

Apropos the Foreign Policy of the Stalinists

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

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

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

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

— L. TROTSKY

Borders Loses in Split; Group Firm for Unity

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

— HUGO OEHLER

The I.L.P. Turns Left

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

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

— JOSEPH CARTER

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

N. Y. Anti-Eviction Party Adopts Slogan of Long Term Credits to SU

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

Winters' Report

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Minor Intervenes for the Official Party

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

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

Meet Lovestonites & Socialists Sabotage United Front

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

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

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

Finally—the Stalinists for Soviet Credits!

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

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

— G.C.

Demonstration Ends in Disunity

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

"Relief for the Unemployed"

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

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

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

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

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

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

Communist League of America (Left Opposition) New York Branch

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

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

A telegram addressed to the International Secretariat recently announces its formal adherence: "The congress of the dissident Communist party has decided after ample discussion to adhere officially to the International Left Opposition."

— DEVINE

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

BRAZIL

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

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

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

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

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

Workers, organized and unorganized, skilled and unskilled, men, women and children, from the fisheries of the Pacific to the textile factories of New England, from the old established Electrical Workers Union to the unorganized and seemingly unorganizable overall slaves of Lebanon, Mo., have downed tools and fought bitter battles against starvation wages and worsening conditions in the last few weeks.

In Allentown, Pa. and the neighboring town of Northampton, women and children struck against starvation wage rates and conditions which beggar description. A number of shops have settled with the strikers with some improvement won. The strike spread to Bangor, Shamokin and Roseto.

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

by Arne Swabeck Unemployment and the American Working Class 24 pages 5c Postage: 1c extra per copy Pioneer Publishers 84 East 10th St. New York

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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