

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Fighting the 'Recovery' Act

Cleveland Conference Against the N.I.R.A.

Weeks have passed since the Industrial Recovery Act became a law. In this time big business and its government have been drafting codes that are ushering in a new form of industrial slavery.

The broad layers of the working class have not yet been organized to resist and to fight back. This is due to the confusion that exists within the ranks of the organized forces of the class.

The A. F. L. leaders, the Right wing in the Progressive Miners of America and the conservative independent unions are supporting the I. R. A. The socialist leaders are singing praises to the "great forward step". The majority of the other forces are in confusion.

The Stalinists, as usual, were not equal to the task. The Stalinists did not recognize the danger until after it had fallen upon their heads.

Now, at last the Stalinists have called for action to fight the Industrial Recovery Act. They are calling a national conference in Cleveland, August 26-28, for all trade unions, unemployed organizations, and others; to protect the trade unions, and to rally the class against the capitalist attack.

We welcome the fact that the Stalinists and Mustelites, who are jointly calling this conference, have at last realized the necessity of the struggle, but they have not presented a program suitable for resistance to the bosses' attack. HOW to fight the capitalist offensive is the most important question.

Anyone can criticize after the event. We are criticizing the program and method of calling the conference prior to the August 26-28 conference. Further, we were the first to raise the cry of alarm, to give a Marxist analysis, and to fight for the mobilization of the class against the capitalists' new attacks. At the Gillespie Trade Union conference a delegate of the Left Opposition presented a resolution, prior to the act becoming a law. A bloc of Stalinists and Right wing delegates voted down the Left wing of the conference fighting around the resolution (See the Militant of June).

The national conference called by the Muste-Stalinists bloc is a caricature of the proposal presented at Gillespie last June. A few weeks later, at the first national unemployed conference since the act became a law, at the Columbus Muste-Stalinist conference, the Left Opposition again raised the question of the Industrial Recovery Act, especially dealing with its effects upon the unemployed. We were the only ones to raise our voice on this subject. The Muste-Stalinist bloc ignored this vital question. At last they have realized its importance. But how are they going to fight it?

In regards to the Needle Trades Code, the Right wing proposed a 30 hour week and a definite minimum wage. The Left wing, Stalinist group proposed a 40 hour week and said nothing about a minimum wage. Later the Freiheit said that was a mistake but without stating what should be done.

Preparations for the Cleveland Conference are under way. A trade union conference was called in New York, July 15th. The Stalinists passed out a draft resolution. This is a step forward and has some good proposals but the draft leaves out an answer to the trade union question. So does the resolution dealing with the Needle Trades that was passed out. So does the call for the Cleveland conference.

In all of the preparations for the Cleveland Conference, the Stalin-

ists refuse to answer the following questions (Let us hope they answer them in the near future): Do the facts refute the Stalinist theory to wit, that the A. F. L. is on a decline and is being liquidated and that therefore we must split locals away and build parallel unions all along the line? Will the Industrial Recovery Act help to rearm the A. F. L. leaders in their hold upon the trade union movement? Should we hasten to build a Left wing within the A. F. L.? Should the weak, Left wing, paper unions turn to the A. F. L. en bloc and function as a Left wing there? To ignore these questions, in the needle trades resolution in the New York Conference resolution and in the Cleveland conference call, is to ignore the most vital question of trade union policy and tactics in the struggle to protect the class, its trade unions and to repel the capitalist offensive. The Left Opposition answers these questions in the positive now as we have in the immediate past.

The working class have no voice in drafting the codes for the different industries. Only the pressure of the class through class struggle will force concessions from the enemy class. How to organize this class pressure effectively against the capitalists depends

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Bonapartist Government Robs Labor of Long-Standing Rights in Austria

Vienna, Austria.—

Quite a number of bombshells have exploded in Austria in the last few weeks. Their significance should not be underestimated even if they did not quite hit their mark. It must not be overlooked that they constitute tremendous progress in the undermining of the entire Austrian labor law and therewith of the living standards of the Austrian working class. The work was carried on with deadly calm, without any outer effects. The peace was not even disturbed by those who were hit—the apparatus of the S. P. saw to that—but each blow had its effect.

The first mine was laid in the May days by the Dollfuss government, when it destroyed the workers' right to strike with one stroke of the pen.

This blow was completed with the introduction of compulsory arbitration for all "vital" industries, to which the printshops were added and lately so, the building trades. No matter how vague the clauses of this act may be, its sense is quite transparent: the old lordly rights of the boss class are once again to be established with unlimited sway. If no agreement is reached at the arbitration office, before which all disputes between employers and workers are brought, or if one party raises objections against the verdict, then the super-arbitrator can make a decision which is binding for all. That such a decision will never do harm to the employers cause is quite obvious.

In the public utilities the elimination of the workers' voice from the decision of their working conditions takes place even less masked. In the future only the administration is to decide about conditions of work there.

After the metal workers and the railroad workers, the workers of the building trades form the most

MINERS PROTEST VIGOROUSLY AGAINST RIGHT WING'S RE- MOVAL OF ALLARD FROM P. M. A. POST

EDITOR'S NOTE—In the rush to compete with the John L. Lewis gang for the favors accruing to labor fakers from the Roosevelt National Industrial Recovery Act administration, the Right wing in the Progressive Miners of America have launched a broadside against all Left wingers and genuine progressives in the union. Being in control of a majority on the leading organs, their first step in this direction was the removal of Gerry Allard from the editorship of the P. M. A. paper, the *Progressive Miner*. The reply of the rank and file to this Right wing challenge is recounted in the dispatch we print below.

Gillespie, Ill.—Local Union No. 1 of the Progressive Miners of America voted almost unanimously in favor of a resolution demanding the reinstatement of Gerry Allard, recently deposed editor of the official organ.

This is the largest single local union in the P. M. A., with a membership of 2500. Claude Pearcey, president of the union, is a member of this local.

President Pearcey and Secretary Keck appeared at the meeting to explain their actions. Allard presented his case in person, claiming that the officials had no substantial reasons for removing him. After a hectic 5-hour debate the local union voted overwhelmingly to support Allard. A statement previously issued by the officials stated that they were confident the membership of the organization would accept the executive board's decision on the matter.

Bonapartist Government Robs Labor of Long-Standing Rights in Austria

numerous layer of the Austrian working class. With the "argument" that the "overpaid" wages of the building trades workers impeded the creation of work for them, the government has by decree ordered the suspension of the present collective agreement and taken measures for the introduction of the arbitration system for the building concerns, so that the future collective agreements with the building trades workers will be distinctly of advantage to the bosses.

Schlager Indignant

"All the limits of shamefulness," said the social democratic Federal Councillor Schlager in an inquest on June 9, "are overstepped in the so-called bakery workers' law. The law on the holiday rest day is put completely out of force for the bakery workers; the pastry bakers are even deprived of their Sunday rest day, which they enjoyed up to the present; the shift of hours and the nullification of the provision that bakery workers are only to work 8 hours per day, will have the effect of throwing out of work, in Vienna alone, some hundreds of bakery workers." True as the facts are, nothing is done about them when one stops with just stating them.

The suspension of the 8 Hour Day—that holds good not only for the bakery workers but for the whole working class. The lowering of the overtime wages is only another step—others will follow—unless there is resistance.

Let no one be deceived: At a time in which thousands are knocking at the factory gates, in which the wages of broad layers of the working class are only slightly—if at all—higher than the subsidy paid out to the unemployed, the understanding for the necessity and significance of social-political protection.

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PICNIC

Annual Midsummer Picnic & Outing
Sports, Games, Refreshments—
Good Time for All
Bring your Friends and Comrades

SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1933
at Tibbets Brook Park
Plot No. 3

Directions: Take I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome train to last stop—then take bus and street car to Picnic Grounds

Auspices: N. Y. Branch—C. L. A. (Opposition) and Protomagia Club

Fascists Kill Young Worker in Astoria L.I.

New York, N. Y.—While bourgeois democratic America hailed General Balbo, representative of the first Fascist state, the latest embryonic Fascist organization the Khaki Shirts of America was proving its kinship to the Black and Brown Shirts of Italy and Germany by the murder of Antonio Fierro, a working class student of City College, New York.

The murder took place at a meeting of Khaki Shirts held in Astoria, Long Island, on Friday last. When some workers and students in the audience questioned the statements made by the speakers a general attack was launched against them. One of the Khaki Shirts drew a revolver and shot young Antonio Fierro.

Though the murderer is known to the authorities he has not been arrested, but instead two of the anti-Fascists who were present are held by the police. They are Athos Terzani charged with first degree murder and Michael Palumbo, charged with felonious assault.

The International Labor Defense which is handling the defense of the frame-up workers is also pressing for the arrest of the real murderer. Full support of the I. L. D. in this case is the duty of all workers.

The murder in New York by the Khaki Shirts is in line with their provocative actions elsewhere, particularly in Philadelphia, which apparently is their headquarters. With the tacit approval of "law and order," they direct their first efforts against the "Reds".

The history of similar organizations such as the "Nazis" which started out as "anti-Marxist" and ended up with the destruction of all forms of workers' organizations in the building of a united front of all labor manifestation of nascent Fascism in America.

NAZIS LAUNCH NEW ATROCITY CAMPAIGN AGAINST WORKERS

Leipzig, Germany.—In the last few days, a new wave of persecution has swept the city, especially since the proscription of the S. P. G. In the streets, all those wearing corduroy jackets are halted and the jackets confiscated as impermissible "uniform apparel". The same holds true for the blue linen shirts formerly worn by the Socialist Youth.

But the Nazis are not concerned only with clothing. The strong distribution of material from all organizations has aroused in them a blind wrath. Consequently, at the unemployment registry offices, all the unemployed have been forced to undergo thorough examinations. Workers are also stopped arbitrarily in the streets. On the morrow of the proscription of the S. P. G. the former social democratic factory councilors in many of the big concerns were put under arrest (Borggoid, Stoeck, etc.).

The new atrocities can be explained only by the fact that the fighting spirit of the Leipzig workers precisely has held on longer and more firmly than elsewhere. In many factories, the NSBO (Nazi factory cells) did not succeed in getting more than one or two members.

The C. P. spreads a great deal of mimeographed material. Organizationally, however, it has been greatly weakened, since even among the local leaders there were a number of stool-pigeons. Politically, most of the remaining members live on the hope of a revolution in the fall or the winter. There are some, to be sure, who come to us and say: "You were right". The sentiment among the S. P. G. workers is especially encouraging. They completely renounce the past and look for new roads. We have registered good advances, created new positions for ourselves and distributed our material very well. Among others, at an important metal factory. We hope, through close collaboration with other groups, to increase and extend our work here for the new Communist party.

—LEON TROTSKY.
Prinkipo, 19th of May, 1933.

HITLER PREPARES "SUICIDES" FOR COMRADE TORGIER AND THE BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS

Berlin, Germany—The trial on the "arson" attempt against the Reichstag has been postponed several times. The mysterious Van der Lubbe is designated as the chief defendant, comrades Torgier, Popoff, Dimitroff and Taneoff are named as being "suspected". Those who are really responsible for it, Goering and Co., are working on new provocations.

The Fascist government keeps on postponing the trial and is attempting even to suppress it altogether. The jailed Communists are submitted to torture. It is quite apparent that "suicides" are being planned for the inconvenient "criminals".

The whole international working class must enter into a broad and serious protest action against the planned murder of comrades Torgier, Popoff, Dimitroff and Taneoff!

HOW NAZI "PACIFISM" LOOKS IN PRACTICE

From a small town in Thuringia, we receive the following news, which throws a sharp light on the "peace work" of the loud-mouthed Adolf: In this place there is a great watch factory which at one time employed thousands of workers. The watch factory was closed down completely. It has been transformed now for the production of hand-
grande igniters, employs 2000 workers and works at full speed! Comment is superfluous.

Spartacus Delegates Raise Internat'l Issues at Youth Anti-Fascist Meet

The Youth Conference against War and Fascism which met last Sunday, July 16 at the Church of all Nations was called by a long list of organizations, primarily the Young Communist League and its auxiliaries. The Sunday meeting was to prepare for an international conference of youth, in Paris, late this summer. About seventy delegates, composed in the largest part of young Communists representing Y. C. L. units, I. W. O. youth units and the like, appeared. The War Resisters League, a group of militant pacifists, the Lovestonete youth, the National Student League and the Spartacus Youth Club also sent delegates.

The only display of enthusiasm at the conference took place when the members of the Spartacus Youth Club, attempted to read the statement printed below, comrade Carter was allowed three minutes, after a protracted period of disorder, in which to read the statement. When another comrade attempted to complete the reading of the statement, a vote was passed forbidding it.

It is significant that the Y. C. L. ers who ran the conference refused an answer to the several times repeated question of the brutal treatment accorded to delegates of the International Left Opposition at the Paris Anti-Fascist Congress this past June. A report of the Paris Congress was the major, and only, report on Fascism, at the Sunday conference. Yet we were called "disrupters," and "out of order," for questioning and for condemning the treatment of our comrades at the Paris meet.

Little can be expected of this conference and its customary decisions for work, just as little can be expected of any of the numerous anti-war conferences that the Stalinists have conceived. Undoubtedly it, as well as the international conference still to be held, will go

Slavery Provisions Exposed in Code for Steel Industry

The fierce attack upon the living standard of the workers, which the American capitalists are making under the cover of Roosevelt's Industrial Recovery Act, becomes more openly vicious with each new code. In the mealy-mouthed hypocrisy of the proposed steel code, the robber barons of the steel industry make clear their intention of taking their rightful places at the head of the capitalist offensive. After the Cossack terrorism of the Great Steel Strike in 1919, and the consistent brutality with which all attempts to unionize the steel mills have been put down, nothing less could be expected of the barons than this code.

In the code "minimum" hourly wages range from 25 to 40 cents for different territories. Assuming workers are employed a full 40 hours a week, this means wages of from 10 to 16 dollars a week. Since the dollar is down 25 percent and more on the international exchange and prices are skyrocketing, these wages at present really are worth from \$7.50 to \$12, and when inflation really gets under

way they will amount to even less. The steel workers shall not have a standard of living; they shall have a standard of starvation.

Publicity to Steel Barons' "Generosity"

Right now the capitalist press is giving all possible publicity to the generosity of the steel bosses in granting a 15 percent raise to their workers before the code goes into effect. But the dunkey journalists carefully forget that this 15 percent wage increase is wiped out and more than wiped out by the rise in living costs. The proposed code shows how strangely the clothing of liberality sits on the shoulders of the steel barons.

The code fixes the work week at forty hours. But there is a cruel trick in the provision limiting hours. The code reads: "None of the members of the code shall cause or permit an employee to work on average of more than forty hours per week in any six month period".

There is absolutely no limit set to the number of hours a worker may be forced to work in any single week. The code permits the steel manufacturers to drive their workers eighty hours a week for three months, and then to throw the workers on the street for the next six months. By this treacherous provision the steel code puts a premium upon seasonal unemployment coupled with the longest possible work week. Every advantage the workers can gain from the shorter work week is stolen from them; every hardship of irregular employment forced upon them.

The Right to Organize?

Finally, what about the right to organize, the great gift the A. F. L. fakers claim is granted by the Industrial Recovery Act? Article IV, Section 1 of the code states: "That no employee and no one seeking work shall be required to join any company union, or to refrain from joining, organizing or assisting a labor union of his own choosing." So far, all is orthodox: "It is the belief of the Industry that the method of collective bargaining set forth in such plans (Employee Representation Plans) provides for a day to day adjustment of all matters relating to the employment of employees...that such principles should be maintained and that the rights of the employees and members of the industry to bargain collectively through representatives elected or appointed in accordance with such plans without interference, restraint or coercion of any sort should be preserved and protected."

The so-called "Employee Representation Plan" provides for the election of representatives by the workers, but "such nominations and elections shall be held on the premises of the employer." These representatives shall settle differences between the workers and the employer by "collective bargaining" with representatives of the employer, but in case the representatives cannot agree, "procedure for appeal shall be maintained—if necessary, to the head of such employer, responsible for the management of the business of such employer." In other words the Employee Representation Plan is a company union, set-up simonpure and foolproof, having its elections under absolute control of the boss.

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Trotsky Greets 'Red Flag', British Organ of L. O.

Dear Comrades,

You have begun the publication of a little monthly, the 'Red Flag'. This is a modest step forward. We must hope that other steps will follow.

The advance of Communism in Great Britain is no way corresponds to the rate of decay of British capitalism. The conservative traditions of British politics, including the politics of the working class, are in themselves obviously insufficient to explain this fact. We only declare what is true and cannot be confuted when we say that above all, and, alas, with greater success, than by any other factor, the progress of Communism during the last years has been hindered by the leadership of the British Communist. They, of course, have not acted independently, but have only followed blindly the orders given by the leaders of the Comintern. But this fact does not free the British Communist bureaucracy from its responsibility, nor lessen the damage it has done. The study and critical examination of the policy of the British

Communist Party during the last eight or ten years constitutes a most important task in the education of the Left Opposition itself. You should carefully study the official publications of the Party throughout this period, digest them, and bring out clearly the Party line on the main strategic problems: its attitude towards the Labour Party, the trade unions, the Minority Movement; the colonial revolutions; the united front policy; the I. L. P., etc. Even the mere selection of the most striking quotations, and the presentation of them in chronological order, would lay bare not only the glaring contradictions of the 'general line', but also the inner logic of these contradictions, i. e., the violent vacillations of the Centrist bureaucracy between opportunism and adventurism. Every one of these tactical zigzags pushed Communists, sympathizers, and potential friends back to the Right, to the Left, and finally into the swamp of indifference. We can say without the least exaggeration, that the British Communist Party has

become a political throughfare and that it retains its influence only with that section of the proletariat which has been forcibly pushed to its side by the decomposition of both capitalism and reformism.

Along with the new printed organ you have at your disposal a hectographed (excellently hectographed!) bulletin, 'The Communist'. It would be extremely desirable to devote the greatest possible space in this publication to the examination of the policy of the British Communist Party along the lines indicated above, and also to the discussion of controversial questions within the Left Opposition itself. While persistently striving to widen our influence among the workers, we must at the same time make it a point to work for the theoretical and political education of our own ranks. We have a long and laborious road in front of us. For this we need first-class cadres.

With all my heart I wish you success.

—LEON TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, 19th of May, 1933.

Left Opposition Active in Toronto Anti-Nazi Meet

Toronto, Canada.—The Left Opposition was the last contingent in the big anti-Fascist parade on Tuesday, July 12, and followed directly behind the "official" Left wing and Communist organizations.

Over 150 workers...members, sympathizers and friends rallied behind our big masthead "The International Left Opposition of Canada." This banner, in the centre of which was a big hammer and sickle, was carried by two young girl comrades, one of the Spartacus Youth Club and the other of the Y. C. L.

L. O. Slogans in Parade

As our contingent swung off, our comrades boomed out the International. Then followed a flow of revolutionary songs, "The Red Flag", "Solidarity Forever", "The Red Army March" etc. As we came up Spadina to Queen St., the workers lining the streets applauded and cheered. As the march proceeded, the enthusiasm and spirit of our comrades rose still higher, and soon were shouting out the slogans of our banners, all of which breathed the spirit of International Solidarity and class struggle. "Free the Scottsboro Boys", "Long Live the

International Working class", "Free all the Class War Prisoners", "Down with Section 98", "Freedom for Chen Du Shu and Andres Nin", "Forward to Victory Under the Banner of Lenin and Trotsky", etc., etc.

We swung into Queen Park to the enthusiastic tune of the International. As our contingent proceeded to their station, they again shouted out the slogans of our prominent banners. When the Stalinists as if to reply to us, shouted "Long Live the C. P. of Canada," we joined in the loud union. Then in order to reveal our identity our comrades immediately peeled out, "Long Live the Left Opposition", "Forward to Victory under the Banner of Lenin and Trotsky."

The speakers representing every tendency in the labor movement addressed the big crowd from 3 platforms. As comrade Spector took the slogan of our banners amidst the general applause of the crowd. The same was repeated when comrade MacDonald stood up on a second platform.

The Left Opposition were active participants and organizers of the

greatest and most militant labor demonstration since 1919, were able to show the workers the strength of its ideas, the enthusiasm and idealism of its banner-bearers, and the general growth of our movement. The militant character of our participation and banners, has already brought incitements and threats against us as well as the other revolutionary groups. We quote from *The Toronto Telegram*, July 13: "Nothing is more calculated to persuade Torontonians that Hitler was right than the presence in the Toronto demonstration of banners carrying such slogans as, 'Victory under the Banner of Trotsky', 'We demand the abolition of Section 98', and 'Hands off the Young Communist League'." ...Unless 'Victory under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky' and 'Hands off the Young Communist League' do not mean the advocacy of revolution, the English language has lost its meaning." The editorial calls upon the police to take action.

What do the Stalinists say to the above? Is this another united front between Trotsky and the bourgeois press?

—Q.

The Columbus Conference

1. The Background of the Unemployed Movement

The Columbus Conference can be properly understood only in the light of all past experience of the unemployed movement. Four years of economic collapse have not rolled by without leaving their mark. As a matter of fact, it radically changed the whole physiognomy of the labor movement. Trade union organizations, which never did reach any great proportions, diminished in size and unemployed organizations gradually grew up and developed.

At the beginning of the "depression," whatever organization of the unemployed was done resulted through the activity of the Communist party. The leadership of the socialist party was still groggy from an overdose of "prosperity" and the A. P. of L. bureaucracy was busy helping Hoover cover up the existence of the crisis. A truly golden opportunity here presented itself to the Communists of building up a mighty nation-wide unemployed movement such as might throw terror into the hearts of the bourgeoisie. Here also was the opportunity of cutting away the base of social reformism. But Stalinism is not rated for its accomplishments; defeats and set-backs are the rule that Stalinism works by, and the party's course during this entire period is certainly no exception to this rule.

Amidst such splendid possibilities, the party was weighed down with the Stalinist "third period" thesis, out of which flowed the ruinous theories and tactics that were guaranteed to bring about the isolation of the Communist party. Since the "third period" called for a "revolutionary upsurge" and this unfortunately did not exist—in fact does not yet exist in spite of the fact that the C. I. has for the second time recently declared with great solemnity that "capitalist stabilization has ended"—the revolutionary upsurge had to be manufactured. The "fight for the streets" was inaugurated and demonstrations of unemployed organizations for that purpose. Somehow it did not occur to anyone to ask what the party would do with the streets after it had captured them—in the "third period" this would have been sheer heresy. Instead of organizing the unemployed around their immediate demands, the abstract slogan of "Work or Wages" was shouted to the four winds. The writer, who was active in organizing the unemployed in Milwaukee at that time and, together with others, began to lay some emphasis on the immediate needs of the unemployed instead of spending his time extolling the Chinese Soviets. Together with his associates he was hailed before a meeting of the District Committee and all were condemned as "Economists".

The party was out for "independent leadership". The party would have nothing to do with "social fascists". The party must "fight for the streets". The party must organize "revolutionary trade unions". This was surely the road to success—did not the party set into motion some million-and-a-half unemployed on the first March 6th? (See the *Daily Worker*). The height of this fever was reached when Browder thundered out a manifesto to the American working class to follow the example of the Arkansas farmers, storm warehouses, and help themselves.

But somehow no response came to this swashbuckling call to arms and it was not long before the same hand of Browder wrote another article in the same *Daily Worker* of a directly opposite nature and this without even a word of explanation. Whereas the first decree had instructed the workers to seize the food warehouses for themselves, the second article gave to understand that the real job of the Unemployed Councils was to make the American working class "soup-conscious", i. e., to begin concentrating on the immediate needs of the unemployed. Naive people scratched their heads in amazement and marvelled at this sudden change.

Unemployment Councils Decompose

The whole secret lay in the fact that in that period the Unemployed Councils, which had at first experienced a relatively rapid growth, had now begun to decompose at an equally rapid pace, precisely because they could not be kept together on the basis of abstract slogans. In fact, the demonstrations, which had been the stimulus administered to keep them alive, had begun very seriously to decline in size and generally to fizzle out. Hence the slogan.

Meanwhile the Unemployed Councils were the only organizations in the field. The S. P. was still blissfully oblivious to its own possibilities and the depth of the crisis had not been reached where spontaneous organizations would come into existence. But the inability of the party to adapt itself to the needs of the moment, as well as the deepening of the crisis, at length began to make their way into the consciousness of the American reformists. The failure of the Communists served to encourage the S. P. and it began to organize its own unemployed movement. The Muste group, not to be outdone, began to organize its unemployed organizations. Still another stratum of unemployed organizations came into existence, organized on a self-help or barter basis, of which the original California carrot-pulling organization is typical.

But as the crisis deepened, even these self-help organizations began

to change their complexion and inevitably gravitated in the direction of class struggle.

By this time, the Unemployed Councils had drawn up several social insurance bills, the first one demanding twenty-five dollars a week for the unemployed, and the others gradually going lower and lower. Hunger marches on Washington and state capitals were organized which at first, as long as they served to dramatize certain campaigns, aroused the country to the brutality of the crisis, but later began to peter out, due to senseless repetition. To obtain the actual numerical strength of the Unemployed Councils over this period is impossible. The *Daily Worker* is not famous for modesty and truthfulness.

Need of Unity

Gradually these various organizations developed and grew up side by side and a levelling process set in. The most radical, i. e., the Unemployed Councils, got out of the dizzy heights of the "Third Period" and began to pay some attention to the needs of the unemployed. In fact, the center of their entire activity became the fight for relief. On the other hand, the self-help organizations were driven to the wall and had to resort to the same activities as were conducted by the Unemployed Councils; that is, eviction activity, turning on gas and electricity, etc. So that, at the beginning of this year, aside from the spontaneous organizations, practically every political group had its own unemployed organization, each carrying on practically the same activity and having practically the same program. And gradually the thought of unity began to develop—the thought of uniting all unemployed organizations into one.

Another golden opportunity here presented itself to the Communist party—and another golden opportunity was missed. At this point, "the united front from below" hung like a millstone around the neck of the party, with the bureaucrats keeping vigilant guard lest anyone should seek to loosen it. When the thought of unity took on concrete form, it was not the Stalinist leadership that concretized it but on the contrary the reformist, Karl Borders, of the Chicago S. P. who had built up a large unemployed movement of considerable influence. It was this Workers' Committee, together with the Workers' League, that met last fall and began to talk in concrete terms of federation. Of course, Karl Borders had an axe to grind. A federation of unemployed organizations which would exclude the Unemployed Councils would be quite acceptable to Mr. Borders. In a federation of this sort, the S. P. could easily take the leadership and thereby capture the control of additional unemployed organizations. As for the Workers' League—well, that is a small organization which could be easily disposed of. So thought Mr. Borders. But, as the canny Scot would have it, "there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip". And, in this case, the cup was rudely dashed out of Borders' hands.

The Chicago Conference

The call for the Chicago Conference of Unemployed Organizations was very plain-spoken. The conference was to achieve unity, but the Unemployed Councils were to be left out. No organized voice of protest was heard from the rank and file of Borders' organization against this perfidious arrangement. What made it possible for Borders to proceed in this manner with impunity was the past activity of the Unemployed Councils along the lines of "united front from below" previously commented upon in the *Militant*.

As the day of the conference approached, the Chicago Branch of the Left Opposition addressed a letter to the C. P. asking for a Left wing bloc to fight for a militant policy in the conference. The only group that came into this conference with a clear-cut program of unity through federation was the Left Opposition and before the conference adjourned our position was adopted in the main.

From the point of view of numerical attendance, the conference was no great success. But it was thoroughly representative, and in that lay its importance. Literally, all shades of political thought were represented through the medium of the delegates from the various unemployed organizations which they had built up. It was, however, very uncertain at the beginning as to which political current would predominate.

Left Wing Scores Victory

The first battle of this conference was around the question of seating the Unemployed Council delegates. After a heated debate, a vote was taken and the Left wing scored its first victory, which indicated the general possibilities. From then on, the conference began slowly but surely to slip from the hands of Mr. Borders, and the Left wing position grew stronger and stronger. The Stalinists, who had come uncertain even of being seated, became arrogant and attempted to hog the entire conference. Only through the utmost exertion of the Left Opposition were the differences between the various Left wing groups bridged and unanimity established on the salient points of policy.

The Left wing emerged victorious from this conference. Out of this conference grew the National

Lessons of the Leninist United Front Tactic

ANOTHER SO-CALLED UNITED FRONT

In the hey-day of the "united front from below" the Stalinist called many united front conferences, sending calls to all organizations under their ideological and mechanical control and asking all other workers to break with their leadership and join the "united front". The T. U. U. L. and the I. L. D., the W. I. R. and the fraternal organizations, as well as any A. F. L. local where the Left wing was strong enough to send a delegate, received a call.

The delegates at the conference, no matter how many paper organizations or real organizations they represented, represented one political current; Stalinism—with the exception of the Left Opposition which was always kicked out the door, and several stray delegates who ran the gauntlet by accident. Month in and month out the same organizations sent delegates to the "united fronts". Each time the conference ended with the Stalinists capturing themselves, through the "united front from below".

The united front is a tactic of uniting, in temporary agreement, different organizations, and different political tendencies. To call together several organizations under socialist party control is not a united front, any more than the calling together of those organizations under Stalinist control constitutes a united front. United front action must be between organizations, but at the same time must embrace more than one political current. Each political current entering the united front is expected to rally those organizations and forces it has control over.

The Mooney Congress held in

Federation of Workers' Leagues of America. The national committee of this federation represents all shades of unemployed organizations as dominated by the philosophies of the various political groups. The end of the conference, which revealed a decisive Left wing majority, was so distasteful to Mr. Borders, that he refused to enter the national committee and subsequently withdrew his organizations from the Federation. All of this because he was afraid to be in the minority.

The results of the Chicago Conference were entirely unexpected by the Stalinist leadership of the Unemployed Councils. They came in with no policy and were forced along the course proposed by the Left Opposition. In private conversation at Columbus, Benjamin openly admitted that the national committee of the Unemployed Councils had not the slightest idea that a federation would emerge out of the Chicago conference. "Had we known what would happen," he stated, "I would have been there, and other leaders of the Unemployed Councils." For once a truthful admission. For in making the above statement, Benjamin unwittingly admitted the fact that in reality the "general staff" that is the party bureaucracy, is asleep at the switch, and in spite of the fact that "capitalist stabilization has ended" for the second time, still woefully clutching at the tail of the unemployed movement.

The Unemployed Council delegates who had attended the Chicago conference therefore had no instructions from New York and participated in the conference in a hand-to-mouth fashion. Consequently, they committed a mistake which to the bureaucracy was beyond forgiveness—they only succeeded in getting two representatives on the national committee of the federation! Ostensibly, the Unemployed Council leadership, through the *Daily Worker*, hailed the Chicago conference as a great success and were not at all bashful in claiming the Federation as their own legitimate child. But actually something else was happening. "What?" must have thundered the New York bureaucrats, "You did not capture a majority of the national committee of the Federation? ! Don't you know better than that? A fig for the Federation when we don't control it!"

Quantity Becomes Quality

From the very start, the Stalinists frowned on the Federation. In spite of the fact that the Unemployed Councils were members of this Federation, they did not bestir themselves greatly to bring in other organizations. To withdraw from the Federation would have meant to step openly in the footsteps of Borders and thus lose prestige, so they decided to stay in the Federation and kill it from within. But how? Here, the great incubator of ideas, Earl Browder, finally stumbled upon a very likely scheme. He suddenly remembered that Muste had also called for a unity conference in Columbus. So negotiations were started with the "Left social fascist" Muste. And why not? Is Muste any worse than Cook, Hicks, and Purcell? If he is, then he certainly cannot be worse than Chiang Kai-Shek, whom Browder knew in the past rather too intimately.

And so it came to pass that on a fine day in June, Browder came to Chicago and suffered himself to appear before the national committee of the Federation. Said the omniscient one to the national committee: "Frankly, we are not satisfied with the Federation. Here we are, the biggest unemployed organization

in Chicago in May, with about two dozen political tendencies; and the Unemployment Conference held in Chicago in June, with fifteen political tendencies—are first steps toward the Leninist United Front action. However, the number of workers put in motion and not the number of political tendencies is decisive.

THE UNITED FRONT AS A MANEUVER

The reformists say that the communists are insincere and that the call for a united front is a maneuver. If this is so then the reformists have nothing to worry about because if the Communists call a united front upon such a flimsy foundation, the Communists and not the reformists will lose. Of course the united front tactic or rather, the rejection of the united front tactic by Stalinism has played into the hands of the reformists, but in the main this is merely an excuse of the reformists to avoid taking part in the united front.

On the other hand, one must not take the word *maneuver* in too narrow a sense. If by maneuver one means a trick than we are opposed to a maneuver, but the fact remains that every move of any military or political force is a maneuver. In this latter sense, every united front action, like all other political actions, is a maneuver. The thing for the revolutionist and honest worker to find out is: Is it a correct maneuver, one that benefits the working class—or a false maneuver?

NON-AGGRESSION PACTS

The reformists and opportunists and misleaders will prevent a united front as long as possible, but once more the mass pressure and conditions force them to make a move toward the united front they

immediately attempt to set up certain provisions which will guarantee them from the "evils of exposure". One of their favorite means is to attempt to form a "non-aggression" pact with the others participating in the united front. They demand that while the united front is conducted, the organizations should refrain from criticizing each other. If one agrees to refrain from political criticism, then the misleaders are sure they will be able to retain their control and will not be exposed in action for their traitorous acts. Anyone who agrees to refrain from criticism during united front action forakes one of the basic conditions of the Leninist united front. The right of minority expression and political criticism must be guaranteed at all times. Only fakers would ask for such a pact and only fools and Stalinists would agree to such pacts. Stalinism, like the social democracy, has its own crimes to cover up.

In the last several years in Germany, while Fascism was marching forward with rapid strides, while Stalinism was in its "third period", the social democratic betrayers were rendered the greatest historical service possible by the Stalinist united front from below. When over the threshold of state power Fascism gained, and was already the social democratic leaders offered the Communists a united front, but with the "non-aggression" clause, the C. I. statement and answer agreed to refrain from criticism. Again, following the "united front from below", the agreement to refrain from criticism rendered social democracy more service. This was repeated at the Mooney Congress in Chicago by the Stalinists. (To be continued)

Hathaway Speaks on United Front in Brownsville

New York, N. Y.—C. A. Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker*, gave another of his famous lectures in Brownsville a week ago. This time the subject was to be the National Industrial Recovery Act. The lecturer was going along at a fine pace for about one hour when suddenly he found himself in the dreadful united front business once more. And here this great apostle of Stalinism could not restrain himself from casting a few slanders at the Left Opposition, and comrade Trotsky. He told the workers that the renegade Trotsky wanted only a united front from above, and that the "Trotskyists" told the workers that they must not attack the leaders of the socialist party. It appears that the Hathaways will stoop to any level in order to fool the workers into believing that Trotsky is a counter-revolutionary. What a shameless lie!

When and where has the Left Opposition ever said that we must unite only from above?—and that we must not attack the leaders? "The Trotskyists want us to go to the doors of Hillquit and Thomas and knock, and in this manner they will form a united front."

At a District membership meeting of the Y. C. L. where he attempted to clarify the party united front policy, it was this same Hathaway who got up in a mass of dramatic gestures boasted so loudly of the fact that "yesterday comrade Stachel, and myself went to visit A. J. Muste and we got him to accept our united front invitation." And did comrade Hathaway forget? "We called up Norman Thomas and he agreed to bring up our invitation to the National Committee of the Socialist Party."

Then there was still the question (and a new policy in the Hathaway lectures) discussion period. And lo and behold the same incident to even a greater extent than at the District membership meeting of the Y. C. L. The questions were all of a "Trotskyite" nature, causing comrade Hathaway to get very angry as he remarked, picking up the large bundle of questions, "I think

zation, and only have a paltry two representatives on this national committee. What we want is unity. In order to achieve unity we propose that you agree to elect a committee of five, let the Unemployed Councils elect a committee of five, and the Columbus conference also a committee of five, and this committee of fifteen will arrange a unity conference in Washington at the time that Congress opens and at that time merge all unemployed organizations into one. Then we'll present one common front to the capitalist government."

Such open-hearted frankness was so unexpected by the non-Stalinist members of the committee that for a moment they lost their bearings and almost fell into the trap. But fortunately a few more experienced members "came from Missouri" and remained unmoved by Browder's eloquence. So they voted against the proposition as laid down by Browder and, in spite of the outraged protestations of innocence on the part of the Stalinists, decided to poll the entire committee on this question. —NORMAN SATIR. (To be continued)

that the workers of Brownsville should be interested in the National Recovery Act, but instead they seem to be more interested in Trotsky and the united front."

So comrade Hathaway has caught the workers of Brownsville at a very serious crime. The workers were inquiring "how was it that Hitler took power with such an enormous and well trained Communist on hand to lead the working class"? This is one of the many questions that Hathaway chose not to answer. The disciple of Stalin was surprised again when during the discussion period a sympathizer to the Left Opposition rose and spoke on the united front. The Stalinist chairman attempted to sit the speaker down, but the protest from the workers was so great that the speaker was allowed to continue and he exposed the false policies of the Stalinists, of social Fascism, united front "only from below", etc.

It looks as though the more the Stalinists speak on Germany the more clear becomes the position of the L. O. —H. G.

Stalinist Slugger Beats Left Oppositionist

Brooklyn, N. Y.—Continuing a policy of using their fists when their heads ceased to supply arguments, leading Y. C. L. members resort to the method of physical violence against Left Oppositionists.

On Friday night, July 14, after an open-air meeting held by the Left Opposition in Brownsville had ended and the comrades had left, comrade Joe Elliott was attacked in front of the Parkway cafeteria. The Stalinists previously made attempts to provoke him. Al Dasch, functionary of the Brownsville section, notorious as a retired pugilist, "hard guy", and Trotsky-baiter, shouted out: "These Trotskyists must be driven out of Brownsville!"

Comrade Elliott replied: "I'll leave when the workers of Brownsville want me to leave," and turned away. Al Dasch swung viciously at Elliott and dealt him several blows, injuring his eye.

Many of the workers present protested against this procedure and loudly voiced their opinions, promising to bring this matter up at the Section headquarters. To some of the others this "educational" work of Dasch, who is a member of the Section "Agit-prop" was considered in line with the "New Turn" though not outlined in the famous Open Letter.

Several Y. C. L. members expressed their indignation by saying that they would go themselves to the Section and bring charges against Dasch. In the meantime the Section has not uttered a word on the matter; by its very silence it is condoning and encouraging gangsterism and strong-arm methods. The system of Stalinism promises advancement and functionaries' positions by plenty of use of the fist and nothing of the head. —J. S.

CHICAGO BEACH PARTY

At Roscoe and the Lake
SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1933, 2 P. M.
(Meet at home of Esther O'P, 631 W. Roscoe Ave.)
—Refreshments Singing, Games—
Come Early and Enjoy Festivities
Auspices: Spartacus Youth Club

All comrades sending in news accounts and articles for publication in the *Militant* are requested to prepare typed copy, triple spaced.

Ohio State Jobless Confab

Flag Waving Patriots - Muste's Supporters

OHIO CONVENTION EXPOSES REACTION IN MUSTE BUILT LEAGUES

Columbus, Ohio.—We were received at the Columbus Convention on July 1st by a "workers" patrol, marked with arm-bands, armed with clubs and headed by one "Joe Gershner", whom Truax, president of the Ohio Unemployed League, saw fit to publicly characterize on the last day of the national convention as a "stool-pigeon, organizer of strike-breakers and company thugs". It was not until the third day of the convention, after incoming fraternal and out-of-town delegates had protested vigorously against these armed "guards" that the clubs disappeared; and with the exception of a few passing words about a "disguised national guard" not one public word was said in protest, until the last day of the convention, and then only to the Ohio Caucus.

The first session began with the endorsement of slates presented by the state office, etc., and continued with reports from county delegations as to local conditions. Karl Pauli, S. P. member spoke on the Continental Congress. Truapp spoke on the C. P. sponsored Small Home and Land Owners Federation. Arnold Johnson spoke as representative of the C. P. L. A. and organizer of the O. U. L., mentioning united front action with Unemployed Councils through state federation. Clowe, chairman of the Franklin County League, in which Columbus is situated, jumps to platform and demands to know whether or not the Councils respect the "Star and Stripes". Preis of Toledo follows, attempting to defend the council attitude towards "the flag". He is interrupted by a threatening roar, cries of "Stop him!", "Call the police", "Make him take that back!" and a charge on the platform of about one-fourth those present. Numerous members of this "workers guard" took part in this demonstration. Fortunately there was a fence between the audience and the platform, which stemmed the rush long enough to let the Musteltes Johnson and Baubof smooth the situation over with words.

But the situation was still tense enough when Perkins of Franklin County, introduced the motion: That the following be inserted in the Preamble of the O. U. L.—"The Stars and Stripes forever. When they're right we'll uphold them; when they're wrong we'll fight them". That no one dared to object to. This was passed before Ben Smith of Franklin County, urged the crowd to return to their seats saying that the O. U. L. was not organized "under the red flag but as a 100 percent American organization", and pacified them with words about "diplomacy".

With such a start it was hard to expect much from this convention. And it is significant that the leaders of this non-class-conscious gang (to be mild) came mostly from Franklin County, in which the Columbus office of the O. U. L. is located and where we should normally expect the most progressive elements to be. If the Musteltes leaders of the O. U. L. had really followed a working class organizational and educational policy. —N.

Declaration of L. O. at Columbus Conference

TO ALL DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE

Brother delegates: The passing of the Industrial Recovery Act by the Roosevelt government is the most far-reaching attack on the working class. This Act is a direct attack against the unemployed.

Capitalist charity and unemployment "emergency relief" has proven inadequate and has come to a breakdown. The capitalists realize that they will have to spend hundreds of millions of dollars next winter in order to keep the 18 million unemployed in submission. Hence the Recovery Act.

This Recovery law is an attempt on the part of the capitalists to side-step social insurance. They have passed codes in various industries precisely for the purpose of establishing a universal stagger system in order to absorb some of the unemployed into industry at a starvation wage. The 3 billion dollar program of public and manufacturers. Workers hired for this public works program will be paid in inflated currency, which will not suffice for the bare necessities of life. This is merely another form of forced labor which the capitalists will institute in the place of social insurance.

The Industrial Control Law establishes a form of state capitalism and is calculated to save the rotten and decayed capitalist structure by the elimination of small producers, the organization of cartels, the outlawing of strikes, the establishing of a class collaboration machinery to hamper the development of class struggle organizations and the shifting of the entire burden of the crisis upon the working class. By instituting these measures and reducing the cost of production, the American capitalists hope to be in a position where they will be able to better compete on the world market.

A determined struggle must be waged by the entire working class

against the effects of this capitalist offensive in the form of the Recovery Act. The unemployed have a special part in this struggle. Fellow delegates:

The present economic crisis is here to stay. It is a natural development of capitalism. Increasing unemployment and lower relative wages, greater misery and increased pauperization are all natural products of the present decaying system. The capitalists have no solution for the present crisis. Their present scheme of the partnership of industry and government will no more solve the problem than their previous plans. The only real and permanent solution to all the misery created by this planless system of production is the proletarian revolution. For the working class to rid itself for all time of the present conditions it is necessary to uproot capitalism and replace it by a socialist planned system of production for use.

Toward the achievement of this goal it is necessary first of all to put the working class in motion in a struggle for its immediate needs. This conference must adopt a program of action for the struggle for these immediate demands. In addition to local demands, the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) proposes to the conference the consideration and adoption of the following concrete slogans and organizational steps:

1. For immediate relief and social insurance at the expense of the bosses and their government.
2. For the 6-hour day, 5-day week with an increase in wages.
3. Fight for higher wages and increased relief to combat inflation.
4. For the recognition of and the extension of long-term credits to the Soviet Union.

To attain the necessary strength to struggle for these demands we propose the following organizational steps:

1. The application of the united front tactic as a means of uniting the various unemployed organizations (Unemployed Leagues, Unemployed Councils, Workers' Leagues, etc., etc.) should be put into effect. In this united front each organization retains its organizational independence, refrains from slander and personal attack against each other, but maintains the right of minority expression and freedom of criticism. Under no circumstance can any united front exclude or bar any unemployed organization from participation. Should the leadership of any unemployed organization attempt to prevent the entry of its organization into the united front, continued efforts must be made to bring them into the united front.
2. The Columbus Conference is the second national conference held this year. The Chicago Conference of June 13-15, called by the Workers' Committee on Unemployed and the Workers' League, has established a National Unemployed Federation of Workers' Leagues, to which are already affiliated the largest unemployed organizations in the country. This Federation stands for the unification of the unemployed movement and is opposed to any discrimination against race, color, creed or political opinion.

Of all the organizations that participated in the conference, endorsed the program and voted for the Federation—such organizations as the Unemployed Leagues, Workers' Committee, Workers' League, and Unemployed Councils—only the Borders leadership of the Workers' Committee has tried to split the Federation.

The most important task of the Columbus Conference is unification with the National Unemployed Federation.

3. This Conference must go on record favoring affiliation to the National Federation. This will be the greatest step in the direction of establishing unity in the unemployed movement on a national scale.

4. Our objective should be the amalgamation of all the unemployed organizations into one. This can be accomplished only after the various unemployed groups learn how to work together in a united front or federation which at first gives each participating organization organizational autonomy. This course must be followed because amalgamation is a far more advanced step than affiliation to the National Unemployment Federation.

5. Finally, efforts must be directed towards the unification of the struggle of the unemployed workers with that of the employed and in cooperation with all working class organizations. July 3rd, 1933.

UNEMPLOYED ORGANIZATION FRACTION, COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (LEFT OPPOSITION)

OPEN AIR MEETINGS FOR NEW YORK

Manhattan: 7th St. and 2nd Ave. every Thursday night 6 P. M.
80th Street and Lexington Ave., every Friday night 6 P. M.
Harlem: 125th St., and 5th Avenue, every Saturday night 8 P. M.
Bronx: 163rd Street and Prospect Ave., every Sat. night 8 P. M.
Brooklyn: Pitkin Ave. and Bristol St. (Brownsville) Friday night

The Death of Com. Klara Zetkin

The death of Klara Zetkin removes from the revolutionary labor movement one of that diminishing handful of true founders of the Communist International still left in its ranks. More than half a century of undivided devotion to the cause of working class freedom lay behind the great militant whose last public act was her appearance a few months ago in Berlin to preside, as senior member, over the last session of the Weimar Reichstag before its dissolution by those same snarling brutes in brown shirts whom she compelled to listen to the eloquent defiance of a tongue which proclaimed the inevitable revolution in Germany.

Born more than seventy-five years ago, on July 5, 1857, Klara Zetkin became a socialist at the time the Iron Chancellor launched the notorious Exceptional Laws against the social democratic movement. Her activity in the party not only began with its heroic period, but unlike most of her contemporaries, she carried forward the best of the tradition of those days throughout the rest of her life.

Klara Zetkin—Women's Leader

For more than a quarter of a century, her name was prominently associated throughout the Socialist world with the movement to win the working class woman to the standard of revolution. To her, more than to any other single force, goes the credit for the rich educational and cultural work among proletarian women which was carried on for decades in Germany. Virtually by her own efforts, she founded the socialist women's periodical *Gleichheit* (Equality) and edited it uninterruptedly from 1892 to 1917, when the social patriots summarily removed her from the journal which had become synonymous with her own name. If a socialist woman's movement came into existence in Germany, distinct and separate from the feminist and other bourgeois movements, it was in no small measure due to the unremitting labors of her brain, her pen, her tongue. Little wonder then that the Executive Committee of the Communist International, after its foundation, confided to her the direction of Communist activity among the working women throughout the world.

Her activities, however, were not confined to this specific field. Klara Zetkin was a party woman, above everything. And in the party, she stood unwaveringly on the side of that small band of warriors who constituted the Marxian group from the very outset of the internal struggle. She stood elbow to elbow with the Left wing of Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring in their fight, made in common with Kautsky, up to a certain point, against the revisionist program of Bernstein, David and Co. which finally devoured Bebel's party. And even when Parvus turned grain and munitions agent for the House of Hohenzollern during the war, and Kautsky effected his touching conciliation with Bernstein, Klara Zetkin remained with the now reduced group of Marxists who defended proletarian internationalism by deeds, while others were drowning in fratricidal blood or else giving it sufficient formal acknowledgment to enable them all the more easily to continue attacking Spartacus.

Opposed the Social Patriots

The solemn decisions on the question of imperialist war adopted by the Congresses of the Socialist International and of the German Party retained their significance for her even after August 4, 1914. Standing at the head of the Wuerttemberg party organization, together with Crispian and Westmeyer, she vehemently opposed the treacherous action of the Reichstag fraction in voting for war credits, and demanded that it adhere to the decisions of the International. Nor did she rest content with a formal gesture. When Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring issued the first number of *Die Internationale* in April 1915, delivering those crushing blows at chauvinists and Kautskys alike, the name of Klara Zetkin was to be found on this roll of honor together with Karski, Jogisches, Thalheimer and the other internationalists who subsequently founded the Spartakusbund. Like Rosa and countless others, she was thrown into prison during the war, to the great relief of the Kaiser's socialists. An illegally distributed Spartacus leaflet of that time commemorated the contrast between the two camps in the social democracy by showing three pictures: Rosa Luxemburg and Klara Zetkin, each in her prison cell for anti-war activity, and Scheidemann, Noske, David and other social-imperialists photographed at a discreet distance behind the front, fraternizing with army officers in front of their quarters; the pictures were eloquent enough without comment—nor did the leaflet supply them with any.

To Klara Zetkin falls the distinction of having initiated the first successful International socialist conference after the outbreak of the war and the collapse of the Second International. Upon her own responsibility, the International socialist women's conference was convened in Bern, Switzerland, in March 1915, with representatives from all the important belligerents on both sides. There were not many in those black days of treach-

A Historical Appreciation of the Great Woman Revolutionist

ery and reaction who were ready to speak and act for internationalism, but among them was to be found the already aging but tireless German revolutionist. At that time, it is true, she did not yet stand on the side of the Bolsheviks. The latter's delegates to the Berne Conference, Inessa Armand and N. K. Krupskaya, were the isolated extreme Left wing, whose resolution to the Conference, edited by Lenin, was overwhelmingly rejected because it put the question of the break with all patriots and Centralists in the sharpest and most unmistakable manner. Not even Zetkin was at that time prepared to consummate the rupture. But even though Lenin submitted the ambiguous and hesitant decisions of Berne to an acrid criticism, the Conference was nevertheless the first European milestone along that road, marked later on by Zimmerwald and Kienthal, which led directly to the founding of the Communist International in Moscow in April 1919.

The first years of the Russian revolution and the Communist International undoubtedly marked the high water mark of Klara Zetkin's development and activity. The great period of stormy revolutionary flood brought out all that was best and most positive in the Communist leaders of the time. Despite her years, she put at the disposal of the German and international movements those talents which distinguished her. A fervid temperament, a sincerity of devotion, kept alive in her a luminous flame which dimmed only towards the last. An abyss lay between her and that legion of others, favoring careerists and stock-market revolutionists, who came to the Comintern in its early years like so many tourists and soon left it to write apologies for their momentary aberration.

Her gift of oratory, warm with a rich inspiring prose, was not always combined with the quality of profound and original political thinking. In this respect, she had leaned very heavily upon the sturdy and surer Rosa Luxemburg throughout the years before and during the world war. The political firmness and strength which she gained from this heavy association did not, unfortunately, grow in the years that followed.

The young Communist Party of Germany was cruelly deprived of its central staff immediately after the war. Left without the gifted brain of Luxemburg, the popular and tireless revolutionary spirit of Tyschko, the leadership of the party slipped by default into the hands of an inferior stratum of the Spartacans, whose qualities were not exactly enhanced by the accretion of the motley Left wing that joined it after the splitting of the Independent Socialists at Halle. She who had once, drawn her strength from the wells of a Luxemburg, now turned to Paul Levi, who proved to be more skilled in the collection of rare pottery than in the leadership of a revolutionary party. In the party crisis that followed the luckless "March Action" in 1921, Zetkin marched at Levi's heels together with the group of Daewig, Brass and the others who finally went back with Levi to the social democracy. With Levi, too, she balked at Lenin's struggle against G. Serrati, whose fatal attitude in the Italian Socialist party impeded so markedly the development of a mass Communist party for the sake of unity with a coterie of shrewd opportunists. Still, unlike both Levi and Serrati, she never broke with the International and after each crisis, with her position increasingly compromised, she was to be found in its ranks.

In taking her position in the intricate internal disputes of the Comintern, Klara Zetkin did not, alas! always distinguish between the revolutionary Left wing and the adventurist or infantile ultra-Left.

The Legend of the 'Red Nazi'

Of late there have been numerous reports of the arrests of oppositional Nazis—in Frankfurt a. M. several hundred mutinied and are supposed to have sung the "International" in the course of the fight; in Bautzen 72 Nazis had to be transferred and in Berlin-Charlottenburg 20 men were interned in the barracks on General Pape Street, etc. The latest report speaks of the arrest of the 4 high Nazi officers in Berlin and of their transfer to a concentration camp.

In the ranks of those who are prophesying the immediate collapse of Fascism in Germany, both in the Comintern and its sections as well as in the social democracy, these incidents of rebellion among the Nazis are interpreted as symptoms of impending disintegration. After all their hopes had fled, after the labor organizations had been destroyed, the trade unions—even those under the Christian firm shield—"equalized", the Stahlhelm, the National Front, the Center proscribed—after all this, all bureaucrats who still cannot realize what has happened or why, set all their hopes on a rebellion among the mercenary troops of Fascism.

Conflict in S. A. Ranks Expected
That, after the seizure of power, there would be and had to be conflicts between Hitler and the lower layers of his following—this was predicted long in advance and is only to be expected. For certain groups the seizure of power by Hitler was very profitable, namely, to all those who were placed in the state and administrative apparatus and in other functions and posts.

Despite all anti-Jewish and anti-Marxist incitement, despite discharging and "equalization", there are nevertheless strata in the Fascist camp who cannot be satisfied, above all, those lower rank S. A. (Storm Troop) men who in the past number of months lived from purely criminal theft and plunder at house raids and in the course of making arrests. But pillaging cannot be carried on indefinitely and even the anti-Jewish boycott does not suffice to satiate all the hungry peasant sons and petty bourgeois.

For a period of time they can be used as auxiliary police or auxiliary border guards, etc., but only for a definite period of time and only in a limited capacity. The rest of the S. A. men, on the other hand are subjected to daily drill and to the drab life of the barracks court. But they do not fail to see how their upper "party comrades" feed on fat little posts, ride through the streets glamorously in elegant autos—and they want their share of the booty.

Therein lies the elementary explanation for the S. A. mutinies today: they are the wage strikes of employed retainers and could be overcome for a period of time, if the mutinous hordes were once again let loose on expropriation activities against Jews and Marxists. But even in this respect only the leanest meat remains, the fat has been chewed off long ago, for the most part.

Mussolini Also Shot Adherents
At any rate the phenomenon is not unknown. Mussolini also had his adherents shot upon after his seizure of power, had them arrested and put into jail. And even before the seizure of power by Hit-

ler, one S. A. rebellion followed another, so that the C. P. G. and the S. P. G. for years never stopped shouting about the "increasing integration of the Nazis." And at that, these rebellions were never really more than scandals and tiffs between "criminals" and "loyalists" who came into the S. A. in bands and were often lured by Hitler on salary bases. This accumulation of anti-social and lumpen-proletarian elements was confronted by the S. S. (Schutz-Staffel, defensive corps) as the socially and politically reliable, picked guard—which did not contribute to raising the morale among the S. A. (Storm Troops, offensive corps). Today the S. S. is a sort of military police and is rigorously utilized against Storm Troops.

Naturally the disillusionment of the Nazis who rebel today is much stronger than heretofore, when it was still possible to find consolation and cause for self-negation in all sorts of promises. But in the meantime the Hitler dictatorship has become more and more entrenched.

All opposition parties and organizations have been liquidated and the rebellions of the dissatisfied Nazis simply have to evaporate into empty space for the time being. Or else—crash down in the face of resistance from the satiated strata in the Fascist camp, in whose hands the means of power are concentrated.

No Faith in S. A. Mutinies

It would be an error, with disastrous consequences to follow, to put great hopes and expectations today upon the S. A. mutinies or even to see in these elements trustworthy allies. The proletariat is faced today with a different question, namely, that of a new gathering of forces and the formation of new revolutionary cadres from the various camps of the working class.

This process of clarification and regroupment must in no case be hampered by a revival of the old Stalinist legend of the "revolutionary S. A. man" and of the "brotherly hand" (to the "Nazi proletarian"). Even today the C. P. G. is publishing a little sheet, "The Revolutionary S. A. Man", by the distribution of which the safety of active Communist members is endangered in an irresponsible manner, while at the same time the Otto Strasser and "Black Front" people, long endorsed and nurtured by the C. P. G., today once again repose under Hitler's and Goering's kindly wing. And the well-known "Police Lieutenant Giesecke", who was dragged around from mass meeting to mass meeting and got a good insight into the military apparatus of the party—works today in the emigration centers for the construction of a Fascist stool-pigeon and provocateur apparatus.

Of course, the revolutionary proletariat and the existing cadres and groups observe and pursue with attention all the processes in the camp of the bourgeoisie and of Fascism, in order at fit occasions to utilize these processes according to the possibilities. But the prerequisite for this is the existence of revolutionary Marxist cadres, for the formation of which all forces must be strained.

(From Unser Wort)

In her defense of Levi against Bela Kun, Pepper and Froelich, as in her defense of Serrati against Bordiga, there was a noticeable distinction between her position and the position, let us say, of Lenin who so demonstratively proclaimed himself a member of the "Right wing" at the Third Congress of the International. As became even more apparent in later years, Zetkin was unable to adjust herself to the requirements of the revolutionary epoch. Her interventions against ultra-Leftism were essentially actuated by a distinct leaning to the right.

This weakness she revealed most tragically throughout the whole period of the October 1923 struggle in Germany. Trotsky's arguments that it was possible and necessary to set a date for the insurrection and to orient the strategy and tactics of the party towards it—that is, his application of the experiences gained in the Russian October to the German situation—she regarded as a species of Blanquist heresy. The protests of the militant and Left wing sections of the party against the dilatory and headless policy of the Brandler Central Committee always encountered her ardent resistance. Even after the catastrophe, she came to the defense of Brandler, Thalheimer and Radek, not in the spirit of placing the responsibility on the international leadership, where it belonged, but as an apology for the calamitous course of the Right wing combined with a bitter attack upon the Left.

She was linked with Brandler from the earliest days of the Spartakusbund, and the Left wing socialist movement before it. And those bonds were strengthened by her violent reaction against those whom Zinoviev, Stalin and, Bucharin helped to impose upon the German party as its leadership in place of the discredited Right wing Central Committee. The characteristic function of the type of ultra-Leftist of the type of Ruth Fischer, A. Maslow, Katz, Schwartz and the camarilla around them, aroused her contempt and deepest mistrust. If she reconciled herself somewhat to the post-1923 leadership, it was not due to the change of heart on her side. Rather, the contrary. After the removal of ultra-Leftist leadership in 1925, the party and the International engaged upon that protracted course towards opportunism in which Klara Zetkin felt herself far more at ease than during the period of the dry sectarian ponderosity of Maslow's literary effusions and the wind and fury of Fischer's clamorous oratory. Brandler and Thalheimer, virtually marooned in Moscow up to that time, commenced a bolder factional activity inside the party and for a time it appeared that the pitiful Thalheimer leadership was to be "solidified" by the rehabilitation in the party of the Right wing exiles. The latter counted on Zetkin's support, nor was it withheld.

It was only when the dawn of the "third period" sealed the fate of the Right wing for a second, and apparently last time, and the expulsion of Brandler, Thalheimer and their supporters was consummated, that all hope was abandoned. The ultra-Leftist wrecking crew, considerably inferior to the group of Maslow and Fischer, which was given the helm of party leadership, practically completed the elimination of Klara Zetkin from all active participation in it. It cannot be said that it was an event entirely distasteful to her. She had after all once worked by the side of a Rosa Luxemburg, a Franz Mehring, a Karl Liebknecht. Even in later years, her party had at least been under the leadership of a Paul Levi who, no matter how much his defects impeded and finally put a stop to his political growth, nevertheless had a head on his shoulders, as Lenin said. How could she now subordinate herself voluntarily to the direction of such shoddy, even if internationally advertised, products (the artificial campaign must have revolted her) as were put at the head of the party, of a Heinz Neumann, whom she never ceased to regard as an irresponsible adventurer and a sinister figure in the party? But by this time the regime in the International had reached a point where she could no longer speak her mind openly. The old militant no longer appeared on the tribune of the party or the International. Her bitter protests against the treatment of Brandler and his friends, against the abominations

(Continued on Page 4)

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Whither the Y.P.S.L. Insurgents?

Several months ago, a few circles of the Young Peoples Socialist League of Chicago, were expelled. The immediate issue which caused the expulsion was the united front, concretized at the time around the national Mooney Congress and the question of the participation of the Socialists. The change in line of the Stalinists, driven by the events in Germany, offered the possibilities for a genuine united front and the creation of a mass movement for the freedom of Tom Mooney. But the despicable role of the Socialists and their "Socialistic" agents in the labor movement, prevented the enlargement of this movement to a mass character. The manner in which the movement for Mooney's freedom was finally organized, established the treacherous role of the Socialists and enabled the Left wing and "progressive" socialists to wage a struggle within their organization for participation in this movement. Because of this, and their eventual breaking of party discipline by entering the united front conference prior to and including the national congress, these circles by the Y. P. S. L. were expelled. (The bureaucracy of the S. P. maintain that no expulsions took place—only the charters were taken from these circles.)

It would be wrong to assume that the leftward turn of the expelled elements was a sudden development. This particular group has for some time now, carried on an agitation within the adult and youth organization of a Left character. They issued an internal bulletin, *The Class Struggle*, in which a Left wing and militant point of view was expressed and an effort made to force a change in the reformist line followed by the S. P. leadership. The intent of the group was to assemble all Left included members in the S. P., into a solid faction in order thus to wage such a fight. The tendency was distinctly a movement drifting towards Communism. The Left Opposition of Chicago, tried, in a modest way, to help the growth of this group both ideologically and organizationally.

On the Expulsion of Wollenberg

Moscow, USSR.—In spite of all the attempts on part of the Comintern bureaucracy to suppress it, the discussion around the expulsion of comrades Wolf and Wollenberg will not cease. It is nothing new for defeated, incapable leaders to turn with redoubled wrath against their critics. In the Wollenberg-Wolf case, their wrath is all the more painful since the majority of the German and Russian middle layer functionaries admit the justification of the criticism against the complete failure of the C. P. G. and the Comintern in personal conversations.

The reasons for the expulsion are, in brief, the following: Both comrades voted against the resolution of the C. C. I. on the situation in Germany. They declared that not only the C. P. G. but also the Comintern had collapsed and that the C. P. G. and the Comintern had to be rebuilt on a new basis.

Great Indignation over Expulsion

The expulsion of comrade Wollenberg aroused great indignation among the critically inclined functionaries in Germany and especially among former members of the Red Front Fighters League. It will take on even greater amplitude when the comrades find out the reasons for the expulsion. (This much we know from letters coming out of Germany and from comrades who have recently arrived from there.)

Comrade Wollenberg joined the party as an active army officer in Munich in the beginning of 1919. During the existence of the Soviet Republic he was local commander of the Red Army of Bavaria, in charge of the main front at Dachau in the course of the struggle for Munich. He distinguished himself at that time as well as on later occasions by his extraordinary personal bravery. After his capture, he had to spend several years in jail and after his release he became party editor in the Ruhr district and in East Prussia. In 1923 he was put in charge of the military direction of one of the biggest German districts and was one of the few comrades who wanted to strike out in the fall of the year, against the will of the Central Committee. After the defeat of the party in 1923 he had to flee to the Soviet Union, because secret servicemen had been shot down in a police raid on the military direction.

In the Soviet Union Wollenberg entered the Red Army and soon received the rank of captain. He took a prominent part in the erection of the Museum of the Red Army, among other things.

Conflict with Thalheimer
The repeated requests of Wollenberg to be returned to Germany were continually denied up to 1932. In the summer of 1932 he became the editor of the *Rote Fahne* in Berlin. At the same time he was taken into the leadership of the League of Struggle against Fascism

The Expelled Chicago S.P. Youth and the Three Communist Currents

ally. It pointed out the need of an immediate national organization, and a campaign of education, because expulsion was inevitable—the bureaucracy awaiting only an appropriate moment to carry through such an expulsion. In the writer's opinion these elementary steps were not well taken, and because of this the movement remains to a large degree localized and stifled.

Were these the only weaknesses of the expelled yipsels, they could, by intense labor be overcome to a large extent. But more important than these, the indecision and lack of a correct political outlook, or rather, the false political outlook and perspective of the leadership of this group (Larks and Smirkin), is responsible for its weaknesses and confusion. What is the tactic of the group? The tactic is, to maintain the expelled group together until the conventions of the S. P. and Y. P. S. L. and wage the struggle in the conventions. And what kind of struggle will this be? Will it be for readmission to the S. P. and the Y. P. S. L.? This can hardly be considered a step forward by a group that is developing distinctly towards Communism. The struggle must be waged in the direction of winning greater numbers away from the reformist Socialist Party and towards Communism. Obviously a discussion of organizational tactics to be pursued in this connection, cannot be taken up in this article. But the general political questions as raised above, can and must be put squarely so that no confusion can exist. It is in the above question that the real essence of the whole future of this movement lies.

What is the attitude of the expelled comrades to the burning questions of dispute in the Communist movement? Do the members and leaders of this group recognize that the Communist move-

ment is split in at least three definite sections over questions that are far too important and fundamental to be overlooked? Such questions as: Socialism in one Country, Bureaucratic Centrism, the role and significance of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International as the organizer of defeats, the question of the united front, the strategy and tactics of the international revolution (expressed now in the events in Germany), the role of the International Left Opposition—these questions are decisive and in determining one's position in the revolutionary movement, he must needs take a position on each one of these. He must be clarified and know precisely why he takes one position or another.

At independent existence for any group standing between Socialism and Communism is impossible, unless it be extremely temporary and as a tactic for struggle. But even then it cannot carried through unless the entire organization is aware of this and understands what should be its political direction. The history of all similar movements is a proof of this statement. Post-war events have established conclusively the inefficiency and inability of reformism to play a progressive role. It has sunk in the mire of reaction with a record as black as the proverbial darkness. The fundamental questions of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat have been vindicated a thousand times by these very betrayals of international social democracy, and more recently by Stalinism, which rests upon a fundamental revision of Marxism and lives under the cloak of national socialism. Thus the question presents itself: what is the perspective of the expelled yipsels and how do they propose to realize this?

It would not be correct to say that the questions of Stalinism and the Left Opposition have not been discussed by this group. They were discussed but not as a result of a systematic effort of serious revolutionaries attempting to educate themselves in order thereby to be able to decide where they belong. These questions, when they are discussed, as a result of a certain pressure of the members who desire to know what is to be done. In the course of such informal discussions a certain attitude is expressed by the leadership which is indicative of a false tendency.

The leadership puts the question very bluntly and crudely. After all, they say, the Stalinists have a big party and there is the possibility of doing a lot of "mass" work. The "Trotskyites are too small!" This argument is not new, and it is as false as it is old. It is not numbers that determines the strength or course of the revolutionary movement. Political policy is the determining factor. What greater lesson is needed than the defeat of the German working class at the hands of Fascism. One must admit that as far as numbers are concerned, both the social democracy and the Stalinists had sufficient not only to defeat Fascism, but also to soothe the dispositions of those who relish in arithmetical quantities and not Marxism. In spite of its numbers the German Communist Party not only could not defeat Fascism but did everything in its power through its false political policies, to help this victory. The consciousness or unconsciousness of this aid is not important. Objectively its policies led in this direction. When the Left Opposition demands an inventory on the situation in Germany, it does not request this of the Stalinists alone, but it is demanded of every revolutionary worker and those who would be revolutionaries.

Coincident with the expulsion of the Larks-Smirkin group from the S. P. and Y. P. S. L., because of its struggle on the united front, Albert Goldman, and Lydia Bydel were expelled from the party and five members of the Young Communist League were expelled, for their struggle on the united front question, Germany and related issues. The struggle of the expelled yipsels against bureaucracy finds a similar struggle against a similar bureaucracy in the Communist party. Are not these facts of decisive importance to the Y. P. S. L. group which is slowly wending its way to Communism? Most certainly they are.

We believe that this group must recognize the extremely temporary character of its independent existence. Upon a recognition of this fact, it must begin at once, without delay, to probe the problems confronting the revolutionary movement in general and the Communist movement particularly. It must be prepared to take a clear and decisive position on these fundamental questions. The question of Socialism in One Country, the united front, Social Fascism, the Communist International, are as important for it as for the member of the Communist Party and the Communist sympathizer. The German situation is as significant for the social democratic worker as for the Communist worker. The organization of a systematic campaign of education should be instituted at once. The group should invite representatives of all the currents in the revolutionary movement for joint discussions, debates, etc., as a step in the direction toward a solution of these questions. Unless this is done, unless the group immediately develops a concrete perspective of its tasks and what it is to do, disintegration is inevitable, and the splendid beginning will be lost.

—G. M. ALBERT.

SUBSCRIBE TO "UNSER WORT"

Workers and friends who read German and are interested in getting first hand accounts of conditions in Germany can do so by subscribing to *Unser Wort*, the illegal organ of the German Left Opposition, published in Prague. Address all subs to *Unser Wort*, c/o Wolfgang Salus, Prag, XII, Ve Pstrosce 17, Czechoslovakia

ARE YOU A SUBSCRIBER TO THE MILITANT?

Cleveland Meet to Take Up Fight on 'Recovery'

(Continued from Page 1)

upon how we answer the questions of trade union policy and tactics.

The capitalists and their government hope to maintain the status quo among the working class. Where this is not possible they will attempt to guide the pressure of the class into company unions. Where the pressure reaches beyond these channels they will try to guide the force into safe and conservative channels such as the A. F. L.

The organization of the unorganized into industrial unions under Left wing leadership is our main task. The immediate practical task, which cannot be separated from the main task is the organization of a Left wing within the conservative unions. The revolutionists must work in the organizations where the masses are.

The Stalinist-Muste bloc has not yet answered these questions. We have already lost years because of the Stalinist blunders in this field. The time is short. An answer must be given and should be presented before the Cleveland conference.

The call for the Cleveland Conference is signed by 82 individuals representing about 50 organizations. The representatives of the most important organizations have signed as individuals, which means the organizations are not yet backing the conference. Many paper organizations are officially represented.

Out of the 82 signers 42 are Stalinists and their sympathizers, 15 are Mustetes. They have obtained a few others whom they are using as a window dressing. In other words, the Cleveland call is a united front from above between Stalinists and Mustetes with a sprinkling of others to give it a good appearance. This is a continuation of their united front from above started at the Columbus, Ohio unemployed conference. A united front from above cannot be covered up by a list of 82 signatures. What counts is the political tendencies and numbers actually represented.

The conference is making a bad start and the call has failed to answer the most burning problems of trade union tactics. In spite of these blunders and shortcomings, the conference should be given full support. The class conscious workers and Marxists must fight for a correct trade union policy, in order to put life into our desire to fight the capitalist offensive which has taken on the form of the Industrial Recovery Act.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Slavery Provisions Revealed in Steel Code

(Continued from Page 1)

taking from the workers every real means of enforcing their demands, making them completely dependent upon the tender mercies of their employer. And it is this plan that must be preserved and protected from any interference—especially that of any real trade union.

Even the Children Are Protected

As for the ways in which the steelmen will protect these delicate and useful children of theirs from the contamination of real unions—that is not stated in the code. There is no need of that. The past shows that there is no weapon, legal or illegal that the barons have hesitated to use against their workers. The Cossack state troopers, gunmen, the courts, enforced starvation by keeping the strikers away from groceries—all were used in the Great Steel Strike. Now with the national government behind them the arsenal of the steel barons will be even larger. That is what the hypocritical phrases of the code so thinly camouflage.

And this code is not to be the only one of its type. Already the operators of the bituminous coal industry have announced their intention of following the lead of their fellow brigands in the steel industry.

The proposed steel code is a fair representative of the Industrial Recovery Act in practice. It permits the steel industry, at present the most centralized in America, to form a huge, solid trust, uniting the whole industry against the workers. It gives the barons the direct support of the federal government; now national troops instead of state troops are to be used to butcher striking workers. By the Industrial Recovery Act, a united front of industry and government is created for the task of driving down the standard of living of the workers. Against this only a united front of all workers organizations can fight that is the task of the hour. If the Communist party prove incapable and its leadership unwilling to use a correct united front tactic in bringing about such a united front, it is doomed to have even its small influence among the American masses destroyed.

—PETER MORTON.

"Since Lenin Died" Comrades who can turn in extra copies of *Since Lenin Died* by Max Eastman, are asked to do so. They will be refunded the original cost

Spartacus Delegates at Anti-Fascist Confab

(Continued from page 1)

were made to organize a united front movement against Fascism and War. In March of this year the United Youth Conference Against Fascism was organized. What was the result? After a successful demonstration before the German Consulate, those in control of the Committee—the leaders of the Young Communist League—dissolved the united front behind the backs of the other participating groups. Similarly with the National Youth Day's Conference, organized by the Young Communist League in May. Not only did the Y. C. L. violate the agreements arrived at in the united front, but they dissolved the permanent committee without giving any reasons to the affiliated groups. Are these the methods to be employed in the movement against war and Fascism?

The New York Conference will have to discuss the reasons for the victory of Fascism in Germany. You will have to understand the criminal policies of the Social Democracy and the policies of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist party which played into the hands of the Social Democracy and of Fascism. A realistic analysis of the present situation in Germany will show that all the organizations of the working class, including the social democratic party and the Communist party, have been smashed.

It is above all necessary for us to speak openly and boldly. The facts must be faced and not invented. To repeat that "the C. P. G. is not only not destroyed, but its influence on the masses is despite its illegality, greater than ever" (Varga-Inprecor—June 21st, 1933) is criminal light-mindedness and serves to cover up the capitulation of the Stalinists in Germany before Fascism without a struggle. The task of the revolutionary workers of Germany is to assemble their

forces for the organization of a new Communist party on a Marxian program, on the basis of the lessons of the recent historical defeat.

The struggle against war and Fascism is the burning question of the moment. In the far east the Chinese people are being attacked and subjected by Japanese imperialism. The Soviet Union is being threatened by a frontal attack from Japan which can easily be converted into an offensive of all the imperialist powers against the workers' fatherland. In America, the government is going ahead with extensive plans for militarization. The London Economic Conference reflects the deep rooted conflicts of the imperialist powers which can be solved only by war.

Above all, the victory of Fascism in Germany, the imminent danger of Fascism in Austria, threatens to unite all the imperialist forces for war on the Soviet Union. With the best defender of the Soviet Union, the militant German proletariat lying prostrate before the Nazis—the defense of the Soviet Union is a thousand times more difficult.

All the more important therefore is the need for utmost clarity within the Communist and revolutionary movement on Fascism and War. A critical review of the past policies and practices of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International should lead to the rejection of its revisionist program of Socialism in one country, social-Fascism, and united-front only from below under revolutionary leadership.

The International Left Opposition has for many years clamored for a united front of the German social-democracy, trade unions, and Communist party against the danger of Fascism. This was called counter-revolutionary. Last February, after Hitler came into power, the Labor and Socialist International appealed

to the Communist International for a world united front against Fascism. This maneuver of the Social Democracy aimed to shield its own betrayal policies of the last nineteen years. The Comintern replied with a rejection of the world united front and a proposal of national united actions between the Socialist and Communist parties. The Communist party was advised to refrain from criticizing the Socialists during the period of the united front. In other words, the non-aggression pact of the Social Democracy was accepted by the Stalinists! This definite break with the correct tactics of the united front, must be condemned and rejected.

The world situation is tense. The best forces of the proletariat have been destroyed. For the struggle against Fascism and War we must first of all unite the revolutionary forces. The Left Opposition must be reinstated into the Communist International, the false theories and tactics of Stalinism rejected. The Communist International, the Young Communist League, and the Red International of Labor Unions should appeal to the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions for world united front against German Fascism, the danger of Fascism in Austria, the war danger and capitalist offensive. In the United States the Communist party and the Y. C. L. should appeal for such united front to the socialist party and Y. P. S. L. We repeat, to make this appeal effective, the false and harmful theory of social-Fascism, the tactic of the united front only from below must be openly and unequivocally rejected. Only in this way can a powerful mass movement of the working class be aroused against Fascism and War.

Spartacus Youth Club (Communist Left Opposition)

Struggle for Workers' Rights Scores Victory in Los Angeles

Workers in Los Angeles have scored twice in their trial on charges of speaking without permits and resisting officers during a May Day demonstration. For the first time in the history of the municipal courts, 'reds' are being given the opportunity to prove that their arrests were part of an official conspiracy against them. Moreover, Judge Irvin Taplin in dismissing the case against one of the defendants ruled that the ordinance prohibiting the distribution of handbills, leaflets, and circulars applies only to commercial advertisements and not to political propaganda. The defendants, Lawrence Ross, Communist candidate for Mayor, Samuel Davis, Daniel Stul, Max Shone, Sol Fisher, and Paul Stern are represented by attorneys A. L. Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union and Andrew Strong.

Ex-Mayor John G. Porter, Chief of Police Roy E. Steckel, Captain William F. Hayes, and all members of the Police Commission have been subpoenaed. The defense will call on them in its effort to prove that the cases should be dismissed on the grounds that the ordinances are unconstitutional, being used merely to prevent radicals from exercising the right to free speech.

Britt Smith, one of the Last Two Centralia Prisoners Paroled

Britt Smith, former Secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World in Centralia, sentenced to 25 to 40 years for murder on charges growing out of the defense of the union hall against an Armistice Day mob of Legionnaires in 1919, has been paroled as promised by Gov. Clarence D. Martin, according to a wire received by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Ray Becker, the last of the eight I. W. W. prisoners, refuses to accept a parole. He holds out for a commutation of sentence, maintaining that a parole implies an admission of guilt. His contention that he and his comrades were innocent of the charge of conspiracy to murder was borne out, says the Civil Liberties Union, by evidence offered at the trial but barred on technicalities by Judge John M. Wilson.

The Party in the Field of Art and Philosophy

A Reply to the American Comrades Martin Glee, Harry Ross and M. Morris.

Dear Comrades:

Your letter poses very important problems which do not, however, admit, in my opinion, of general and categorical solutions suitable in all cases. As an organization we have as the point of departure not only definite political ideas but certain philosophical and scientific methods. We base ourselves on dialectical materialism, from which flow conclusions not only concerning politics and science, but also art. Still, there is a vast difference in our attitude towards these conclusions. We cannot, to any similar degree, exercise the same rigorous control over art, by the very nature of this activity, as over politics. The party is obliged to permit a very extensive liberty in the field of art, eliminating pitilessly only that which is directed against the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat; on the other hand, the party cannot assume an immediate and direct responsibility for the declarations of its various members in the field of art even when it accords them its tribute. The maintenance of these two rules—the preservation of the liberty necessary for individual creation, and the non-transmission of the responsibility for all its roads to the party—is especially obligatory in those cases where it is a question not of theoreticians in the field of art, but of the artists themselves: painters, men of letters, etc. In addition, the party must be able to distinguish clearly the line where generalization in the field of art passes directly into the field of politics. Without making here any concessions in principle, the party must, however, confine itself in the case of artists to rectifications, firm but tactical, of any false political conclusions flowing from their artistic views. Marx expressed this idea in a jocular phrase about Freiligrath: "Poets are queer fish." (Die Dichter sind ein seltsame Kasse.) Lenin applied this criterion to Bogdanov the theoretician and professional politician and to Gorky the artist, in spite of the fact that for a certain period of time Bogdanov and Gorky were closely associated in politics. Lenin proceeded from the standpoint that by his artistic activity and his popularity, Gorky could endow the cause of the revolution with benefits far exceeding the harm of his erroneous declarations and actions which, moreover, the party could always correct in good time and tactfully.

Viewed from this standpoint, philosophical activity lies between art and politics, closer to politics than to art. In philosophy, the party itself occupies a distinct militant position, which is not the case—at least not to the same extent—in the field of art. Objections to the effect that by the "dogmatization" and "canonization" of dialectical materialism, the party prevents the free development of philosophical and scientific thought, do not deserve serious attention. No factory can work without basing itself upon a definite technological doctrine. No hospital can treat its patients if the physicians do not base themselves on the established teachings of Pathology. It would be sheer folly to permit dilettantes to experiment arbitrarily in the factory or in the hospital, on the pretext that they consider themselves "innovators". Innovators must first prove their right to influence practical technology and medicine. The party must be especially vigilant towards those "innovators" who only warm up stale critical dishes, or towards those who are still in the period of investigating, with uncertain results. But least of all does this signify that in the sphere of philosophy the party can act as if all questions have already been resolved for it, and that it has nothing to expect from the further development of scientific thought. It is not an easy matter to find the correct political line in this field. It is acquired only by experience and by a flexible leadership. Just as in artillery fire, the target is usually hit by a series of shots which fall far and then short of the mark.

It is needless to point out that the question: How do the philosophical views of a certain person or a certain group refract themselves in the field of politics and of the organization?—always has a tremendous significance for the elaboration of a correct control by the party. Thus Lenin fought mercilessly against Gorky in 1917 when above all other considerations stood the necessity of a revolutionary overthrow. On the other hand, it must be considered as the greatest shame that the Stalinist bureaucracy is transforming Barbusse the novelist into a leading political figure in spite of the fact that it is precisely in politics that Barbusse marches arm in arm with Ilenner, Vandervelde, Monnet and Paul Louis.

I am very much afraid that I have not given you a satisfactory reply to the practical questions put to me. But what has been said explains, I hope, why I could not give such a reply which requires a concrete knowledge of the situation and the personal conditions. Just the same, perhaps these brief considerations will at least partially help in the working out of a correct policy in this complicated and responsible field.

With Communist greetings,

—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, June 16, 1933.

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Prinkipo, June 16, 1933.

Austrian Labor Robbed of Rights

(Continued from Page 1)

tion is very poor among the masses. "What good is a vacation, or the eight hour day," says the unemployed worker, "what I want is work even if it's a twelve hour day!" But it is precisely because of these sentiments that it was necessary to make it understood with all means at one's disposal that the shattering of the eight hour day strikes at all—the unemployed, who thereby have even less of a chance to get work, and the worker in the factory, whose wage is going to shrink even more miserably.

Where there is a will, there is a way. If the social democracy wanted to conduct a serious and effective resistance against the disfranchisement of the workers and against the unlimited and merciless aggravation of exploitation, then they could find ways of making the masses understand the significance of the new labor regulations of the government. Not even the blue pencil of the censor could prevent them from doing this.

A Sterile Protest

"With the representation of economic interests in Austria", the *Arbeiterzeitung* weeps on June 10, "things stand thus: Before the issuance of a decree which digs deep underneath the living conditions of thousands of people, the working class hears nothing of the new decrees. The workers' representatives are not asked for approval, the trade unions are not consulted. Parliament is simply out of the picture.... But once the decree is issued, it is not even allowed to be criticized and if criticism is attempted, confiscation follows." Again the facts are stated quite correctly, but the workers are not served merely with a statement of the facts.

There is the argument that Fascism would gain advantage from serious difficulties of the Dollfuss government. Fascism will really reap its fruits from this capitulation policy. Decades of trade union work, the destruction of the monarchy, the example of the Russian revolution were all necessary for the Austrian working class to gain those niggardly social-political protective measures which were just as tremendously overestimated in their time by the trade union "experts" as they are powerless surrendered by them today. The more we allow to be taken from us without a struggle today, the harder it will be and the more sacrifices it will require, to regain what is lost, in the future.

"It seems as if the government only has the bosses' desires in mind" (From an inquiry of the social democrats in the Federal Council).

dozen Spartacans left in the International, and with her death the best of the living is gone. She embodied in her finest days the link between the pre-war Left wing movement in the social democracy and the International that was reconstituted under the banner of Bolshevism. She brought with her the great tradition of that resolute group that formed itself under the name of the heroic organizer of the slaves' revolts in antiquity. Is it perhaps symbolic that Klara Zetkin should die just after the ignominious death of the Communist party which she helped to found? The tradition of the Spartacans, however, established in the dark days of the war, is not irrevocable. The new Communist movement in Germany, rising like a phoenix out of the ashes of the dead, will revive all that was glorious in the old tradition and the memory of the old warriors, and enrich it with the struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Lovestone's "Quotations"

In the past few issues of the *Workers Age*, there has appeared a regular rubric "Trotskyism Exposed", in which the Right wing masters of political sleight-of-hand manipulated quotations which are supposed to show "tremendous" errors on part of the International Left Opposition in the course of the struggle against German Fascism.

If we leave aside Lovestoneite hypocrisy and disregard the paper's spurious motives for a moment, our errors, as gleaned from the quotations cited there, can be listed as follows: (1) We did not predict that Fascism would come to power without civil war, but assumed quite the contrary; (2) We forecasted the utilization of a Fascist regime by the German bourgeoisie primarily as an off-set to a powerful working class movement against the bourgeoisie; (3) After the seizure of power by Hitler, we predicted friction between the Nazis and their allies that would impede rapid Fascist entrenchment.

Insofar as these are the bare facts, we must, of course, admit our mistake. But all these errors were predicated on one assumption that is *sine qua non* for revolutionists in forming strategy and tactics: namely, that in the face of the imminent danger, the working class would mobilize for struggle and that the leader of the working class, the official Communist party, would, in the face of the danger, be compelled to make a last minute turn in the right direction.

The whole logic of developments flowed in that direction. As Communists, we naturally had the perspective that the working class would fight; that a fighting working class would resist Fascism by civil war; that Fascism would be used by the bourgeoisie to lead for

in this civil war; that the heavy conditions of civil war would make the Nazis dependent upon their other bourgeois allies and impede their rapid entrenchment, giving Hugenburg and Co. a certain balance of power.

The working class did not fight. We plead guilty: We assumed that it would. The Lovestoneites accused us of this "error". Very well.

We have never read in the *Workers Age*, previous or during the German catastrophe, where they dispensed their wisdom to the effect that the workers of Germany would not fight. But we are quite ready to take their word for it post-humously. It only helps to characterize the Right wing swamp.

If they did not directly predict that the German workers would not fight, they might have just as well, for all the interest and agitation these national opportunists displayed in the German situation in the course of the two years in which the American Left Opposition persisted, through the Militant and in innumerable mass meetings, followed the Hitler danger step by step and warned against it, giving the exact Marxist analysis of each force represented and each step taken and calling for struggle.

But it is unnecessary to really take the Lovestoneite fraud seriously, if one knows its purpose. It is only part of its bargaining process with the Stalinist bureaucracy for reinstatement. One of the chief prerequisites for peace with Stalin has ever been a fight against "Trotskyism". The Lovestoneites are only doing their share.

As to the broader principle aspects of the question under discussion and the character of the Lovestone group at the present stage, we shall yet return to it on future occasions, for a more extensive examination.

—G.

Klara Zetkin

(Continued from Page 3)

of the party leadership, were uttered only in private letters exchanged with carefully selected confidantes.

Sympathetic to L. O. at Start

Her sympathies for the Russian Opposition suffered an even more ignominious end. In 1923 the parties of the Comintern had not yet been fully "educated" in anti-Trotskyism. The first open attack of the septumvirate upon Trotsky caused a distinct uneasiness in the International. The Polish party protested against the campaign; in France, the most prominent party leaders expressed themselves similarly; in Germany, the Moscow apparatus encountered, if not a resistance, then at least a reluctance to join the pack. At that time, Klara Zetkin took no great pains to conceal her sympathy with the Opposition. It is true to be sure, that she did not rally to its political platform. Trotsky's refusal to have Brandler and Thalheimer made the scapegoats for the Zinoviev-Stalin policy in the German October, took the form of a conditional defense of the former which was not unwelcome to Zetkin. In addition, she was not alone among the Right wing elements in the Inter-

national (Warski was another, for example) who confounded the Opposition's fight for party democracy with their own desires to "loosen a little" the rigid lines of revolutionary Marxian doctrine. When the gap widened between the Opposition and the party bureaucracy, when the program of the former unfolded to its fullest extent, when the precise nature of its attitude towards the Brandlerites became unmistakable—Klara Zetkin's support became lukewarm and then cold. Helplessly ensconced among the tarnishing frescoes that formed the facade of the bureaucracy, she had become a purely decorative figure in the International, her prestige and her authority, with the heroic revolutionary memories attached to them, serving a cynical bureaucracy to conceal its malpractices.

Here was a revolutionist who had been accustomed to speak out fearlessly, to struggle against authority under the greater odds, to swim against the stream in the company of such protean figures as the founders of German Communism. A just cause had always found in her a courageous champion. Even in causes not so just she had never failed to express her convictions. In

1922, at a time when a member of the Comintern could still defend his views even when they were opposed by the most authentic leaders, she protested to Lenin and Trotsky against the death sentence imposed upon the counter-revolutionists of the S. R. party. But half a decade of Stalinist rule had reduced the Comintern and its leading figures to such a state that a Klara Zetkin, who once found words in behalf of those who had effected the death of Uritsky and Volodarsky, who had almost assassinated Lenin and blown up Trotsky's military train—could look on in silence while the artificers of the October revolution, the Rakovskys, the Trotskys and hundreds of others, were sent into prison, exile or banishment. But no, not entirely in silence. For with an eye to the renown still attached to her name, the bureaucracy assigned her the task of writing the scurrilous pamphlet for international consumption, in which she demonstrated that the Bolshevik-Leninists were really counter-revolutionists and that the banishment to Turkey of the organizer of the October insurrection was fully justified.

To resist a Lenin and submit to a Stalin—no, it is not some integrating force in the present regime, making for true homogeneity of revolutionary doctrine. Such a humiliating fall was the inexorable result of that moral disembowel-

ment to which an oppressive bureaucracy is compelled to resort to its own ranks. What a terrific arraignment of a regime that can preserve itself only at the cost of such unspeakable triumphs!

Silent on Slander of Luxemburg

If she violated her own conscience in a public assault upon the Russian Opposition, she at least maintained silence when others traduced the memory of Rosa Luxemburg. But it was a silence unworthy of one who was fortunate enough to have such a mentor and friend. When Paul Levi was beating a retreat to the social democracy in 1921-1922 by trying to portray Rosa as a Menshevik, Klara Zetkin came to her defense with magnificent vigor, and concluded by pillorying the defamer of the great Eagle. Later, too, even under the Zinovievist dispensation, when a Ruth Fischer was seeking to disseminate the idea that Rosa had been "a syphilis germ in the body of German Communism", Klara Zetkin still found sufficient strength of mind and purpose to exorcise such an abomination. But the triumph of Stalinism has meant not only the physical but the spiritual undermining of the International. In the last two years, the campaign launched against Rosa Luxemburg exceeded all imaginable bounds. It was not an undertaking calculated to analyze the defective parts of her doctrine so that the modern Communist movement might

learn to avoid the errors flowing against Rosa. But this time, she too voiced no open protest. The peculiar triumph of Stalinism which heralds its own collapse meant for her, as for all revolutionists who failed to choose the alternative of open struggle, a gag in the mouth, a paralyzing of the will, a terrible spiritual degradation.

Paralysis of Stalinist Degradation

And Klara Zetkin? In the corridor of the program commission of the Sixth World Congress, another of the old Spartacans, an educated Marxist, Hermann Duncker, almost wept with mortification before his theory of socialism in one country had been inserted in the program of the International. "Must we now vote to include it in the program too?" Yet he voted for it, and did not voice his protest openly. Klara Zetkin must have asked herself a similar question when the detestable campaign was launched