

AMONG THE YOUTH

Break United Front at Chicago Anti-Fascist Meet

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago Stalinists, like those of all other cities, following the appearance of the Comintern Manifesto, appealing for national united fronts with social-democratic organizations for the purpose of aiding the victims of German Fascism, issued a call for a local united front. We shall deal here with the 'vest pocket' nature of this united front nor of its tendencies to dissolve itself into a permanent organization. This body, in line with its work, planned a demonstration to be held in Chicago on June 24th.

Spartacus Speaker Chosen By Conference

The Youth Conference had agreed to support the demonstration of the adult conference. For this the adults promised us a speaker at the demonstration. The Stalinists at the Youth Conference who, we must remember, supported originally the Right wing on every important political question, expected as a reward for this that the Right wing would support their nominations and motions on all organizational questions. For speaker 2 nominations were made—Morris Fine of the Y. C. L. and Nathan Gould of the Spartacus Youth Club. To the great surprise of the Stalinists the latter was supported by every delegate but the Stalinists and was elected speaker.

A motion was promptly introduced which provided that we attempt to have two speakers and that the second speaker be Fine. Accordingly it was agreed upon that, if two speakers of different organizations in the Youth U. F. should speak, they be permitted to represent their respective organizations from the Platform.

From the outset the Stalinists broke the United Front. First they revised a leaflet that had been accepted by the publicity committee, without consulting any member of the committee. Second, they attempted to prevent our comrades from selling the Young Spartacus at the demonstration. At the same time they sold Young Workers, Labor Defenders, etc. Third, Y. C. L. members demanded that we leave the demonstration and promised to beat us if we didn't. Of the other and most important breaches we shall speak later.

Stalinist Disruption

To the Stalinist chairman they announced that there was to be only one youth speaker and he was not to be, as the conference decided, comrade Gould, but comrade Fine. After a long argument the chairman agreed to permit Gould to speak, but announced also that Fine would speak. Further, against all decisions of the conference, they placed upon the box George Smirkin of the Y. P. S. J., an organization within the Youth Conference. This conference had made no nomination of Smirkin, nor was he picked by a conference emergency committee (there was none). But without anyone knowing why or wherefore, Smirkin was placed upon the box. This fact, plus the fact that Fine was scheduled to speak, gave Gould the opportunity to speak as a Left Oppositionist.

The thought of an Oppositionist speaking at this 'strictly' Stalinist affair, to almost 5,000 workers, most of whom were C. P. members or sympathizers, threw terror into the hearts of the bureaucrats. John Williamson in his frenzy saw himself before the control commission charged with 'Rotting Liberalism'. The workers listened silently to the first few sentences of the speech. When Williamson was convinced of the Oppositionist nature of the speech he lost control and proceeded to shout like a hysterical woman. Fearing the criticism he proceeded to work up a lynch spirit. "Counter-revolutionary!" he shouted, "Off with the Trotskyists!" "He can't attack our party!" "Enemy of the Working Class!" "Stop him!" "Throw the renegades off!" Etc. Thus he carried forth the historical tradition of Stalinism.

body after this outrageous affair. Following them were scores of workers who protested the Stalinist violation of the united front. The criticism of the Left Opposition (Germany is their vulnerable spot). Rather than allow the L. O. to speak the truth they will smash the demonstration, smash the united front, smash the Left Opposition, annihilate the speaker. That is the explanation for the program spirit whipped up against us, but more than that it is the explanation for the Stalinist tenacious grip upon the united front below; an explanation of its non-aggression pact.

It is not because they desire to win the Socialist leaders over to the united front that the Stalinists cater to them on the question of organizational independence and the non-aggression pact. It is the haunting fear of criticism; fear of exposure by the other organizations in the united front; hence the non-aggression pact; no criticism of organizations in the united front. Their opportunism, but a splendid assurance for bureaucrats.

To the masses of workers present in the demonstration, the Stalinists can tell no lies. 5,000 workers witness Stalinist fears in the face of criticism by the Marxist wing of the Communist movement. There is nothing like an object lesson to put across a point.

—MAXIMILLIAN.

A Resolution of the Int'l Left Opposition

Declaration of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) to the Youth Conference at Paris. The workers of the world stand at a turning point. After a series of victories of imperialist reaction, particularly Fascism, the proletariat will yet have to pass through years of hard tests and difficult struggle. The continuity of the revolutionary movement can be assured only on the condition that new phalanxes of convinced and tested fighters emerge from the younger generation.

The social democracy, as its fight before Hitler very clearly shows, is able to educate lackeys, but not fighters. The young workers have nothing to learn in the school of this party. The school of Marx and Lenin, alone, shows them the way to break through the imperialist and Fascist hell into Socialist society.

Although we appeal to the workers to rally around the banner of the Communist International we deem it necessary to clearly point out that the revision of the tenets of Communism and the bureaucratic degeneration of the regime powerfully fetters the influence of the C.I. on the young workers and renders their correct revolutionary education difficult.

The revision of the doctrine has found its worst expression in the theory of "socialism in one country" which undermines proletarian internationalism and covers up all sorts of petty bourgeois, reactionary, utopian and nationalist tendencies in the workers ranks.

The International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), in a series of programmatic documents, on the basis of the experience of the last ten years, has denounced the fatal distortions introduced into the theory and practice of Communism by bureaucratic centrism. It is necessary, here, at a youth conference to strenuously protest against the bureaucratic regime instituted in the party which stifles the internal life of the Communist vanguard and closes the road to an independent development of the youth.

Blind obedience is a virtue in a soldier of a capitalist army but not in a proletarian fighter. Revolutionary discipline is founded on collective thought and collective will. A supporter of the theory of scientific Communism does not believe anything on word. He judges everything by reason and by experience. The youth cannot accept Marxism on command, it should assimilate it for itself through an independent effort of thought. This is precisely why the youth should not only have the opportunity to educate itself but to make mistakes in order to rise through its own errors to the Communist conception. Bureaucratic and factitious discipline has crumbled to dust at the moment of danger. Revolutionary discipline does not exclude but demands the right of checking and criticism. Only thus can an indestructible revolutionary soldiery be created.

The young worker needs leadership from the party. But this leadership should not be by command. Where coercion is substituted at each step for persuasion all living breath flees from the organization and with it the living people. Not only must we rebuff but mercilessly destroy the use of repression, slander and physical methods in the struggle of the different groupings and factions inside the workers movement. These invidious methods have nothing in common with the arsenal of Communist education and put into circulation during the last ten years by the Stalinist bureaucracy have poisoned the atmosphere of the proletarian vanguard, particularly in the youth, and isolated the organizations from the broad working masses. Here also we must purify the revolutionary doctrines from Stalinism to drain the internal regime in order to set the Communist International back on the path of Marx and Lenin.

Lessons of the Leninist United Front Tactic

THE UNITED ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS

The confusion within the ranks of the working class on the question of the United Front is primarily due to the present leaderships of the Second and Third International. All leaders who fear a test in action, leaders who fear a comparison of policies, leaders who retain control of their organizations by bureaucratic methods—and those who are the direct agents of the capitalist class within our ranks—fear the united front of the working class. The pressure of the masses through the united front places a heavy burden upon all misleaders and non-Marxist leaders. That leadership which has a correct policy and uses a little common horse-sense will be favored to the highest degree by united action of the working class.

For these reasons, many organizations are systematically kept out of united front action or are misadvised purposely by leaders who cannot stand the test. Those leaders who fear the test demand either a non-aggression pact (social democrats) or leadership of the movement conceded in advance (Stalinism), where the workers are told to join the united front under Communist leadership. Other forms used by these misleaders and non-Marxist leaders are the united front from below, or the united front of leaders alone, or the united front of leaders in negotiation behind closed doors. All such "united fronts" are false, are a denial in substance though not in name, in order to cover up and to avoid the test in action which flows from the Leninist united front.

The two most powerful working class organizations in the world, the social democrats and the Stalinists have been miseducating the reformist and revolutionary work-

ing class on the question of the united front. Likewise, the reactionary A. F. L. leadership fear this powerful working class weapon. The most criminal of all in miseducating the working class, are the Stalinists. Why—because we expect nothing else but confusion, opportunism and miseducation from the socialist and reactionary labor leaders; such leaders join united action only after mass pressure forces them into the united front; such leaders openly oppose revolutionary Marxism as practiced in the Russian revolution by the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

But those who claim to abide by the decisions of the Communist International, as the Stalinists do, and who in reality have systematically revised Marxism, must be exposed for what they are worth, all the more so because they have usurped the October Revolution and have under their influence the greatest number of revolutionists that must be won over back to internationalism to Marxism.

If we consider two periods of the history of the errors of Stalinism on the question of the united front, which by no means was the most harmful error, but which flowed from more basic deviations from revolutionary Marxism, we can realize how great is the confusion contributed to by Stalinism. On outstanding example, in the first stage of the blunders, was the united front with leaders, in the British General Strike and in the Chinese Revolution. In these struggles the Stalinists and their bedfellows, the Right wingers, threw overboard all the lessons and experiences of the Russian Revolution. They violated the A B C of how to make a united front and to set the masses in motion and how to break a united front when the

allies begin to break and openly betray the movement. After a series of such blunders and errors, the defeat of the Chinese revolution had the sobering effect of waking them up. But to wake up and to find the correct path—are two different things and the first without the latter will only lead to new mistakes. After burning their fingers badly while playing around with the leaders, the non-Marxian Stalinists swung to the other extreme, to "correct" the error without admitting the error, and thereby, the notorious "Third Period".

The opportunist Right zig-zag of the united front—from above—had the full support of the Right wing but the Stalinists' ultra-Left zig-zag—to the united front from below—was not consistent with the Right wing opportunist line of policy and the united front with leaders. Whereas, the British General Strike and the Chinese Revolution were the outstanding examples of the Right-Centre (Bucharin-Stalin) mistakes on the united front from above with leaders, the victory of Fascism in Germany is the crowning defeat and expression of the "united front from below". As Trotsky says, Stalinism will go down in history as the leader of defeats. The wrong concept of the united front as well as the defeat is the result of a more basic revisionism of Marxism by Stalinism. Throughout this whole period the International Left Opposition has carried on a fight against the Stalinists and social democrats and other political currents and their position on the united front and since then, history has confirmed the correctness of our position on this tactical and strategic question as well as on more fundamental questions of Marxism.

THE WORKERS FRONT

Millinery Strike Progress in Los Angeles

In the last issue of The Militant there appeared a report on the millinery strike now in progress in Los Angeles, Cal. We publish below a press release issued by the Strike Committee on July 1, 1933:

STRIKE BULLETIN STRIKE ON THE THIRD WEEK FINDS WORKERS OF GOLDEN BROTHERS MILLINERY SHOP DETERMINED TO CONTINUE UNTIL SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION

Los Angeles.—In spite of the brutal terror displayed by the infamous Red Squad against the workers of Golden Brothers Millinery Shop who are the third week on strike for:

- 1. Recognition of a Shop Committee and Shop Chairman.
2. That Golden Brothers take responsibility for the new shop and all agreements with the shop committee include the new shop.
3. That Golden Brothers obey the minimum wage law for women.
4. Equal division of work.
5. No wage cuts and no piece-work.

The strikers are just as determined now as they were on the first day of the strike to continue until a victorious settlement. Examples of the extreme brutality of the Red Squad and the bosses of the Golden Brothers Millinery Shop have been shown by the arrests, frame-up charges and the high bails imposed upon the arrested strikers.

The Strike Committee and the Needle Trades Industrial Union appeal to all workers and sympathizers to give moral and financial support to the strikers. Bring or mail all strike contributions to the headquarters of the Needle Trades Industrial Union, 755 S. Main St.

STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE GOLDEN BROTHERS MILLINERY SHOP. SAM MEYERS, Chairman.

Right Wing Excludes Left at Strike Conference of Boston Bakers

Boston, Mass.—On June 26th, the Socialist Party of Boston called a "united front conference" to help the Jewish bakers who have been out on strike for the last three months. The call was sent to all leftist wing organizations; it was also in the press. However, Left wing organizations sent their delegates as well.

The conference was called to order by Arkin, the manager of the Boston Forward, who made a speech explaining the purpose of the conference. Then he proceeded to elect a credentials committee. This started a protest from the floor. Someone declared that it was proper to turn the conference over to the delegates, who would themselves elect a chairman and all the conference committees. Arkin agreed to this, but he insisted upon appointing a credentials committee first, in order to see who were the legally seated delegates so that they can elect a legal chairman. His reason for this procedure was obvious; he was preparing to oust the Left wing delegates. More protests from the floor saying that Arkin himself had not been legally elected to the chair.

Only Right Wing Seated

But Arkin insisted upon remaining chairman and made a suggestion to appoint a credentials committee. Many of the delegates who did not understand Arkin's reason for wanting to appoint rather than elect a credentials committee, voted for his suggestion and it was carried by a slim majority. Arkin proceeded to appoint his men with such rapidity that it was clear that his machine was well-oiled. The credentials committee went out to check up. It did not take them long for they knew in advance whom to seat.

In the meantime, Arkin called upon one of the bakers' committee to talk. The bakers made a strong appeal to everyone to help in the strike and to save the union. Criticism can be leveled against the bakers' union, which allowed the strike to drag out so long without themselves calling a conference for help. I won't go into details on this matter now. When he ended his speech, the credentials committee reported; recommending that all the Right wing organizations be seated, leaving out the Left wing. It said that there was another section to the report which would be given later, after all the conference committees had been elected. Again protests from all parts of the hall, demanding the full report of the credentials committee. Schlossberg, a delegate from the Workers Circle and a sympathizer of the Left Opposition, asked for the floor to say a few words and to make a motion. Arkin insisted that he make the motion first and then speak. Schlossberg finally consented; and after making his motion, he began to say a few words in favor of his motion. Arkin stopped him, declaring that he was not a seated delegate as yet and therefore could not speak. Other delegates insisted upon the full report, but Arkin, now suddenly becoming very democratic, hammered away on the table and insisted that a chairman must first be elected by the seated delegates. Protest was of no avail; a chairman was elected.

Ford Real United Front

Many of the seated delegates did not vote in protest of the procedure. Fineberg of the I. L. G. W. U. was elected and ruling with his hammer went over to the election of the other committees. The delegates again protested and after two hours of fighting with the Forward clique, succeeded in getting the full report of the credentials committee. It was found that the excluded organizations were of the Left wing: The Mothers League, Left Wing schools, I. W. O. and Freiheit Gesangsverein. Delegates who were seated protested against this exclusion. They pointed out the united action was the main thing that could help win the main thing that the support of all organizations was necessary; and that this action was a hindrance. They also demanded that a baker get up to say whether he was in favor of splitting the conference. This was not granted for fear that the bakers would ask all the organizations to participate.

When it was seen that the play was for the devil; that nothing could be gained; that the conference looked like a madhouse with attempted fist fights; that it was already 10:45, many of the seated delegates walked out in solidarity with the ousted Left wing, making statements of protest. Amongst them were the delegates of Workers Circle, I. L. G. W. U. and others.

Such is the united front of the Socialist Party to help in the class struggle. It is now the duty of the Left wing to call a real united front conference to which it will invite the Socialist party and its organizations and show the working class how united action can be achieved to help the bakers.

—A SEATED DELEGATE.

THE BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION. Articles by LEON TROTSKY. Letters from the SOVIET UNION 36 pages. 25c. copy. Limited number — Get your copy now!

A Delegate's View of the I. W. O. Convention

Bethlehem, Pa.—Over two years ago, on the initiative of the Left wing in the Workers Circle, the International Workers' Order was organized. Simultaneously a call was sent out to the Hungarian, Slovak and Russian sick-benefit organizations for amalgamation. Each of these fraternal bodies approved the amalgamation proposal in special conventions.

A committee on constitution and by-laws was appointed by the central bodies for the entire amalgamated organization. The results of their labors along with the necessary changes made by the language sections, central and constitution committees were sent to the various branches only two weeks before the convention! Most of the branches called special meetings for the purpose of discussing the constitution and by-laws. The changes made or the approval granted by these branches were again sent to the central committee.

But to our great surprise we found, that in the Slovak workers' convention, for instance, a constitution committee of 5 was appointed, consisting of three functionaries and two rank and file delegates by the central executive committee of the Slovak section. This was reported to the convention and, of course, "approved" through the use of steam roller methods.

This committee also made some changes so that the delegates now had four different drafts in their hands. Confusion resulted much to the joy of the bureaucrats.

The Chicago Convention. The convention of the language sections lasted for two days. Four days were spent in the joint sessions of all the delegates. More than 647 delegates participated in these joint sessions, making it more of a mass meeting than a convention. The most bureaucratic methods were used to jam through all the plans of the functionaries.

If absolutistic, autocratic centralism is to be used anywhere it will certainly be in the I. W. O. The constitution gives the central committee all the privileges and the rights and the rank and file all the work and duties, without any rights!

Yet, for all its shortcomings, the I. W. O. is a workers' organization and has to be dealt with as such. This cannot be done in the abstract but by joining its ranks, actively participating in all of its activities; by struggle within it, its mistakes can be corrected. No doubt, all sorts of names and epithets will be hurled at us by the Stalinist bureaucrats. But when we consider that there are about 1 million organized under the direct influence and control of the agents of the bourgeoisie, the reformists and nationalists, we can see how necessary it is to approach them with timely issues and recruit large numbers of them into the I. W. O. The timely issue now is social insurance and old age pensions. This is a political reform, it is true, but it will serve to unify the workers on a class basis.

The Two Sides of USSR Recognition by the U.S.

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States, with long term credits and trade relations is a desirable step and would be a most favorable condition to offset the difficulties and contradictions confronting the Soviet Union, primarily due to the wrong policies of Stalinism. The possibilities of recognition by the United States have been increased due to the difficulties pressing down upon American Imperialism. America is by no means intending to change her stripes. It has become profitable for American capitalism to recognize the Soviet Union and unless some new developments upset the present relationship, it probably will.

Diplomatic and trade relations with capitalist nations by a workers government are born of realistic necessity and constitute for it a temporary concession. It should not be explained to the workers as a peaceful co-existing of two systems, as Litvinoff does.

Likewise, the treaty with Fascist Germany and the latest moves in regard to the Chinese Eastern Railroad can only be understood if one realizes that they are necessary steps due to the mistakes of Stalinism and are a sign of weakness and not a sign of strength or the "victory of socialism".

With recognition, America will attempt to use her experts and agents inside of the Soviet Union to undermine the workers' government and to establish relations with the enemies and Thermidorian element. At the same time America, will be forced to help Germany find a way out, in order to save the billions invested there. Germany is already moving in the direction of attack on the Soviet Union, as the path of least resistance.

Imperialist recognition of the Soviet Union carries with it the danger of counter-revolutionary activity within the Soviet Union. Such action is to be expected. Our policy must be to overcome these contradictions carried with recognition by imperialism. It will be extremely difficult to overcome these difficulties with the policies of Stalinism. The Left Opposition must say this frankly. The Left Opposition, while understanding and approving the forced concessions such as the treaties with Fascist Germany, etc., must at the same time warn the world proletariat that these concessions cannot be overcome if the policy of Stalinism continues. The criminal policy of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and the C. I. must be replaced with a return to Marxism; the theory of socialism in one country and all that flows from it throughout the world Communist parties must be replaced with the Marxist theory of the Permanent Revolution.

—H. O.

COL. ROBINSON 1918 and 1933. Stalin is most unfortunate in his interviews. Since the international scandal resulting from the publication of his talks with Mr. Campbell, the American giant-farm advisor to the Soviets, he has chosen his interviewers, as Walter Duranty reports, very carefully. He was closeted with Colonel Raymond Robins for an hour and a half. Although the Colonel had promised not to reveal the nature of the discussion, he did let loose the following illuminating remarks: "In 1918 I saw the first May Day celebration after the Bolshevik revolution—out at Khodinka field—on the personal invitation of Leon Trotsky. Fifteen hundred tattered soldiers of the Red Army, a few thousand 'Red Guards' of the armed proletariat and an inchoate throng of workers streamed past the reviewing stand. "This year, after fifteen years, I watched in Red Square a parade of 15,000 picked troops of the Red Army with perfect discipline, equipment and every new device of mechanized warfare. "That first May Day all the stress of all the speeches and slogans was on the world revolution—All together for world revolution and proletarian brotherhood. "This year there was not one banner or one word of international revolution. It was 'Collectivization: Every collective farm Bolshevik, every collective peasant prosperous'; 'Industrialization: . . . to win, you must gain technique.' "In 1918 they thought in terms of world revolution; in 1933, in terms of their own effort."—Reported by Walter Duranty in the New York Times of June 18, 1933.

Workers' Pocket Series By Leon Trotsky. In Defense of the Russian Revolution 48 pages 5c. Soviet Economy in Danger 72 pages 10c. by Arne Swaback. Unemployment and the American Working Class 24 pages 5c. Postage: 1c extra per copy. Pioneer Publishers 84 East 10th St. New York.

Is the Recovery Act a Fascist Measure

The dictatorial power embodied within the Industrial Control Bill which is now a law has been called by many, including the Stalinists, a Fascist measure. The Stalinists are well known to mislabel everything they take hold of. In Germany the Stalinists called the Bruening government, the Von Papen government, the Von Schleicher government—Fascist dictatorships. And thereby, they helped to disarm the German workers when real Fascism did arrive.

The Industrial Control Bill is not a Fascist measure. Every capitalist government is a dictatorship and just because transitional steps from the democratic form to the dictatorial form are taking place as a reflection of the further concentration and centralization of capital, that in itself is no proof of Fascism or of steps toward Fascism. The concentration and centralization of capital carries with it the centralization of government. Dictatorial measures are only one of the features of Fascism.

The common features between the Industrial Control Law and some of the measures of Italian Fascism lie in the fact that both contain forms of state capitalism. These common features can also be compared to some of the measures in Germany after 1918 when the social democracy introduced State capitalist forms.

As long as there is no serious working class pressure, as long as the working class of America do not threaten the capitalist rule, there will be no danger of governmental and state changes to Fascism. The Stalinist talk about the Hoover commission's Fascist measures and the Fascist measures of today will only disarm the workers to the real danger confronting the working class. We cannot replace the Marxist analysis of the Industrial Control Bill or any other capitalist measure by giving these measures high sounding names. In America the real Fascist danger, if one wants to talk about it at present, lies outside of the governmental structure and in the embryonic Fascist organizations. They will grow with the increased pressure of the working class against capitalism, unless the Communists know how to oppose them effectively.

The best help that Stalinism could render capitalism at this stage is to continue mislabeling as social Fascism and Fascist movements for which they have no understanding and as a substitute for a Marxist analysis. —H. O.

NOTICE. The series of articles on the situation in the Teachers Union has been postponed until September, when the summer vacation will be over. A Half Year sub to the Militant is \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 50 cents.