WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

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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 proletariat 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 indispensible 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-Kuusinen.

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 it 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 attenuation 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 Centrist 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 opportunist and adventuristic policy. But the consequences of this policy are no longer dependent up on 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 preludes 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 Germ-

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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 practising 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—and this is quite in harmony with his character—must have indignantly 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.

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 PMA. 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 PMA 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 callaboration 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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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 re-

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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 Lovestoneites 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 Lovestoneite 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 scrimmages 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 demonstation and followed our lead in making the

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Hitler Plans 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 senteced to long prison terms on the same count.

Meanwhile Torgler, former Communist party Reichstag leader, Dmitroff, Popoff and Taneff, 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 conflagration 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 attirney 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 persecution of Torgler is a direct challenge. There is no time to be lost, we must get into motion now!

ASSASSINATE SEVEN P.M.A. MILITANTS ON PICKET LINE

As we go to press, we learn of the assassinations of seven militant Progressive miners by company thugs in Springfield, Illinois. The shootings took place after a clash between 2000 coal diggers picketing **en masse** the Peerless Mine of the Peabody Coal Co., and the company's deputizes scab herders and gangsters.

One of the deputies was seriously injured in the mellee. The operators have called in the National Guard from Taylorville to "handle" the situation.

In the coming issue of the **Militant** we expect to carry a full account of this latest example of the miners' dogged persistance and heroism in the fight against the desparate onslaught of the bosses and their State.

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 seated. The press reports further emphasized this fact and the credentials committee appointed by the Borders' Committee ignored the credentials of the Unemployed Councils and fraternal delegates from the workers' political organizations until a heated, three hour discussion on the credentials committee report obtained a majority vote against them and for the seating of all delegates present.

This first victory against the Right wing was an open revolt of that very select conference called by the Borders' Committee itself. It was a revolt of delegates from all parts of the country who realized that Communists cannot 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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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 (Trotsky group) in China, Chen stated the information was contained in documents already in the Court's posession. The aim of the Trotskyists, he said, was to relieve the masses from their suffering. He stated that there was no possibility of a compromise between the Communists and Capitalists, and that the Communists and working class would have to use force against the Capitalist system in order to achieve political power.

The Court put the following questionto comrade Chen: "Is it not the ultimate object of the Trotsky faction of the Communist party to overthrow the Kuomintang and the National Government, and to establish a Dictatorship of the Workers and Peasants?"

"Of course, it is," was the unperturbed answer made by Chen as well as other co-defendants when similar questions were put to them by the Court.

When the lawyer for the defense endeavored to make a legalistic plea on behalf of Chen and his co-defendants to the effect that Chen thus far had only opposed the National Government of the Chinese bourgeoisie and war lords by propaganda and not by deed and direct action, Chen repudiated his counsel's arguments. He said that the political arguments submitted by his counsel had been made without consulting him.

Chen Du-Siu declared, upon examination, that he had been secretary of the Chinese Communist Party but had been expelled for political differences, and was aligned with the Left Opposition.

Besides Chen Du-Siu, others of the Left Opposition were examined, and made speeches before the Court. Among them were Peng Shih-chih, who bitterly attacked the Kuomintang and the existing government. Peng is a Communist leader of old standing. He also addressed the Court after the manner of comrade Chen. The court room was packed to full capacity.

At the time of receiving this information from our Chinese comrades, the trial of the other comrades was still going on.

— A.

NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC

— at —

TIBETTS BROOK PARK

Plot 9

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.)

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 1 2 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 Velia Matteoti and her two children held as virtual hostages in Rome; of Gino Licetti, anarchist; of Vodisca, republican; of **all political prisoners; to fight against Mussolini's war intrigues.**

June 10th coincides with the barbarous assassination of Giacomo Matteoti. 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—with 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 70th Street and Lexington Avenue, passing before 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 Admistration. 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?", etc.

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 and plain clothes officers.

Committee Arrested

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

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