

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE NEW PARTY TURN
(Continued from page 1)

rate in a real struggle for the unemployed if they are not even invited to do so? Secondly, the turn of policy is carried out, not in the direct, straightforward manner of Bolsheviks, but in the indirect and shame-faced manner of Stalinists. The party does not proclaim the policy, issue the call and take the lead. That is left to the "Trade Union Committee" controlled by the party. Thirdly, there is no frank acknowledgment of the ruinous errors of the "Third Period"; and no explanations of the reasons for the change. Thus the door is left open for a retreat—also without explanations.

Yet another—and the most dangerous—of all the weaknesses in the new step of the Stalinists has already been pointed out in last week's *Militant*. That is the parliamentary reformist trend of the proposals. The time to warn against such a trend is now. Having concocted their policy of ultra-Left adventurism in an artificial atmosphere of revolutionary upsurge the Stalinists can now be expected to swing to the other extreme and transform the party militants into petitioners for piecemeal reforms. The Amsterdam Congress against War heralded this swing to the right on an international scale. The watering down of policy in every field is on the order of the day. The over-emphasis on purely parliamentary action in the call for the Unemployment Conference becomes all the more menacing in the light of this general shift of policy to the right.

Having failed to conquer American capitalism in frontal attack the Stalinist generals have now given the signal to go after a little at a time; to tone down the talk about the final goal of the struggle. A highly amusing, but none the less significant incident is reported from Des Moines. A functionary, responding to a critical speech by comrade Lewitt, explained that he had been instructed "not to talk about revolution in the West." In this crude remark of the naive field worker is embodied the essence of the new Stalinist strategy: "We couldn't get the workers by command; now let us fool them in." By this maneuver they can fool the workers and themselves into the swamp of reformism, but never into a revolutionary struggle.

The Left Opposition, and only the Left Opposition, can sound the alarm against this element of the new turn in united front policy and lead the struggle against it. But this cannot be done effectively by a negative or standing-aside attitude toward the united front movement. On the contrary. Such an attitude can only alienate the Left Opposition from the Communist workers and doom its criticism to futility. An active participation in the movement, in the work and in the fight is the only way to make the revolutionary influence of the Left Opposition count in the new turn of events.

A NEW FEDERATION OF LABOR?

The Conference of Illinois trade unionists held at Gillespie on December 27th, and the second one scheduled for January 29th—both of them sponsored by the Gillespie Trades and Labor Council and the Progressive Miners of America—are events of exceptional interest to the progressive and revolutionary elements throughout the country. The first conference call proposed to discuss and lay plans for "formulating a Progressive Federation of Labor displacing the old and practically defunct American Federation of Labor." Such a project raises again, and very concretely, a crucial question of tactics, which the Left wing militants must answer realistically and correctly if disastrous errors are to be avoided.

That the coming resurgence of working class militancy, the conditions for which are maturing under the fearful pressure of the crisis, will break out of the formal bounds of the conservative trade union organizations—of this we have not the slightest doubt. That it will result in, or at least make possible, the formation of new, modern organizations on the industrial union basis in various fields is a reasonable calculation. The emergence out of the stormy conflicts of a new trade union center is not excluded; it is rather the most probable prospect. But, assuming all this, it by no means follows that the basis now exists for the formation of such a new trade union center. And, still less does it follow that organizational steps in this direction, at the present time, will facilitate the development of the progressive movement. On the contrary, at the present moment, they can only add another demoralizing failure and place new obstacles in the way of a normal and solidly-grounded development of the new union movement. From this point of view the progressive sentiments and aims of the Illinois militants run the danger of being negated by ill-considered tactics. The moderation of the original project at the December 27th Conference is to be welcomed with the hope that it is to be followed by a still further moderation of tactics on January 29th.

A new trade union center contesting the A. F. of L. for supremacy in the labor movement will very likely make its appearance at a certain stage in

THE MILITANT
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.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
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Arne Swabeck
SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1933
Vol. 6, No. 3 Whole No. 150

the development of the American labor movement towards eventual unity on a class struggle basis. But such a new, central organization cannot be made to order. It cannot come into life at the call of the impatient militaries, of a new isolate unions. A union in one industry alone, or rather in one section of one industry, and with a still problematical stability in that restricted section—as is the case with the Progressive Miners of America—is not a sufficient basis. The addition of a few, or even of all, the progressive labor organizations now existing in isolated localities and trades would not constitute a new trade union center in the real sense of the word. It could only give the deceptive appearance of such a center, tend to isolate the dynamic militant elements from the conservative organizations and arrest the radical ferment within them. Instead of creating a new progressive labor center on a firm basis the premature step now under consideration at Gillespie would retard the development in this direction. Instead of reinforcing the position of the Progressive Miners union the proposed, new venture would undermine it, cut it off arbitrarily from its natural allies, the half-formed progressive movements in the conservative unions, and weaken the prestige and authority of the Progressive Miners organization. The reactionary labor bureaucracy at which the Gillespie enterprise is subjectively aimed will be the real gainers if the original plan to "formulate a New Progressive Federation of Labor" is not radically modified.

The Progressive Miners organization of Illinois enjoys a high respect among the militant and progressive labor elements throughout the country. And justly so. It has won this respect in stirring battles which wrote, and are still writing, bright pages of labor history. It is a militant organization and, despite the weakness and vacillations in its leadership has a profound urge within its rank and file to extend the battle front and to join hands with kindred elements on a national scale. This is the impulse behind the Conference at Gillespie, and it is a fundamentally sound one. Properly directed the Illinois miners movement can become a real influence for the revival of militant labor throughout the country. All the more reason therefore, to guard against the dissipation of this influence in premature and ill-considered ventures which leave the present reality out of account.

According to the report in the "Progressive Miner" the first Conference at Gillespie decided "to continue indefinitely the work of fighting within the American Federation of Labor." From this it is to be inferred that the plan to form an independent labor federation has already been modified to a certain extent, or at least postponed. It is to be hoped that the second Conference on January 29th, will revise the plan fundamentally and take the organization of a new federation off the agenda for the present.

At the present stage of developments a general propaganda movement for a militant program is needed. Such a movement can unite the militant and progressive forces in all the labor organizations, inside as well as outside the A. F. of L., and consolidate their forces for common struggle. The formation of a new, independent labor movement—all intentions to the contrary notwithstanding, would pull these forces apart and weaken the struggle of each.

Pauline Gutringer

Comrade Pauline Gutringer, member of the New York Branch, has passed away. Her activity was in the forefront of the American movement against the capitalists and the revisionists within our ranks. In the Socialist party comrade Gutringer fought with the other Left wingers against the opportunism and revisionism of the socialist "leaders."

The building of the American Communist movement and its Hungarian section had the active support of comrade Gutringer. When the struggle between the Left Opposition and the Right-Centre bloc broke out in the United States comrade Gutringer became a foundation member of the American section of the Left Opposition. In our movement she carried on the same active work she did before in the party. With exemplary courage she sold the *Militant* in Union Square and unflinchingly withstood the physical attacks of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

She was well informed on the international movement, and followed the working class struggle throughout the world as a true revolutionist. Her keen interest in the youth of our movement reflected her understanding of the needs of the American section. The struggle against capitalism gave her strength, but as with most sincere revolutionists the internal struggles left deep marks upon her. None the less she consistently trod the path of the international revolution and Marxian principles.

Let her struggle be a lesson to the comrades of the movement. A worker-fighter whose activity must be carried on and replaced by tens and hundreds of recruits into the ranks of the Left Opposition.

LENIN ISSUE

As announced in the last issue of the *Militant* this issue was to be a combined Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg issue. For technical reasons the material prepared was not ready in time. If possible all of it will appear in the next issue.

Protomagia at United Front Meet

The *Daily Worker* and the *Empros* have lauded the success of the Greek-speaking workers' Unemployed United Front because it succeeded in obtaining \$100,000 from the Charity Fund of the Archbishop. Although we do not disagree with the action of the unemployed in obtaining relief wherever possible, we do disagree with the methods that the Stalinist leadership pursued until last Sunday. Instead of calling a genuine united front in the beginning they confined themselves to a united front only with the Greek Archbishop.

The United Front Committee invited, for the first time since its inception, every Greek organization to participate in the discussion scheduled to take place on Sunday, January 8th. Our Greek workers Club *Protomagia* responded to this call and elected three comrades as delegates, Caldis, Katsikis and Haidous.

The meeting took place at the appointed time and the first speaker to address the gathering was a priest representing the Archbishop. He very consciously exploited the opportunity and used very clever demagogic to strengthen the prestige of the bankrupt clergy. His final words were applauded by many ignorant workers. Comrade Daniels followed him as a reporter of the U. F. Committee and availed himself of the opportunity to attack the archbishop.

His entire remarks were concentrated against the Greek bosses without a single word to be uttered against the native bourgeoisie and the necessity of linking the struggle of the Greek workers with that of the American workers. Then the period of discussion began and the first delegate to speak was our comrade Katsikis who greeted the gathering and emphasized the necessity of linking up the struggle and preventing it from becoming isolated within narrow federationist lines. Many other delegates of party auxiliaries greeted the gathering and then a Stalinist delegate from the Food Workers Industrial Union had the audacity to attack the members of *Protomagia* as people that only contribute criticism and that those who are active, are always liable to commit mistakes.

Comrade Caldis addressed the meeting and told the Stalinists that on such occasions as this, the workers in reviewing their activities propose certain things and in general do not confine themselves to pious wishes but offer some healthy criticism for the benefit of the struggle. Also he emphasized the necessity of linking the struggle of the Greek workers with those of the native workers and of classifying the Greek bosses as American exploiters. He criticized the Stalinists for their statements that the struggle is not political and pointed out that the charity methods are very opportunistic. He demanded representation of the *Protomagia* in the United Front Committee in order that its members might serve effectively in the Unemployment drive. To this demand the Stalinist chairman answered that at the 12th of February Conference of the U. F. C. a proportional representation would be given to all organizations.

The *Empros* delegate told the comrades that the *Empros* did not receive the reports of the Committee in time and that the next issue would surely print enough. He hinted that the delegates of *Protomagia* came here not to participate in any of the activities but just to disrupt. Our next delegate, comrade Haidous, answered sharply that "we are here as revolutionists to do our work with all the class conscious workers and it's up to all of you present to judge for yourselves who we are in the field of the class struggle." A prejudiced worker shouted that "we have only one workers' club"; to this worker comrade Haidous very correctly answered that at present the time is not proper to discuss the reasons of this dual club existence but declared that *Protomagia* is an educational club and was founded to fill the gap that the *Spartacus* left open for reasons that we can discuss on another occasion.

Then comrade Daniels summed up and forgot everything about the class enemies and merely concentrated his attacks against the Left Opposition of Greece that "kills workers and acts as stool pigeons for the police." Also he tried to develop a lynching spirit against the American Oppositionists who "killed two workers" on the corner of 7th and Ave. A. The workers remained silent and after the meeting were very anxious to know the reason for these attacks by the Stalinists. We told them that they heard enough about the Food Workers Industrial Union, how militant it is. And therefore, as food workers, they should join the Union and find out for themselves who are these "counter-revolutionists" and Trotskyists. Many Communist sympathizers expressed the wish that we should unite again in the ranks of the *Spartacus* Club and to this comrade Repanis shouted, "I am the treasurer of the club and all its funds are at the disposal of the *Spartacus* Club. We will be very glad to dispense with our organization. It is up to you workers to fight militantly for the unification of our forces."

The *Daily Worker* pretends to show that the Greek Club, *Protomagia*, which participated in the united front conference of the unemployed on January 8th is a fake club, and was used by the Trotskyites in order to appear as delegates.

The fact of the matter is that the members of *Protomagia* are bona fide trade union members. Many of them have long party membership prior to their adherence to the views of the Left Opposition. This fact is well-known, especially to those workers who participated in the above mentioned gathering. If it was otherwise, as the *Daily Worker*

pretends, the Greek Stalinists would never have given the floor to our comrades.

The effect of the healthy criticism of our comrades is proved beyond any doubt by the apologies of the editorial board of *Empros*, of January 14th, in which they try to place the blame for their shameful co-operation with the Greek cardinal on the shoulders of the comrades assigned to the united front committee. The truth of the matter is that these very same mercenaries of the editorial board were personally directing these ultra-right wing methods of co-operation with the Greek archbishop, and, thereby strengthened with their action the prejudices of the ignorant workers.

Japs in Jehol

(Continued from page 1)

When the time comes they will pass over from the realm of words. Already we hear the music of the future. Secretary of State, Stimson in his statement to Congress on the question of Philippine independence, on Jan. 16th said, regarding the situation that might ensue if the Philippines were freed, "Such a situation might be an irreparable blow to American influence at a time when the state of affairs in the Far East is chaotic, when every element of stability is threatened and when may come out of the Orient one of these historic moments which might disturb the whole earth." Stripped of the diplomatic verbiage the meaning of this statement is clear as day. The danger of war stands in close proximity.

But parallel with the danger of a world conflagration rises the possibility of a bloody assault upon the Soviet Union. For, however, rich and desirable the Chinese market is to the imperialist bandits their interests would be better served by an attack upon the workers' fatherland than by tearing one other's throats over their booty.

The Japanese militarists have many times tried to provoke the Soviet Union. In the last issue of the *Militant* we recounted their hostile acts. They are enraged over Russia's refusal to recognize the puppet state of Manchukuo and her resumption of diplomatic relations with China. They want to force the Soviet Union to act according to the standards of capitalist greed. But the Soviet Union has no imperialist axe to grind. Its interests are the interests of the international proletariat and conversely. The present actions of Japan and the other capitalist powers must alarm the working class to the growing danger of another world war. Not only does an imperialist war become a present danger but a united attack upon the Soviet Union is threatened.

After four years of misery and privation for the working class the imperialists are preparing a huge blood bath for them to drown their sorrows in. To these preparations, intrigues, and the like the working class must be ready to answer with the only answer at their disposal, the transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

—GEO. CLARKE.

BOUND VOLUMES

We want to remind our readers that the Bound Volumes of the *Militant*—both formats—are still available at \$5 for the new format (recent issues); and \$10 for the old format. Lack of space compels us to omit the usual ad.

The Program of the U. W. P.

Proletarian Party Offshoot Elaborates Opportunist Program

The United Workers Party, an offshoot of the disintegrated Proletarian Party Opposition has at last given birth to an eight-point program. Within the program there are many correct sentences and ideas but considered as a whole it is a miserable failure at an attempt to formulate a program. Where Marxism ideas are presented they are negated by other ideas within the very same paragraph. To the readers of the *Militant* it will be sufficient to give the essence of the "program" with a short comment to show its fallacy.

1. The U. W. P. takes the stand that:

"The crisis is permanent." "We are living in a period of permanent crisis; capitalism throughout the world is collapsing." "—no factors are operating to help capitalism overcome its present crisis." This would be a hopeless situation for capitalism and we know there are no absolutely hopeless situations for the exploiters. The program fails to take into consideration the relation between the present decay stage of capitalism and the ebbs and flows within this period. The program lumps these two relations together which results in confusion and contradictions.

2. The program correctly tells us that:

"The only revolutionary class is the proletariat." The program says the U. W. P. will not "make concessions to the agrarian and petit-bourgeois class" but "we will cooperate with any group or organization for the purpose of sharpening and deepening the class struggle." If they mean concessions from the standpoint of principles we can agree but concessions to allies (Negro share croppers, etc., etc.) in our united effort to overthrow American imperialism, under the leadership of the workers and their party which retains its organizational independence in such united action, is essential. A program that does not distinguish between these two different kinds of concessions means that its writers have learned little from the Russian revolution and what has followed as well as what went before.

3. The section dealing with industry has some correct points but repeats in different words the formula dealing with the crisis: "that no factors are operating to help capitalism overcome its present crisis."

4. The section dealing with unions leaves out most of the important factors of present day relations between the existing unions and the task of building new industrial unions. On unions, they say the following: "In the period of ascendancy of capitalism these organizations could succeed in obtaining results; but in the period of decline, no concessions can possibly be gotten." A pamphlet could be written explaining the fallacy of this position and the harm it can do to the class if accepted. Capitalism will grant concessions to unions as the pressure of the working class upon it increases.

5. The section dealing with unemployment errs mainly in omission, because, after all is said and done, nothing vital for the class has been said. No program, no tactics and no line of march for the class. The U. W. P. has been very active in the day-to-day work and for immediate relief but its program cannot be considered Communist. The needs of the class on the one hand and the limited "program" of the U. W. P. as applied in the Workers' Councils on the other hand, condemns these Communists in advance.

6. In speaking of the farmers the program says: "Although the farmers may at times become rebellious, due to the aggravated condition brought about by the agrarian crisis, their outlook and objective are always reactionary." Again the U. W. P. does not understand how objective conditions force other classes to march parallel to the line of march of the proletariat toward the overthrow of capitalism. It is necessary to utilize this "reactionary" force of poor and middle farmers as allies in the struggle. To dismiss them as reactionary is false.

7. This political party says the following about revolutionists participating in parliaments: "In this period of permanent crisis in America the tempo of collapse of capitalism does not permit the working class to waste time or energy in parliamentary participation." This is false in general and equally false in the present period. The masses are moving to the left but the overwhelming bulk is not yet disillusioned with reform, and particularly its parliamentary form. It would be well for the U. W. P. workers to read Lenin's "Infantile Silliness."

8. On the question of the International, which is the determining factor and the central point of every program the U. W. P. founders and falls into the swamp of national reformism.

The position of the USSR and the Third International are such that any Right wing socialist could endorse it in substance. They conclude this section with the following words: "The U. W. P. appreciates the progress made by the Russian Revolution, and the subsequent industrial development, but it remains critical of the Third International thrown lopsided by these special conditions. We look upon the working class movement as being international in substance and national in form. We are committed to the policy of forming the national movement to a position which will conform with what the international movement should be."

They will leave the Third International and its factions to themselves and yet they are Communist "internationalists." They appreciate the progress of the industrial development in the Soviet Union but will leave it to itself—until a revolution in another advanced country comes to its aid. Will they construct a national "international" movement? They use the concepts of the Communist Manifesto not for the purpose of helping correct the International and take themselves a more active part in the struggle within it; but in order to evade and avoid the whole struggle raging in the Communist International due to the Stalinist straight-jacket and revisionist program. They claim to be the party of the working class, the Marxian vanguard, and excuse their backwardness by turning upside down a phrase in the Manifesto. This phrase explains how the working class movement is, at first, national in form, though international in substance—a condition the vanguard must help overcome—and not use to hide, its weakness and impotence. The "international" position of the U. W. P. is national reformism.

We advise the members of the U. W. P. to study the struggle in the Communist International and discuss this with the members of the Communist League of America (Opposition) which is a faction of the Communist Party.

—H. O.

Pioneer Publishing Fund

Two weeks ago we published a letter from comrade D. Marcus asking the friends of the League to come to its support by donating and lending money to Pioneer Publishers Publishing Fund. Comrade Marcus explained, as we had done before, that this fund was to be used exclusively for the publication of our literature. And to set an example to the entire movement he raised twenty-five dollars as a loan.

That was the beginning. As the first result we got our Unemployment and the American Working Class by comrade Swabeck in record time. Now we are ready to go ahead. We have plenty of manuscripts on hand. There is the all-important work by comrade Trotsky on Soviet Economy in Danger with which we will publish, as one pamphlet, his analysis of the Expulsion of Zinoviev. There is also the second in our series of popular Marxist pamphlets for workers: The Left Opposition of the Comintern; Its History and Its Principles by comrade Shachtman. There are also The Only Road by comrade Trotsky and the

urgent necessity of reprinting, without delay, The Draft Program. The necessity for getting out the last listed is obvious.

We want to go ahead. Everything is ready. We need money. We are not asking for tremendous sums. The example set by comrade Marcus is correct in its amount, too. Now who will duplicate it?

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE WORKING CLASS

It is out! The details of selling price, etc. appear in the ad, elsewhere in this issue. This is the beginning of new things for the Left Opposition in the United States and Canada. With these cheap pamphlets (we are speaking, also, of those that are to come) we are able to reach hundreds and thousands of workers inaccessible to us before. Who is not interested in the question of unemployment? Certainly there is no worker living in a world apart. And where is there a worker who cannot afford five cents for a bit of Marxist education? The publication of this pamphlet opens

up new propaganda possibilities for us. Five pamphlets are only twenty-five cents. At no time should a member or sympathizer of the League be without five of these pamphlets in his or her pocket. If you cannot sell them, give them away to workers!

Let's make this pamphlet the signal for a new spurt of propaganda activity. Why see how easy it is! Everything about the pamphlet conduces to this end. Its price, its size, the number of pages, the style in which it is written: all these make it ideal for this purpose.

SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER AND THE EXPULSION OF ZINOVIEV

This will be the next pamphlet. Just as we were going to press comrade Marcus walked in here and put down twenty more dollars on our desk as another loan. He said he raised it on the basis of the immediate necessity of throwing the light of Marxist illumination on the present crisis in Soviet Economy.

Work will start immediately. In two or three weeks, at the utmost, the pamphlet will be off the press. That, of course, depends to a large extent on whether our other friends take a cue from comrade Marcus and duplicate his splendid work. Of one thing we can be sure. Twenty dollars will not suffice to publish the pamphlet. If that were all that were required it would be possible to turn out pamphlets much more quickly and without performing the miracles which are sometimes necessary. So let's see what can be done.

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