Opproduce sufficient commodities to position) propose to the confer- ment can be had between the vari- seminar led by leaders of the varimeet the needs of society, but be- ence the consideration and adoption ous unemployed organizations, in ous political groups in the Ameri cause capitalist production is pro- of the following concrete slogans the general development of the can Labor Movement in order that

the Soviet Union.

1. The application of the United the economic crisis. The efforts of Front tactic as the means of unithe crisis even more heavily upon Unemployed, Unemployed Councils, organizations.

from slander and personal attacks goal, it is necessary first of all to the right of minority expression from this conference.

united front, steps should be taken the student should have a clearer Because the means of production 1. For immediate relief and so for the amalgamation of these perspective of the whole political are privately owned capitalist ap- cial insurance at the expense of the organizations into one national unemployed organization. The acsocialized production is an inherent 2. For the 6 hour day, 5 day complishment of this task would student body and the fellowship to increase the fighting ability and the Brookwood board of directors, solved within the frameworks of 3. Fight for higher wages and class pressure of the workers mani- and the cooperative committee, etc. increased wages to combat infla-fold. Such an organization must agree upon a minimum program of who follow the footsteps of Muste 4. For the recognition of and the action, must permit minority ex- were scared to death by those ceeds in the period of capitalist extension of long term credits to pression, and must prevent discrim- proposals? ination against any organization To attain the necessary strength because of political opinion. It a radical change for Brookwood. million unemployed is a normal de to struggle for these demands we must further prevent discrimination. The difference between the two is against race, color or creed.

workers with the employed and in the A.F. of L. influence. At present our classes. cooperation with all working class Brookwood is "saved" from Com-

May 13, 1933

Chicago Branch

Right Wing and MUSTE & BROOKWOOD All the previous splits in the Right wing institution, and no one

America was established, the Stal- it was found that Brookwood and criminal exhibitions of despotism ment, stayed out of it and used Muste was using Brookwood's re-mated. The Musteites have mamost of their energy and the columns of the Daily Worker to throw up the declining CPLA. After the that was never brought to light. mud at the union and its leaders Saposs group divorced itself from Why? It deals with union episodes Such a policy by the Stalinites ported that the majority of the Naturally the Musteites will reply played into the hands of the more students went out on strike in sym-that they did publish an article reactionary element, split the forces pathy with Muste. The catch is on racketcering in the Amalgamaof the Left wing, and thereby that Muste promised them jobs in ted by Carlo Tresca. But-this bread and butter and give him apologies from the editor. The turn of the C. I. toward the workers that are conspicuously

in the coal fields. The Stalinists the Saposs group was going to the mated racketeers and formed a new changed their policy in the coal Right while he (Muste) was being organization just as the Progressive Youth Day! The day of the march treaty, its conditions and the dischanged all this unusual gentility, pute in the Central Committee of layer had a proper program that revolutionary. Let us see whether John J. Lewis. The Amalgamated have had a proper program that revolutionary. Let us see whether John J. Lewis. The Amalgamated was far superior to their previous Muste is really going to the Left, replied with terrorism, strike-breakorganizations, the Left and Right to utilize the peace negotiations to Opposition alone, became insolently arouse the international working of a Left wing in the coal fields. The Stalinists have realized the of Brookwood, ever propose a radi-PMA, for more than one reason. in representation of the student Why has the CPLA kept silent here

1. The ousting of a Left wing scholar like Calhoun from Brook-

2. Muste adopted a new policy excluding students who accepted the line-up of the Communist party. 3. Muste did not allow graduates who are Communists to vote at the annual meeting, although their vote could not decide either way whether he should remain or be ousted from Brookwood.

All this was in accordance with he "revolutionary" policy of the the American working class these

at Brookwood is an out and ou Instead of a provisional commit-Right wing S.P.-A.F. of L. clique footing and supporting the S. P turing and participating in S. P.

Moreover, at graduation day lered for the last few years that This is the same clique which functioned for the last few years as a CPLA fellowship. The Right wing gang refused to give any representation to the Left wing group. They did it because the Left wing group under the leadership of Sam Fisher demanded and fought for a change in Brookwood's policy, curriculum and representation. Here are but a few points that the Left wing advocated.

1. We stress the need for Brookwood to have a non-sectarian character in order that it should be able to serve most effectively as a clearing house for various tendencies in the American Labo

2. Brookwood should be primarteaching should be based on Marx

3. It is vital that the curricu-2. As soon as a working agree- lum should include a symposium or field in which they intend to serve.

4. Equal representation for the Is it a wonder the Right wing

Muste and Saposs did not want

Left wing influence.

(Left Opposition) | torious. One more victory like this asked to send them in at once.

CPLA were as nothing when com- will shed any tears. Brookwood as pared with the recent wholesale a Right wing institution has outwalk-out of Musteites on Muste. grown its usefulness just as organization in Illinois and the Left With the resignation of D. Saposs, Musteism has no place in the

> CPLA. Hardman is one of the outstanding figures of the CPLA. According to inside information, He also defends one of the most the CPLA were so entangled that and racketeering in the Amalga-Muste was ousted. The Times re- lieutenant of Muste in the CPLA.

Furthermore, about a year and a half ago in Montreal, three thous-During the fight Muste charged and tailors drove out the Amalga-

was made possible by the bureaucratic blunders of the Stalinists, both nationally and internationally. Had the Communist party had the correct policy, Muste would never in the American Labor Movement. Nevertheless Muste and his CPLA are doomed because:

1. It is a reformist organization.

It has no economic basis. 3. It has no political organiza-

4. It has no working class fol-5. It is an eclectic gathering of

radicals and liberals. It is plain, therefore, that the collapse of Musteism is inevitable. With the revolutionary upsurge of evangelists of reformism.

- S. M. DAVIS

Musteite Quits

Youngstown, O. George Perkins, ocal CPLA organizer, boycotted an election of the Austintown Unemployed League in which he had consented to be a candidate by leaving the meeting after stating he was opposed to the way in which the League was functioning and therefore he would not function on the executive committee if elected. Perkins, who is also a vice president of the Ohio Unemployed J. C. Kennedy and Saposs are lectured League, was one of the organizers long with Karl Lore of intown organization.

Along with Mrs. Grace Mettee, one of two who "walked out" with him, Perkins recently took the initiative and leadership in a very poorly frepared and miserably conducted protest "strike" for more relief that sapped the energy of the organization and scattered its forces. We supported the "strike" insofar as the rank and file workers were in favor of it; yet at the same time we pointed out its unpreparedness, its weaknesses and therefore the likelihood that it would not succeed accomplishing its aim. In epposition to this adventure we proposed a campaign to increase the local active membership and also to help build up Unemployed Leagues in Youngstown The small group, including our-

selves, that stuck to the organization in the critical period following the "strike" considered it necessary to adopt a new constitution that vould replace the old individual "leadership" with a reorganized collective leadership. This was done. And since the old "leaders," Perkins and Mettee, were not specially consulted in this effort of the rank and file to curb the disastrous leadership of one or two, the latter apparently intend to try to smash he League by one means or an-

Neither their slander, their boyott nor the cowardly, ignorant and reactionary red-baiting campaign of Mrs. Mettee (which the Musteite Perkins supports by his silence) will break the League. The new executive committee must win the active support of the unemployed with a practical, constructive program; the rank and file must back up the executive committee in its effort to rebuild the League on a firm foundation.

— H. N.

DRAFT PROGRAM WANTED

We are n receipt of requests for copies of the Draft Program by this: Muste had Brookwood for comrade Trotsky. As our comrades 3. In addition, efforts must be the last few years under CPLA in- know this basic document is out directed towards the unification of fluence. The Saposs group is keep of print and unavailable. They are the struggle of the unemployed ing Brookwood under th S.P. and wanted now, not for sale, but for

We are going to reprint it. But munism, and the fellowship from that will take some time yet. In the meantime copies are urgently The Brookwood faculty and their needed for classes. Comrades who Communist League of America CPLA fellowship clique were vic- have copies they don't need are

Fascism! This could not have been

said in a more cynical, more brutal

fashion. It shows not only the

moral conscienceless, but also the

inism. Therewith the bankrupt

dissipaters of the world revolution

confess that they have never de-

Hitler will become the super-

problems can be solved only on the

the tenability of the non-aggression

Trotsky to the Austrian S. D. Opposition SUB DRIVE Stalin Diplomacy&Marxian Fundamentals

Several Austrian social demo-crats, in opposition to their leadership, have done me the honor of asking me for political advice or answers to several concrete ques- pline, the statutes and the unity of betrayed the German proletariat. tions. Needless to say, I am wholly the party. ready to answer the questions put to me, within the limits prescribed immediate struggle.

masses. Doubtless, everything that tarian revolution. could have been done from above 6. Does that mean that the has been done to discourage and Austrian social democratic opposidemoralize the workers. But the spirit of the masses is a variable part, and create a new one? No spirit of the masses is a variable magnitude. If a fighting and encouraging Left faction raises its voice in time, the state of mind of the masses can change. The left hatter that is not my opinion. Today, when the Opposition has not yet presented itself before the working masses, such a split would only left the left of the masses can only be realized by the masses, such a split would only left the left of the masses can only be realized by the masses, such a split would only left of the masses can only be realized by the masses can change. conflict between the Nazis and the facilitate the task of Bauer and government can be a favorable sitnation for the intervention of the workers. A revolutionary should not give up a position for lost so long as it is not in the hands of draft declaration of the social de-trade unions will only crush the the enemy.

2. The social democratic leadership true to its traditions, has completely capitulated before Dolfuss. that is, before Fascism. Only the social democratic opposition can The word betrayal must be spoken with certainty: all half-measures, of mind of the toiling masses. But word has been much abused. In of the social democratic opposition to the height of its historic task. Is that possible? It is useless to speculate. Action decides in this

3. One of the correspondents writes me: "You will no doubt ganization of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) stands on the ground of a definite international program which has stood the test abstract. No attempt is made by of the great historical events in a the leadership to give a concrete country, we have arrived at the series of countries (USSR, China, lead and guidance to the party happy if the further development They never give a lead in demonof events brings the social democra- strations. They have no mass tic opposition closer to us. On our leaders in their ranks. They sit sion of sufficient data, we cannot side, we are ready to do everything above and wait for a spontaneous to facilitate and to hasten this move from the masses. They avoid the line of the C. I. To do so with the ideas of the Left Opposi- general peace will continue to grow with the ideas of the Left Opposiof comradely discussion, reciprocal But that demands a relatively long perspective. In the

the state of mind of the workers ing the details for a conference of ers with a correct political line and times a year. Bought from the on the condition that it immediately all opposition factions. If at that the will to give it concrete expres- newsstands this amounts to \$2.60. confine itself to literary criticism shall endeavor to coordinate our and if it is not getting ready to activities from a common center. capitulate before the party leader- Now, however, another factor as I am not acquainted with the needed for the revolutionary strug-gle and which will not be likely The Militant (something that we task, out of respect for the disci-paring your statements therein with

(Continued from last issue)

The New Turn

right of mutual criticism.

The formula and practice of the

Questions

by my absence from the scene of What are we to understand by that: the tradition of Austro-seriousness in its intentions. 1. The idea is apparently wide- Marxism, its political course, its spread among the Austrian Left bureaucratic apparatus? But we formulations of the document are social democrats that all is irre-must, on the contrary, put an end trieveably lost already. Such a to all of this as rapidly and as compromise and risk the danger of pessimistic manner of judging a thoroughly as possible. It is impriori is theoretically false and politically impermissible. Doubtless the most favorable moment for and political corruption without struggle has been allowed to slip the proclamation of an uncomproby. But the struggle can also be mising struggle against Bauer and carried on in less favorable condi- Co. This struggle must inevitably tions and victory obtained, never-lead to split. The task is just how theless. The pessimists invoke the to consummate this split with the unfavorable state of mind of the greatest advantage for the prole-

> masses, such a split would only be: to speak out what is.

This document criticises the party to the army for the workers. leadership instead of notifying it out. It might be said that this every word left unsaid on the part the new situation the Austrian will infallibly profit the party

comes from the Left social demo-

them must be called by their names) have betrayed the Austrian proletariat just as Wels and Co. Only such a candid and categoric 5. The opposition poses for itself dent intervention of the opposition the task of "saving the party," clear to the workers and at the same time inspire confidence and

unclear, have a tendency toward

a) The declaration demands that the bourgeois republic be re placed by a workers democracy What is "workers democracy?" fight can be conducted either for the reestablishment of the bourgeois democracy or for the proletarian lictatorship. The slogan "workers lemocracy" is an impermissible enigma in revolutionary politics. b) The declaraton

speaks of what the political slogan (democracy or dictatorship) shall be which under present circumstances can only be realized by the

c) The declaration does not pose the slogan of workers' and Co. Here also the first step should soldiers' councils; however, the sabotage of the official apparatus 7. From this point of view, the of the social democracy and the mocratic opposition, which has been workers councils; the slogan of sent to me, is altogether inadequate. workers' councils opens up the road

The situation can rapidly change. workers will examine this word in leadership and in the last analysis, a new light, particularly when it Fascism also.

- L. TROTSKY crats. It must be stated that Bauer, Prinkipo, March 3, 1933.

demand that we join your organization." No, today the question is Organize Australian Opposition

(Continued from page 1) Britain, Spain, Germany, members in their daily struggles. We will naturally be very They are unknown to the workers. Organize the Opposition

ship, which capitulates before Fasc- creeps in. The C. I. has endorsed activities of the authorities in your of a half year sub. Twenty-six the importance of the gesture by ism. In other words, they must the expulsion of several of the country regarding revolutionary issues cost \$1.30 on the newsstands, saying that it indicated only that break away from the opposition groups despite the fact traditions of Max Adler, whose im
that detailed statements from these dressed to an individual is not so there is a way of getting a half versailles. France was fearing collapse of the traditions of Max Adler, whose imcriticism only groups have been forwarded to the obvious to the red eyes of the Law strengthens and supports Otto C. I. This has made us decidedly as one addressed to an organization. Bauer and Co. An opposition is suspicious. We have also just reto hesitate in carrying out this did not know existed) and on com-

conclusion that our attack against opportunism may have to be extenthe party in this country.

would be only to fall into the trap tion. But that is breaking down, bears your name. Thus you rethat the leadership here has so So serious has the position be-kindly laid for us. We require come that we have commenced to facts! We cannot afford to lose ment situation. Many workers can-

a member of your editorial board Hoping to hear from you at your

However, until we are in posses-

Well it's over! What's the result? We have pushed the subscription list up considerably. It's a couple of hundred subs larger Litvinoff at Geneva last February) than it was. And the paper is a had of necessity to become things bit more widely read geographi- which could replace the world cally. A number of new sub getters have made their mark on these scrolls. Outstanding is the work of comrade Caplan of Kansas City who romped into first place. Another "new-comer" is comrade Kotz of Newark who tied with comrade Capelis of New York for third provoking confusion among the polis hit second place.

Here is the final standing:
A. Caplan24
V. Dunne12
G. Kotz 7
H. Capelis 7
K. Czapko, Bethlehem 6
J. Ruby, Chicago 5
D. Marcus, N. Y 4
J. Hamilton Chicago 3
H. Oehler, Chicago 3
W. Konikow, Boston 3

We do not list here the comrades who dug up less than three subs. to day task of all our comrades.

have been a little better. There sions for this achievement. weren't enough year subs. Now. year subs are the best. They do (credits, favorable trade agreebring in more money at one time Germany, even went so far as to Isvestia wrote on May 6, 1933: which is a great help.

of The Only Road by comrade February—shortly after the apcal current in Germany."

Trotsky to every comrade and pointment of Hitler as Chancellor That means the Stalinists have triend who sends in a year sub to —that the Soviet Union is prepared never considered how the German the Militant.

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furthering the true consolidation of Another reason is the unemployfor peace the faithful artisan of this work which began ten years not afford to subscribe.

ago.

But there are a good number of Can you send us a clear analysis other workers who are indifferent analyze the present situation in expelled for our criticisms, others of the international situation from to the question of a subscription Austria and in the Austrian social are still on the inside but cannot your angle so that we can clarify simply because no one has ever move without sharing the same fate our position here? We have good approached them about it. Let us 4. The social democratic oppolas us. We have formed a provi-support and are confident of sac make the attempt here. The Milisition can bring about a change in sional secretariat and are complet-cess if we only approach the work-tant appears every week-fifty-two A year's sub is \$2. That is a saving. In addition the paper is delivered to your door.

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(Conu 33 Page 1) Reactionary Policy and Proletariat could be saved from Page 1) Reactionary Policy and Proletariat could be saved from Page 1) Practical Dangers

for Peoples' Rights submitted by to live in peace and friendship with every government, even an openly political narrowmindedness of Stalcounter-revolutionary government.

preventing wars" (see the Charter

pevolution.

And now, after the party has been The leading Soviet statesmen and diplomats became disinterested in destroyed, Stalin hands out gigantic veloped any serious plans of saving the policies of the revolutionary orders to Fascst Germany, which the Soviet Union from destruction! parties. In this whole last period, in gratitude "straightens out" the from 1928 to 1933, a period alive Derop (the reference is to the raids Wrangel. The colonial and corridor with struggles of the greatest pro- on the Soviet Oil Trust Represenportions, not a single congress of tative in Germany, which took prostrate back of the Soviet Union. the Comintern has been called. In place on the pretext of weeding out The whole world knows this today, this same period neither Stalin nor the Communists inside them—Ed.) only the Stalinists remain blind and any other leading Soviet statesman for him, And Soviet diplomacy re- believe-like the social democrats has as much as uttered a single news the friendship treaty conclud- did in the Weimar constitution—in word on the German problems, ed with Rathenau. No. on the basis of the workers'

state, they have conducted a bourgeois foreign policy. "The Soviet they only assign to him a modest olomacy in the Far Eastern con-In reality, the Soviet Union, with- role in this. The present hostili- flict. Instead of maintaining its out a concretely pursued aim of ties serve merely to show the loudworld revolution, is nothing, and mouthed Fascists back to their proletariat and instead of thereby It would require a whole column. doomed to decline. The world bour-proper places. In reality, the Big Although the drive is over we are geoisie has realized this much Powers' pact is being formed against imperialist Japan, Stalinist going to continue listing the subs better than the narrow-minded against the Soviet Union, since in diplomacy has to make the greatest as they come in. And we'll be Stalinist bureaucracy. That is why ternational capitalism sees in the concessions to the torturer of some more drives. In the meantime it staked everything on the attempt cloonization of Russia the way out China, to imperialist Japan, for the carry on. Sub getting is a day to take the Comintern out of the toward a new conjuncture. Faced sake of its "fundamental peace hands of the Soviet Union, even if with this tremendous danger, the policy"—as if the existence of the One phase of the drive could it had to pay with small conces- Stalinist democracy merely sticks Soviet Union had done away with its head into the sand. The diplo- the international class struggle. The Stalin diplomats, led by op mats of the Soviet Union have lost of course, all subs are welcome ir portunist policy and practice, have confidence in the forces of the world mats" were of late even prepared respective of their duration. But seized upon these small advantages proletariat. But they do have faith of an uncompromising struggle Many things said above can quickly not cost as much to circularize as ments) and for their sake have neg imperialist powers themselves, they against it, before the party masses, alter. But one thing can be said a half year sub which has to be lected the policy of the revolution seek friendship with Hitler. At the Japan ignored this proposition and circularized twice a year. And they ary party, as was the case in conclusion of the Berlin treaty

> "Public opinion in the Soviet give it up altogether. It cannot along we are offering a free copy demonstratively in Geneva last directed against the present politi-

> > -that the Soviet Union is prepared never considered how the German the report of the proposition rested

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Saturday, June 3, 1933

upon the workers standard.

Vol. 6 No. 29

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176

Litvinoff and -- Herriot

The New York Times of May 23 diction into which the Stalinist

reports the following telegram of strategy of opportunist maneuver-

congratulations from Litvinov to ing with the world bourgeoisie has

Herriot "for his championship of plunged the C. I.

"We are not forgetting that this

document, whose value in bringing

Four days earlier the Times re

ported the discussions on the pact

in the French Chamber of Depu

ques Doriot, the Communist leader,

saw in the Chamber's action (rati-

fication of the pact) a demonstra-

tion rather for Hitlerism in Ger-

many than for rapprochement with

Russia. M. Doriot, himself attemp

"Many deputies, including Jac-

Hitler Germany has been isolated pacts for a while insofar as its foreign Stalin Diplomacy in the Far East All that is reactionary in the geois foreign policy. "The Soviet policy is concerned. The great Union is everything, the world powers do, to be sure, want to powers do, to be sure, want to utilize Hitler for the general at in one country" also romes to the unexpressed principle of Stalinist tack against the Soviet Union, but fore in the behavior of Soviet di-

duty-bound loyalty to the Chinese creating for itself a powerful ally Yes, the "revolutionary diplo-

to recognize the vassal state of in the contradictions among the Manchhkuo and to sell it the Chinese Eastern. (The vassals of confiscated the railroad, so as to be better able to seize Vladivostok and Irkutsk from the Soviet Union To push this phase of the work be forgotten that Litvinoff declared Union has never set forth any plans in the near future.) The Soviet Union denied the report officially, but the conservative Temps has been in a position to prove that on facts. The French Ambassador had it confirmed by the Japanese Foreign Minister! Thus, the inrnational bourgeoisie is better informed about the policy of the Soviet Union than the working class, whom a certain Michael Hollay tells in the Basle Rundschau (Stalin organ):

"The Soviet Union will not deliver its locomotives and railroad trains to the Manchurian lackeys of Japanese imperialism, it will know how to defend the property of the workers and peasants, of the liberated Soviet peoples. Should the Japanese imperialists, whose hands already drip with the blood of the Chinese people, lift them arrogantly against the Soviet Union, the Red Army will give them their just de-

Strong in words, but weak in deeds, this is how Stalinism looks on the international arena. The theory of socialism in one country which struck the Stalinist blind as to the close interconnection of international class struggle with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Entered as a second class mail and whirh is now leading on to the road of open treachery against the German and the Chinese proleta-Post Office at New York, N. Y. riat, becomes an acute and immediate danger to the existence of the Published weekly by the Communist | Soviet Union itself.

This theory must be irrevocably condemned, the forces of the October revolution must be gathered, Marxist opposition Leninists) readmitted into the C. P. S. U. Back to a Marxist, internationalist policy which alone can save the Soviet Union from destruction!

cratic party are destroyed. It is

Austria's turn next. There Fascism

— н. E. munist party and the social demo-

appreciation of the next, immediate definitely organize the opposition to even the first round of the conflict. tasks of the Austrian social demothe party leadership. Many of us cratic opposition we must above all are outside the party, having been shows that it is not inclined to conference we agree politically, we

I am sending this addressed to

Revolutionary greetings,

have the two faces of the contra- Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy UNDER THE WHIP OF THE FASCISTS

united front from below also became untenable by the logic of ine united front and moved the different today. pursuing Stalinism—an important masses forward to an extent which The series of previous failures, understood by the masses but it stitution of the National Socialist are not diminishing but sharpening. erably as in Germany. The Cominpart of this was the fact that would have gradually enabled them the many stupid blunders, the whole was sabotaged by the Central Com- government. Together with an im- They will become many times more term also here had the duty to prothe initiative to offer an organizational united front had been left to the Second International But to the Second Internation to the Second International. But in giving up the "united front from But, as we know, the party leaders German party to its fatal position from built descent a united in giving up the "united front from built descent a united in giving up the "united front from built descent a united in giving up the "united front from built descent a united in giving up the "united front from built descent a united in giving up the "united front from built descent a united in giving up the "united front from built descent a united in giving up the "united front from built descent from built descent from built descent from the giving up the "united front from built descent from built descent from built descent from the giving up the "united front from built descent from built descent from built descent from the giving up the "united front from built descent from built desc below" the Stalinist leaders made then tenaciously opposed any such of impotency in face of the Fascist the social democratic workers, in the reformist organizations to para volte face and decided that in change, branded it as counter revoapproaching the socialist leaders lutionary and removed or expelled rades even today seek to partly had organized a powerful mass social democrats asked us for nenounce the fundamental political united front on a local scale, as present catastrophe by saying: "It ular weekly discussion meetings, able conditions. We nevertheless we shall show by some concrete These examples alone are sufficient to prove Stalinism as utterly

a revolutionary strategy. It swings already moved beyond its timeliness reaucratically imposed false policy, moving all our local party functional prevention of united action. The in jerks and spasms from one opin Germany itself. By this we do not theory and concept, had succeeded tionaries, among them old and tried prevention of united action. The posite position to another, forced at all mean to assert that nothing in finally disarming the party. And class fighters. The district leader negotiations stranded because the by the blow of events. Naturally further can be done. Quite the when the vanguard is disarmed, the ship (Brandenburg) covered and socialist leaders would not budge. it cannot maintain working class contrary. What must be brought mass faces certain defeat. In all of protected the sub-district commitconfidence and it becomes entirely out, however, is the fact that the its objective consequences this can impotent of giving any leadership German social democratic leaderwhatever in a serious revolutionary ship after the consolidation of the having experienced its August 4th any relations with Trotskyists will against the government and also situation. Any old hand organ can Hitler dictatorship have broken change its tune by merely turning with their own International, the a small switch, but it remains Second International, over the issue nevertheless a hand organ. Cen- of opposing the latter's protest trism with its turns, half-turns and against the dictatorship. In this false turns nevertheless remains they hoped to ease the road for discuss freely with us the experithemselves personally. Though Even this change in the united Hitler cannot at all use these misthey are also trying to draw the front tactic, partial as it is and erable creatures, except insofar as lessons which may be appropriated with its falsity to boot, still rests they can serve for the future dewithin the framework of Stalinist struction of the working class particularly illuminating as to how ution which graphically illustrated

theory and policy. In other words, movement, they have capitulated the partial change rests upon its completely to him. old false foundation. The united front tactic cannot, of course, express the sum total of revolutionary all intents and purposes put the lates: policy and although it was at the final touches to the liquidation of present period the most acute their own organization. One can question it makes up nevertheless therefore no more speak of a united only a part of the whole content of front in Germany from organization a Marxian policy. But here it is to organization as far as the social necessary to add that in changes of democratic party is concerned. It strategy or tactic in a revolutionary is now necessary to commence on a situation, when events usually new foundation. A timely, and a move with lightning speed, the real change, by the Communist question of time becomes an im- party, however, could unquestionportant element: sometimes a mat- ably have brought the millions of ter of life and death. And in this social democratic workers into instance it was a matter of life united action with the Communist and death. Even this partial change, workers, avoided the heavy price if made in time, could perhaps the proletariat now has to pay, and have given the impulse to a genu- matters might have looked entirely

GERMAN LABOR

comrades who tried to apply the absolve the party from guilt in its self-defense corps, it conducted reg- gotiations but submitted unacceptcient to prove Stalinism as utterly Now, however, the events in reoblivious of a Marxian policy or of gard to this specific question have a revolutionary strategy. It swings a revolutionary strategy it swings a revolutionary strategy it swings a revolutionary strategy it swings a revolutionary strategy. It swings a revolutionary strategy is in accord for a struggle against a long period of time, by its bu-

in Germany. Lessons of Some Practical Experiences

was unable to fight." Precisely that together to confer about matters we declared: To every one of these is the issue. The party was unable and joint demonstrations against points with which the working class tee. A hunt for Trotskyites began our city the greatest demonstration mean nothing else than Stalinism with the slogan: "Those who have seen for a long time directed be summarily expelled.' The biggest against the sabotage of the social part of the membership became democrats. Despite this outstandstirred and asked: 'We should discuss with the Nazis but not with our own comrades.' Protest resolutions were adopted but filed by the district office never to be answered."

the Stalinist tactic worked out in how a united front correctly apthe practical activities. One com | plied, will serve effectively to un-That means that they have to rade from Berlin, Heligensee re- mask the social democratic leaders. to the Fascist boasts of abolishing He relates from Dessau: "We took the class struggle. The internal

"The united front was correctly action on the occasion of the con- antagonisms of capitalist society ing success the district leadership removed the sub-district commit-

> These simple reports are important documents. They should serve as enlightenment for Communists

> What is to be Done Now? However, an entirely new situation exists now in Germany and

only fools will pay any attention ic system is developing its relation by Arne Swabeck

Fascists but favorable to the work-Fascists but favorable to the working class. Thus the knights of the What must therefore now be done Swastika, despite their easy vic- was well expressed in the statement tory, will yet have the greatest difficulties ahead of them. Their Above all we must immediately suppressions and repressions will issue the directives for the buildundoubtedly assume yet more vio- ing of a new party. None of the lent forms. But it will not continue to remain a one sided affair. There for the future. I have discussed for the future. I have discussed

unemployment would inevitably tend Stalinism.

to increase the working class de-

In general, the capitalist econom-

these demands.

Have we fully comprehended the a new party is an imperative extent, the scope and the implica-necessity." tions of the defeat in Germany? The two workers' parties, the Com-April, 1930

then, for the German working

is preparing its forces and gathering its strength while the working class leadership is failing as misperform its mission, it will pursue the attacks upon the present trade unions much further A structure agenda. If Austro-Marxism unions much further. A strug- follows its German brethren to angle to destroy the workers organi-zations is not performed only by ond International the loss of its was not unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations are functionally and the functional than the fu ing things up; but it is also accompanied by the inevitable attacks a perspective of practical extinction. And the Communist Inter-That is certain to be expressed national? Yes, to the Comintern in attacks upon the working condi-the German party meant as much tions gained, upon the wage level, if not more than the German social upon the unemployment insurance, democracy meant to the Secsocial insurance and so forth. The ond International. In this the general statement previously often Comintern, under the Stalin regime, repeated by party leaders who felt has now suffered its most fatal confident that "Hitler would soon blow. The party of the Soviet Union get out of business," to the effect is so immersed in the false theory that he has no favorable economic of "Building Socialism in One perspective ahead of him, is, of Country," that it organized not one course, true in its historical sense. single demonstration in support of But it does not preclude that Ger- its German class brothers during many will in this present period their hour of greatest need. The

experience a certain upward eco- party of the Soviet Union is par-

nomic conjuncture. A reduction of alyzed by the dead weight of

Enormous tasks are arising for mands as well as the struggle for the Left Opposition. The sporadic activities now carried on by the remnants of the German Communist Party do not signify its recuperation on a new and illegal of forces not favorable to the basis, but merely reveal the rear are certain also to be struggles in this with many class conscious the near future. What leadership, workers, sterling fighters, and they are quite unanimous in asserting emphatically: 'yes, the building of

- ARNE SWABECK

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A united front movement is or-

Problems of the Soviet Regime

(Continued from last issue) 3. Official Explanation of Bureaucratic Terror

"Some comrades," Stalin said at the January Plenum of the C. C. 'understood the thesis on liquidaless society and withering away of the state as justification for lax-different deaths. As a means of ity(?) and placidity(?), justification for the counter-revolutionary theory of the slow extinguishing of the class struggle and weakening of state power." Vagueness of expression serves Stalin in this case, as in so many others, to cover up the logical gaps. A programmatic "thesis" on the liquidation of classes in the future need not mean as yet, it is understood, the extinguishing of the class struggle in the present. But it is not a question of a theoretical fhesis but of an officially proclaimed fact of the sophism consists in the fact that he times the idea of the inevitable strengthening of state power in the transitional epoch between capitalism and socialism, an idea which, following Marx, Lenin advanced for the explanation of the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship in general, to a definite period of the dictatorship, after an allegedly already accomplished liquidation of all capitalist classes.

same plenum: "The Kulaks are routed as a class but not finished pail. off." If we should accept this formula, it would seem that to finish the routed Kulaks off, a more concentrated dictatorship is necessary in the literal expression of to completion. The transition per-plan of economy on a slipping Stalin—"to finish off the remnants of the dying classes." The finished curtailment of the turnover of blue print of a machine with a expression is, in its way, given to goods, but, on the contrary, an ex- loose compass and a bent ruler. this paradox of bureaucratism by treme expansion thereof. All This is exactly what is taking Molotov, who has, in general, a branches of economy are trans- place. The inflation of the Cherfatal inclination to develop the idea formed, are growing and must de- vonetz is one of the most pernicious of Stalin to completion. "In spite termine their relation to each other consequences and also instruments of the fact," said he at the January qualitatively and quantitatively. of the bureaucratic disorganization Plenum, "that the forces of the remnants of the bourgeois classes of our country melt, their resistance, anger and fury grow, knowing no bounds." The forces melt, but the fury grows! Molotov does not suspect, it seems, that the dictatorship is needed against force and not against fury: fury which is not armed by force ceases to be

Class Enemy Powerless-Why the Repression?

"It cannot be said," Stalin admits on his part, "that these former people could change anything in the present situation of the USSR by their damaging and thieving machinations. They are too weak and impotent to resist the measures of the soviet power." It seems clear that if all that is left from these former classes are "former people" if they are too weak "to do any thing(!) to change the situation in the USSR"—that from this should have followed both the extinguishing of the class struggle and the easing of the regime. No. Stalin argues: "the former people Stalin argues: "the former people can play us some tricks." But revo-work, smaller returns, heavier inlutionary dictatorship is needed debtedness. Capitalism in industry not against the danger of capitalist restoration. If, for the struggle it is tending toward both the struggle it is tending toward both the struggle in the struggle it is tending toward both the struggle in the struggle it is tending toward both the struggle in the struggle it is tending toward both the struggle in the struggle it is tending toward both the struggle in the strugg

strengthening of state power" real wages. (more correctly repressions) is necessary for the struggle against inflation, has put forward a slogan, States of America. the growing discontent of the "Higher prices for the farmer, masses. Stalin adds: "through the mobilization of the backward strata of the population, 'fragments' of Right wingers may again stir and come to life." Such is the final they only may) . . . the greatest bureaucratic centrism. concentration of the dictatorship is necessary.

unexpectedly adds: "Of course, we have no fear of that." Then why only throwing dust into the eyes of idly. Every dollar given to a govbe frightened and frighten others, if "we have no fear of that." And the worker's fatherland and the why introduce a regime of terror against the party and the proleimpotent fragments incapable of 'changing anything in the USSR?'

All this piling up of confusion, leading to pure nonsense is a consequence of the inability to tell the truth. In reality, Stalin-Molotov should have said: due to the spective of the permanent revolu- bill which is to do that has been growing discontent of the masses and an ever stronger gravitation of Leninists, Trotsky, Rakovsky and ardent proponent of Morgan in the the workers to the Left Opposition, their comrades, to the post of investigation, Senator Carter Glass. the intensification of repressions is struggle which they held in the Virginia millionaire newspaper pubnecessary for the defense of the privileged positions of the bureaucracy. Then everything would easily

4. The Withering Away of Money and the Withering Away of the State

which the theory and practice of do his duty. bureaucratic centrism got itself Demand the reinstatement of the to fasten the strangle hold of ficlear to us from a new side when the Communist International! De- masses. we draw an analogy between the mand the return of Trotsky and role of money and the role of the Rakovsky! That is the way to state in the transitional epoch, bring new vigor, a new source of must disappear but it cannot be Act while there is still time to will be refunded the original cost know how to fend for itself. abolished by decree, it withersact!

(The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration)

as those of the state, expire by private accumulation, usury, exploitation-money expires parallel a means of exchange, standard of accounting evolved by capitalism is of a gold reserve completely. No money is gradually dissolved in the planned organization of social ecoit finally becomes an nomy, sonal wants.

and strata, each of which draws stable monetary unit. up its accounts, endeavoring to show a profit. The final replacement of money as a standard of with the aid of wasteful fluctuavalue by the statistical registration tions of the conjuncture, needs a of live productive forces, equipment, stable monetary system, the more come possible only at the stage the preparation, make-up and regufurther strengthening of the bureau- the members of society from the insufficient to build new entercratic machine, Stalin said at the necessity of competing with each prises; an economic system must other for the size of the dinner-familiarize itself with them. This

of money in Soviet economy is not wide check-up of productivity can sense, is only about to be developed means of the rouble. To erect a iod, in its entirety, means not the valuta is the same as to make a Many products, which under capi- of Soviet economy. talism are accessible only to the few, must be produced in immeasurably greater quantities. The liq-stands at the same level as the uidation of the peasant economy, official theory of the dictatorship with its internal consumption, the analyzed above. "The stability of closed family economy means the Soviet valuta," said Stalin at the transition to the field of social January Plenum, "is guaranteed

(money) turnover of all that productive energy which is now being being money; it no longer serves used up within the limits of the to measure values and by that the village and the walls of a private fixation of prices: "stable prices" dwelling.

Money Socialized Under Planned

Taking complete stock of all the productive forces of society, the so- valent to the idea of the "liquidacial state must know how to apporwith the liquidation of classes. As Money as the means of economic dare, however, to reject the theory its existence. measurement of labor value, reguinot thrown aside but socialized. a gold reserve "also" does not harm lator of the social division of labor, Socialist constructon is unthinkable but its importance is only a secwithout the inclusion, in the planned system, of the personal interest of needed for external trade, where of the political parties and groups the producer and consumer. And accounting slip, a check for a cer- this interest can actively manifest tain portion of social goods for the itself only when it has at its disgratification of productive and per- posal a trustful and flexible weapon: a stable monetary system. The parallelism of both processes Increase in the productivity of of withering away, that of money labor and improvement in the qualcidental; they have the same social solutely unattainable without an roots. The state remains a state exact measuring instrument which so long as it has to regulate the penetrates freely into all the pores relations between various classes of economy, that is, without a

If capitalist economy which reached its unstable proportions means testing in practice, adapting This stage is far off yet. The role and selecting. The mass, nation-

The Official Theory of Inflation

The Meaning of the Farm Revolts dustry, freed from the material control of the producer, took on a super social that to be material that the house of the producer of the producer of the producer of the producer.

(Continued from Page 1)

tina, Australia,-these characterized American agriculture to a large extent in the so-called "good" years, and led to devastating intensification of the agrarian crisis since the cyclical crisis began in 1929.

Perspectives for Agriculture There are at least two probable perspectives: the mechanization and concentration of the farm into larger units, and the degradation of the farmer into a peasant, thru similar average holdings (the average for the whole United States today is 50 acres or 20 hectares

mer people the little finger will do. and in certain localities, the first the farmer, and show him that the to kholhozes, the passport system, of organization so as to either in the Right wing unions. another element. The dying rem- worker and the farmer in open mil- two hopeless alternatives to offer village, etc., etc.) nants of the routed classes "appeal | itant struggle against the parisitic | him, the life of an exploited tractor | to the backward strata of the popu- banker have been taken. The far- chauffeur on a huge ranch, or that lation and mobilize them against mer has hitherto put forward class of a down-trodden, super-exploited the Soviet power" . . . But have demands such as inflation, which peasant. Only in a workers' state brilliant light. Disproportions of than by an orgy of self-criticism? period of the first five year plan? interests from those of the worker. can there be hope for the farmer, and his basic task is to help the economy lead the bureaucracy to the road of ever growing paper in the best Stalinist, that is commoney inflation. Discontentment of the content of the property of the road of ever growing paper in the best Stalinist, that is commoney inflation. Discontentment of the content of the property that their attitude toward the state debt of the agrarian bourgeoisie, workers' revolutionary party to changed for the worse? That but also raises the cost of living create this essential condition for sults of economic disproportions.

lower prices for the worker,"

which in effect attempts to win the support of the farmers on the same human wants even to the degree basis as inflation (by raising prices to which it had been accomplished of farm products and so reducing by the less developed capitalist the burden of debt). Under such a industry. Agricultural economy resident been called to discuss the new turn slogan, the farmer can gain, but taliated on the impotent cities with in I.L.D. policy. A turn in the the worker will lose, unless genuine steps toward workers' control constant burden of disproportions serious and important step and should arouse the interest and reof production are taken.

The joint action of workers and farmers in resisting the foreclosure of mrtgages on farm points to an est in their work and are filled immediate tactical line of militant with irritation against the state. class struggle. Joint strike com- From this, and from this alone, mittees of workers and farmers joint committees for the regulation the "fragments" flows the necessity of prices and production, can as- for the introduction of coercion into sume great importance if they are all cells of economic life (strengthagainst the danger of capitalist restoration. If, for the struggle with powerful class enemies, it was necessary to put into use the steel-clad fists, against "tricks" of for-clad fists, against to lend their horses to cled tons, forcing of individual to know him that the late of the did not think it important—he did not state just why he had omitation fights for leader-late to he did not state just why he had omitation fights for leader-late to he did not state just why he had omitation fights for leader-late to he did not state just why he had omitation fights for leader-late to he did not state just why he had omitation fights for leader-late to he did not state just why he had on the did not state just why he had on the did not state just why he had on the did not state j would mean that the "maximum for the worker and so reduces his the taking over of power and the pushes the bureaucracy on the road its low political level, criticized the construction of the workers' gov-

- B. J. FIELD

counter-revolutionary opposition elements from the Trotskyites and Nazis, Poles Plot War On the Morgan Inquiry

(Continued from Page 1) argument: since the fragments has laid it open to decay from with gation, show that they were quite (only fragments!) may stir (so far in by the adventuristic reeling of

tion is in danger. By the perfidy and the "diplomacy" of Norman Entangled hopelessly in the of non-aggression pacts, by the H. Davis, ambassador at large for "fragments" of his own ideas, Stalin trust it gives to the conflicts of the U. S. is proof sufficient that world imperialism, Stalinism is J. P. does not scatter his money the workers. It is only undermining ernment official brings results! cause of world revolution.

tariat if it is only a matter of Stalinism must go. If the land of make the great showman, Barnum, the Soviets is to light the way for look like a miserable piker. The theory of socialism in one country is to reform the banking laws so must be thrown overboard.

Lenin-back to the Marxist pertion! Return the exiled Bolshevikvictorious October! That is the lisher. command of the hour.

Every Communist worker who sees the danger; to whom the Four Pecora inquiry of the "New Deal" is Power Peace Pacts and the Hitler- a grand stage to divert the atten-

— S. G. | price.

(Continued from page 1) ready to "reciprocate." And they have! A mere glance at the bank-The fortress of the world revoluing holiday proclaimed by Woodin

spite the facts brought to light, is that the "little fellow" will have Back to the line of Marx and a chance. In this connection it is nteresting to note that the banking proposed and drafted by the most

> Like the Pujo investigation under the "New Freedom" of Wilson the

— G. C. "Since Lenein Died" Comrades who can turn in extra

The inquiry in Washington, de-

first of all by the tremendous quantity of goods in the hands of the state, which are put into circulation at fixed prices." If this phrase has any meaning at all it can be only that Soviet money has ceased are fixed by government power; the Chernovetz is only an accounting tag of planned economy. This idea is entirely parallel and equi-But for the well-being of the internal economy, stable prices fixed Committee or by its assignees are

THE MILITANT

administrative prices fixed for nally in the united front. goods loses the ability to regulate But the mere posing of the issue

portionate industrialization under- in the labor movement. mined the foundations of agricultural economy. The peasantry tried To support unreliable and intensification of pressure on the proletariat became imperative. Ina super-social, that is, bureaucratic character. In consequence of which it lost the ability of satisfying between their productive efforts and the worsening conditions of exisand individual peasants lose inter-

and not from the malicious will of

Parrallelism between the fate of money and the fate of the state there be to explain away this looms up before us in a new and lethargy among the membership stand and realize the serious miseconomy lead the bureaucracy to money inflation. Discontentment of fusionist, manner. John Ballam, The official party, while rejecting ernment in the present United ning frees itself from value control function collectively. He admitted as bureaucratic fancy frees itself that the I.L.D. had put legal defrom political control. The rejecof material limits for the accelera- failure of the I.L.D. to accomplish tion of the tempos as well as the that for which it was created. "All rejection of the gold basis of Soviet these shortcomings," he said, "must money, represent "theoretical" rav- be remedied and the I.L.D. must ings of bureaucratic subjectivism. become a mass organization and not

Stafinist System Exhausted If the Soviet monetary system tion agency.' withers away, it withers away not is in the extreme swelling of co- a large part? If workers' Russia is to live, a circus of such dimensions as would ercion, persecutions and violence. The dictatorship of the proletariat blame squarely where it belongsis not dissolved in a classless so on the line of the third period secworld revolution, the reactionary avowed purpose of the investigation ciety but degenerates into the tarianism—which the membership omnipotence of bureaucracy over has been carrying out only too society.

In the sphere of money inflation as in that of bureaucratic arbit- sition speaking in the discussion, rariness is summed up all the pointed out that Ballam had failed falseness of the policy of centrism completely to mention work within in the field of Soviet economy as the Right wing unions; that it was well as in the field of the interna- due to the absence of a Left wing tional proletarian movement. The within the reformist unions, which Stalinist system is exhausted to could exert pressure, that the the end and is doomed. Its break- leaders of these unions have been up is approaching with the same able to sabotage the Mooney, inevitability with which the victory | Scottsboro and other struggles of Fascism approached in Germany. Which the Left wing is carrying on. But Stalinism is not something We must break down the wall be-Power Peace Pacts and the Hitter- a grand stage to direct them confidence in isolated; as a parasitic growth it tween ourselves and the Right wing The knot of contradictions in sion pacts and the peace talk, must the "anti-big business" attitude of has wound itself around the trunk workers and show them that the the administration, only in reality of the October revolution. The ILD is ready to defend any worker to fasten the strangle hold of fihopelessly entangled will become International Left Opposition into nance capital upon the millions of dictatorship of the proletariat is union affiliation. Every worker in inseparable from the struggle the ILD issues and work from withagainst Stalinism, This struggle in both for individual membership has reached the decisive stage. The and for collective affiliation of his denouement is approaching. But the union to the ILD. It is only in Money, just as the state, represents strength to the proletarian army, copies of Since Lenin Died by Max last word has not yet been spoken. The October revolution will yet back the confidence and prestige

Jnemployment & Political Parties (Continued from page 1) | The Reactionary Character Moreover, this can and must be

the united front unemployed movement. Other issues exist, but unless this question is given a clear answer, the movement of the unemployed can easily disintegrate and founder. Under the best of conditions, an unemployed movement is the most difficult of all movements tion of classes" and "entry into the to hold together because of the nattion and use them in a manner realm of socialism." Consistent in ural looseness of organization, state most advantageous for society. his half-heartedness, Stalin does not of employment, etc., that conditions

At the national conference of by the secretariat of the Central unemployed movement groups in Chicago and at local conferences in New York, representatives of the That the rate of decline of the Lovestone group came out for nonpurchasing power of bills of ex participation organizationally of the change depends not only on the political parties or groups in the number of revolutions of the print- unemployed movement. In essence, ing press but also on "the quantity their position was that the interof goods" is known to any student ests of the unemployed can best of economics. This law is applicable to capitalist as well as to made up organizationally only of planned economy. The difference is the various organizations of the that in planned economy it is pos- unemployed: Unemployed Councils, sible to hide inflation, or at any Association of the Unemployed, rate its results, for a much longer Workers Leagues, etc. The political raw materials and needs will be so is such a system necessary for period. The more terrible there parties and groups must be kept fore will be the day of reckoning! out and also, even labor unions To explain the necessity for the when social wealth will free all lation of planned economy. It is In any case, money regulated by should be represented only frater-

Among the Jobless

The first question that must be have said to the workers: look only

answered is the political question: to your bread and butter, the ecoondary one. At any rate, it is the matter of organic participation nomic side; and the not very farseeing 1WW and syndicalist echo payment must be made in specie. of the working class in the united the admonitions of the bourgeois front movement of the unemployed. | liberal and working class opportunists to evade or keep away from

ganized to achieve certain immediate objectives. In the case of Mooney and Billings to achieve the

Shall the political parties, for instance, be excluded from direct participation in the Mooney United Front movement? The revolutionary would say, no. The capitalist

The Communist Position class is bound to have impressed upon it a political ideology. That outlook is determined essentially by the general conditions and outlook

such prices and consequently the by the Lovestone Right Wing is there be for the formal exclusion and for the defense of the Soviet ability to regulate plans. In this sufficient reason for taking up the of the forces that really determine, bered is: the political party joins the hypergraphy consists of freeign. the bureaucracy consists of freeing forces to the unemployed, or for and outcome, within limits of the the unemployed United Front. The only not completed but in a certain mean nothing else but a test by its will from any control: party, that matter of any other move-objective situation, of the united not ion the party Soviet, trade union, or money . . . ment of labor. It has to be said front of the unemployed movement? not join the party. A Purely Bureaucratic Economy plainly that Lovestonite proposal, Who is being fooled, what is being The Unemployed movements will Present Soviet economy is neither howsoever intended, is an outright gained by the exclusion of the ina monetary nor a planned one. It reactionary one, completely in line telligence, the political force, the ness Scattle and other places. The is an almost purely bureaucratic with the proposals and objectives class expression of any movement? economy. Exaggerated and dipro- of the A. F. of L. and other fakers Nobody; least of all, the unem- fakers take over the political and ployed. Not maneuvers, but plain, class direction of the unemployed? This is a politically functioning direct speech and direction to the This must not be. yet a socialist collectivization. The of class and government—that is, participation of the Communist front is to exclude the trade and further decline of agricultural eco- class interest and class power. The party, the Communist League of labor unions. And the Lovestone nomy struck a hard blow at indus- political question enters, and America (Opposition), the socialist group proposes exactly this! rightly so, into every step and party, etc., is a test for all the tendisproportionate tempos, a further action of the workers. It has been dencies within the labor movement.

age, as never before. Every group, unemployed, on the immediate and to find salvation in collectivization, one could almost say each individ-ultimate class solution of unem- who would exclude the political Very early experience showed that ual, whether stupidly or intelli-ployment is the way to advance parties from direct organizational The official theory of inflation a collectivization of despair is not gently, solves its problem in terms the cause of the workers. Direct part in the unemployed united

aries of the I.L.D. took place at Irving Plaza. The meeting had been called to discuss the new turn a war of exhaustion. Under the policy of an organization is a very sponse of at least the leading memtence, workers, kholhoz members out of the 300 functionaries (branch executive members, section reppresent at this meeting and even this small number dwindled to about 40 after the recess.

This lack of response is merely capitalist system has nothing but political departments in the kholhoz eliminate certain individuals, or secure vantage ponts for others.

The self criticism was carried on fense first and mass pressure section of "objective causes," that is, ond—an outright admission of the

a Legal Aid Society and a collec-Why is the political level of the in a socialist sense but in a capita- membership been so low? Isn't it list one: in the form of inflation. because it has been miseducated Money ceases to be a working tool along Stalinist lines? Why is there of planned economy and becomes a no collective leadership in the ILD? tool of its disorganization. It can Isn't it because the bureaucratic be said that the dictatorship of the regime in the ILD nurtures clique proletariat withers away in the leadership in which appointments form of bureaucratic inflation, that and dismissals "from above" play

> Comrade Ballam should put the faithfully.

The comrade from the Left Oppo which it once enjoyed and become - L. TROTSKY | a really functioning organization.

New York-On Sunday, May 21, In the discussion which followed Moreover, such a correct relation a district meeting of the function- the report, not a single person touched upon this important questithe unorganized unemployed, which tion. They either did not under- means the overwhelming bulk, into stand it, or did not consider it the unions. An unemployed workrepresentatives in turn "proved" better working conditions. resentatives, etc.) of the district, this false and "showed" that it was Lastly, from a fundamental view. there were only about 75 to 100 the incompetence and negligence of why do the Communists bring all the section itself. The rank and possible support on behalf of the file was too bewildered to even take unemployed? Because we must de-

But that is not enough. It is necessary that a thorough discus-And what better method could sion in all branches take place and that the membership fully undertakes of the past, who is responsible for them and what must be done now. It is only on this basis-and not on orders of turns from above — F.

done while maintaining the disciof the Lovestone Policy pline of action of the united front.

and is the aim of all capitalist freedom of Mooney and Billings; in politicians, and their lieutenants in the case of the Scottsboro defenthe ranks of labor—the Greens, dants, to free the Scottsboro boys; Wolls, Lewises, etc.—to keep the and likewise, with the objects of working class out of politics, that each united front movement that is is, working class politics and ac-built. tion. These frauds and deceivers

the decisive, the political question.

politicians say, yes, for many reasons. And then these latter, at a proper moment, find ways and means for a Jimmy Walker to step in and represent himself as Moo-

Every movement of the working

Stalinist Errors And certainly in the case of the unemployed, of far greater signifiprevailing within society; within cance than the Mooney issue, the the labor movement itself, it is possibilities for educating and largely determined by the political winning the workers to a class force that most intelligently and viewpoint are at hand. Nothing conciously makes its class outlook is to be gained in such instances and program felt upon the workers. by "hiding the face" of the move-Communists take it for granted ment. The official Communist party that every movement of the work- (Stalinists) has gone in for that ers must be penetrated and frac- also a great deal lately, and in each tions organized therein: trade instance the Stalinists have been unions, cooperatives, fraternal organizations, etc. Why exempt the and crime is their formal effaceorganizations of the unemployed? ment from the leadership of the What justification or reason can struggle against imperialist war

ney's and labor's savior.

assert themselves politically. Wit-

The next logical step of those

Yet the fairure of the labor unions to rally behind a united front of the unemployed is a basic cause of the movement's weakness today. The unions and the unemployed must be linked organizationally for the objectives of the united front. within the united front should be an excellent means for organizing important enough, or maybe it was er is no less a worker because he a lack of faith. The ball was tossed is unemployed, and there is not less, back and forth from the section to but more need to organize him into the district and back. The section a labor union in his interest as organizers blamed the district for well as in the interest of the emlack of guidance and the district ployed worker to preserve and

the floor. In such manner was this velop, in whatever way is permitted, vital question confronting the ILD their political, their class conscious-

We have to develop class conscious and revolutionary workers in the unemployed movement, while at the same time working militantly to achieve the immediate demands of the united front. All elements can try their hand at the task. But the Communist is the historical instrument for that task, functioning that the ILD can actually make is the standpoint of the Left Oppothrough his party or group. This sition.

- MARTIN ABERN

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