

WORKERS  
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UNITE

# THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]



Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 128 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879  
VOLUME VI, NO. 30 [WHOLE NO. 177] NEW YORK, SATURDAY JUNE 10, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

## LEON TROTSKY

### Apropos the Foreign Policy of the Stalinists

In the Orient the Soviet government is prepared to sell its rights in the Chinese Eastern Railroad. In the Occident it is renewing the old German-Soviet treaty over Hitler's signature. In the two opposite directions of its foreign policy, the Stalin-Molotov government is bowing before imperialism and Fascism.

The abandonment of the Chinese Eastern Railroad does not signify simply the loss for the workers' state of an important economic and strategic position, but the direct transfer into the hands of Japanese imperialism of an important instrument which will on the very morrow be directed against China and also against the Soviet Union.

Stalin's agreement with Hitler strengthens the position of Hitler and cannot help reacting painfully upon the state of spirit of the German workers.

"If the powerful workers' state is obliged to seek friendship with Fascist Germany, then that means, the position of the Nazis is solid." This is what every thinking German proletarian inevitably says to himself. At the moment at which the bureaucracy of the Communist International presents the Hitler victory as a passing incident and puts on the order of the day, the question of the general strike and the insurrection (on paper), the Soviet bureaucracy finds it indispensable to establish "normal" relations with the Fascist dictatorship in Germany. The actions of Litvinoff-Chinchuk characterize much more exactly the point of view of the Stalinists than the cheap literature of Manuilsky-Kausinen.

A revolt has taken place in European revolutionary circles apropos the latest steps of the Stalinist bureaucracy in foreign policy, not only in the opposition groups by the way, but also in the official parties. The word "treason" is found more often, if not in the articles, then at least in letters and conversations.

Such protestations are not difficult to understand psychologically; but we cannot associate ourselves with them politically. The question of the relations between the Soviet state and imperialism is in its essence, a question of the relation of forces. After the Chinese revolution in the Orient and the powerful vanguard of the European proletariat in the Occident were crushed, the relation of forces became brusquely modified to the detriment of the Soviet state. To this must be added the disastrous internal policy, the complete annihilation of the bonds between the proletariat and the peasantry, between the apparatus and the personal dictator, between the party and the proletariat, between the apparatus and the party. Everyone of these political causes force the Centralist bureaucrats to batter down the opposition and to beat a retreat before the Mikado and before Hitler.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is responsible for the whole of its opportunistic and adventurist policy. But the consequences of this policy are no longer dependent upon their own will. It is impossible to withdraw at will from an unfavorable relationship of forces. What policy could be expected of the Soviet government with regard to Fascist Germany? The breaking off of relations? The boycott? These measures could not have had any sense except as prelude for military operations. Two years ago we put forward this sort of a perspective, not isolated from but in direct connection with a radical change of policy in the USSR and in Germany.

An immediate united front movement of all working class organizations along the style of the Italian anti-Fascist movement must be called into being to organize a powerful defense. The Fascist terror in Germany is of direct concern to the American workers. Irrespective of political creed, the perspective of Torgler is a direct

challenge. There is no time to be lost, we must get into motion now!

— L. TROTSKY  
Prinkipo, May 25, 1933.

## WHAT'S HAPPENED TO RAKOVSKY?

The question of the fate of Rakovsky is enveloped in a tragic mystery. It may be stated with certainty that Rakovsky is no longer at Barnaul, the locality of his former deportation. Basing oneself upon information from two different sources, one Oppositional and the other "official", that is, connected with the Stalinists, it may be stated with certainty that Rakovsky, ill, was brought from Barnaul to Moscow. The Oppositional source also communicated that Rakovsky had died in the Kremlin hospital. According to the "official" source, Rakovsky is said to have undergone an operation and to have been cured. Through *l'Humanite*, Stalin denied in an obscure manner the report of Rakovsky's death. Nevertheless, the leading circles say nothing about his subsequent fate. A well-known telegram of the Reuter Agency, sent from Moscow, said that "Rakovsky is practicing medicine in the Yakutsk district." Reuter could not have invented that; it undoubtedly got the tip in Moscow. How should these facts be tied together? The transportation of Rakovsky from Barnaul to the Kremlin hospital would indicate, it seems, an extraordinary attention paid him. In that case, then, why was Rakovsky, after the operation, not only not sent to the Southern region as the doctors have been demanding for some time now, nor returned to Barnaul, but was instead deported to the Polar Circle, that is, under conditions which are fatal for him? We have no information to explain this contradiction. We are obliged to expound a hypothesis which requires verification. In any case, it seems to us today to flow from the whole situation.

Rakovsky's illness coincided in point of time with a new wave of anti-Trotskyist fury on the one hand, and with the negotiations behind the scenes which led to the latest capitulation of Zinoviev and Kamenev, on the other. From the content of the declarations of Zinoviev and Kamenev it is clear how badly Stalin stands in need of authoritative witnesses against the Left Opposition. It is hard to state that the Stalinists utilized Rakovsky's illness to extort from him some declaration or other. It is probably towards this end that Rakovsky was brought to the privileged Kremlin hospital, that is, was accorded conditions which are beyond the dreams of a deportee. The operation, as is reported, was successfully accomplished. Then—and this is quite in harmony with the character of Stalin—the latter must have presented Rakovsky with a political bill to settle. Rakovsky's ill health and the indignation which spurned the reckoning presented him. That is why the old warrior did not return to Barnaul, but was thrown under the Polar Circle.

We can find no other explanation. The Stalinists have every possibility of denying our hypothesis. We will await the denial with impatience, or perhaps our hypothesis is too... optimistic, and the Stalinists will find it more to their advantage to remain silent.

— L. TROTSKY  
Prinkipo, May 25, 1933.

## Hitler Plan to Kill Reds Communist Leaders Face Death on Arson Frame-Up

The barbaric fury of the Fascist bandits in Germany continues unabated. 4 Communist leaders were condemned to death in Altona for the crime of defending their headquarters and institutions against a punitive expedition of armed Nazis which ended in a bloody battle, on July 17, 1932. 6 other Communists were sentenced to long prison terms on the same count.

Meanwhile Torgler, former Communist party Reichstag leader, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanef, Bulgarian Communists, are standing trial on the monstrous framed-up charges of the burning of the Reichstag early this year.

It is well known that this confagration was a maneuver of the Hitlerites to suppress and drive the Communists underground. This has been exposed even by reactionary bourgeois journalists. The date of the trial is kept secret and any German attorney attempting to defend them is threatened with death.

But no attorney and no legal defense, important as this is, can rescue Torgler and his comrades from the hands of the Fascist butcher. The masses must be rallied—international support and gigantic protest meetings and demonstrations will save the Communists from a bloody death. Now is the time to act!

An immediate united front movement of all working class organizations along the style of the Italian anti-Fascist movement must be called into being to organize a powerful defense. The Fascist terror in Germany is of direct concern to the American workers. Irrespective of political creed, the perspective of Torgler is a direct

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## IN ILLINOIS

### P. M. A. Starts National Drive; Policies Differ

The Progressive Miners of America are now facing a life and death struggle against the operators, the State, the gun thugs and the Lewis machine. For the past several weeks, the policies of the Right wing leadership have weakened the union and now the rank and file are beginning to assert themselves in order to save the P.M.A. As yet, it is by no means a losing fight. Proper steps and correct tactics now can make up for the lost ground and will result in a victory and in the development of the struggle to a higher level.

In class struggle against the Peabody, Horner, Lewis forces—the P.M.A. surged forward, and like a flash out of the dark night heralded a new stage in the American labor movement. After four years of crisis, after the American workers had been driven back year in and year out, when the whole class was still in disorderly retreat from the capitalists' onslaught on wages and the standard of living, the Illinois miners called a halt and stood their ground. This acted as a temporary rallying ground for the class as a whole. New life began to surge, new hopes began to rise.

But as soon as the union stabilized itself, the Right wing policies in the union took shape and began to dominate. Now it is time to call a halt, to smash the class collaboration policies and to swing out again into the channels of class struggle.

The Illinois miners' revolt and the birth of the Progressive Miners of America came at a period when the American working class was breaking with its past and entering a new period of labor history based upon the entirely new foundation.

This change in class relations in America, and the contradictions it reflects in the Progressive Miners of America are not understood by the majority of the leadership of the new union. They do not understand this condition and are feeling their way forward the best they can. Quite often they take a few steps backwards. No one can place too much blame upon this leadership. Rather, one must look to the vanguard of the working class and find out how they have understood the situation.

Only one current of Communism, the Left Opposition, understood this situation, laid the theoretical foundation for the rise of the new union, just as the Illinois mines laid it in a material way through the blood of their ranks. All other Communist currents failed miserably. The Lovestonite, Right wing Communists to this day do not understand what the struggle is about and instead have lost themselves in the fetishism of fear of dual unionism. They say the miners

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Prinkipo, May 25, 1933.

## Jobless Struggles Sharpen; Unity Need of the Hour

### N. Y. Anti-Eviction Conference

New York, N. Y.—More than four hundred delegates attended the Anti-Eviction and Relief Conference called by the Provisional Committee Against Evictions at Irving Plaza on June 3rd. These delegates came from organizations close to or under the direct influence of the Communist party and its unemployed councils. With the exception of the Left Opposition and the Musteites, it was a purely party gathering.

The failure to secure the participation of the socialist or the Lovestonite unemployed councils must be laid directly at the door of fear, sabotage and disruption on the part of the reformists and their close allies in this perfidious job, the Lovestonite Right wing. What no doubt helped the reformist misleaders in refusing to participate in a common conference and a common demonstration are the past errors of the Stalinists for which they have not yet paid in full.

All the efforts on the part of the Provisional United Front Committee to organize the struggle against evictions jointly with the socialist and Lovestonite unemployed movements were in vain. Their sabotage was consistent and to all intents and purposes, deliberate. They, together with all city-wide organizations were invited to a provisional

conference last May where a program, a series of demands and a plan of action were to be elaborated. The socialists and their unemployed leagues were conspicuous by their absence. The Lovestonites came but withdrew after the provisional conference rejected their unacceptable demands to exclude all political or trade union bodies.

But this was hardly the worst of the actions of the reformists, whose whole policy has helped to divide the unemployed to the great satisfaction of Tammany Hall. The misleaders called a conference of their own. They objected to the participation of political organizations in the provisional united front but they sat side by side with the socialist party in the conference of their own calling. What the reformists really had objection to was the militant Left wing organizations.

Not content with this miserable record of sabotage the Right wingers, in mortal dread of the program of the Left wing militants and their effectiveness in action, excluded the complete delegation of the Provisional United Front body from their conference. The revolt simmered among the rank and file of the socialist gathering against this splitting tactic. They moved the resolutions

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Prinkipo, May 25, 1933.

### Demonstrations in New York End in Alarming Disunity

New York, N. Y.

Four thousand New York unemployed demonstrated on Tuesday, June 7th, for immediate jobless relief from the city government! Three delegations appeared before the Board of Estimate with proposals for relief. A joint committee headed by Norman Thomas, and representing the Workers Committee on Unemployment (Socialists), the Workers Unemployed League (Socialists), and the Association of the Unemployed (Lovestonite controlled); a committee from the Left wing unemployed conference for immediate relief; and a delegation of clergymen and social workers appeared before the Board of Estimate to present their proposals for relief.

Efforts had been made previously to unite the three workers unemployed groups in a common action for relief. The Socialists and the Lovestonites had demanded that a precondition for the united front be the absence of any political banners at the demonstration. This the Left wing conference refused. The latter decided to join the demonstration of the other groups but march under their own banners and have their own delegation at the Board of Estimate.

As the delegations went into City Hall, the Right wing workers marched past the square to Battery Park while the Left wing workers, who were standing in line on the east side of City Hall waiting for their delegates to return, greeted the other procession with fraternal slogans of: "Join the united front," "Long live the unity of the working class," etc.

When the Left wing delegation came out of City Hall the demonstrators marched to Battery Park to join the meeting that was taking place there. As the two demonstrations met at Battery Park, Carl Winter, of the Unemployed Council jumped on the speakers' truck of the Right wing meeting. A howl went up from the Left wing workers for Winter to be given permission to speak. This was refused. When Jack Rubenstein, of the Association of the Unemployed—a Lovestonite was introduced as a speaker, he was heckled and then the wire of the loud-speaker was cut!

Winter was raised on the shoulders of several workers and carried away a couple of yards where he began a counter meeting! In various sections of the demonstration small scuffles and near fist fights took place. The Socialists and Left wing workers were hurling invectives and epithets at one another. Party members who wanted to maintain order, formed a ring around the demonstration so as to keep the enraged socialists from joining!

The Left Opposition participated in the demonstration. A leaflet on the united front for immediate jobless relief was distributed. Many of these leaflets were torn by party members and physical provocation was attempted. Despite this, a goodly number of Left wing workers joined the Left Opposition section of the demonstration and followed our lead in making the

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Prinkipo, May 25, 1933.

## Borders Loses in Split Majority of Group Refuses to Quit Jobless Federation

Springfield, Ill.—The Workers' Committee, led by Karl Borders, was the main organizing force of the Chicago unemployed conference on June 13th, which ended in a broad united front of the existing unemployed organizations and the establishment of a National Unemployed Federation.

The call for the conference stated that no Communist would be excluded from the Unemployed Federation. After the report of the credentials committee, the conference divided into two sections, the Right and the Left, with plenty of struggles within these two main floor tendencies in the caucuses and committees.

The determining factors of the Left wing bloc fought for the seating of the Unemployed Council delegates, for an Unemployed Federation, for the Leninist United Front tactic as proposed by the Left Opposition, and for an executive committee to include representatives of all political tendencies from the Left to the extreme Right.

The struggle to have unity on the floor by the Left wing bloc enabled the Left to carry every major struggle and thereby, to take another step forward and to save the conference from any reactionary decisions.

After the committee reports were amended, they were then adopted unanimously, except that of the constitution committee, with Dennis Butt as chairman, which received a vote of 87 to 17.

This means that the Right wing endorsed the decisions of the conference which it had called. Now we are informed by Borders and his committees that they are splitting away and that they advise others to do the same.

The Borders Committee desired mechanical control of the Executive Committee. When it could not obtain this and when the enemies of working class unity, who fear unity, put pressure on Borders, he attempts to split our ranks.

Borders learned a second lesson this time. First he learned that

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Prinkipo, May 25, 1933.

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## Chen Du Siu Sentenced to Thirteen Years

Comrade Chen Du-Siu, secretary of the Left Opposition (Trotskyist) faction of the Chinese Communists has been sentenced to 13 years imprisonment, with deprivation of his civil rights for 15 years (whatever that may mean in China), upon the conclusion of his trial before Judge Hu Shan-Ching, chief of the criminal section of the Kiangsu High Court. Together with Chen Du-Siu ten others went on trial on April 15th at Nanking, China. They were accused of crimes under articles 2 and 6 under the law governing Emergency Punishment of Crimes Endangering the State.

Chen Du-Siu, who has been in prison since his arrest last October, throughout his imprisonment and during his trial worthily upheld the best traditions of the Communist movement. From a comrade in China we have received word today concerning the trial and its outcome. This comrade writes:

"The Chinese Communist Party has opened up a slander campaign against Chen and the Left Opposition, thereby aligning itself with the vicious butchers of the Kuomintang. . . . In the court he (Chen) was calm, dignified and courageous—nothing cringing or apologetic in his demeanor. What a contrast with the attitude displayed by some official C.P. members who fall into the clutches of the Kuomintang, especially the newer recruits of recent years, the functionaries, the politically immature! We have also the recent example of Huan Ping, (Stalinist leader) who, (this has been confirmed) capitulated under torture to the Kuomintang, and wrote denunciations of Communism in the Kuomintang press. . . . During the past two years the ranks of the Chinese party have been thinned almost to the vanishing point by the betrayals of traitors and spies."

Chen Du-Siu made a lengthy address in his own defense before the court. Opening his speech, comrade Chen asked the judges whether the

Court was a tribunal of the nation or merely a partisan tribunal of the reactionary Kuomintang.

Chen went on to submit that opposition to the Kuomintang or the National Government could not be construed as "endangering the State"—the offense with which he was charged. He outlined the reasons why he was opposed to the existing regime. From the columns of the Central China Post, Hankow, issue of April 25th, we read:

"Chen claimed that the nation had now reached a most critical phase of its history and that it would be criminal for the people to remain in the present state of inaction. He claimed that it was out of patriotic motives that he had opposed the present ruling class, and that it was he and his comrades and not the present rulers that had really the interests of the people at heart."

Questioned concerning the activities of the Left Opposition (Trotskyist group) in China, Chen stated the information was contained in documents already in the Court's possession. The aim of the Trotskyists, he said, was to relieve the masses from their suffering. He stated that

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Prinkipo, May 25, 1933.

## Join Anti-Fascist Rally Today!

Endorsed by the IWW, Communist Party of America, Conference of Progressive Labor Action, Trade Union Unity League, Communist-Anarchist Group Vanguard, Amalgamated Food Workers, Communist League of America (Opposition), Local 12 A. C. W. of A., Joint Board ILGWU, Jewish Workers and People's Committee Against Fascism, a call for an international mass demonstration in front of the Italian Fascist Consulate has just been issued by the Italian United Front of Anti-Fascist Action.

As explained in the call, the purpose of the demonstration is to protest against the intensified persecution of political prisoners at the hands of Mussolini's blackshirts; to demand the immediate and unconditional release of Antonio Gramsci, Communist leader and Sandro Pertini, socialist—dying in the Fascist dungeons of Turi and Pianosa; of Vella Matteotti and her two children held as virtual hostages in Rome; of Gino Liocetti, anarchist; of Vodisca, republican; of all political prisoners; to fight against Mussolini's war intrigues.

June 10th coincides with the barbarous assassination of Giacomo

Matteotti. It must be made the starting point of a country-wide agitation against the bloody persecution of Anti-Fascist workers. The Italian United Front of Anti-Fascist Action is at work with the active cooperation of the above-mentioned political parties and economic organizations to assure the success of the June 10th demonstration which must echo in the Fascist consulate—bureau of Fascist espionage in New York—while the militant protest of thousands of workers of all nationalities.

According to the call issued, the concentration point will be at 79th Street, between York and First Avenues. All workers are called on to be there at 11 a. m. sharp, with banners and placards. From the point of assemblage, the workers will march in mass formation to the Italian Fascist consulate and returning to 79th St., where a huge mass meeting will be held with speakers in English and Italian.

All workers organizations are urged to participate in the preparations for this mass demonstration. (Press Release)

## Jobless Force Relief in L. A.

Los Angeles, Cal.—An event has taken place in the city of Los Angeles (White Spot) on May 29th, which is making history for this region.

Up till about four weeks ago, the organized unemployed were receiving 40 to 50,000 gallons of skimmed milk, which was given to them for distribution by the Food Administration. Out of the clear blue sky this distribution of the milk was stopped with no tangible reason given.

A committee of men were elected at a meeting of the County Council of the U.C.R.A. (United Cooperative Relief Association) to investigate why this supply of milk had been stopped. After being shunted about from office to office, a promise was finally elicited from one of the heads of the Food Administration that within 24 hours new appropriations would be made to provide this supply of milk. To make a long story short, this promise along with many others relating to the question of the state and to the unemployed was juggled about until all supposed, formal, legal methods were well nigh exhausted.

At a meeting of the council of City Units (the progressive body of

the U.C.R.A.) a committee of women was selected with comrade Jane Rose as chairman. Two mass meetings of women and children were held at which a decision was made that on Monday the 29th, all women and children of the organization be assembled at one of the units and ride down the main thoroughfare in open trucks, with placards and signs reading: "We demand milk!" "Thousands of gallons of milk are being poured down the sewers—Why?"

The police, directing traffic along Broadway (the main thoroughfare) were completely bewildered and stood at their posts gaping. The procession moved down the crowded streets, thousands of people looking on with wonder on the sidewalks. When the truck reached the meeting place of the Board of Supervisors they were greeted by "Red" Hynes and a number of uniformed plain clothes officers.

Upon alighting from the trucks, the committee headed by Jane Rose, Mrs. Robinson from one of the Negro units and Mrs. Rhea were

— L. TROTSKY  
Prinkipo, May 25, 1933.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

A Calendar of Effective Action

Minneapolis, Minn.—Early in April, the German Campaign of the Minneapolis Branch of the Communist League was the "talk of the town," among the party members and the class-conscious workers and the labor movement here. The Mooney conference was under way. The Left Opposition was seated in this conference before the party officially showed its face in it. Our delegates, C. Skoglund, O. Coover, and C. Lummie, played an important part in building this movement from the very day they entered it, though Spector, of the Party, had initiated it on his way East from the West Coast. The City Election Campaign was on with the League correctly criticizing the opportunism of the party in the Workers United Front Election Ticket Conference. The call for the May Day United Front had been issued by the Party. Here is a calendar week by week:

March 30th: Issued first statement upon the Workers United Front maneuver of party with the politically unreliable Walter Frank. Entered the Mooney conference, our comrades were placed on transportation, tag day, and City Auditorium meeting committees. Recruited three members for branch. Held Tag Day collection for Militant on Sunday.

April 7th: L. O. instrumental in adding a trade union and W. C. Branch to Mooney conference. Its members on Committee which got permits for City-Wide Tag Day and use of City Auditorium. Was seated in May Day Conference of party and its members were active visiting organizations for further delegates. Comrade Skoglund made motion in Mooney conference that endorsed the May Day movement and affiliated this body with it. Branch donated \$5.00 to May Day Conference. Two comrades joined U. C. and were active in same, one being manager of the Hunger Fighters, its local organ, for its section.

April 13th: League member elected to U. C. to Mooney conference, and made member of its District Council. Three members active in only ILLD branch, wrote resolutions on Scottsboro and spoke at two Negro churches on same question. One comrade elected to May Day Conference from ILLD branch.

April 20th: League participated en masse in Mooney City-Wide Tag Day, had 27 collectors out of about 60 participating. Brought in about one-third of all the money collected. Meanwhile its delegates in conference on a committee with two trade unionists and one party member collected some \$70.00 from solicitation of prominent individuals and received pledges for considerably more money. One comrade elected from ILLD branch to Chicago Mooney Congress, another elected from party-controlled John Reed Club to Chicago, another from a Coal Drivers' organization, a supporter of L. O., was proposed and elected in one of the largest Workers' Circle Branches by our comrades in there. The City Mooney conference elected one of our comrades, C. Skoglund. The party sabotaged his election but was powerless because of his leadership and activity in conference. Proposed that Mooney Conference support May Day Demonstration with \$5.00 donation, accepted. The total amount of money collected by May Day Conference for expenses was \$3.00. L. O. was instrumental in collecting about one-third of this fund also.

April 27th: Week of May Day. Mooney conference included about 17 local trade unions. Two L.O. comrades were on its executive of five. In last conference before Chicago our comrade, O. Coover, ran against the party organizer, J. Karson, for chairman of send-off meeting, lost after splitting votes with the Party candidate, 15 to 13. Our delegate in May Day Conference was on committee that gave reply to the S. P.'s refusal to have a joint May Day demonstration. All League members marched in May Day parade. We had several banners with our slogans and name. Following evening we held our indoor May Day celebration meeting in the Court House, where between 40-50 workers heard our position upon the United Front, Germany, and C. I.

May 5th: The comrades from Chicago Mooney Congress gave reports in their respective organizations upon the Congress from the Left Oppositionist point of view. They were in the City conference, the John Reed Club, and the local ILLD branch. The Branch issued a second lengthy statement upon the party election policy and pledged again its support for the Communist candidates, while criticizing the opportunism of the party policy and tactics in the elections. Our Jewish comrades were active in a broad united front against German Fascism, which included every Jewish workers' organization. Here we found the opportunism of the party running rampant, side by side with adventurism.

May 9th: Our activity in the various united fronts with the party resulted in causing much talk and excitement in party ranks. Branch decided to use contacts to build fraction of League in party. There had been expulsions and much threatening of members by the local bureaucrats. The City primary elections had taken place and the party had made a bad showing compared with elections prior to 1931, despite the false covering the party put around itself in this election, running its candidates under the

name, United Front Workers Ticket, and the opportunist propaganda around its "immediate demands." Decided to issue statement on Results of Election and indicate line for party in the General election, June 12th. In Mooney conference three comrades were elected on committee to arrange meeting for Congress reports. Our comrades in ILLD initiated a welcome meeting for the ILLD. D. O. Davis, who was released from jail that week. Meeting was successful. Three comrades spoke in a meeting of 125 Railroad workers, arranged to discuss the Wage Question. Our comrades in the Unemployed Councils were active, one being elected on the City Council, another elected to a district council. On Sunday, fifteen comrades turned out for a Tag Day collection for the German Opposition press and collected \$24.32.

And so we progress. We have from day to day seen direct results from our activities. This has encouraged us to more activity. Our ideas and our example to the party members is dulling the edge of the weapon of slander the Stalinist bureaucrats use against us. Our press and leaflets are being read daily at every corner of the party halls and headquarters. Germany, the united front tactic, and "inner-party democracy" is worrying the party leadership here as much as it interests the rank and file members.

Jobless Force Relief in Los Angeles

(Continued from page 1)

immediately arrested by the Red Squad. After this one of the finest spectacles of working class militancy occurred. About 150 women and as many kids piled off the trucks, surrounded the police car and demanded to be arrested along with the committee. Here ensued an unusual occurrence. Hynes' thugs were absolutely flabbergasted. They didn't know what to do in the face of the tremendous crowd assembled. Any attempt at the usual violence would have precipitated a fight such as Los Angeles has never seen. In fact, the subsequent attempt to disperse these women and kids only resulted in their militant resistance. Empty milk bottles were used freely by the women and the kids, who couldn't reach high enough kicked the shins of the police and the Red Squad thugs.

The committee was then released and ushered into the chambers where the Board of Supervisors were in session. The entry of the committee was greeted by a confused exchange of whispers on the part of the supervisors. The committee demanded to be heard and the Board of Supervisors immediately suspended all other business. This body treated to a barrage of speeches carrying a clear and open challenge, which was topped by a concise analysis of the class nature of the unemployed movement and the need of organized working class pressure. After a lengthy speech by Jane Rose, a motion was made to adjourn for lunch.

Demand Continuation of Hearing This was done with the object in view that the calling of a recess would result in the demoralization of the demonstrators. When the session was renewed after two hours adjournment, the committee of women reached in, in a body, and proceeded to demand a continuation of the hearing which was granted. After several others of the women had taken the floor for a number of hours, comrade Jane Rose summarized with the warning that any indefinite promises would result in a demonstration at the next session of thousands of women and children instead of hundreds.

A motion was immediately made by the chairman of the body of Supervisors, Shaw, to the effect: "that the Board of Supervisors instructs the Food Administration office to furnish whatever amounts of milk may be required by all the units of the unemployed organization of Los Angeles County." This demonstration was the first effective one of its kind carried on by the unemployed as a result of the initiative of a few members of the Communist League of America (Opposition). Los Angeles branch. It implies a sharp line of departure from the previous class collaboration policies which dominated the life of this unemployed organization.

Without the calling of a formal united front, the committee elected by the women represented practically every phase of the Los Angeles labor movement. They worked cohesively and accomplished marvelous organizational results. Out of this movement grew the organization of a Women's Council of the U.C.L.A., which bids fair to become a vital force in forwarding the class struggle concepts of the unemployed.

— S. M. ROSE

DEMOCRACY IN ILLINOIS

Determined that the miners shall hold no gathering to discuss their own affairs, Sheriff Robinson, tool of the coal operators, refused the request of local union, 1782 U.M.W.A. Royaltan, Ill., to hold a meeting to vote funds for payment of taxes on their hall. Hitler must have obtained some of his ideas from "democratic" Illinois.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT!

T.U.U.C. Attacks Left Wing in the Furniture Union

The policy of craft unionism into which the Stalinists are slowly pushing the Furniture Workers Industrial Union—as exemplified by the Newport strike (see Militant of April 15th, 1933)—has received the official approval of the Trade Union Unity Council in its decision finally rendered in bureaucratic fashion three weeks after the strike was over—almost two months after the Left wing appeal was raised in the union.

In presenting their conservative viewpoint in the form of a decision against the appeal of Sol Lankin, secretary of the union, it was necessary for them to resort to childish distortions and falsifications on the Left wing proposals in order to vindicate themselves.

When the Newport framemakers struck in April we immediately proposed "that no man in the shops which we control be allowed to unpoise a frame which comes from the Newport Furniture Company and is made by scabs." We don't know exactly whether it was simply because we proposed it, or whether they are inherently against a Left wing policy, but at any rate, they quickly defeated our motion and carried a proposal for a mere "propaganda campaign" against Newport frames, leaving it up to the individual worker whether or not to work on these frames. Now every rebel worker knows that solidarity between the crafts of an industry is the ABC of industrial unionism. Unless this solidarity is manifested in action, the industrial union forfeits its right to the name and starts back on the road that leads to the swamp of craft unionism.

Call Proposal "General Strike" It is because they felt the correctness of our viewpoint and the effect that our appeal for solidarity had upon the workers that the T.U.U.C. was obliged to distort our proposal into a utopian call for a "general strike of the industry," and then proceeded with the fierceness of a Jeremiah to flay this alleged position of the Left wing.

"A general strike in an industry where our union has not yet control over the workers," runs the post-mortem strike decision of the T.U.U.C., "can only be an empty wish and secondly, cannot be carried out in a bureaucratic fashion due to wishes." We are happy to see the apparatus men acknowledge that a general strike cannot be carried out by bureaucratic wishes. It marks a step forward. This does not prevent them, however, by bureaucratic wish, from striking out of the union records the proposals of the Left wing. The practice of striking out all defeated motions (minority proposals) from the records of the union is unprecedented even in the A. F. of L. and has no place in our ranks. Only by fighting against such non-democratic methods in the Left wing unions will the class-conscious workers be drawn into the movement.

Militant Attacked With naive indignation against the publicity appearing in the Militant on the question of the strike, the Trade Union Unity Council "further condemns the articles signed by Lankin in the Militant in which he accuses the union of craft union practices and which actually in its contents condemns the union leadership for refusing solidarity action and also for publishing this slanderous attack before even appealing to the T.U.U.C."

These charges are manufactured out of the whole cloth and once more indicate the need to cover up a false policy. It was not until after the appeal made in April was ignored and left unanswered during a strike in which every hour counted, that Lankin finally stated the Left wing point of view in the columns of the Militant (April 15th). This article sounded the clarion call of unity and solidarity of all furniture workers during a strike of one craft. The T.U.U.C. on the other hand, did not see fit to act on the strike policy until three weeks after the strike was over.

The right to publish views on the strike and the movement generally in the working class press, and especially in the revolutionary press, cannot be abrogated simply because the facts in the articles do not complement the leadership. The logical outcome of that position would be to insist on the mechanical acceptance of Stalinism as a prerequisite for membership in the industrial union. Discrimination or persecution of workers who do not hold the same views as the leadership will not build the union. It is a direct violation of the industrial union program, and would cut off all possibilities for the movement to broaden out. More than that, it would reduce it to even a thinner shadow of the official Communist party and its sympathizers.

It is the aim of the Left wing group to prevent this and to help build a militant movement in the furniture industry.

For the Left wing group, SOL LANKIN, CARL COWL (Next week's issue of the Militant will contain a report of the upholders unity negotiations)

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Militant will contain a new article by comrade Trotsky on the Brandler group and a piece of Alfa on some new Stalinist falsifications. There will be a first-hand account of life in the Reformation "paradise."

A Postscript on Amter

Unfortunately, we are forced to set aside a little space to some idle and premature gloating by that old, inimitable goosemaster, the venerable Israel Amter. In the Daily Worker of Monday, June 5, under the title "Remnagay, Cliques at the Unemployment Conference," our own Ichabod Crane takes the Left Opposition fraction on one of his headless "rides." He says that a "Trotskyite" proposed a resolution on long term credits to the Soviet Union and that this resolution was amended by the Stalinists to read: "where they are building socialism and have already abolished unemployment." Then, shedding a few crocodile tears for the poor plight of ourselves, the followers of Leon Trotsky, having to "swallow" this, he tells us that the "Trotskyite" on the Committee opposed this amendment on the ground that it is impossible to build socialism in one country, saying that he would vote against it. But, after "consultation with his caucus," he returned saying he would vote for it, etc. Quite a jam for the Left Opposition! It takes an Amter to draw the noose so tight.

Only... comrade Amter laughed too soon. If he weren't the Ichabod Crane that he is, he might have asked himself a few questions first. For instance, why is it that only now, after the Five Year Plan has been completed, after four years of crisis and unemployment, after years of agitation by the Left Opposition, this slogan of long term credits has finally been accepted by the party? Further, why it was left to a Left Oppositionist to propose it? Still further, how the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow, which ditched this slogan of militant revolutionary action for backward maneuvers with the capitalist government, would react to Amter's own belated boldness? The joke is on Israel himself, if the truth must be told.

But, a word on the action of the Left Opposition caucus at the adventurist bungling of the bureaucratic centrism in Russia itself; instead of telling the American workers, that because of this and because of the rise of Fascism in Germany—for which Stalinism likewise bears its share of responsibility—the world imperialists, Wall Street in the lead, are more ready for bloody, open intervention against the workers fatherland than for the extensions of credit to it; instead of telling the American workers, that due to these dangers, the hand of the Soviets is more in need of their active help than ever, in their day to day struggles, in the struggle against unemployment—that instead of all this: the epigones of Stalinism in America merely cover up the dangers and resort to a meaningless phrase which only serves to cover up their own "infallibility," or rather, their own bankruptcy.

The Left Opposition made the concession and voted for the resolution as amended because the concession of the Stalinists to the point of view of the Left Opposition was all the greater. Once again the Stalinists in America voted for a slogan proposed by the Left Opposition which they had previously denounced as "counter-revolutionary!" In voting for this slogan of the Left Opposition, they at the same time dealt a terrific blow to the theory of socialism in one country and to the knee-bending reactionary diplomacy of Stalin, subordinating back-door deals with the bourgeois governments to the revolutionary solidarity of the international working class—which flows from that illogically "theory." That was what was really involved. And that was a genuine victory for Communism and a real step forward for the Left wing of American labor in the struggle against unemployment and capitalist misery.

SUBSCRIBE TO "UNSER WORT"

Workers and friends who read German and are interested in getting first hand accounts of conditions in Germany can do so by subscribing to Unser Wort, the illegal organ of the German Left Opposition, published in Prague. The paper appears every other week. Subscriptions are for a year only and are \$2.00. Subscriptions must be accompanied by currency. Checks and money orders will not do.

Comrades who subscribe must take into account the time element involved. They must allow time for their subs to reach the center here, and ten days for the sub to reach Prague and on top of that ten days to two weeks additional for the paper to reach them. In short, the first copy should reach the comrade about three weeks after remittance to us. Address all subs to Unser Wort, care of the Militant, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

CLASS IN "CAPITAL"

A course in Karl Marx's Capital is being given at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Ave., by Albert Weisbord. The course will be held every Wednesday evening at 8.30 from May 31st to August 1st, including 10 sessions. The unique feature of this course is that "Capital" will be given page by page and the ideas explained just as Marx gives them.

A Fighting Farmer Subscribes: Are You a Subscriber?

We print below a letter we received from one of our subscriber friends in the middle West. The letter is one of many. All these letters tell the same story. The Militant is important to these workers because it gives them a Marxist understanding of working class problems. Are you one of these workers? Do you read the Militant every week or only now and then? Events are moving rapidly. No class-conscious workers can afford to take an indifferent attitude toward the developing world situation. He should read the Militant regularly. The rates are so priced as to make it possible for everyone who is working to subscribe: \$2 a year for fifty two issues; \$1 a half year for twenty six issues and fifty cents for a trial sub of 13 issues.

A LETTER FROM SO. DAKOTA

Strool, S. D., May 28, 1933. The Militant Comrades: I received the notice that my sub has expired. Les Miller subscribed for me for six months and I had forgotten how long it ran. These days are moving so fast these things that the time slips by on a person. I am a sheep man and I will have some coin in a few days when I sell my wool and I will send you two dollars for another year if you will please continue the paper. Right now I am broke.

Since reading the Militant I can see your position and the position of the party and I look forward to the coming of each copy. It grinds on me that there has to be so damn much friction in the ranks of the rebels but when we look back over the pages of history, I think the old sap head people are doing pretty good to have taken over one country and held power as long as this. I can plainly see how the rest of the world might jump on the neck of the USSR and try to take it away from the people but the people at home might raise a little hell too.

Out here we are organizing the farmers into local committees of action—we are building the soviets and the farmers don't realize it as fast as we can get them. Our programme is to resist evictions and to secure necessary relief in the form of work or cash. Although the work has just started we are going along at a rapid rate, considering the distance between the neighbors and the fact that there have been so few evictions. I find that the young fellows are keen for action although they don't take any active part in meetings.

I suppose you are aware of the National Committee for Action in Washington and the relief conferences that we have been putting on all over the country (united front). The party furnishes the leadership but we have to depend on non-party men to carry on the work in the field because there are not enough party men to go around. I don't belong to the party but I have been drawn into the work and will end up in jail one of these days but they can't put us all in.

After we get organized here so that we have enough strength and they jail anyone, we will go up to the county seat and tear down the jail because it is rather weak and it is in an inland town with a small population.

If you have any men you can spare you should volunteer some help to the National Committee 1622 H. S. W. Washington, D. C. If you have a list of the literature and the price I would like to have it so as I could order some a little later on. I want some of Trotsky's speech at Copenhagen.

Your truly, A.

Unemployed and employed workers: Demand the extension of long term credits to Soviet Russia, which will bring Soviet orders to open American factories and relieve unemployment!

AMONG THE YOUTH

An Open Letter to the N.Y.D. Committee

We publish below an important letter sent by the Spartacus Youth Club to the National Youth Day United Front Committee. The letter speaks for itself.—Ed. June 5, 1933. N. Y. National Youth Day United Front Committee:

Dear Comrades, The Spartacus Youth Club addresses this communication to you to sharply protest the actions of the committee in charge of the demonstration held in Harlem on National Youth Day. We wish to further the protest the conduct of members of the organization which initiated and is in the leadership of this united front, the Young Communist League.

The executive committee of the Conference had decided that various representatives of the participating groups would speak at the demonstration. At the last minute it was decided that too many speakers were scheduled and a number of speakers were arbitrarily eliminated from the list, among them the representatives of the Spartacus Youth Club. But that did not suffice. Three or four comrades who had not been scheduled to speak were given the platform, clearly showing the dishonesty of the reason for the cutting down of the speakers list, that is lack of time. A united front cannot be organized on such a basis.

Open air meetings were held by non-participating groups around the demonstration. The committee refused to stop them. This helped in the general confusion and lack of order. More important than even that, we charge members of the Young Communist League with violating the program of the united front by tearing leaflets issued by participating groups—the copies of the Militant and Young Spartacus, organ of the Spartacus Youth Club, and the leaflets of the Young Communist League. Opposition—Love-stone group. Despite the fact that some fighting ensued the comrades responsible for the conduct of the YCL members refused to intervene. The Red Front Fighters, under whose initiative we do not know, formed a cordon sanitaire around the members of the Spartacus Youth Club thus dividing the demonstration into two and causing disruption. These actions were brought to the attention of the chairman of the steering committee and the district organizer of the Young Communist League. Both denied any knowledge of disorderly conduct or of the action of the Red Front Fighters. After some persuasion, the chairman consented to investigate, but when he saw the circle of the Red Front Fighters, around our comrades he very innocently pretended indignation at us for protesting against the Red Front Fighters' participation in the demonstration! When the torn copies of the Militant and Young Spartacus which were lying on the ground were shown to him, he walked away without a word. The steering committee is responsible for the conduct of the Red Front Fighters.

A lynch spirit existed among the YCLers. Despite the fact that the Daily Worker, the Liberator and other papers were distributed and sold they refused to allow the sale and distribution of our papers. Was this a united front demonstration or a meeting of the YCL and the Communist Party? It was solely due to the discipline of the members of the Spartacus Youth Club and their refusal to be provoked which prevented an actual riot at the demonstration. The police would have intervened and the value of the united front would have been lost.

We demand that in the united front the participating groups refrain from physical attacks or provocations which would lead to it. We demand the right of every participating group to sell or distribute its literature at united front meetings or demonstrations without interference.

We further demand that the National Youth Day United Front

Conference precisely define its attitude toward the conduct of the steering committee and its chairman at the National Youth Day Demonstration and the conduct of the members of the Young Communist League.

For this purpose we present the following resolutions:

- 1. The National Youth Day United Front Conference criticizes the conduct of the steering committee and its chairman at the Harlem demonstration for: (a) discriminating against speakers. (b) permitting other groups to hold open air meetings around the demonstration without control of the steering committee; (c) permitting the Red Front Fighters to disrupt the demonstration by forming a cordon around the members of the Spartacus Youth Club; (d) not calling to order the members of the Young Communist League for provoking fist fights and tearing up leaflets and papers at the demonstration. The Young Communist League, as any other organization, is responsible for the conduct of its membership. We suggest that the Young Communist League inform its members that they must refrain from any physical attacks or provocations on the members of other groups and maintain discipline during United Front action.

2. We declare that every group participating in the United Front maintains its full right of criticism but must refrain from any physical attacks or provocations. That every group has the right to sell or distribute its literature at the United Front meetings and demonstrations except at the time when comrades are speaking.

3. We believe that by the adopting of this resolution we can go ahead with our work and convert the United Front on National Youth Day to a broad united action against Roosevelt's starvation program, against Fascism, against imperialist war, and for the defense of the Soviet Union, on the basis of a concrete minimum program. If this resolution is carried out we can proceed with the preparations for a conference for this purpose. The non-Communist youth, as well as the Communist youth organized in the Spartacus Youth Club, will reject the kind of united action dished out in Harlem on National Youth Day. The present conference must decisively and clearly condemn such tactics.

Fraternally, Perry Meyers, Sec'y

National Youth Day in Perth Amboy

Perth Amboy—National Youth Day in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, resulted in one of the most brutal attacks by the police who used tear gas bombs, guns, nightsticks and clubs against the workers, young and old girls, children, women, Negro and white in order to break up the demonstration. About 500 youth and workers had come to participate in the parade from all parts of the state of New Jersey. The YCL was represented by Passaic, Paterson, Jersey City, Trenton, Perth Amboy, Newark, Elizabeth and other cities of the state. One of the features was the large number of Negro youth and children present. The Left Opposition was represented by the comrades of the Perth Amboy unit of the Communist League of Struggle.

The parade was formed on Elm street; we marched through the city to the city field to hold our meeting and to carry through our sport event program. The songs and shouted slogans of the marchers gave a fine spirit to the parade and made a good impression. When we got to the city field all the police were lined up and refused to give the marchers the use of it but after a meeting with a committee, they decided to let us use Coppers field at the other end of the city.

At Coppers field the meeting was called to order by Alexander who was followed by Charles White, Rebecca Grecht and Freiman. In every way the police tried to disturb the meeting but finding they could not do so made their plans for a regular attack. Police, dicks and thugs of the American Legion began to infiltrate the demonstration and then at a signal a group of them came over to the platform, demanded a permit for the meeting and kicking over the platform began to sling the workers. Without the slightest provocation guns were drawn, shots fired, gas bombs hurled and a terrible beating given to the workers. Several of the comrades were badly hurt and sent to the hospital and nine were arrested.

Throughout the demonstration and the events that followed the Left Opposition, through the members of the Communist League of Struggle, took a very active part. They were the last to leave the grounds and were given responsibility to take care of the affair after it was broken up, getting bail, sending out various committees to get help, etc. There is no doubt that the prestige of the Left Opposition was greatly raised in Perth Amboy by our correct and prompt action. The party members now see that far from being counter-revolutionists we know how to take our place in the front ranks of the struggle.

— SAM FISHER

ARE YOU A SUBSCRIBER TO THE MILITANT?

Special Offer! 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. Cloth Cover Originally \$1.00 Now .25 Postage—6¢ extra per copy - PIONEER PUBLISHERS - 84 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.

# Letters from the Nazi Inferno

Letters from Rhineland

Above all, the Nazis are preoccupied with preparations for the First of May. All the factory workers must appear at 8 a. m. sharp at their places of work. Then everybody is to proceed to the public square and from there to the churches, in company with the veterans' associations, etc. No one knows where those who dissent are to gather. It seems that several of the stouter characters refused to obey this injunction; for example, a well known machine factory. The bosses declared against the use of any coercion—their factory was a place of work and not a headquarters for political assemblies. Aside from this, they categorically refused to hoist the swastika on their rooftops. The money which had been collected for the purchase of the flag was sent back by them.

Up to the middle of the last year, one of our comrades was the leader of the section in our town. A certain X... unfurled a strong anti-Trotsky campaign and our comrade was not long in getting himself expelled. After his expulsion, X... was appointed in his place. Even at that time, the rank and file had a great distrust for X... and rose up against the expulsion of our comrade. But the bureaucrats imposed X... upon the workers. Today, in gratitude to the bureaucrats, X... turns all of them over to the Storm Troops and the concentration camps.

38 police functionaries have been summarily dismissed. The reason for this is to be sought in the fact that the chief of the section taught the Schupo (Reichsbanner) the use of arms. This man has fled. His activity was betrayed by a member of the Schupo.

The "nature colonies" here have been occupied by the S. T. and the Hitler Youth. The Nazis do not forget anything. They are seizing hold of all domains of life and placing them under the control of the police.

Yesterday I witnessed the following incident: A Storm Trooper argued with a man of about 60 in the street. In the course of the argument, the S. T. beat the old man bloody and knocked him down to the ground. His right temple was an open wound and blood was flowing down his face. The passerby were aroused and hurled oaths at the S. T. Words like these were heard: "Watch out, when the times change, take care!" Such scenes are not rare here.

The Nazi march on May 1 was quite imposing. It is true that it resembled more a country fair show than a demonstration. It was without movement and without enthusiasm. Depression among the workers, who had to participate under threat of discharge. Here and there, petty bourgeois drinking alcohol from the bottle.

In some places the party comrades still were able to hoist the red flag on a chimney; the S. T. naturally soon came to take them down.

The party distributed a leaflet: "Under the Sign of the Cross." It was so dull and confusing that no one could make it out. The party comrades are so awkward in distributing leaflets, that they are caught en masse. Later, when the Nazi tribunals sentence them to two years in prison, the papers write: "Indulgent judges."

**Letter from the South West**  
Here conditions differ greatly according to the districts; first, as to the methods of the new power and then, relative to the party. The strongest oppression is felt in the Palatinate, where there has been an extraordinary number of arrests and where the petty bourgeois elements are greatly aroused against the working class. For our comrades too, the work is of unheard-of difficulty in these regions. But in the big centers, our organization works very well and has remained completely intact. Here the party is nearly finished. To the degree to which their members do not realize the whole weight and the full extent of the situation. It is still possible, to be sure, for them to count on some activity. But certain sections of the town have already collapsed.

**Letter from Thuringia**  
After the collapse of the C.P.G., the members became very much accessible to our literature. Those who have remained without an organization seek a new leadership. There isn't any more social democratic literature at all. We cannot complain about that. Some sections of the reformist trade union bureaucracy have, however, published some sheets without any political tendency.

Among the members of the CPG there is great indignation against the criminal leadership; nevertheless, the organizational conservatism still retains a hold on a number of workers with whom our bonds are becoming strengthened. Stool-pigeonry is very much widespread in the party (illegal regional bureaus are ransacked, as well as print shops and conferences; there are mass arrests). The great number of Lumpenproletarians who are now orienting toward "Aryanism" is the cause of this. The S. A. P. and the Brandler opposition are still working, but remains out of contact with their leaderships. Possibilities of legal work have completely disappeared. At the Municipal Assemblies there are at most a few rare social democrats. There are no representatives of the C.P.

## The Truth About Conditions in the Labor Movement

Some very prominent social democrats have signed declarations in which they say that they will not have anything more to do with Marxism (Grell, former minister of Public Education in "red" Thuringia; Seele, head of the Reichsbanner and Landtag deputy; Kubnt, Landtag deputy, etc.) Some "Communist" leaders also fell on their knees at the police headquarters. (Toepfer-Weimar, secretary of the Communist Landtag fraction in Thuringia; the chairman of the C.P. in Thuringia and of the municipal fraction; Scharf, Landtag deputy, etc.) Here is a short report and a sad balance.

**Letter from Hamburg**  
Several middle provincial organizations of the S.P.G. (Bruswick, etc.) have dissolved. The Free Trade Unions have taken the stand of lusing themselves on the new state (this letter was written before Ley's trade union act of May 2—Ed.), emphasize their complete independence of political parties and their services for the German nation. In their meetings, they stifle all discussion in the bud.

The S.P.G. wherever it still exists, has done away with all the regular district meetings and reports all those which do take place, to the police, which prohibits them. Which is just to the fakers' liking!

The S.P.G. workers, in spite of their final break with reformism and in spite of their revolutionary reorientation, do not, nevertheless, take the C.P.G. seriously any more than they have in the past. They say: "Yes, and you Communists, what have you done? Just as little as our own party."

In the C.P.G. there are strong putschist tendencies, but also strong tendencies opposing them. Sometimes, putschist slogans are smeared over the walls of the houses during the night. The stools have penetrated very deeply into the party; that is shown by the very skillful methods of arrest. Policemen declare that of themselves they can find nothing; everything is done by anonymous denunciations, which come in wholesale and are in great part worthless, but sufficiently useful for the police to enable them to make several arrests a day.

The proletarian quarters in the city are submitted to raids on the very greatest scale, from time to time. These sections of the city are shut off for the whole day, and domicile after domicile is carefully searched. Many typewriters and mimeograph machines are found. In the central bureau for the organization of the Anti-Fascist congress, which was discovered, 18,000 Battlefront stamps were confiscated.

## The Discussion on Germany

**Resolution of Left Opposition Youth Group of Southeast Berlin on the Question of the New Party**

1. The victory of Fascism in Germany has closed the period of our struggle for a turn in the CPG to the policy of the united front, and opened the period of struggle for the creation of the new party. That is a fixed fact on which there are no differences within the ranks of the L.O.

2. Nevertheless a fairly large group of comrades (represented by E.B. in No. 3 of *Unser Wort*) is of the opinion that it is impossible to set up the slogan of the new party immediately, since this does not correspond to the mentality of most party members, who still need additional experience with their party.

We decidedly reject such a viewpoint as well as their whole way of posing the question. In our orientation, we are guided not by the fluctuating moods of the masses, but by the objective facts. These are: (a) organizational as well as political collapse of the CPG.; (b) the impossibility of rescuing this party from disintegration; (c) the impossibility of this party's ever again winning the confidence of the working class. The recognition of these facts will inevitably penetrate among the party members as a result of their further experience with the party and will direct their sympathies toward the L.O., but only under the condition that we tell them the hard truth in its full extent, without being afraid of temporary unpopularity.

With the arguments with which E.B. justifies his rejection of the propaganda for a new party under present conditions, one might just as well have rejected the propaganda for the united front policy in the previous period. Only yesterday the party members considered our demand for the Leninist united front as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism"; today they are convinced of our correctness. Today they reject the slogan of the new party, but tomorrow will convince them of its necessity. If we do not tell them in time, they will try to find a way out in other directions and greatly increase the difficulties of the necessary work of building the new party.

3. The recognition of propagandizing for the new party does not mean that we turn this slogan into an ultimatum. In this respect we fully support the slogan of E.B. "cadres for the purpose of checking over the past and clarifying the situation." We consider this slogan as the correct link in the chain for

The instructions of the party to the members prove its entire incapability. In one circular it says that dues stamps for April are still to be pasted into the membership books; furthermore, at cell meetings, control of membership books is to take place. Even after the opening of the Reichstag, membership meetings of as many as 80 men used to take place, all of which were naturally raided. Even meetings of the ILD were sacked.

There are stool-pigeons in even the most internal meetings. They suddenly expose themselves by naming those who are to be arrested by the police, after their arrival. The stools are, or have been for the most part, functionaries.

Sentiment is predominantly depressing. In the party there is, to be sure, a great deal of optimism, which is strongly nurtured from above. "Time is working for us, we still stand before the decisive battles, the masses are turning away from the Nazis in huge numbers, because of their "margarine" policy (the reference is to the policy of emergency measures which the Nazis substitute for the grandiose pre-election promises—Ed.). Hitherto, the party did not want to see any differences at all among the bourgeoisie. Today it is clinging to them. It does not say that only the class struggle forces of the proletariat can bring the downfall of the Fascist dictatorship, but issues the opinion that Blomberg with his Reichswehr, international Jewry, America and England will bring this about.

The publications of the party are on a very low plane. The leaflets are addressed to all possible strata, but do not gather the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. The S.P.G. is designated in these leaflets as the "main social support of the Fascist government."

The party has sharpened the struggle against the Left Opposition. It utilizes the most repulsive methods. In Wandsbeck a list of expelled Oppositionists was found by the police with remarks like the following: "At the time of the seizure of power by the Communists these people are to be turned over, arrested and made harmless." A Left Oppositionist was given to understand in a discussion that he ought to guard himself, they would not shrink back even from denunciation. Another comrade was threatened with a physical attack. Expulsions and insults have not stopped.

The Nazi terror strikes us Oppositionists as well: arrests, threats and deportation to concentration camps. But, by and large, our organization has taken all the necessary measures of precaution for security. Publication is carried on undisturbed. There is even a better sale of publications than previously. A slow stream toward the L. O. is becoming noticeable; connections all around are being strengthened.

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## Another Word About Heckert's Apologetics

The article by H. E. in previous issues of the *Militant* dealt with the rabid frothings of Fritz Heckert against Trotsky which were "unanimously adopted" by the Executive Committee of the Comintern. One passage in that memorable speech of Heckert's had not, however, as yet been given an answer by the actual events. This answer has since arrived, and in full measure, at that.

Heckert said literally: "But what this Hitler-Trotskyist platform of the 'United Front' represents in reality, a platform created to exterminate the S. P. G. is proved by the facts and events themselves which took place at the very moment when Trotsky wrote his article. Trotsky poses the defense of Leipart's unions as the second point of a common front between the Communists and the social democracy. At the same time, however, Trotsky's ally Leipart is delivering the trade unions to Hitler, declaring that the ADGB (German General Federation of Labor Unions) accepts the reorganization of the trade unions according to the Italian example. The facts have thus exposed in cruel fashion the counter-revolutionary significance of the 'platform' of the social-Hitler-

ite Trotsky, who has gone to all troubles to prove that social democracy and Fascism are not twins but antipodes.

Poor Fritz Heckert! He tripped only a few hours too soon, only a few hours before he had to see in what "cruel fashion the facts have exposed the counter-revolutionary significance (in a deeper sense of the word than he thinks)", not of the "social-Hitlerite Trotsky", but of his own—and his master Stalin's—theses. It is only necessary, before taking position on any question, any proposal—in this case: Leipart's—to first wait for the reply—in this case: Hitler's. It is necessary, before undertaking the task of designating the reciprocal relationship of two political, social factors, to listen always to the other part, the "twin!"

In the meantime, Hitler has, namely, rejected Leipart's proposal, or rather replied to it with the dissolution and seizure of the trade unions as well as the arrest of the "social Fascists" proposers, which, in turn, does not quite prove the correctness of the famous theory of Master Stalin, also quoted by Heckert in his article: "Fascism is an organization which bases itself upon the active support of the social democracy. There is no ground for the assumption that the fighting agency of the bourgeoisie can achieve any decisive victories in the struggles or in the conduct of the country without the active support of the social democracy." But Heckert goes even further. He says: "Everything that has happened in Germany confirms completely and fully the prognosis of comrade Stalin. Hitler does not reject the support of the social democracy." Further: "Fascism needs the trade unions and is taking the social democratic fakers into its service." What does comrade Heckert think now of the "correctness of the prognosis of comrade Stalin?"

He will naturally continue to grumble, to rave and to slander and—what is worst—act according to the commands of his "best leader." But that does not change anything in the least with regard to the fact that the prognosis of Stalinism are always refuted by reality—at the latest in three weeks, sometimes as early as three days and only in the rarest cases, several months after they were made.

— A. B.

## On Zinoviev and Kamenev

So they have once more capitulated. The Soviet press reports it triumphantly and the T.A.S.S. communicates the capitulation to the whole world. Meanwhile, it is hard to conceive of a fact which more mercilessly compromises not only the capitulators themselves but also the regime which requires such sacrifices. Broken backbones can no longer serve as props. And the Stalinist apparatus has become a machine for crushing backbones.

Zinoviev and Kamenev were subjected a few months before to expulsion from the party and exile not because of any oppositional activity of their own, but because of "knowledge of and failure to report" oppositional activity of the right wing. At all events, this was only a formal cause. The real reason was the fact that in the atmosphere of general discontent, Zinoviev and Kamenev constituted a danger. They did, it is true, capitulate back in January 1928. But to whom? To the anonymous bureaucracy passing under the name of the party. Today, such a capitulation has lost all value. One must acknowledge the infallibility of Stalin in order to have the right to live and breathe politically. Zinoviev and Kamenev simply could not force themselves to such a moral prostration. They had been in the Lenin staff too long for that, too well did they know Stalin, his role in the past and his real caliber. The oath of personal fidelity to Stalin simply stuck in their throats. And that was just why they were expelled.

It is not hard to imagine what took place afterwards behind the scenes. For some time now the apparatus has been calculating that Stalin's leadership is costing the party too dear. Stalin himself feels it. It didn't go, of course, without the mediation and humble intercession on the part of the so-called "old Bolsheviks" on the one side, and their cynical exhortations on the other. "Acknowledge his genius—that costs very little nowadays—and come back to Moscow: after all, it is better to be in the party." And Zinoviev and Kamenev "acknowledged," that is, they finally sank down into the depths. Their personal fate is profoundly tragic.

If the future historian will aim to show how pitilessly the epochs of great convulsions devastate men, he will bring forward the example of Zinoviev and Kamenev . . .

At the time of the first capitulation they could still foster the illusion: "Work in the party," "Contact in the party," "Influence upon the masses." Today there is not even a trace of these illusions left. Zinoviev and Kamenev do not return from the opposition to the party, but merely from exile to Moscow. Stalin needs their return for the selfsame purpose for which he needed the appearance of Bukharin and Rykov on the tribune during the celebration of May Day: thereby, the void around the "leader" is, if not filled up, then at least concealed.

The failure of Zinoviev's and Kamenev's first capitulation, which had a political character, proved to be a relentless, and thereby an all the more effective demonstration of the correctness of the Left Opposition: the party can be served only by serving its ideas and not its devastated apparatus. The second capitulation, which has a purely personal character, strengthens that conclusion from the opposite end. Like Gogol's hero, Stalin gathers together dead souls for want of the living. The salvaging of the heritage of Bolshevism, the training up of new revolutionary succession, remains not only the historical task but also a lofty privilege of the Left Opposition.

## Good Response to Appeal

We have received the following communication from the American Committee of the International Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition):

"We wish to thank the friends of the October revolution who have responded so promptly and generously to our appeal for help to the imprisoned and deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union. Gratifying as the response has been, however, it is only a drop in the bucket compared to the needs of the revolutionary fighters who are undergoing the severest privations in the struggle for their convictions. We ask all those who wish to keep intact the reservoir of revolutionary energy and experience represented by these men to renew their efforts to help us raise the funds which are so urgently needed.

"We wish to report the results of our efforts to the organization of the American Committee to the close of May 31, 1933 as follows: RECEIPTS from donations, \$373.75

Prinkipo, May 23, 1933.

A Half Year sub to the Militant is \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 50 cents.

# The British I.L.P. Turns Leftward

## Realignments in the Camp of English Reformism

The present world economic crisis and the pre-revolutionary crisis of British capitalism has had a marked effect on the entire English labor movement. This is particularly true of the traditionally left reformist party, the Independent Labour Party. A gauge of the growing maturity of a revolutionary crisis can often be found in the changes which the parties of socialist centrism undergo. These changes are seldom fundamental; they are rather changes of form and modes of expression.

To the party of J. Keir Hardie, which, immersed in the "practical" political tasks of the day, scoffed at the German theoreticians, Marx and Engels; the party which produced leading spokesmen for the House of Lords, the bourgeois prime minister, MacDonald, the aspiring Fascist, Mosley—suddenly, at Bradford last August proclaimed itself the party of revolutionary Marxism! The I.L.P. withdrew from the Labour Party, which it had built, on the grounds that its parliamentary representatives were refused to criticize and vote against the Labour Party caucus in parliament. This led to the organization of the Socialist League by those who wanted to continue the old policy, among them such leaders as H. N. Brailsford and Fred Henderson.

Up to the formation of the Communist party (1920-21) the Independent Labour Party contained some of the best revolutionary socialists in Britain. Such an outstanding spokesman of the present Communist party as R. Palme Dutt a Left Centrist of high calibre, got his training in the I.L.P. After the World War, the Independent Labour Party made advances towards the Communist International; addressed a number of fundamental questions to it. The reply drafted by Lenin, made even the more "radical" leader lukewarm. Supporting the view of a democratic or parliamentary "revolution" to attain socialism, criticizing the Labour Party's open collaboration with the British imperialists, and permitting wide differences of opinion and action within the party, the Independent Labour Party has succeeded in keeping thousands of militant workers from the Communist party.

Despite this, the I.L.P. in recent years lost many members. The following figures speak for themselves:

1909—28,000
1914—20,000
1919—32,000
1921—37,000
Aug. 1932—12,000

Since the Bradford Conference (Aug. 1932) the membership has further declined. At the same time a deep ferment developed in the ranks. The Revolutionary Policy Committee, a group formed months previously, continued to issue its own literature and hold meetings, some of which were advertised in the official organ of the I.L.P. In

## Realignments in the Camp of English Reformism

London and Lancashire, especially the influence of the R.P.C. was strong. The leaders of this group, Jack Gaster, C. K. Cullens and others—most of them intellectuals—call themselves Leninists. In the divisional conferences held last February, they presented their program: for stricter discipline in the I.L.P., for a revolutionary policy, the immediate organization of workers' councils (soviets) which would develop into a counter parliament, and for an approach to the Third International for collaboration. At the London and South Divisional and Lancashire Conferences their proposals were accepted. At the latter conference a resolution for immediate affiliation to the Comintern was rejected.

The belated manifesto (March, 1933) of the Communist International for united front against Fascism was hailed by the I.L.P. as a vindication of its viewpoint. It had participated on Feb. 4th in the Left Socialist Parties' conference at Paris which appealed to the Labor and Socialist International and the Comintern for united front against Fascism. A Fenner Brockway wrote: "The greatest significance attaches to this manifesto because of the recommendation to the Communist Parties to cease the attacks upon other sections of the working class if a basis of united action can be found." (New Leader—3-10-33—Emphasis in original.)

The I.L.P. addressed an invitation to the C.P., the Labour Party, the Co-operative Party and the Trade Union Congress for united front on a definite minimum program against Fascism and the capitalist offensive at home. Only the Communist party accepted and a number of demonstrations have been held throughout the country by joint committees. The "recommendation" of the Comintern was swallowed by the robot leaders of the British C.P. who quickly forgot that "this demand of the I.L.P.'ers, whether locally or nationally, for the dropping of criticism is a demand which must be mercilessly fought." *British Daily Worker*, 8-13-32.

The I.L.P.'s forty-first annual conference, last April, met under such conditions: a sharp crisis in British imperialism, the victory of Fascism in Germany, a steady decline in membership, growing sentiment towards Communism in its own ranks and the beginning of united front action between the Communist Party and the I.L.P. The address of Brockway on the effect of the decisions of the Bradford conference, the need for an extra parliamentary institution, work-

## Good Response to Appeal

EXPENDITURES:

Remitted to International Commission . . . . .	340.00
Cost of remittances and cable charges . . . . .	17.84
Printing and Stationery . . . . .	10.25
Mailing costs . . . . .	3.96
Total Expenditures	\$372.05

BALANCE on hand  
May 31, 1933 . . . . . \$ 1.70

"We are not publishing the names of individual donors, as some of them have requested us not to make their names public, but we acknowledge all donations individually.

"Some of the letters which we have received accompanying donations show such splendid spirit that we cannot refrain from quoting a few:

"Dear Comrade,  
"Enclosed please find a money order for two (2) dollars, which is a donation to the fund for the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists to help them along and save their lives. We consider them the real comrades, and further we consider their banishment as the blackest spot on the body of the Soviet State committed by Stalinist bureaucracy. The contributors are as follows:  
M.K. \$1.00, J.C. 50c, K.C. 50c.  
With Communist greetings,  
K.C., Bethlehem, Pa."

"Dear Comrade,  
"Read the April 15th appeal of the Militant for contributions for our comrades exiled by the Stalinists.  
"Enclosed please find \$2.00. Sorry it isn't more. I had this money set aside to purchase painting materials, but it will give me more pleasure knowing of the good to be gained from it for our poor comrades in distress.  
Sincerely yours,  
I, New York City."

"Dear Comrade,  
"Please accept my dollar as subscription for our comrades of the Russian Left Opposition who are struggling in exile from Stalin's persecution.  
Old Comrade L. F.,  
San Francisco, Cal.  
P.S. LONG LIFE TO COMRADE L. TROTSKY!"

"Remittances should be addressed to:  
Sidney Hook  
234 Lincoln Pl., Brooklyn, N.Y.  
With Communist greetings,  
The American Committee of the International Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition)  
By  
B. J. Field, Secretary."

ers' councils, to unite the working class for the overthrowing of capitalism and the subordinate role of the bourgeois parliament was acclaimed by the Conference. A resolution to support the unemployed organization led by the Communist party, the N.U.M.W., was carried overwhelmingly after some dispute.

A sharp fight occurred on the question of international affiliation. The National Council of the I.L.P. recommended disaffiliation from the Labor and Socialist International. A resolution was introduced supporting disaffiliation and instructing the National Council "to approach the Secretariat of the Communist International with a view to ascertaining in what way the I.L.P. may assist in the work of the International." The mover of the resolution made it clear that he was not asking for affiliation to the Communist International but collaboration in whatever form is agreed upon. John Paton, secretary of the party, supported the National Council's view and polemicized against the resolution calling for approach to the Comintern. Jack Gaster defended the resolution. The vote was very close. The resolution carried by a vote of 83 to 79.

Another resolution, which embodied the full program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee, offered a new constitution for the party. It emphasized the function of the workers' councils and the subordinate role of the parliament. It was then strongly opposed by the old guard, particularly F. W. Jovett, who stated that the I.L.P. was asked to achieve power by civil war. He stated that the I.L.P. should aim to achieve socialism by parliamentary means. The leaders of the R.P.C. supported the new constitution. According to the New Leader report to the proceedings (4-21-33) "by 90 votes to 8, (the) Conference rejected the vital section of the new Constitution." Apparently the most ambiguous terminology was desired!

An interesting part of the Conference was the attempt to introduce stricter discipline in the I.L.P. A motion to introduce a probationary period in which the applicant for membership would be tested was rejected. Further an amendment was introduced "safeguarding pacifists from disciplinary action on account of their objection to take part in war, was withdrawn on an understanding from John Paton that the N.A.C. would accept its intention!" A truly revolutionary socialist party!

A resolution for united front action with the C.P., Labour Party, etc., was adopted after some discussion. The new national council although containing supporters of the Revolutionary Policy Committee like Jack Gaster is in the main controlled by the Brockway-Maxton tendency in the I.L.P.

The Comintern had replied to the request of the I.L.P. for collaboration. Instead of issuing a programmatic declaration so as to win the revolutionary workers within the I.L.P. to Communism, the Stalinist bureaucracy has confined itself to merely welcoming the step and declaring its readiness to collaborate with the I.L.P. A most excellent opportunity missed to educate the ranks of the I.L.P. But Stalinism, once again taken by surprise, is uncertain as to the next steps; it is in a quandary.

The American Stalinists claim the results of the I.L.P. conference and particularly the resolution to approach the C.I., which they incorrectly interpret as application for membership, as a victory "for the united front policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain. (*Daily Worker*—4-17-33) What sheer nonsense! In the last few years, the British party carried on the craziest zig-zags of any section of the Comintern. Subordination to the "Lefts" during the British miners' and general strike in 1926; its constant changes on the parliamentary field which were understood by no one; suddenly the third period with its "independent" leadership of strikes and the building of new unions; then the famous Charter campaign which was an attempt of a united front mass movement which was still-born, its policy of falsification, etc., alienated the best sections of the I.L.P. from the British party. "The proof is the fact that few of them were won for the party."

In the columns of the *Labour Monthly* a discussion has been going on for some time on "Communism and Left Socialism," of some value. But the practical activities of the party (with the exception of its unemployment work which has been fruitful) negated most of the gains made in that manner. In more recent times the *Communist Review* has contained articles which attempt to discuss the problems of the Left Socialists. But the influence of the British Party or the Revolutionary Policy Committee is negligible.

The tendency towards Communism in the I.L.P. is due primarily to the awakening of the more conscious elements within it to the impasse in which British imperialism and world imperialism finds itself today. It appears paradoxical that at a time when Stalinism has failed miserably in Germany these elements approach the Comintern. From one point of view it shows their own political immaturity, from another and more fundamental view, is an indication that they correctly do not identify Communism with Stalinism.

The view of the more advanced (Continued on Page 4)

# Apropos the Foreign Policy of the Stalinists

(Continued from page 1)

any, that is to say, counting upon a reinforcement of the workers' state and of the German proletariat. Developments took the opposite road. Today, when the German workers are crushed, when the Soviet state has been weakened, the course to adventurousism of the purest water.

Without such a course, that is, without direct preparations for revolutionary war and the insurrection in Germany, the breaking-off of diplomatic relations and the economic boycott would only be an impotent and miserable gesture. The absence of Russian orders would, it is true, increase somewhat the number of the unemployed. But has there been a lack of unemployed for the revolution up to the present? What was lacking was a revolutionary party and a correct policy. That is doubly lacking at present. We cannot avoid examining now the question as to whom economic reprisals would benefit in Germany: Fascism or the proletariat. It is clear that the general problem of the conjuncture is not solved by Soviet orders. Reciprocally, the refusal of economic connections with Germany would, on the other hand, hit Soviet economy heavily, and consequently, the workers' state still more.

We repeat: the Stalinist faction bears a direct and immediate responsibility for the collapse of the Chinese revolution, for the destruction of the German proletariat and for the weakening of the workers' state. Along this fundamental line, the struggle against it must be conducted. It is necessary to cleanse the world labor movement of the leprosy of Stalinism. But it is necessary to fight against the roots of the malady and not against the symptoms of its inevitable consequences.

In the struggle against bureaucratic centrism, we remain, as Marxists, on the grounds of revolutionary realism. If the Bolshevik-Leninists (Left Opposition) were at the head of the Soviet state today, they would be forced, in their immediate, practical acts, to proceed from the relation of forces that has resulted from ten years of epigone policy. They would be forced, particularly, to maintain diplomatic and economic connections with Hitlerist Germany. At the same time, they would prepare themselves for revenge. That is a great task, which requires time, which is not solved by a demonstrative gesture, but which demands a radical change of policy in all spheres.

— L. TROTSKY

# Borders Loses in Split; Group Firm for Unity

(Continued from page 1)

the workers demanded a genuine united front, and second, he learned from his own organization that his attempt to split the Unemployed Federation brought a split in his own Workers Committee. The majority of the Workers Committee, led by George Leach and others, are continuing with the Federation. Borders received a majority vote on the city central committee, but the Unemployed Federation received the majority of its members and the largest locals!

— HUGO OEHLER

# The I.L.P. Turns Left

(Continued from page 3)

workers in the I.L.P.—and they are unfortunately in a very small minority—is expressed in a statement issued by four members previous to the I.L.P. conference. These comrades clearly state that the place of all revolutionary workers is in the Communist party. They point out that the I.L.P. is a social democratic organization and cannot be reformed; that the Revolutionary Policy Committee course in this direction is false and futile. They further point out that the present Communist party has a number of serious shortcomings which require discussion. They enumerate the theories and policies upon which they cannot agree: the theory of socialism in one country, the policy of the united front from below, the policy exemplified by the Amsterdam anti-war congress, and the absence of party democracy. They call upon the I.L.P. members to join them in this struggle.

The Left Opposition comrades, who have recently issued a printed organ, *Red Flag*, have a great task on their shoulders: to win the revolutionary workers of the I.L.P. for the Communism of Marx and Lenin, to educate the members of the Communist party along the line of the Left Opposition. On the basis of the lessons of the British General Strike and the Anglo-Russian Committee, the recent teachings of the German events, the program of the Left Opposition on the colonial question and in the Soviet Union, our comrades in Great Britain should forge ahead rapidly.

— JOSEPH CARTER

\* This statement will appear in the forthcoming issue of *The Militant*. —Ed.

# N. Y. Anti-Eviction Meet

## Party Adopts Slogan of Long Term Credits to SU

(Continued from Page 1)

consideration of this ruling to exclude the Left wing and passed a motion to that effect by majority vote. It was ruled out of order, in true bureaucratic style, by the cynical socialist impressarios who fished out an unheard-of alibi—"a two thirds vote is necessary for reconsideration" (!). Let the reader keep in mind that the Lovestonites have been part and parcel of this conference and share the responsibility for its treacherous deeds.

### Winters' Report

The united front conference opened with an able presentation by Carl Winters, secretary of the provisional committee, of its past history and the persistent endeavors it made to consummate a united front with the socialists and Lovestonite unemployed groups. The latter remained obdurate and blocked the path of united struggle. Despite constant appeal they refused to participate jointly in the demonstrations with the Unemployed Councils at the Home Relief Bureau and went out of their way to avoid common action. The last straw in their stack of deliberate division of the movement was the setting of a separate date for the city-wide demonstration to be held at the City Hall against the eviction and relief-slashing orders of Tammany Hall. This anti-working class move was perpetrated with the socialist leaders in full knowledge of the sincere desire of the United Front Conference for one demonstration on June 6th. All the pleas, negotiations committees and reasons were to no avail. The reformists were determined to proceed with their own demonstration on June 6th. Towards this end they sent lying reports to the press accusing the Left wing conference of standing in the way of a united demonstration.

Winters exploded this nonsense, which flew in the face of all the previous facts and explained that when the Right wing unemployed groups were forced into a hole by the protests of their rank and file, they adopted the reactionary excuse offered by the Lovestonites that they were ready for joint action provided there were no political banners at the demonstration. He closed with the statement that the Left wing conference would be present at the demonstration on June 6th with the banners of all organizations carried above the demonstrators.

Then followed a pitiful sight. A delegation of three, the Lovestonite Rubenstein, of the Association of the Unemployed, and two others representing the socialist jobless movements, requested and received the floor to make an appeal for unity. This was granted to them. They only reiterated their abominable conditions for the demonstration: no political banners. The reception accorded to them was cordial but their proposal went against the grain of the militants present.

Characterizing the attitude of the conference towards the "concessions" offered, was a resolution introduced by Amter for the resolutions committee which properly castigated the socialists for their violation of the decisions accepted in the Chicago conference and for their subsequent sabotage. To prevent the Stalinists from retreating from the position of the united front, so painfully acquired, comrade William Kitt of the Alteration Painters' Union, presented an amendment to the resolution calling for another "appeal for united action of all working class organizations and for one powerful demonstration on June 6th and a united delegation." Both the resolution and the amendment were unanimously

accepted by the conference. The proposal to demonstrate on June 6th was also carried. The Delegate from the L. O. Speaks The discussion that followed was of a purely agitational character. It was only when the delegate of the Left Opposition, George Clarke, took the floor that a silence of interest fell over the hall. The delegates were desirous of learning what the Left Opposition had to say and what policies it advocated for the unemployed movement.

He greeted the conference in the name of the Left Opposition stating that if the party continued on the new turn in the united front tactic and if they faithfully adhered to the decisions of the Chicago unemployed conference, new vistas of growth and a powerful impetus could be given not only to the jobless movement but to working class action in general. Comrade Clarke condemned the tactics of the socialists and the Lovestonites which, he declared, would divide the unemployed from the unemployed by excluding trade union bodies—the very thing that has prevented the unemployed movement from attaining any mass dimensions up till now. The exclusion of political organizations, he continued, was a reactionary move worthy of a die-in-the-wool A.F.L. labor skate; the struggle of the unemployed is a political struggle—it confronts the state at every turn and requires the participation of political organizations.

Comrade Clarke criticized Winters' proposals for the formation of local councils—delegated bodies of all working class organizations in the neighborhood—as not being extensive enough. Without the participation of central bodies this

would mean a revision to the old tactic. He concluded his speech with the remarks that after years of blundering by the Stalinists one could not hope to force the sabotaging reformists into the united front over night, that persistent and stubborn efforts were needed and the goal was assured. His speech was greeted with a good round of applause. Comrade Weisbord of the Communist League of Struggle, also spoke along the same lines elaborating on some of the points.

### Minor Intervenes for the Official Party

Then followed the Stalinist barrage—a mountain of confusion. Its mouthpiece was Robert Minor, speaking for the C.E.C. of the Communist Party. He roared that no turn had been made, (in face of the C.I. manifesto, the Chicago events and the repeated appeal to the S.P. central bodies, this sounded extremely ludicrous), the party is still following the lines of the united front from below. He laid down the ultimatum demand—if the socialists won't come along with us then we'll go it alone, for who represents the masses, we or they? In this case why all the desperate efforts for united front conferences and affiliated organizations?

Israel Amter reported for the resolutions committee. He reechoed Minor's ultimatum and said that the Chicago conference of the unemployed did not represent the rank and file of the organizations assembled. Then whom did they speak for, themselves? And upon what authority did they arrive at the important decisions made at that gathering? These questions he quite naturally failed to answer. The whole tone of his report was

# Demonstration Ends in Disunity

(Continued from Page 1)

parade more militantly enthusiastic. The content of the Left Opposition leaflet follows:

### "Relief for the Unemployed"

"Is the pressing task of the entire working class! Only a real United Front of all workers organizations—political parties, trade unions, unemployed councils, mass organizations, benefit societies—can mobilize the power of labor in the urgent struggle to save the homes and feed the families of unemployed workers.

"Not single, planless demonstrations, in the nature of maneuvers by one organization to outwit another, but powerfully planned action under the control and direction of a United Front Conference for Workers' Relief can achieve the common aim—to wring from capitalism adequate relief for unemployed men and women.

"The Communist Left Opposition takes part in this demonstration in the hope that it will be a step forward toward united action. The manner in which the socialist party has attempted to disrupt the unemployment demonstration called for June 10th by the Provisional United Front Committee Against Evictions and Relief Cuts (Left wing) must be condemned openly. The errors of the official Communist party in the Left wing up to now have hindered the organization of a broad, all-inclusive formation of a united front movement on behalf of the unemployed. The decisions of the Chicago Unemployment Conference held in May marked an advance in the direction of a national movement of all workers' organizations, and should be adhered to.

"We propose that the Communist party issue once more the call for the United Front for Workers Relief to all workers organizations—without exception. The socialist

party and its affiliates in particular, must reconsider their refusal thus far to participate in this mandatory action. The socialist workers must exert the utmost pressure on their leaders to bring about serious participation.

"The emergency is great! Act Now! This mass movement and demonstration must be regarded and made a springboard for a more powerful working class movement for the overthrow of capitalism, the only genuine and permanent solution to the scourge of unemployment and misery. Workers, unite your ranks against capitalist misery!

Communist League of America (Left Opposition) New York Branch

If the number on your wrapper is 177 your subscription has expired. If you want to get the Militant promptly every week renew your subscription at once: \$2 per year for fifty two weekly issues; \$1 a half year for twenty six weekly issues.

THE MILITANT 126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C. EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swaback Vol. 6 No. 30 Whole No. 177 Saturday, June 10, 1933 Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

# STRIKES SPREAD IN MANY PARTS OF THE U.S.A.

Workers, organized and unorganized, skilled and unskilled, men, women and children, from the fisheries of the Pacific to the textile factories of New England, from the old established Electrical Workers Union to the unorganized and seemingly unorganizable overall slaves of Lebanon, Mo., have downed tools and fought bitter battles against starvation wages and worsening conditions in the last few weeks. In Allentown, Pa. and the neighboring town of Northampton, women and children struck against starvation wage rates and conditions which beggar description. A number of shops have settled with the strikers with some improvement won. The strike spread to Bangor, Shamokin and Roseto.

750 girls struck three shirt factories in Shamokin. The average wage was \$1 to \$3 a week. 50 cents a week was common. One girl earned \$1.20 in a month of steady work. Electrical workers of Denver, Colo., won their fight against a

# Lovestonites & Socialists Sabotage United Front

that we have endeavored to form the united front with the socialists but they refuse to come along—so, he intimated, we are getting ready to return to the "united front from below." Amter presented a document for the resolutions committee, known as the Workers' Relief Ordinance, which contains various vital demands for the unemployed.

Comrade Kitt made a minority report on the resolutions on the Chicago congress and their application to New York. The resolution omitted mention of the city central bodies that were to be invited to the formation of the federation in New York and called for representation in such a federation on the basis of numerical strength. Comrade Kitt explained that such clauses would give the reformists a loophole to crawl out of the federation and proposed that the unification take place on the same basis as in the Chicago conference. The Stalinists defeated the amendments and consequently assume the responsibility for the restraint the reformist leaders will be able to exert on their followers when this question of unity comes up for consideration.

The six hour day and five day week was another bone of contention at the conference with the Stalinists. Defending the ambiguous slogan of the shorter work week, they claimed that everything else was the stagger system, and in view of the fact that some workers were working as high as seventy hours a week, the slogan of the six hour day was out of the question. The delegates of the Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth brought powerful arguments to bear in favor of the concrete slogan of the six hour day and pointed out that all the conditions were laid for the building of a huge movement around that basis and uniting the unemployed and employed. The Stalinists took fright and accused us of a maneuver to put the party on record against the six hour day slogan and then proceeded to switch the issue with the line that this was only a local and not a national conference, etc., etc., ad nauseam. The six hour day resolution lost—but not because the workers were against it.

### Finally—the Stalinists for Soviet Credits!

A signal victory was won for the Left Opposition at this conference. After three years of persevering struggle the Stalinists accepted the internationalist resolution of the Left Opposition for recognition of and long term credits to the Soviet Union. Not very long ago it was called counter-revolutionary by the Stalinist bureaucrats—at this conference Amter said that "this resolution (on long term credits) needs little explanation. I am sure that everyone is in favor of it." With a few minor changes which in reality make the Stalinist adoption of this resolution more contradictory than ever, the conference went on record unanimously in favor of long term credits to the Soviet Union. The world does move!

By the time it came to the nomination and election of the permanent committee, the hall had dwindled from more than 400 to about one-fourth as many and with the aid of the remaining Stalinist stalwarts, the committee was packed with apparatus trustees. The Mustelites, to be sure, were awarded a place on the committee but the "counter-revolutionary" Left Opposition was debarred.

— G.C.

# P. M. A. Starts National Drive; Left Wing Puts Forward Own Policies

(Continued from Page 1)

should not have left the Lewis union. The Stalinists played an equally miserable role. Only after the union was a reality, after it had fought its first major battles, did the Stalinists stop throwing mud at the union. At no time did they understand the upsurge. At no time did they try to criticize its natural shortcomings politically. Now they are trying to make up for lost time and in their clumsy way, they are blundering as usual. Stalinism stands condemned to a greater degree than the progressive leaders who made serious mistakes in their struggle against Lewis.

We have no time to portion out "justice." The PMA is in a life and death struggle and the Right wing policies must be exposed if it is to live. The Left wing forces must be united. Much has already been said in the columns of *The Militant* about the mistakes of the Right wing and of others. Much more can be said but the main danger now is the danger that the Left wing will not unite. If the Left wing cannot find common minimum demands in action, if they are to remain divided, then the Right wing will continue in its ruinous policy.

There are many progressives who would like to organize a Left wing that excludes the Communists because they think the Right wing may raise a howl and claim that the Communists are trying to capture the union. On the other hand, there are Stalinists who would like to have mechanical control and leadership assured in advance. Both these forces must come to their senses. The militant miners must do all possible to guard against both dangers. No substantial Left wing can be organized without the Communists. No Progressive Miners Union can survive in this period of labor history if the Communists are hunted inside of it like rats, as they are in the unions of the A. F. of L. labor fakers.

The permanent crisis of millions of unemployed, the relief which will pass over to a form of social insurance, the vast army of idle surplus labor that will permanently press down the wage level; the capitalist struggle to maintain a falling rate of profit at the expense of the workers—in short, the Europeanization of the American working class, has already set in. This vast economic change in America and in world capitalism and the new class relationship lie at the bottom of the new period of American labor history. In this, the struggle of the Progressive Miners of America is a prelude to coming storms and battles of the American workers. Trade Unions can no longer stabilize themselves as in the past decades. Reformists must adapt themselves to the new conditions if they desire to serve their masters. But they will not have solid footing. The class struggle of the American proletariat will make life miserable for them.

In this sense, the Right wing policies of the PMA must not be confused with the Right wing of the average A. F. of L. union. There is a distinction, which was not brought about by the leaders. The distinction has been brought about by the different conditions and ability of the leaders to adapt themselves to these conditions. For example, the Gillespie Mass Meeting on Decoration Day heard Flaherty and Percy speak about how the action of the bosses was driving the workers into becoming Reds. Flaherty said that if fighting for the union means being a Red and a Communist then he was a Red. The union under the Right wing leadership is slipping fast. The Right wing knows which way the

wind is blowing and is already adapting itself to the condition with radical phrases. But the time for phrases is past. We need action now, before it is too late. The more advanced element of the Left wing must proceed to organize a Left wing in every local. No political discrimination. They must fight for the following program, which is not the private property of the Left Opposition, but the collective opinion of other forces as well.

The members must fight for rank and file control and in no way must confuse this with the wrong slogan of "rank and file leadership." The Left wing must fight for class struggle policies and against the policies of class collaboration. Every attempt, on any trumped up charge, to expel Left wing militants because they are Communists must be fought by the whole membership.

Mass action must replace the present passive attitude of the union. Mass action as the base of the legal fight of the Taylorville cases, the Webb-Wang case and the Mooney case, etc., must be started at once. Mass picketing must be resumed.

The Union must take up the fight of the unemployed throughout the entire field. The organization of the unemployed in every coal county into unemployed organizations having the backing of the Progressive Miners of America will enable these workers, who are in the main miners, to obtain more relief than they are getting now. This will keep up the fight and strengthen tremendously the struggle against the operators. Some places (Carlinville and Springfield) the Relief Agents are driving thru forced labor for relief. If this is accomplished, the operators will see no need of paying even a five dollar scale.

The struggle for the six hour day and five day week with wage increases must be put forward as a concrete demand of struggle. The struggle for wage increases to meet the inflation prices (30 percent increases in some mining towns already) must be started.

The miners' union has already been very successful in drawing in the women. The Ladies Auxiliary has often been the backbone for some spineless creatures in difficult situations. The union must draw in all the youth in the coal camps who are unemployed, potential miners or potential strike breakers. Their power, added to that of the Ladies Auxiliaries, will increase the fighting capacities of the union.

The talk and action of sending organizers to other fields does not answer the important question of how to spread out nationally. The organizing of the Left wing in the U.M.W.A. in other fields is necessary, but the main thing on the order of the day is the CALLING OF A NATIONAL CONFERENCE. Invite the West Virginia miners, the Nova Scotia miners, the National Miners' Union and all Left wing groups in the U.M.W.A. This is the main task of the PMA. Any play with words and talk of a national organization without this move will play into the hands of the Right wing and eventually, the operators. The Left wing miners should organize their own Left Wing. No one can do this job for them. However, they must not get the opinion that only a coal miner knows anything about tactics for coal miners and only a bricklayer knows anything about tactics for bricklayers, etc. The advice and the help of the whole Left wing must be utilized. The miners' Left wing causes should, however, be for and of miners. We do not need any advice about the danger of outsiders. This is a reactionary slogan. What we need is Left wing action. And the quicker, the better. — HUGO OEHLER

# SOUTH AMERICA GROUPS OF I.L.O. MARK ADVANCE

## CHILI

As has been known for some time, the dissident Communist party, an organization possessing a broad mass influence, has for quite a while taken the road of affiliation with our current. After a prolonged discussion, the plenum of the Central Committee decided in January to declare its solidarity in principle with the Left Opposition International and to propose to the next National Conference, the formal adherence to our international organization.

A telegram addressed to the International Secretariat recently announces its party adherence:

"The congress of the dissident Communist party has decided after ample discussion to adhere officially to the International Left Opposition."

— DEVINE

An article dealing with the progress and development of our section in Chili will appear in a forthcoming issue.

## BRAZIL

Our section in this country is preparing its first national conference. These on the agrarian question, on the national, trade union and Russian questions have been proposed for adoption. The conference will also discuss the resolution on the world situation adopted at our recent international pre-conference.

The Brazilian section is publishing regularly its journal "A Lucha de Classe." The comrades enjoy great influence among the Hungarian and Italian Communist emigration.

The comrades collected six hundred francs for our German brother section—they were among the first sections to respond to the call.

## CUBA

At Havana, Cuba, there has also been formed, inside the official party, a Bolshevik-Leninist opposition. For the present, it is only a small group, which requests us for shipments of literature and connections with the other sections of the International Left Opposition. The group has a platform, on the basis of which it is working and developing itself.

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