

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



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Problems of the United Front THE JOBLESS MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The condition of the millions of unemployed in the United States is more miserable and critical than ever before. Such resources as they may have had themselves or through friends, relatives, etc., are wholly exhausted. Dependence upon organs of charity and governmental assistance is greater than at any time hitherto. Yet at this moment, governmental relief of the cities and other agencies is being either sharply or entirely cut in numerous communities, such as New York. The "New Deal" of the Roosevelt administration has failed thus far to touch to any noticeable degree the millions of the unemployed. All these factors tend to give a strong impetus to the growth of a militant and broad movement on behalf of the unemployed.

Of a positive and beneficial character is the growth of tendencies which aim for a merging of the various unemployed movements into a single, national organization on a united front basis. But as a consequence, in part, of this forward direction, resulting essentially from the objective conditions and demands of the unemployed, other questions have again come sharply to the front. These questions must be decisively resolved soon; they involve the growth or check-up of the unemployment movement, and particularly its development in a class conscious direction.

The numerous conferences of the unemployed, especially the Conference held recently in Chicago which brought together various political tendencies, reveal that certain basic requirements still confront the movement on behalf of the unemployed. Some of the more important ones are:

Basic Requirements

1. Working out ways and means for cooperation and joint action of the employed and unemployed.
2. Drawing the trade and labor unions, particularly of the American Federation of Labor, into the movement of the unemployed, for reciprocal results and benefits.
3. Developing a political consciousness among the mass of workers, in this instance, the movement of the unemployed.

Various movements of the unemployed arose in the past years in the hope that through mass pressure and organization, the miserable lot of the unemployed millions can be partially alleviated. These are necessary and immediate objectives that must be sincerely and militantly fought for by all forces taking part in the unemployed movement. For Communists, this is elemental, or ought to be. As in other fields of daily class struggle, so in the unemployed movement, we put forward immediate demands in themselves of greater or lesser importance. These have been more or less accurately worked out and need no repetition here. We present immediate demands because as living and not sterile revolutionaries, we fight for the interests of the workers today. At the same time we set forth our ultimate program for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by the rule of the working class.

But, if we forget for one instant our basic class approach, namely, our need and task to revolutionize the workers; if we allow ourselves to get lost in a maze of immediate demands and become absorbed, however militantly, solely in the struggle for these demands, little or nothing will be gained for the working class. What we reap will be illusions among the workers, the growth of opportunism and the chance for opportunist and fakery to deceive the workers. In short, it will be

a case of "sowing dragons' teeth and reaping flies." Today, very clearly and sharply, opportunistic and even reactionary views are being put forth in the movement of the unemployed, not alone by the known labor fakery of the A. F. of L. and the charlatans of the socialist party—from them that is to be expected—but also among so-called Communist elements. We cannot here deal with them all; we take only those concepts brought out by the representatives of the Lovestone, Right wing Communist, group.

Movements of the unemployed have been organized in a large measure through the instrumentality of various political parties and tendencies in the labor movement; among these are the official Communist party (Stalinists), the Socialist Party, the CPLA (Mustelites), Lovestone (Right Communist Opposition) and others.

These movements of the unemployed take, or should take on, the organizational expression of the united front of all organizations ready to take part in the movement of the unemployed. A correct objective must be the merging of the now existing various unemployed movements into a single and broad United Front on a national scale. For the immediate demands themselves of the unemployed movement can be fought for successfully only on a planned, national scale. Such a united front must work out a common, minimum program of action (immediate demands) which binds all those adhering to the movement, to work for its achievement, irrespective of other political, economic, racial, etc., differences that exist in the movement. This should be accepted as elemental.

The False Views of the Lovestonites
But what does not appear to be accepted as elemental is what should make up the constituent parts of

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

Gillespie, Ill.—The class collaboration policies of the Right wing of the Progressive Miners of America has been weakening the union in its struggle against the operators and their agents. The red baiting campaign of the operators aiming to divide and weaken the union forces, has been picked up by the Right wing element and is now being followed up in an attempt in the Springfield district to expel left wingers. The first three slated to go are Joe Angelo, Freeman Thompson and Voicy.

In the period of formation of the P.M.A. special provisions were made to admit into the progressive union all militants expelled by the Lewis - Fishwick - Walker group. Workers who were the first to lead the struggle against Lewis and company and who laid the groundwork upon which the P.M.A. was built. Now, President Peary does not remember or is trying to forget these provisions. The Right wingers tell these militants to first get a job and then they will obtain a card. However, all are members of the union and have been functioning for months. Further, one cannot get a job in the mines unless he has a union card. Perhaps Peary wants them to get a job in the scab mines?

The Left wing is organizing to smash this attempt to exclude and expel the most militant element in the P.M.A.

The need of an organized Left wing in every local of the P.M.A. to fight for a program of class struggle and against the policy of shift to the right and the policy of class collaboration, as pointed out for months in the Militant, is now a living reality in the coal fields. The Stalinists are trying to catch up with events in Illinois.

After the National Miners Union (Continued on Page 2)

LEON TROTSKY Lessons of May Day in Austria

(REFLECTIONS FROM AFAR)

On the First of May the workers of Vienna showed that in spite of all deception, treachery and disappointment, they do want to fight. Once again it became apparent how easily the bureaucrats and semi-bureaucrats, the official ones as well as those of the half-hearted opposition, disguise their own lack of decision as a "depressed sentiment" among the masses. The workers want to fight. This is the most important conclusion from which we must proceed.

The First of May policy of the social democratic party consisted in creating for itself an alibi: before the government, in case the masses entered into struggle and suffered defeat, before the masses, in case the masses entered into struggle and achieved a victory. It is hard to conceive of a more disloyal and outrageous policy. It is disloyal because it leaves the masses with the illusion that they have a party and a leadership. It is outrageous because, in their most difficult hour, it leaves the masses which are accustomed to a centralized leadership, to seek a way out on their own hook.

The policy of the social democratic party excludes the possibility of a victory of the proletariat. At the same time, it excludes the possibility of any kind of stabilized regime. The proletariat will remain in a condition of excitement and of hope for a revolutionary solution. The bourgeoisie lives in constant dread of civil war. The military-police measures reveal their unreliability more and more every day. The petty bourgeois masses are becoming more and more nervous. The big bourgeoisie is becoming more and more convinced that without the dictatorship of Fascism it will not be able to maintain its order. In this way, the social democracy paralyzes the proletariat with its doubly disloyal, treacherous and cowardly policy and pours grist to the mill of Fascism.

The semi-opportunists of the type of Max Adler (can Otto Bauer still be counted among them?) cover up and protect this policy of disloyalty "from the Left." Among the working masses there still glows the hope that everything will be made good again from above, that the opposition will soon decide to point out the way of struggle. In this manner, irretrievable weeks and months are lost.

The Left wing of the social democratic opposition made the first attempt to act when it called upon the masses to demonstrate in the center of the city. The call had no effect. It could not have any effect, because leadership cannot come from an anonymous organization. The workers want to know with whom they are dealing. It is not, naturally, a question of persons, but of the banner, the program, the slogan, the organization. Several Left social democrats who want to fight, are perplexed because they have no "names." The name is created in the course of the struggle. As long as the Left social democrats do not come out with a platform of struggle, their calls will get no echo.

The Communist party is paralyzed by the criminal policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany, by the theory and practice of social Fascism, the hopeless muddle in the question of the united front, the regime of simulation and falsehoods.

The Bolshevik-Leninists must look for connections with the genuine revolutionary elements in the Communist party and the social democratic opposition. It is not true that everything is lost in Austria. Great shake-ups, transformations in the masses are still possible. A small organization which knows what it wants can play an historical role under such circumstances.

— LEON TROTSKY
Prnkipo, May 7, 1933

«Young Spartacus» Out

The June issue of Young Spartacus is off the press and ready for sale. Featuring National Youth Day, it contains the International Left Opposition's statement to the Youth Anti-Fascist Congress at Copenhagen. This is a powerful document which should be seriously studied by both youth and adult comrades. It should add in clarifying the question of the relation between the general class movement and the youth. Among the other articles are those on Germany, unemployment, reforestation, and working class youth struggles in the Trenton and New York Doll industry.

'New Deal' Fakers Push Inquiry into Bankers' Deals

The puppets of Wall Street on Capitol Hill are "investigating" the House of Morgan. A sop to the petty bourgeoisie and a sham in its aims, the Senate Banking Committee has disclosed banking evidence on the tentacles of control of J. P. Morgan and Co., which reach out into every pore of the financial, industrial and political life of American capitalism.

The revelations of the investigation are vindication of the contention of the Marxians propounded decades ago. Finance capital wields its control over the banking institutions of the nation through a meshwork of interlocking directorates which cunningly evade all laws aimed at them by the trust-busting middle class. The trustified industries, with few exceptions, are either indebted to or outrightly owned, thus stock control by the Morgan trust. The Morgan institution dominates through its financial influence a huge section of the American industrial life.

But J. P. Morgan does not trust to his outright or partial control to assure his dominating influence. Nor does he depend upon abstract government for indirect methods to keep the government, both major political parties, subservient to his interests and needs. Practically half of the national committee of the Republican party, including Edward T. Hickey, financial adviser to Herbert Hoover for more than ten years, and the chairman of this committee, John R. Nutt, are personal beneficiaries of Morgan's benevolence. The same goes equally for the Democratic party, whose external chairman, Raskob, and the present Roosevelt administration, through the medium of the secretary of the treasury, Woodin, have received "gifts" from the House of Morgan which discriminates against no one in the major party set-ups.

Letters from the above-named individuals, disclosed at the investigation, (Continued on Page 4)

Nazis, Poles Plot Attack on USSR

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

From Paris comes the alarming news of a Hitler-Pilsudski plot against the Soviet Union. J. Sauerwein, Foreign editor of the Paris Matin, reveals the whole machination in a wire to the New York Times of June 1.

French authorities made the news public in an effort to hold Poland and the Little Entente in line, a task which has become increasingly difficult for Qui D'Orsay diplomacy due to the rigors of the world-wide economic crisis. The Polish move in support of the conspiracy, originally concocted by Nazi statesmen, is interpreted as an attempt to counteract the Four Power Pact plans of France, which have met with resistance from Warsaw due to provisions for rearmament made for former Central Power nations, which the Pilsudski regime fears.

Sauerwein writes: "The idea of the Nazi scheme, as the French understand it, is that Poland would make a big territorial concession to Germany in the Polish corridor and receive as compensation territory in Soviet Ukraine in the direction of the Black Sea. It is a German idea. Marshal Pilsudski has had his eye on the Ukraine ever since he fought the Russians there in 1920."

From the report, which Monsieur Sauerwein says, the French consider reliable and which they obtained from "secret sources," one thing stands out most clearly. Namely, that on every side of the European diplomatic game the way out is seen—in an attack against

Soviet Russia and in its subsequent colonization.

Furthermore, in this attack, Hitler is indubitably to be the spearhead. The French merely want to contract him for the job under the conditions of the Four Power Pact, with Poland as a subsidiary. Poland itself wrangles for a more prominent place.

That the French are losing their grip somewhat is apparent. With Mussolini to the South and Hitler to the East of them, loss of control over Poland and the Little Entente would seriously weaken them. That is why they hold on so desperately.

Hitler, on the other hand, would like nothing better than to air himself for the French by a grand alliance with the other notorious adventurer of Eastern Europe, Pilsudski. In this he no doubt hopes for Washington's blessing. The Roosevelt "peace message," which the Nazi chancellor was only too ready to welcome in his last Reichstag address, leaves ample room for such an aspiration.

The first step in its fulfillment is clear — the Nazi-Polish alliance against the USSR. What else has Hitler to offer Pilsudski? On what other grounds can Pilsudski meet Hitler?

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

To put confidence in the imperialist contradictions alone, as the present regime in the Soviet Union does, means to go to the slaughter blindfolded.

The Western powers are heading for an intervention agreement. Japan, in the Far East, is making ready for collusion in the attack by the seizure of the Chinese Eastern, by the setting-up of a new North China vassal state, by the conclusion of a binding truce with the lackeys of the Kuomintang.

From all sides, imperialist ambassadors lurk ahead for the fortress of the world revolution.

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

Stalinism has betrayed the Chinese proletariat and helped into power the Kuomintang bandits, who have sold out to the Japanese aggressor.

Stalinism has betrayed the German working class by a senseless, unrealistic policy which has played into the hands of Fascism.

To what end? So that socialism might be built in one country—in Russia? Where has this wise, "practical policy," which has "comprised" with Chiang Kai Shek and alienated the bulk of the reformist working class of the world, led to?

It must be plainly said: It has led to the isolation of the revolutionary fatherland. It has laid it open to attack from without by opportunist compromises directed against the world revolution! (Continued on Page 4)

Stalinist Diplomacy Leaves Trail of Treachery for International Proletariat

The opportunist theory of socialism in one country is showing its fruits. A correct revolutionary, Marxist Russian Foreign Policy, based upon the theory of the permanent revolution, would have seen its chief tasks in the problems of the Chinese, the German, the world revolution. Of greatest importance was the Comintern as the instrument of world revolution. To its interests, diplomacy, which only has a technical significance, should have been subordinated.

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

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

the USSR and the Comintern. They stand in opposition to it and fill the jails and places of deportation in the state for which they have fought. Bureaucrats who have arisen on the basis of the reactionary theory of socialism in one country, which stands in contradiction to objective reality, decide the policies.

Nationalist Foreign Policy—A Logical Consequence

Soviet diplomacy has rid itself of all control by the Comintern and made an opportunist practice out of a juridical fiction in the Soviet constitution. If Russia alone could build up socialism, it had to conduct a nationalist foreign policy; the Comintern had to become a negligible factor whose interests had to be subordinated to diplomacy. Then non-aggression pacts, participation in the Kellogg Peace Pact, struggle for the international parliament "as the only means of

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the present basis of American agriculture is unstable and cannot be maintained for very many years longer, as is shown by the permanent crisis which has corroded American agriculture ever since 1920, and even during the years of a stabilization and "prosperity." Overextension, excessive productive capacity, low prices in relation to manufactured goods, a low rate of profit, severe competition with new countries like Canada, Argentina.

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New York Branch to Hold Picnic for Benefit of Press & Illinois Campaign

On Sunday, June 11, 1933, the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will hold its first picnic of the season at Tibbetts Brook Park (Picnic ground to be announced later in the Militant). The picnic, apart from the good time assured for all who attend, has the necessary and excellent objective of raising money to maintain the weekly Militant and to assist in the work of the Left Opposition among the Illinois coal miners.

To this picnic have also been invited the members and sympathizers of nearby Branches of the Communist League. Special invitations have been extended to the Newark and Philadelphia branches. The picnic committee is already on the job with preparations for fun and good food.

To get to Tibbetts Brook Park from New York City: Take the I. R. T. Woodlawn-Jerome Ave. train to the Woodlawn station—the last stop. From there take a

McLean Ave. trolley to Tibbetts Brook Park.
Comrades and sympathizers: Reserve SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1933 for an all day frolic at Tibbetts Brook Park

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC

— at —

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

Games - Refreshments - Speakers
Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)
(DIRECTIONS: From New York City — Take I.R.T. Woodlawn-Jerome Avenue Subway to Woodlawn Station — last stop. From there take McLean Ave. car to Tibbetts Brook Park.)