WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

EMILITANT

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Problems of the United Front THE JOBLESS MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The condition of the millions of a case of "sowing dragons' teeth unemployed in the United States is and reaping flies." more miserable and critical than Today, very clearly and sharply, ration policies of the Right wing ever before. Such resources as they opportunistic and even reactionary of the Progressive Miners of Amerimay have had themselves or through views are being put forth in the ca has been weakening the union friends, relatives, etc., are wholly movement of the unemployed, not in its struggle against the operaexhausted. Dependance upon organs alone by the known labor fakers tors and their agents. The red of charity and governmental assis- of the A. F. of L. and the charla- baiting campaign of the operators tance is greater than at any time tans of the socialist party-from aiming to divide and weaken the hitherto. Yet at this moment, gov- them that is to be expected-but union forces, has been picked up ernmental relief of the cities and also among so-called Communist by the Right wing element and is night. Once again it became an industrial and political other agencies is being either elements. We cannot here deal with now being followed up in an atsharply or entirely cut in numerous them all; we take only those con-tempt in the Springfield subcommunities, such as New York. cepts brought out by the represendistrict to expel about three dozen The "New Deal" of the Roosevelt tatives of the Lovestone, Right militant Left wingers. The first administration has failed thus far wing Communist, group. to touch to any noticeable degree th misery involving the unemployed have been organized in a large millions. All these factors tend today, as much or more than hitherto, lity of various political parties and to give a strong impetus to the growth of a militant and broad movement on behalf of the unem-

acter is the growth of tendencies Opposition) and others. which aim for a merging of the various unemployed movements into ployed take, or should take on, the class conscious direction.

unemployed, especially the Confer- action (immediate demands) which ence held recently in Chicago which binds all those adhering to the brought together various political movement, to work for its achievetendencies, reveal that certain basic ment, irrespective of other political, requirements still confront the economic, racial, etc., differences movement on behalf of the unem- that exist in the movement. This ployed. Some of the more impor- should be accepted as elemental. tant ones are:

Basic Requirements

for cooperation and joint action of

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

3. Developing a political con-ticularly in recent months, there, The importance of this spontasciousness among the mass of work- has been a great increase in the neons revolt of the agrarian bourers, in this instance, the movement aggressiveness of the American geoisic and petty bourgeoisic must of the unemployed.

Various movements of the unemployed arose in the past years forms of this activity have been workers' struggles and particularly cover up and protect this policy of in the hope that through mass varied—strikes, farm holidays, re- with the revolutionary direction of disloyalty "from the Left." Among pressure and organization, the sistance to attempts to foreclose these struggles. From the peasant the working masses there still miserable lot of the unemployed mortgages, in such widely-scattered revolt or "jacqueries" of France of glows the hope that everything will millions can be partially alleviated. areas as New York, Wisconsin and the ancien regime, through the be made good again from above, These are necessary and immedi- Nebraska. Can we look upon these peasant movements of nineteenth- that the opposition will soon decide ate objectives that must be sincerely struggles as having revolutionary century Europe, the independent to point out the way of struggle. and militantly fought for by all significance? forces taking part in the unemployed movement. For Communists, divided into three classes: the at times were in conflict with the this is elemental, or ought to be. large capitalist farmer, owning revolution, and up to the present democratic opposition made the As in other fields of daily class several hundred to several thous- time in the Western provinces of first attempt to act when it called struggle, so in the unemployed and acres, regularly exploiting la- China where the famous Chinese upon the masses to demonstrate in greater or lesser importance. These (20 to 80 hectares), using little or the experience of independent ag- any effect, because leadership canhave been more or less accurately occasional hired labor; and the rarian revolts without the leader- not come from an anonymous orworked out and need no repetition small farmer, comparable to the ship of the only revolutionary class, ganization. The workers want to here. We present immediate de- European peasant, the tenant far- the proletariat. mands because as living and not mer and the share-cropper. sterile revolutionaries, we fight for The middle and to some extent, ultimate program for the abolition strikes and the militant actions

nothing will be gained for the work- from the nearby cities. sions among the workers, the growth spontaneous, although the Commuof opportunism and the chance for nist party and other labor organiopportunists and fakers to deceive zations have tried to give direction the workers. In short, it will be to this elemental movement in an

Movements of the unemployed measure through the instrumentatendencies in the labor movement: among these are the official Communist party (Stalinists), the Socialist Party, the CPLA (Muste-Of a positive and beneficial char-ites), Lovestone (Right Communist

These movements of the unema single, national organization on organizational expression of the a united front basis. But as a united front of all organizations get a job and then they will ob- disloyal and outrageous policy. It to assure his dominating influence. consequence, in part, of this for- ready to take part in the movement ward direction, resulting essentially of the unemployed. A correct obfrom the objective conditions and jective must be the merging of the demands of the unemployed, other now existing various unemployed questions have again come sharply movements into a single and broad to the front. These questions must United Front on a national scale. be decisively revolved soon; they For the immediate demands theminvolve the growth or crack-up of selves of the unemployed movement the unemployment movement, and can be fought for successfully only particularly its development in a on a planned, national scale. Such a united front must work out a the PMA. The numerous conferences of the common, minimum program of

The False Views of the Lovestonites But what does not appear to be accepted as elemental is who shall 1. Working out ways and means make up the constituent parts of (Continued on Page 4)

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

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

Gillespie, Ill.-The class collabothree slated to go are Joe Angelo, Freeman Thompson and Voizy. In the period of formation of

the PMA, special provisions were made to admit into the progressive union all miltants expelled by the Lewis - Fishwick - Walker group. a job in the scab mines?

The Left wing is organizing to on their own book. smash this attempt to exclude and expel the most militant element in

right and the policy of class collain the Militant, is now a living reality in the coal fields. The Stalinites are trying to catch up with events in Illinois. After the National Miners Union

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LEON TROTSKY Lessons of May Day in

Austria

(REFLECTIONS FROM AFAR) tight. Once again it became ap- life of American capitalism. parent how easily all the bureaucrats and semi-bureaucrats, the official ones as well as those of the This is the most important conclusion from which we must proceed.

built. Now, President Pearcy does suffered defeat; before the masses, its financial affluence a huge section in support of the conspiracy, orinot remember or is trying to for- in case the masses entered into of the American industrial life. get these provisions. The Right struggle and achieved a victory. But J. P. Morgan does not trust is interpreted as an attempt to his outright or partial control is interpreted as an attempt to his outright or partial control counteract the Four Power Pact is interpreted. get a job and then they will obtain a card. However, all are members of the union and have been functioning for months. Further, have a party and a leadership. It have a party and a leadership have a party and a leadership. It have a party and a leadership have a party and a leadership. It have a party and a leadership have a party and a leadership. It have a party and a leadership have a party and a leadership have a party and a leadership. It have a party and a leadership h one cannot get a job in the mines is outrageous because, in their most parties, subservient to his interests which the Pilsudsky regime fears. unless he has a union card. Per- difficult hour, it leaves the masses and needs. Practically half of the Sauerwein writes: haps Pearcy wants them to get which are accustomed to a central-national committee of the Repubized leadership, to seek a way out lican party, including Edward T. the French understand it, is that Roosevelt "peace message," which

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

The semi- oppositionists of the farmers in their efforts to throw not be overestimated, so long as it type of Max Adler (can Otto Bauer off the burden of the crisis. The is but little bound up with the still be counted among them?)

> The Left wing of the social know with whom they are dealing.

It is not, naturally, a question of These revolts are not directed persons, but of the banner, the pro-Several Left social democrats who sults of that system: super-exploi- want to fight, are perplexed because

The Communist party is paralexisting system, not to destroy the of social Fascism, the hopeless one on its ruins. Even the agrarian front, the regime of simulation and

The Bolshevik-Leninists must look the statement; "The ever increasing for connections with the genuine radicalization of the workers," the revolutionary elements in the Communist party and the social demo- keep away from any demonstration cratic opposition. It is not true or movement launched by the C. P. New York Branch to Hold Picnic for that everything is lost in Austria. Great shake-ups, transformations in what it wants can play an historical role under such circumstances

- LEON TROTSKY Prnkipo, May 7, 1933

«Young Spartacus» Out

cus is off the press and ready for their line. sale. Featuring National Youth Day, it contains the International was here, he introduced the theory among the Illinois coal miners. Left Opposition's statement to the of "social-Fascism." This was im- To this picnic have also been in-Youth Anti-Fascist Congress at mediately taken up by the leader- vited the members and sympathi-Copenhagen. This is a powerful ship with enthusasm, and they zers of nearby Branches of the document which should be seriously proceeded to thoroughly thrash Communist League. Special invistudied by both youth and adult the Labour Party with it at every tations have been extended to the comrades. It should add in clari-opportunity. Not realizing that they Newark and Philadelphia branches. fying the question of the relation only represented an insignificant. The picnic committee is already between the general class move- minority of the workers, they in- on the job with preparations for City - Take I.R.T. Woodlawn-Jerment and th youth. Among the discriminately labelled every social fun and good food. other articles are those on Ger- democratic worker as a counter To get to Tibbetts Brook Park Station — last stop. From there But the representatives of this correct, international tactic which conforms to the objective require
But the representatives of this correct, international tactic which conforms to the objective require
Continued on Page 3)

But the representatives of this correct, international tactic which conforms to the objective require
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Continued on Page 3) industry.

The puppets of Wall Street on Capitol Hill are "investigating" the House of Morgan. A sop to the its aims, the Senate Banking Committee has disclosed damning evi-On the First of May the workers dence on the tentacles of control of Vienna showed that in spite of of J. P. Morgan and Co., which all deception, treachery and dis-

The revelations of the investigation are vindication of the contention of the Marxians propounded haif-hearted opposition, disguise decades ago. Finance capital wields against the Soviet Union. J. Sauertheir own lack of decision as a its conrol over the banking institu-"depressed sentiment" among the tions of the nation thru a meshwork wein, Foreign editor of the Paris Hitler is indubitably to be the "depressed sentiment" among the tions of the nation thru a meshwork masses. The workers want to fight. of interlocking directorates which tion in a wire to the New York to contract him for the job under cunningly evade all laws aimed at Times of June 1. them by the trust-busting middle French authorities made the news Pact, with Poland as a subsidiary. The First of May policy of the class. The trustified industries, with public in an effort to hold Poland Poland itself wrangles for a more Workers who were the first to lead social democratic party consisted few exceptions, are either indebted and the Little Entente in line, a prominent place. the struggle against Lewis and in creating for itself an alibi: be- to or outrightly owned, thrus stock task which has become increasingly company and who laid the ground- fore the government, in case the control by the Morgan trust. The due to the rigors of the world-wide work upon which the PMA was masses entered into struggle and Morgan institution dominates thru

Rickard, financial adviser to Her-Poland would make a big territorial the Nazi chancellor was only too years, and the chairman of this lish corridor and receive as comcommittee, John R. Nutt, are personal beneficiaries of Morgan's benevolence. The same goes equally for the Democratic party, whose ex-na- Pilsudski has had his eye on the tional chairman, Raskob, and the Ukraine ever since he fought the Hitler to offer Pilsudski? On what present Roosevelt administration, Russians there in 1920." through the medium of the secretary of the treasury, Woodin, have re- Sauerwein says, the French consi-Letters from the above-named individuals, disclosed at the investi-(Continued on Page 4)

newly organized opposition in

the Communist Party of Aus-

tralia. It is still further evi-

dence and confirmation of the

wreckage perpetrated by the

Stalinist leadership of the Com-

munist International. But more

than that, it is a glowing tribute

to the great historical role of

the International Left Opposition

and the effectiveness of The

Militant, whose guiding voice

reaches the serious and sincere

Communist workers in far-off

comrades in Australia—greetings!

As to ourselves, this tribute from

the South Seas should spur every

comrade on to greater activity.

With redoubled energy and en-

In an endeavor to get a clear

conception of the international situ-

ation, and to get a correct estimate

For the past two years some-

spite the continued reiteration of

facts are that an increasing number

vious Right opportunist errors, many good members have been ex-

thing has been definitely wrong

thusiasm, forward!

To our new fellow-fighters and

New Deal' Fakers Push Inquiry into Bankers' Deals Attack on USSR

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

news of a Hitler-Pilsudski plot colonization.

pensation territory in Soviet Ukraine in the direction of the Black The first step in its fulfillment is Sea. It is a German idea . . Marshal

From the report, which Monseiur Hitler? ceived "gifts" from the House of der reliable and which they ob-Morgan which discriminates against tained from "secret sources," one with France directing or with Hitthing stands out most clearly, with France directing or with Hit-Namely, that on every side of the ler in the lead under American

Communist party. Recently, this

method of approach (?) has been

the social-fascists they only mean

"From Below" in the Office

workers greet them with stony si-

then proceed to indulge in self-

We reprint below a letter re- , the Labour Party a wonderful wea-

of the present line of the C. I. attempts of the party membership

From Paris comes the alarming) Soviet Russia and in its subsequent

Furthermore, in this attack, the conditions of the Four Power

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

venturer of Eastern Europe, Pilsudski. In this he no doubt hopes ready to welcome in his last Reichstag address, leaves ample room for such an aspiration.

clear - the Nazi-Polish alliance other grounds can Pilsudski meet

European diplomatic tangle the way out is seen—in an attack against be against the fatherland of the much is obvious. Only the purblind Organize Australian Opposition cannot see this. To trust in non-aggression pacts, as the Litvinoffs and Stalins and Karakhans do, means under thes conditions, to prepare the ground objectively for a ceived from the secretary of the pon with which to discredit the smashing defeat of Soviet Russia.

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

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

Stalinism has paralyzed the Comlence, and the comrades retire to munist International, the arm of world revolution.

lick their wounds in isolation. They erticism sufficiently for them to nese proletariat and helped into launch another campaign. Then power the Kuomintang bandits, who they go out and repeat the same have sold out to the Japanese agold mistakes time and again. gressor. Result: Their isolation is becoming

man working class by a senseless, unrealistic policy which has played During these honest, but futile into the hands of Fascism.

from your point of view, I, in agree- to overcome their weakness, the might be built in one country-in ment with others of the movement party leadership contents itself Russia!? Where has this wise, up communication with your or- rectives from above. They re- promised" with Chiang Kai Shek iterate to a point of monotony thru and alienated the bulk of the rethe party press that they are the formist working class of the world,

nization (or is it a sactic?) the of the world revolution.

Stalinism has betrayed the Chi-

Stalinism has betrayed the Ger-

"Vanguard of the working class!" led to?

with the C. P. in Australia. The and that "No revolution can be suc-It must be plainly said: It has support that was gained when the cessful unless we lead it!" Then led to the isolation of the revolueconomic crisis began to be felt, they apparently sit back in comfort tionary fatherland. It has laid it was never crystallized gradually and await the railying of the toil- open to attack from without by fell away. Today we find that de- ing masses around their office doors. opportunist compromises directed (Continued on Page 4)

Stalinist Diplomacy Leaves Trail of existing system cracks open and rays bare its inner decomposition, during a revolutionary crisis; and on Treachery for International Proletariat the other, the proletariat, guided by its revolutionary party, steps for-

seen its chief tasks in the problems ary theory of socialism in one importance of agriculture in the portance was the Comintern as the policies. 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.

ments do not decide the policy of

The opportunist theory of social-the USSR and the Comintern. They the strength and the organization ism in one country is showing its stand in opposition to it and fill with which to carry it out, under fruits. A correct revolutionary, the jails and places of deportation these circumstances the agrarian Marxist Russian Foreign Policy, in the state for which they have revolt is swept along behind the based upon the theory of the per- fought. Bureaucrats who have proletarian revolution and reinmanent revolution, would have arisen on the basis of the reaction- forces it. Depending on the relative of the Chinese, the German, the country, which stands in contradic national economy, this reinforceworld revolution. Of greatest im- tion to objective reality, decide the ment may be decisive, as in Soviet

Soviet diplomacy has rid itself of Britain.

Nationalist Foreign Policy—A Logical Consequence

all control by the Comintern and made an opportunist practice out agriculture is unstable and cannot of a juridical fiction in the Soviet be maintained for very many years constitution. If Russia alone could longer, as is shown by the perbuild up socialism, it had to con- manent crisis which has corroded duct a nationalist foreign policy, American agriculture ever since the Comintern had to become a 1920, and even during the years negligible factor whose interests of a stabilization and "prosperity." had to be subordinated to diplo-Overextension, excessive productive macy. Then non-aggression pacts, capacity, low prices in relation to participation in the Kellogg Peace manufactured goods, a low rate of

(Continued on Page 3)

peasant struggles in Soviet Russia In this manner, irretrievable weeks The American farmer can be after the October Revolution, which and months are lost. movement, we put forward imme- borers; second, the middle-sized "Soviets" and the Chinese "Red the center of the city. The call diate demands in themselves of farmer, operating 50 to 200 acres Army" dominate, history is full of had no effect. It could not have

Aims of Agrarian Revolts

the interests of the workers today. the small farmer have been the against the system of capitalism, gram, the slogan, the organization. At the same time we set forth our most actively engaged in the farm but against certain immediate reof capitalism and its replacement against foreclosure of mortgages. tation by finance capital, excessive they have no "names." The name by the rule of the working class. The broadest masses of the agra- taxes to support the capitalist is created in the course of the But, if we forget for one instant rian petty bourgeoisie and of the state, high prices for manufactured struggle. As long as the Left soour basic class approach, namely, agricultural workers have had a goods, compared with low prices cial democrats do not come out with our need and task to revolutionize limited share in this activity. On for agricultural commodities re- a platform of struggle, their calls in Australia have decided to open with the issuing of mechanical di- "practical policy," which has "comthe workers; if we allow ourselves the other hand, particularly in the sulting from the control of the state will get no echo. to get lost in a maze of immediate middle West, there has been a dis-apparatus by finance and its allied demands and become absorbed, how- linct tendency for the revolting industrial capital. The aim of yzed by the criminal policy of soever militantly, solely in the farmers to seek the assistance of these revolts has been to remove the Stalinist bureaucracy in Gerstruggle for these demands, little or workers, particularly unemployed, "abuses" and "excesses" of the many, by the theory and practice ing class. What we reap will be illu- To a large extent this has been existing system and build a new muddle in the question of the united rebels themselves still have confidence in the stability and desirability of the existing system.

But when, on the one hand, the exsting system cracks open and lays ing a revolutionary crisis; and on the other, the proletariat, guided by ward as the one class in society small organization which knows that has a definite policy and has Russia, or substantal, as it would be in the United States; or even negligible, as it would be in Great

The present basis of American (Continued on Page 4)

The lead that they give is purely against the world revolution It (Continued on Page 2)

For criticizing the leadership in Benefit of Press & Illinois Campaign On Sunday, June 11, 1933, the McLean Ave. trolley to Tibbett's pelled. It is significant that the majority of these expelled members New York Branch of the Commu- Brook Park. have good records of struggle in hist League of America (Oppositheir leadership of the workers, tion) will hold its first picnic of serve SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1933 for While pretending to follow in the the season at Tibbetts Brook Park an all day frolic at Tibbetts Brook footsteps of Lenin, the party leader- (Picnic ground to be announced Park ship gives lip-service to the revo- later in the Militant). The picnic, lutionary movement instead of en-lapart from the good time assured gaging in the concrete work among for all who attend, has the necesthe masses so necessary if they sary and excellent objective of The June issue of Young Sparta- wish to win concrete support for raising money to maintain the weekly Militant and to assist in When the Comintern instructor the work of the Left Opposition

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

Comrades and sympathizers: Re-

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC

TIBETTS BROOK PARK

(Field to be announced later)

on SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1933 Games - Refreshments - Speakers

Auspices: New York Branch, Com-

munist League of America (Opp.) (DIRECTIONS: From New York ome Avenue Subway to Woodlawn