

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Rebel Miners in Action!

New Movement in the Anthracite Growing Rapidly

Strikes are once again spreading through the coal fields. In the Pennsylvania anthracite region a large number of the black towering breakers are shut down as thousands of men have left the collieries. It is what is called an insurgent strike. The combination, of an insurgent movement and a powerful strike, has thrown both alarm and fear into the whole of the enemy camp. As it gained day by day during its first week it met the most terrific opposition from the united forces of the operators, the state cossacks and the United Mine Workers officials.

So far this opposition has not been able to stem the tide. While the state troopers are massed in the territory ruthlessly breaking up "insurgent" meetings and making wholesale arrests, more collieries join the movement.

First of all this strike is caused by the terrible unemployment, the widespread starvation and the operators demands that the collieries sign separate agreements with loss of conditions. Out of the little more than 100,000 miners in the territory at least 60,000 have remained unemployed ever since the crisis began, though largely as a result of increasing mechanization, speed-up and closing down of what is called unprofitable mines. But this is only one side of the picture. On the other hand the strike is an outright revolt movement against the corrupt administration of the U. M. W. One need but recall a few incidents which make up this recent history of rebellion.

Vote Stealing and Convention Packing

At the last elections held in district 1, the opposition slate headed by Maloney undoubtedly carried the majority vote; but to no avail. It was counted out. At the district convention following, this opposition again asserted itself but was squelched with strong arm methods. There is the one incident at the Silver Creek colliery near Pottsville in district 9 where on Feb. 21 a meeting attended by about 3,000 miners unanimously went on record to demand equalization of work, condemned their officials and demanded a special district convention. To these incidents can be added the last U. M. W. convention at Indianapolis where a packed audience steam rolled every demand and every grievance of the membership. This is, of course, nothing new in the history of the United Mine Workers under the Lewis regime but the constantly accumulating conflicts between the membership interests and the reaction of the officialdom is rapidly approaching a breaking point.

The outstanding demand of the anthracite rebel movement is the one for equalization of work. It particularly reflects the needs growing out of the acute unemployment conditions but it falls short of a program that can fully unite the employed with the unemployed. The movement itself is by no means a Left wing movement. It still harbors much confusion. Its leadership is not at all ready to break with the corrupt traditions of the union bureaucracy let alone to endeavor actually to found the movement on a class basis. But that only demonstrates the need of, and the possibility for real Left wing permeation.

Mine Strikes Elsewhere

We said before that strikes are again spreading through the coal fields and we can add that yet more are in prospect. The anthracite at this moment is merely the most outstanding case. In the Hocking Valley soft coal territory of Ohio a number of mine tipples have been idle since February 1st. Now this strike is also taking on bigger proportions, with more miners walking out in protest against wage cuts. As an indication of how drastic these cuts were one need but cite the example of the Hanna coal company announcing a reduction from \$4.30 to \$3.20 a day.

In both of these instances, in the anthracite and in the Hocking Valley, the coal miners are fighting a determined battle. The most splendid militancy is displayed on the picket lines. There has been no lack of perfidious efforts to undermine and to split their ranks. That is the job which the operators have assigned to their agents in the union office swivel chairs. But their other weapon is being wielded just as freely. In Pennsylvania the state troopers, in Ohio the national guard are applying the brute force to suppress the revolts.

Rumblings of New Revolts

Down in Eastern Kentucky and parts of Tennessee the coal miners have fought tenaciously against almost overwhelming odds. Yet, when a comparison is made the Northern oligarchs have been able to maintain themselves on an equal footing with the Southern bourgeois in staggering the odds. These recent Kentucky and Tennessee strikes remained entirely isolated and could not hold out when the full weight of the brutal enemy forces began to bear down upon them. These workers are now compelled to drift back again to take up whatever work is being handed out on the same old starvation conditions, or worse

Yet, how far this is from settling the issues becomes very apparent in the added rumblings of new revolts. Such are coming from Illinois. There the coal miners were from their recent opposition of the Edmonson rank and file movement again driven back into the folds of the U. M. W. It was a temporary setback but not a settling of the issues. By April first the Illinois miners' contract with the operators expires. The latter's efforts, to reduce the present wage scale are presented in the open, and in the Southern section it is just as openly conceded that the miners will resist. Thus there may be another spontaneous rebellion in the offing having also a double direction. For while the thieving office squabbles between John L. Lewis, for the International, and John H. Walker, for the district, are not at all settled it cannot be expected that either will sanction a strike. Not even one against a wage cut.

Revolts Localized—Not United

All in all, a look at the mine fields at this moment give ample evidence of signs of stiffening workers resistance but as much proof also of the terrible weaknesses: of almost numberless spontaneous rebellions and strikes, localized, confused and while militantly fought, still lacking both perspective and organization. This is precisely as true for the Kentucky and other sections, under the leadership of the Left wing National Miners Union, as it is for the U. M. W. revolt movements; and, for that matter, also for other independent unions such as the West Virginia organization headed by Frank Keeney. One characteristic nevertheless practically all of these movements and strikes have in common, and an important characteristic, namely the fact that they represent the unanimous but sadly divided efforts of the rank and file to direct their struggle equally against the operators and their corrupt agents of the U. M. W. bureaucracy. That alone should indicate the growing con-

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The Workers' United Front in Canada

Due to the extremely difficult conditions under which the labor movement is forced to work in Canada at present, a delay of reports on events there, is inevitable. The article, we publish below, although belated, is extremely interesting and instructive. It should serve to stimulate a more active solidarity with our Canadian fellow-revolutionists as well as emulation of their splendid efforts for united working class action.—Ed.

The last maneuver of the Comintern's strategy in the "Third Period" was the policy of antagonistic struggle against both the leadership and membership of the social-democratic and reformist labor movement, because Stalin postulated that they were the Left wing of Fascism. Logically, therefore, they became "social-fascists". This has now been smuggled away, and the latest policy is a united front with the workers, but not with their organizations or leaders, which means their united front still remains a slogan on paper, the Party still maintaining its isolation from the masses.

While the Daily Worker merrily dazes itself with denunciations of the Opposition, and maintains an absolute silence on the Canadian Party and its illegality, it remained to one of the smallest and weakest sections of the Comintern, the Communist Party of Canada, to establish a policy of the United Front in reality, of all sections of the labor movement. It seems destined in the realm of the revolutionary political movement that the weakest link in the chain is the one to break onto new historical ground.

The series of events leading to the arrest of the eight leaders and to the outlawing of the C. P. in Ontario have already been recounted in *The Militant*. The Canadian Labor Defense League,

The decree depriving comrade Trotsky and three members of his family of Soviet citizenship rights and condemning them to perpetual exile, is not only an act of vengeance, it is also an act of impotence.

That Stalin was preparing such an act for some time, has been clear ever since last fall. His notorious letter to the editorial board of the magazine *Proletarian Revolution* served no other purpose than that of preparing a new wave of reprisals. The exceptional law against comrade Trotsky is only the practical fruit of the "theoretical" campaign.

What are the causes that drove Stalin to take such a step? They must have been very serious ones, for the entire disadvantage of raising a new campaign against "Trotskyism" is quite evident.

The principal cause is the fact that Stalin's position has been greatly undermined. To the bourgeois papers it appears that the last conference of the Russian party was the apogee of Stalinist strength. In reality, the conference bore the character of a masquerade designed to dissimulate the weakness of Stalin's position. What do these oaths of personal loyalty to Stalin, which have of late become obligatory, actually signify? They signify that Stalin and his limited clique no longer can count, not only on the party—which they have strangled—but even on the apparatus. Whoever speaks today simply of the Central Committee—is thereby regarded as a concealed Oppositionist by Stalin. Only those who speak of the "Central Committee under the leadership of Stalin" are safe. This formula signifies that if the Central Committee breaks with Stalin, the undersigned, who subscribes to this formula, pledges himself to be for Stalin and against the Central Committee. Precisely in the same manner, at the conference of the Moscow organization, the oath was prepared for the Moscow Committee "with Kaganovich at its head". The personal regime has not

only dispensed with the veil of the party but even with that of the apparatus. It has stripped itself bare. It is hard to decide upon so dangerous a measure except in the case where nothing else remains to be done.

The approaching crisis of the apparatus cannot help giving an impetus to the reawakening of the party. Therein lies the danger for the Stalin clique. This clique manifests the greatest suspicion with regard to everything that aims at a reawakening, a revival, a regeneration of the party. The reawakened proletarian nucleus of the party cannot at present find any other direction than that leading to the Left Opposition. Numerous symptoms are already becoming manifest. *Pravda* was obliged to publish several symptomatic facts in the pre-conference period.

The essence of the matter is that the authority of the Left Opposition grows parallel with the decline of the authority of the Stalinist clique. Despite the fact that Stalinism holds the masses in check, they do not nevertheless stop thinking. The fundamental facts in the struggle of the Left Opposition against the Stalinist bureaucracy remain fresh in everyone's memory. The apparatus at least knows and recalls the documents and the facts. It is precisely because it is well informed that the apparatus is disintegrating. It sees that Stalin has taken an organically incorrect path in all the major questions. Stalin's policy in the German question could only deliver the fatal blow to whatever was left of his authority. Stalin supported the participation of the Communists in the Fascist Referendum and was the author of the capitulationist formula "first the Fascists—then we".

In his pamphlet *What Next?* (Vital Questions for the German Working Class) comrade Trotsky wrote several weeks ago: "At the last conference of the Party, that is, at the conference of the Stalinist apparatus 'Trotskyism', three or four times before that crushed and buried, was declared the 'vanguard of the bourgeois counter-revolution'. This hardly intelligent and politically altogether terrifying decision lifts the curtain on several plans of an entirely practical order adopted by Stalin in the field of personal despotism. It is not for nothing that Lenin issued a warning

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OPEN FORUM

AMERICA'S ATTEMPTS TO GET OUT OF THE CRISIS

Lecture by

AL GLOTZER

of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

The capitalist solution: wage cuts, speed-up, mass lay-offs, war.

The Communist solution: the abolition of capitalism, the erection of a classless society; as steps leading to this: the six hour day—five day week with no reduction in pay, unemployment insurance; long term large scale credits to the Soviet Union.

on

FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1932

at the

Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free
Aspirants: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

The following is the introduction to comrade Trotsky's new work on Germany. The first chapter will appear in *THE MILITANT* next week.—Ed.

Capitalism in Russia proved to be the weakest link in the chain of imperialism, because of its extreme backwardness. In the present crisis, German capitalism reveals itself as the weakest link for the diametrically opposite reason: precisely because it is the most advanced capitalist system, conditioned in its development by the insoluble European dilemma. As the productive forces of Germany become geared more and more highly, the more dynamic power they gather, the more they are strangled within the state system of Europe—a system that is akin to the "system" of cages within an impoverished provincial zoo. At every turn in the conjuncture of events German capitalism is thrown up against those problems which it

had attempted to solve by means of war. Acting through the Hohenzollern government, the German bourgeoisie girded itself to "organize Europe". Acting through the regime of Brüning-Curtius it attempted . . . to form a customs union with Austria. It is to such a pathetic level that its problems, potentialities and perspectives have been reduced! But even the customs union was not to be attained. As the witch's house in fairy tales, so the entire European system has for its foundation a pair of hen's legs. The great and salutary hegemony of France is in danger of toppling over, should a few million Austrians unite with Germany.

For Europe, in general, and primarily for Germany no advance is possible along the capitalist road. The temporary resolution of the present crisis to be achieved by the automatic interplay of the forces of capitalism itself—on the bones of the workers—would

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The «Revolt» in Congress

An Indication of Radical Changes in Bourgeois Politics

The stormy and more or less spontaneous opposition of the representatives in congress of the petty bourgeoisie to the new revenue bill has found a loud echo in the country at large. The House line-up on the revenue bill reveals a pretty thorough-going disruption of the old party lines. Democrats and Republicans of the middle class type joined hands in fighting against a big bourgeoisie coalition of these same parties, whose chief objective at the present is to put over a tax measure—a direct sales tax ranging from 2.25 to 5 percent—to balance the budget at the expense of the lower and middle classes. The official machines of both traditional bourgeois parties united in a defense of the money bags and revealed the absolute uselessness of maintaining their separation. Both showed that they represent one and the same class—the big bourgeoisie. The dispute on the sales tax crystallized a not unexpected and fairly deep rift in the political make-up of present day capitalist America.

The increasing difficulties of balancing the government budget, due to the rapid decline of foreign and domestic trade brought about by the prolonged world crisis, was bound to pose the problem sharply: at whose expense? The official party machines, after shedding a tear over the "financial principles" they had to drop, very quickly came to an agreement not to disturb big business with this problem, since, they argued, that would only cripple its investment power and thereby prolong the crisis. They thereupon came forward with an innovation in American methods of taxation: the sales tax. The whole burden of making up for the budget deficit was in this manner to be shifted to the smaller business men, and indirectly to the consumer as such. It could not help rousing the already impoverished petty bourgeois to action.

In congress itself, the perturbation of the small business men opened up great possibilities for the demagoguery of such notorious tribunes of the people as representative La Guardia, who rallied an opposition of Democrats and Republicans against the machine coalition in a sortie on the revenue bill. The La Guardia opposition has already achieved several parliamentary successes. It has managed to muster a majority for two measures to counter the sales tax proposal, passing on a surtax for incomes of over \$500,000 ranging up to 65 per cent on Friday, March 18 and on an increase in the estate tax up to a maximum of 45 per cent, applicable to net estates of more than \$10,000,000 on Tuesday last. In addition, the opposition has defeated a measure relieving corporations paying taxes to foreign governments of regular taxation. La Guardia is talking radical, speaking of "conscripting wealth", etc. The parliamentary movement has in addition, received wide-spread support from a great number of petty bourgeois organizations, which, according to one paper, include some 50,000,000 people.

To get a picture of the petty bourgeois character of this movement, here are a few of the organizations that have rallied behind the congress opposition: The Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange and Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, the National Consumers' League, the National Association of Retail Grocers and other retailers' organizations; the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods;

the People's Lobby headed by Professor John Dewey, etc. The scope of this movement is not to be underestimated. It signifies the first large scale attempt to give a political form in the America of the present epoch, to the differentiation within the ranks of the bourgeoisie. As was to be expected, the American reformists, the A. F. of L., find a prominent place in this movement of the Left wing of the bourgeois class. La Guardia, by the way, in his statements replying to his big bourgeois opponents, such as the Democratic House leader, leaves the door wide open for the participation of the labor misleaders through a flirtation with some social reforms.

It is an old axiom for Marxist revolutionaries, that the petty bourgeoisie cannot lead an independent political life. It can go only with the big bourgeoisie or with the proletariat—the two chief contenders for power under the present system of society. Where La Guardia and the other leaders of the current movement intend to go is indicated by the former's answer to Rainey's—"Democratic" House leader's—charge that the actions of the House opposition are a move in the direction of Communism. La Guardia replied that it is precisely in order to serve as a bulwark against Communism that the House opposition is carrying on its policy. There is no doubt that within a relatively short time, this "revolt" too will be harnessed to the cart of capitalism as a whole. With the prolongation of the crisis, the growing misery of the workers and the impoverishment of the middle classes, it is not excluded that the bourgeois regime will seek a new support for itself in a popular movement of petty bourgeois reform such as this. The events around the revenue bill will serve to raise false hopes in the petty bourgeoisie for a way out of its plight. The fading away of these hopes may well give way to despair and political reaction in the form of an American type of Fascist movement. In the meantime, the road is open for activities of a large scope on the part of the petty bourgeois demagogues. Their political transformation, the crystallization of these demagogues into distinct political types is bound to follow in short order.

For the Communists, this differentiation within the ranks of the bourgeoisie, represents a perspective for rapid growth, provided a correct policy is pursued. The half-measures of the petty-bourgeoisie and the reformists, once they are carried out, are bound to show up all their weakness, all their hopelessness, with especial clarity. It is in practice that the masses learn most quickly. By a clear and insistent propagation of the working class issue out of the capitalist dilemma, by a correct utilization of the conflicts bound to develop in the future within the enemy camp, by pressing the demagogues to the wall, by forcing them to take a definite position, the Communists will be able to consolidate the more decisive sections of the masses and in the first place, the increasing sections of class conscious workers around their banner. To hammer out such a policy of revolutionary advance, to prepare the American masses for revolutionary action, it is, however, necessary to clear away all the eclectic confusionism of Stalinist theory and to bring the Communist movement back to the path of Marxism-Leninism.—S. G.

The Raids on Hitler's Nazis in Prussia

As could be foreseen, the outcome of the presidential elections in Germany was attended by a feverish mastering of forces on part of the Fascists. The alleged purpose of the Hitlerite maneuvers is, of course, the protection of the people from "red savagery". In reality, Hitler and his hordes are arming not only to crush the Communist vanguard, but to seize the power and to subjugate the working class organizations as a whole.

The movements of the Nazis were brought to light by raids made on their Prussian local groups upon the initiative of the social democratic Minister of the Interior in the Prussian government, Karl Severing. Documents, outlining the line of action to be taken by the Fascist locals, were seized in these raids. Their plan of action was conceived under the form of auxiliary troops aiding the police against Communist uprisings. Anyone familiar with the situation knows that this "plan" is nothing more than a ruse, that in actuality, it was a matter of a general mobilization of the Fascist forces for decisive and independent action. Severing, who carried out these raids, knew this very well. He knew that he could not count on any support for his measure from the federal government. And he did not get any. The bourgeoisie values its Fascist whip too dearly to really mean to impair it.

In this light, Severing's move was nothing more than an impotent gesture

intended to soothe the disturbance within the ranks of the social democratic following. That is about all the "iron front" of the reformists amounts to. The social democracy, through Severing, once again revealed itself as the prostrate and senile Left wing of the bourgeoisie, capable only of leading the workers to the slaughter.

A working class movement, united against Fascism and prepared for struggle, would not have tolerated such a treacherous and deceptive maneuver as Severing's. Within a united front movement, in which the Communists are at their posts, in which the revolutionary party represents the driving force of the proletariat in action, such a gesture would not be tolerated. It would be exposed on the spot before the eyes of all. It would form a step in the consolidation of revolutionary influence within the working class, that is, in the preparation of the proletariat for a decisive contest for power with the class enemy.

This is the crime of the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party—that it allows the social democrats to retain their positions within the working class at a time like the present. The Stalinists propound the idea that the Fascists cannot be defeated if the social democrats are not defeated first. This is quite true. But it is precisely the other Stalinist idea, which makes Fascists out of the social democrats ("social Fascists") and confuses the issue for the workers, that prevents the Com-

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Statement of Gerry Allard Oppositionist Answers Stalinist Slanders

It is evident that the Stalinists in their campaign against the members of the Left Opposition, know no limit in their fight to perpetrate their erroneous policies. Neither are they familiar with the most elementary line of ethics conforming with the principles of a revolutionist. The recent charges against me, alleging that I testified in the courts of the capitalist class against active fighters of the class struggle are crude fabrications that cannot stand the least speck of substantiation.

Needless to say, the charges are of the most serious kind. For a fighter in the class war to be charged with open conspiracy with the enemies of the working class in attempting to frame up militant workers and send them to prison, is by far the most contemptible betrayal for which there can never be any pardon. Agent provocateur Leopold of the Canadian Royal Mounted Police is one specie of a scoundrel that will be jotted down in the memorandum book of the revolutionary working class. I hurl back in the teeth of the Gebers and Tashes that the allegations are so rotten and lying that it must contaminate the very tongue that irresponsibly frothed these contemptible charges.

Differences with the Party

Seven workers, members of the Communist Party, have been jailed, indicted and released on bond pending trial, simply because they were active in the fight for the advancement of the interest of the Illinois coal miners. They propagated militantly, the idea that the National Miners Union was the only capable organization that could successfully lead the miners in the struggle against the operators. They appealed to the miners to spread their wild cat strike and to transform it into a national struggle. For these reasons, along with the general program of the Party, they are to be imprisoned for long years, unless the masses of coal miners and the entire American labor movement come to their defense. The attack against these seven Communist workers is a direct attack against the Illinois coal miners and the American labor movement. In the course of the Illinois miners' fight, especially during the "Rank and File" movement in Illinois, I differed very seriously with their policies. I followed the general line of the L. O. in the St. Louis convention where the Left Opposition played a prominent part. The convention rejected the policies of the Left Opposition; nevertheless, we were still a part of that movement and throughout the whole movement we have in a minority position. The pressure of the Left wing forces made the rank and file movement split from both branches of the reactionary miners union. The Party pursued an erroneous policy of sectarianism, trailing behind the whole movement. It was my firm opinion in accepting a minority position in this mass movement that events would confirm the correctness of Communist leadership. The party refused this line. It branded every one officially connected with the rank and file movement as fakers. The rank and file were men fresh from the picks. Even if we knew that the rank and file leadership would eventually mislead the miners movement, due to their short sightedness and lack of understanding the laws of the class struggle; it is not enough just to sit back and say, "I told you so!" My understanding of the correct Communist position is to remain with the masses and show them HOW.

In the unemployment movement starting even before the state hunger march, I was active in the work of the unemployed workers. I was elected at a united front conference a member of the state committee. By chance it developed that sympathizers of the Left Opposition had a majority on the committee. The Party, failing to control the movement they had started, began very nearly to sabotage. Later on, in Bloomington, Illinois, I again was elected by the unemployed workers there on the committee. Some of the Party organizers began to cooperate and as a result BLOOMINGTON WAS THE ONLY TOWN IN THE WHOLE HUNGER MARCH THAT RESPONDED WITH A MASS RECEPTION FOR THE HUNGER ARMY. It developed into one of the best down state units of the whole Illinois unemployment movement. This was not enough, the Party began to start the attack against

me. A secretary was imported to handle the whole situation. No one ever heard of him. He immediately began to take charge with my whole heard cooperation. It was not a week later he had run away with pennies of the unemployed workers of Bloomington and had stolen a check from the boss that I was working for. I had been in the Party for 8 years and there had never been a speck of irregularities along technical lines, but yet the great "leaders" import an agent that virtually ruins months of tedious work to organize a district that had never known Communist organization before.

These are a few of the detail matters that have caused the Party to be sharply antagonistic towards me. These things along with the fact that I am an applicant for membership in the C. L. A. (Opposition).

My recent activities in the miners' convention at Indianapolis and Springfield have also come under the criticisms of the Party. In this manner, I have been in contact with scores of miners and naturally correctness of policy gains sympathy in due time. The Party therefore has planned a campaign to annihilate me. They plan to frame up charges whereby they can force the League to bring pressure down on me. Anything to discredit Allard will be alright, as long as they get him out of the way. These are the only reasons that I can find for the inventions that they are continuously fabricating about my personal conduct as well as political activities. They have ceased to make it a political struggle by indulging in the personal character of their dissenters.

April the 1st a mass protest meeting has been called by sympathizers and opponents of the criminal syndicalist laws. I have been asked to speak and to possibly act as chairman of this meeting. I unhesitatingly accepted the offer as in line with every revolutionary's duty. This meeting will proclaim to the enemies of the miners that we intend to break the terror that is taking place in Franklin County and the right for workers to assemble and hold speeches.

—GERRY ALLARD.

Letters FROM THE MILITANTS :-:

Pocket Book Workers Prepare for Strike

It is nine months since the S. P. fakers in the pocketbook Workers Union put over their treacherous agreement, in spite of the fact that the workers voted against it. The Right wing misleaders gave away all union conditions — more than the employers demanded, and without fight. As a result, the union remains today in the most deplorable condition three months before the agreement expires.

After this rotten agreement was signed, a rank and file movement sprang up under the leadership of the T. U. U. L., as the workers revolted and ousted the administration before their term expired. New elections took place which left the administration badly divided. The rebel Left wingers won 14 delegates to the Joint Board. The Right wing elected 16. The rank and file committee elected two of the three business agents, but the Rights elected a manager, secretary-treasurer, two organizers, and one business agent, which gave them a small majority over the rebels. Members were wondering how this divided administration would work. They know that more than half of the administration in control now are the old guard of the Wolinsky, Ship-lakoff gang which were forced out of office a few years ago. They are corrupted and discredited by the membership. How can these two groups work together? Especially when the union faces such serious problems as making the employers live up to the agreement of last June; restoring order and discipline in the union shops; solving the problem of the shops moving out of town; the growth of scab shops; and above all; preparing and mobilizing the workers for a struggle when the agreement expires; and the winning back of the lost conditions which the last administration gave to the employers, without a fight.

At the same time the unemployment situation increases daily in great numbers as a result of which we have today out of 4,500 members, 2,500 unemployed

workers. The rest are working only part time. The employers took and are taking advantage of this situation. They do not live up even to the rotten agreement they signed. They reduce wages constantly. They have introduced the speed-up system. Workers are abused and insulted by their bosses and foremen, when they do work a day or two a week. Inside manufacturers give their work to contractors in non-union shops and let their workers starve, which is against the agreement they signed. This is the condition under which the pocket-book workers slave today.

How is it possible that the employers could get away and not live up to the agreement at a time when there is an "impartial" machinery in the industry? First, there is the reorganization clause we have had since the last agreement, which was forced on the workers by the betrayers. This clause is a club in the hands of the employers, over the heads of the workers. Under this reorganization clause the employers have a right to discharge ten per cent of the workers during the year, which means five per cent every six months. The employers used this clause as a whip over the workers. It was possible for the employers to speed up the workers, because each worker feared that he would be the one to be discharged when reorganization came around, after the season was over. The employers used another scheme. A few days before reorganization took place, they called the workers into their office and told them if they would take a reduction in wages, they would not be sent away. The workers knowing that there are over 2,500 workers unemployed and that they can't get another job, accepted reductions in wages which amounted to 10, 20 and 30 percent.

Second: the present administration which is known to the workers as the "Fraternal Club" gang, gave the employers a free hand and collaborated with them to bring down wages and undermine the conditions of the workers.

After the employers reduced the wages of the workers, they called the union to a conference and demanded another reduction in wages of 15 percent. The administration was willing to give a 10 percent reduction of wages providing the employers renewed the agreement expiring in June for another year. When the manager reported this offer to a general membership meeting, the workers rejected it. It was decided not to renew the agreement so long as there is the reorganization clause in it, but that the union should prepare and mobilize the workers for a struggle, when the agreement expires. A few weeks later the administration called another membership meeting. At this meeting the "Fraternal Club" administration terrorized the membership and maneuvered to reconsider the decision of the previous meeting. After a lengthy and heated discussion, the "Fraternal Club" gang forced a reconsideration of the decision of the previous meeting. They were victorious once more. All they need is more such victories and the members will do with them what they have done with the last administration. When the administration won their victory this gave them the power to negotiate a new agreement on the basis of a 10 percent cut in wages including the clause of reorganization which the membership so bitterly opposed at the first meeting.

Then our misleaders at the next conference with the Industrial Council proposed to the employers a 10 per cent reduction in wages provided the manufacturers, in turn, prolong the agreement for another year. The bosses politely rejected the offer. They know they can get from the "Fraternal Club" administration 30 per cent in June. This shows how the employers used our practical leaders in an effort to help them destroy the union.

Now when the Right wing leadership have exposed themselves as working hand in hand with the bosses, the rank and file committee have a great opportunity to win over the majority of the workers providing they pursue a correct and clear policy. The numerous blunders of the party and the T. U. U. L. must be avoided by the rank and file committee in the Pocketbook Workers Union.

In June our agreement expires. The bosses, as it looks, have decided to destroy our organization which took so many years of bitter struggle to build. At this moment the rank and file committee have a great task to perform. There are only ten weeks left till June. The rank and file committee must carry on agitation and education and prepare the workers for a militant struggle and for the following demands;

(1) A 40 hour, five day week which is necessary in order to relieve the unemployment situation and bring jobs to an additional few hundred workers.

(2) Unemployment Insurance must be revised and should be paid by the manufacturers only. At present the workers pay from their meagre earnings their part of the fund. The only one who benefits from the unemployment fund is the faker, Dr. Hendin, who was rewarded by the misleaders for last year's "good" settlement. He is still getting his \$75 a week while the unemployed workers are starving.

(3) The rank and file committee will have to see to it that militant picketing should take place in order to stop all the scab ships during the first few days of the strike.

(4) This strike will have to be conducted in a militant fashion not only against the employers but also against the misleaders who are agents of the bosses.

—N. DAVIS.

Farmer-Laborites in Minn.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

A new page in Farmer-Labor history has been written. Anderson, the Farmer-Labor mayor of Minneapolis has come out with a new proposal on unemployment. Coming so soon after the forcible breaking up of the February 4th Unemployment Mass meeting on Bridge Sq., in which six workers were arrested and convicted of "disorderly conduct", the solution offered by the mayor should not be surprising to the workers of this city. In a press statement to the **Minneapolis Journal** of March 7th, Mayor Anderson proposes to alleviate the depression and cut down the expenses of local administration by conscripting workers now receiving charity to do city work such as clearing snow, road repair, etc., for nothing, that is, in return for groceries. This, he claims, would in some measure repay the city for the charity they now dispense.

In examining this proposal, we see that this is nothing more than an attack on the present public works wage scale, and is a measure which the Chamber of Commerce and the organized bosses of Minneapolis should draw some political conclusions from this step taken by the Farmer-Laborite, and examine more closely its connection with the general program of the open-shoppers of this city. The radical pre-election speeches, the lengthy promises to alleviate the lot of the workers, have lost some of their appeal in the light of the actual deeds of the F. L. P. administration. The workers of Minneapolis are looking more and more cynically upon a state and city machinery which has consistently acted in collusion with the Chamber of Commerce. Its role as a democratic cloak for vicious attacks of the bosses has become clear to all thinking workers.

This situation is exceptionally favorable for the Communists. Workers are now beginning to understand the correctness of Communist candidates opposing the reformists, and no longer reproach us for "splitting the labor vote". The workers of Minnesota have no interest in the capitalist parties including the Farmer-Labor Party. The coming elections will show more clearly than ever the growing strength and appeal of Communism for the mass of workers in this state.

—SARA AVRIN.

Left Opposition Activities in the Middle West

The three days of comrade Glotzer's stay in Minneapolis were crammed full of events fruitful for the Left Opposition. The central propaganda meeting was the debate with A. C. Townley of Nonpartisan League fame. Heralded as a fire-eating champion of economic and political reforms, the audience of 150 who gathered at the Labor Lyceum were surprised and amused to hear this exponent of rural radicalism relate a series of stories and anecdotes: entertaining in themselves, but having little to do with the subject at hand: "The Cause and Cure of the Present Economic Crisis." It is needless to say that Townley's series of parables on capitalism and numerous thrusts at the Hoover administration could not stand up against comrade Glotzer's clear-cut Marxian analysis of capitalist crises and the prescription of the proletarian revolution as the solution. Following the meeting a quantity of literature was sold.

A crowd of about the same size heard comrade Glotzer in the afternoon at the Communist League headquarters on "Where is Europe Going?" Here a more serious tone prevailed since the speaker dealt with the burning political world problems of the day. Both these meetings were marked by intelligent questions and enthusiastic discussion. Party members were present, and registered their disappointment in finding no counter-revolutionary content to the meetings by a "diminished" silence. Walter Frank, however, did come forward with his own peculiar brand of the theory of socialism in one country that classes could be abolished in Russia alone which forced the speaker to publicly set him right. A number of "Germany" pamphlets were sold at this meeting.

A third public meeting was held with about 100 University of Minnesota students at Burton Hall who attentively received comrade Trotsky's views on the present world situation. In this case, however, the University authorities discriminated against the sale of Left Opposition literature. A campus detective shoved his way through the crowd of students lined up to buy, and brusquely ordered the literature off the grounds. We protested the reactionary organizations are allowed to sell pamphlets, that even the Party sold literature in the same hall when Norman Tallentire and Sender Garlin spoke to the University students. To no avail. His instructions were specific. No Trotskyist pamphlets will be sold. With typical stupidity, a Party nitwit, too timid to take the floor in the meeting, nevertheless loudly proclaimed outside to some students how the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites were in league with the University authorities. Several turned away in disgust.

A group of 12 young workers and students assembled on Saturday afternoon, and after listening to comrade Glotzer's message on the tasks of American Communist youth, decided to launch a Spartacus Youth Club in Minneapolis. A committee on preamble and by-laws was elected and a date set for the first meeting of the club; Saturday, March 19th

2:30 P. M. at the Labor Lyceum, 6th Ave. North and Irving. Indications point towards the development of an active revolutionary youth force in Minneapolis.

An account of comrade Glotzer's stay would not be complete without mention of the banquet in his honor held for the benefit of our publishing activities. After a modest lunch, there ensued some lively entertainment, featuring the much heralded **Militant Quartet** as well as one of the "Heavenly Discourse" skits entitled "Denver Prays For Rain". Here the laurels must be handed to the Dunne boys, Grant and Miles, as well as to Bill Curran for their dramatic and musical contributions. Glotzer spoke on his visit with Trotsky and the work of the League and brought a rousing collection for Left Opposition publications.

A special organization of the Minneapolis branch was held with comrade Glotzer Monday night where he reported on the work of the European and Chinese sections of the Left Opposition and the International Secretariat. The practical tasks of the Minneapolis League in the coming period were laid out and discussed.

The net financial result of these meetings was a bit over fifty dollars. The political results are positive; organizational, excellent, Minneapolis is looking forward to the next national tour.

Opposition Greeks Answer «Empros»

The "Empros", the Greek organ of the Stalinists in America is carrying on a one sided struggle against the **National Herald** but overlooking the necessary exposure of the **Atlantis**.

In our **Manifestos** last November we attacked this one sidedness and we warned the Greek workers of this faulty and dangerous procedure of the Greek Stalinists, which they are still pursuing in spite of the protests by many party members and sympathizers.

In the current issue of **Communists** we took up the slanders of the standardized type which was the only reply the Stalinists could give to our criticism of their failing. We told the Greek workers that the real supporters of the **Empros** are not the Stalinists who direct its policies at present but all the workers and especially the Left Oppositionists who fought within the ranks of the party before they were expelled. We still fight for its correct orientation on the questions of the class struggle and remind the Stalinists that they are not the private owners of the **Empros**. We demanded again that they must attack the **Atlantis** the royalist and pseudo-labor paper, in a more bitter way because this sheet exploits the radicalization of the Greek workers. It is doing its utmost to prevent them from joining the fighting ranks of the Communists. The Stalinists refused to attack the **Atlantis** believing naively that they can utilize this paper in their struggle against the **National Herald**. But they were sadly disappointed and surprised when this royalist sheet refused to write a single line in defense of comrade Chrisalides, the business manager of the **Empros**, when he was arrested.

The **Atlantis** is a class conscious bourgeois newspaper and in case of choice naturally will support the **National Herald**. This the Stalinists could not understand, unfortunately, not for themselves alone, but for the working class, which expects leadership from the columns of the **Empros**. The titles of the exposures against the **National Herald** were written in the typical liberal-American fashion which misleads and confuses. It strengthens the conceptions of bourgeois justice, and at the same time strengthens the patriotic traditions of the ideal Greek State. How otherwise can be characterized the titles: **Tatamis before the Hellenic Justice**.

Upon the arrest of comrade Chrisalides the Stalinists issued a manifesto appealing to the Greeks of America as if the Greeks in America were all members of the working class they forget that whenever the Greek workers, whether food workers furriers or of any other trade, attempted to reduce their 12-14 hours workday or 7 day week, the Greek bosses did not hesitate to use gangsters or any other conceivable medium of strike breaking against these very Hellenes.

A Communist paper should always expose every lackey of the capitalist class the **National Herald** and any other organization or individual of the capitalist class is firmly united with the entire structure of their system.

Whole precious columns of a Communist paper are devoted to prove that according to the rules of the Greek orthodox Church the editor of the **National Herald** should not be allowed to maintain his priesthood and to prove that other priests violated this. All these may sound incredible but still they are facts in spite of their paradox. We fear it will continue until the Greek party members as well as the entire party membership demand vigorously in a real Bolshevik manner to get an account from these bureaucratic.

The Greek Bureau of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will not allow itself to become the football of the **National Herald** or of any such bourgeois agency as the Stalinists became the instruments of **Atlantis**. They will continue to follow the Marxist-Leninist line and will not compromise with any kind of capitalist lackey.

In the **Communists** we have urged every worker to support the **Empros** which is in peril from the attacks of the capitalists.

«The Militant» Needs YOUR Help Now!

With this issue of **The Militant** the subscription drive will be one third over. It is a logical time to review what has already been accomplished and say what remains to be done.

The standing of new and renewed subscriptions, and new bundle order is as follows: New York—12; Minneapolis—2; Chicago—1; St. Louis—1; Miscellaneous—11; New bundle orders—Chicago—2, Newark—1.

This is a small increase over last week's report.

Thus far the drive can be characterized by the contradiction between the technique of the drive which has been theoretically worked out and its results. We are aware of the low level of the labor movement generally, of the Communist movement, too, and the enormous impoverishment of workers, but we are equally aware of the inducements offered subscribers and the absolute necessity for increasing the circulation of **The Militant**.

We must put **The Militant** on a sound financial basis. First of all we must increase its circulation and thereby its political influence. We must get new subscriptions. We must stress and stress again that comrade Trotsky's writings appear in it; that with each new subscription or renewal, the subscriber, especially the new subscriber, may add to his library one of the earlier works of comrade Trotsky, viz.: with each \$2.00 subscription or renewal, for one year of fifty-two issues, a free paper bound copy of **The Permanent Revolution**, or a free one year subscription to **Young Spartacus**; with each \$1.00 subscription or renewal for a half year of twenty-six issues, a free copy of the **Strategy of the World Revolution**; with each 50c trial subscription of thirteen issues a free copy of any of our 10c pamphlets. These premiums apply, only during the period of the drive which ends on June 1st.

During the period of the drive only we also offer a special subscription rate of 25c for eight issues. (There are no literature premiums with these subscriptions. This offer should be a very great inducement to subscription getters. Surely almost any class-conscious worker who is not totally unemployed can afford 25c for a two months' subscription. This offer should result immediately in a large increase in subscriptions.

In addition to getting new subscriptions we must renew expired and expiring subscriptions or each new subscription will be balanced by an expiring one in which case we will have a financial credit and political debit.

It is also absolutely necessary for us to increase the news stand and book store sale. Stands which will carry **The Militant** must be shown their advantage; the paper appears regularly; their profit is 2c per copy; for unsold copies they receive full credit by simply clipping

the date line of each unsold copy and mailing it in.

We must also organize free mass distribution wherever workers gather or can be reached, of "sample copies" of back numbers furnished free by the national office. Each copy is stamped sample copy. This indicates to the reader that subsequent copies are to be paid for. These free mass distributions must be followed up by sales of current issues. Any comrade may order a number of such sample copies for distribution. Each order should specify the number and the orders should be limited to what can actually be distributed. The order should also specify for what group or meeting the distribution is intended so we can ship appropriate issues and ship them in time.

Finally we must build in every city where we have strength or influence a staff of **Militant** builders. They must work on the idea that one of their special tasks is to continually bring in subscription, renewals and bundle orders; not as an occasional duty but as a steady consistent task. The staff and record thus far is as follows: L. Basky—1; R. Sacharow—1.

We believe that if all of the points in these notes are taken into account and acted upon with the necessary energy and speed we can successfully build the circulation of **The Militant** to a much higher figure than it enjoys now.

The first score in the drive between the rival teams of the Minneapolis branch for **Militant** subscriptions and renewals was made by comrade Curran who nonchalantly strolled right into the rival camp and got a sub from one of its members, Dunne by name. The latter clan swears vengeance and from all indications will yet make a showing in the contest. The Curran clan has the advantage of some heavy hitters in the shape of Hedlund, Coover and others. This does not in any way imply that the Dunne team has no persistent pluggers. It merely says the proof is in the pudding, which, we know, is in the eating. An interesting feature of the entire contest is the wager made between the teams. The losing team agrees to make a banquet for the benefit of **The Militant** at which the winning team will be the guests of honor. Every member is on his pins for action.

The weekly standing of the teams will be registered in the organizational columns of **The Militant**. So watch the **Militant** for results!

«Soviet's Challenge» at the Acme Theatre

The Acme Theatre, 14th Street and Union Square, is now presenting the Soviet film, "Soviet Challenge", an extraordinary and exclusive showing of a picture not seen here before. The picture is based on "The 5th Year" and was produced in the U. S. S. R. by Proletkino. The film shows the progress and achievements in the Soviet Union. On the same program the Acme Theatre will present an added feature, "Songs of The Cossacks" This is the first time this singing picture of the Cossacks has been shown here.

A special feature of "Soviet's Challenge" shows Trotsky at work.

MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS OPEN FORUM

Every Sunday at 3 P. M.
1530 East Franklin (at Bloomington)
SUBJECT FOR April 3rd
"RESULTS OF THE MINNESOTA FARMER LABOR CONVENTION"
Lecture by V. R. Dunne
Admission Free Everybody Welcome
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition) Minneapolis Branch

New York Cisses

The first three lectures of comrade Shachtman's series in the **History of the Communist International** have proved so successful that if the present successive increase in attendance continues. It will be necessary to take a larger hall. The attendance now is over fifty.

The fourth lecture, to be held on Wednesday, March 30th, will deal with "The Struggle for the Conquest of the Masses"—the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921. Workers attending this lecture would do well to prepare for it by reading comrade Trotsky's **Strategy of the World Revolution** advertised elsewhere in **The Militant**.

SWABECK'S CLASS IN MARXISM

The class taught by comrade Swaback in Marxism continues its instructive application of the teachings of Marx and Engels to the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement of today. The class meets regularly every Thursday evening at 8 p. m. in our headquarters at 84 East 10th St.

The class is still open. The remaining sessions can be taken by registering at once.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Statement on the Recent Decree Depriving Comrade Trotsky of Soviet Citizenship

(Continued from page 1)

against the nomination of Stalin to the post of General Secretary: 'this cook will serve us a peppery dish' . . . This cook has not yet exhausted the culinary science completely.

"This prediction of Lenin's is being verified anew. The decree of expatriation was another—and not the last—poisoned dish from the Stalinist kitchen."

The decree is the product of wrath and weakness. The choice of names in the list of those expatriated is dictated by the necessity of a political amalgam. The Thermidorians have always combined the names of their revolutionary adversaries with those of the representatives of the counter-revolutionaries, in their reprisals. The names of Don, Abramovich, Potressov and the others are obviously dragged in by the hair. It is a matter of creating a combine that would be compromising to the name of Trotsky. The necessity of an amalgam is dictated by the very nature of Centralism which cannot help having enemies from the right and the left and which sets itself the task of throwing all into the same pot in order to mask its Centralist character. At the same time the Stalinists continue to fill up the places of deportation. The colonies of Bolshevik exiles in Siberia and Central Asia are constantly growing. Those confined in the solitary, after serving their time, have been condemned to supplementary confinement. Stalin does not want them to leave the solitary alive. Only a few weeks ago the old Bolshevik Tsulikidze, a member of the Party since 1905, was finished off by a series of ignominious Thermidorian acts. This sick old Bolshevik, instead of being transferred to a place in which more favorable conditions for her state of health exist, as she was promised, was deported to Akolinsk, the worst spot in Central Asia. In reply to her protests, she was beaten. Our unflinching comrade could not resist his maltreatment more than a few

months and succumbed. Stalin killed her as he killed Zinzadze, Blumkin, and many other revolutionary Bolsheviks. Rakovsky is tied down to Barnoul, in which the harsh climate is practically destroying the health of the old fighter. He is gravely ill. The terror against Rakovsky, besides having general political causes, also has a personal motive. Stalin nurtures an old hatred against Rakovsky which is based on the fact that to the same degree to which Stalin is the incarnation of bureaucratic brutality and disloyalty, Rakovsky is the image of genuine revolutionary magnanimity.

The decree of expatriation against Trotsky and his family has an additional purpose and is linked with the terrorist designs of the White Guards against Trotsky. The Soviet government, which issued the news of a planned assassination by Turkul in the *Rote Fahne*, attaches an extremely great importance to the information furnished by the G. P. U., which is evidenced by the fact that it addresses itself officially to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, advising it of the danger threatening Litvinoff on the part of the same White Guard terrorists. Although he has at his disposal data of such an importance and such concrete facts, Stalin has nevertheless not brought them to the attention of comrade Trotsky, nor to this friends up to the present; neither with regard to the character of the terrorist organization, its composition, its connections, nor its methods, etc. Only by being aware of all these circumstances can the militants of the Left Opposition, in the extremely unfavorable conditions of their exile, take the necessary preventative measures. Comrade Trotsky's companions-in-arms have more than once addressed these demands to the representatives of Stalin abroad. No information, no aid has been given to them. In other

words, the Stalinist clique is concealing before Trotsky and his friends all the concrete data which it possesses concerning the planned assassination of Trotsky.

In juridical language, this manner of action is called—in case there is no direct complicity — **concealing evidence**. Stalin understands that very well. His personal responsibility is only too clear. Seeking for some way out, he came upon the idea of expatriating comrade Trotsky. Stalin believes that if he withdraws comrade Trotsky's Soviet passport, he will thereby diminish his own responsibility in the case of a successful attempt on the part of the white terrorists. In that case, it will not be a matter of a Soviet citizen! This miserable refuge will not be of any avail, just as all the other measures of a similar nature.

This decree, born of wrath and impotence, may cause comrade Trotsky and his family personal difficulties. But it will not change the fact, that today just as on October 25, 1917, Trotsky remains, together with Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Republic and the leader of the October revolution; that he was the organizer of the victory of the Red Army and that he is today the outstanding fighter for the proletarian revolution; while Stalin is only the candidate for the post of grave digger of the proletarian dictatorship.

Nor will this prevent what is inevitable, the downfall of the dictatorship of the degenerated Stalinist clique. This downfall is inevitable. It will not be the preparation for the downfall of the proletarian dictatorship, as the enemy class hopes, but on the contrary, for the degeneration and the bloom of proletarian democracy. It signifies the regeneration of the Comintern. It has become the indispensable premise for the success of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and for the development of the international revolution.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

The Working Class United Front Against Reaction in Canada

(Continued from page 1)

opted this resolution; since then the United Farmers of Alberta and the United Farmers of Saskatchewan at their last conventions, and the provincial convention of the Alberta Trades and Labor Councils have also taken this resolution up. In spite of the sabotage by the labor bureaucrats, the mass pressure from the rank and file forced them to take definite action. A notice was also sent out calling an Eastern Canada Emergency Conference in Hamilton, Ontario, for February 6th and 7th, to plan further a program of work. The call specifically stated that the invitation was issued to every body and person in sympathy with the views of the Conference, regardless of political belief or affiliation.

Comrade J. Silver was sent to the Hamilton Conference as the representative of the local Toronto Conference, comrade Panitch represented an auxiliary organization, and comrade Green went as the direct official delegate of the Toronto branch of the Left Opposition; all our comrades were seated.

In spite of the short time and lack of preparation in calling the Conference, it opened with 283 delegates representing 166 organizations, and 117 individuals. The Liberals, as usual, were prominent by their absence. Of the 19 trade unions represented, over half were A. F. of L. locals. The other delegates were from various auxiliary organizations, unemployed associations, language and cultural bodies, I. L. P., etc. Comrade Silver was elected on the resolutions committee and took an active part in the deliberations on that body; comrade Panitch was appointed to the Advisory Committee. The eight arrested leaders, then still out on bail awaiting the result of their appeal, were enthusiastically greeted and appointed as honorary Presidium members.

A. E. Smith presented the political report, giving an outline of the crisis, the reasons for the severe reaction in Canada, and cited the figures of the Class Terror in Canada in 1931, when 720 workers were arrested with 155 convictions: 78 workers were beaten and wounded, 3 miners brutally killed in Estevan, and 96 demonstrations and meetings smashed. The war danger was given emphasis, and a set of organizational proposals were adopted which called for the further broadening of the united front. Tim Buck and Tom Ewen, two of the arrested leaders, in their discussions, emphasized again and again that the Conference was not a Communist organization, but a movement embracing any labor body and liberal elements who agreed with its aims of fighting for free speech and assembly, and the repeal of Section 98. Buck also stated that the pressure of the masses may even force the A. F. of L. to take action, and render them also liable to Section 98.

Perspectives

Due to the bankruptcy of the Stalinist policies, loss of membership, prestige, etc., the Party was forced to adopt the Leninist principle of the United Front. This is a vindication of the program of the Left Opposition. The course taken in this conference is an involuntary ad-

mission that their previous strategy was one of isolation, and that to influence the masses, it is necessary to go into their organizations.

The Conference was but a beginning in this development. To embrace a larger number of workers within the movement is now the main task. Without clarity in principle and theory, there can be no stable movement, and the adoption of the principle of the united front has shown what can be accomplished.

Our comrades in the various organizations must see that this movement is not allowed to drift away, but to bring it into further contact with the masses.

—S. GREEN.

Hail the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Red Army!

On the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the founding of the Red Army, we reprint below an account of the event by Victor Serge and several of the first Soviet documents bearing on the subject. Victor Serge is the translator of the French edition of the complete works of Lenin. He is a Franco-Russian Communist of long standing and a member of the Left Opposition. The chapter printed below forms part of his work *Year I of the Russian Revolution* (in French) and is of especial interest at present in view of the Stalinist distortions of revolutionary history in general and that of the Red Army in particular. The Red Army, in the organization of which comrade Trotsky took the leading part, was created as the army of the International revolution. Today, on the fourteenth anniversary of its foundation, with the sharpening of the class conflicts and the imminence of social struggles of an international scope, it is especially well to remember this. Long live the Red Army, the army of the world proletariat!

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BIRTH OF THE RED ARMY

Finland, the Baltic countries, the Ukraine are occupied by the Austrians and the Germans. The Turks are entering Caucasasia, at that time "independent". The British are occupying the Baku. The Rumanians are seizing Bessarabia. The Japanese are landing at Vladivostok (April 6). The revolution is surrounded in a circle of iron and fire. It needs an army. This army must be created from the void.

On January 2 (15), while negotiations are going on at Brest-Litovsk, a decree is issued on the establishment of a Red Army of volunteers.

The Red general staff—whatever has remained of the former general staff—calls upon the local Soviets to show their initiative by constituting new corps, the battalion of 150 men to be adopted as the unit. This appeal did not go unanswered. The real Red Army was to be created later, under the cover formed for it by these first improvised units. A Supreme Army Council was formed on

For the Unity of Spanish Communism

An Open Letter of the Spanish Left Opposition Addressed to all Communists

Comrades:

With the publication of the "Open Letter" of the Communist International to the C. P. S., the profound crisis which has been hovering over Spanish Communism as a consequence of the fundamental errors committed by the national leadership with the full acquiescence of the International has broken out into the open. A whole series of mistakes are stigmatized in this document, mistakes that the Spanish Left Opposition was the first to point out at a time when the correction of these mistakes would have marked a victorious advance of the revolution. Only when the mistakes blossoming within the party grow to their full length does the International, which defended and supported these erroneous policies and approved those responsible for them so resolutely, decide to put forward its criticism under the pressure of the rank and file and in the face of evident symptoms of the demoralization of the party, symptoms which are manifesting themselves in their full force. Two days before the publication of the "Open Letter", simple militants who had the courage to bring up criticisms less severe than that of the International in their units—were expelled from the party with the sanction of international organisms. The present crisis was not produced by a logical development of the organization, that is to say, by means of a free discussion within the party, but was fabricated artificially: imposed by the International bureaucracy.

It is logical that the leadership of the International, those most responsible for the mistakes of the Spanish leadership, are doing everything in their power to cover up the catastrophic consequences of the policy pursued in Spain. Historically, the damage caused by these political mistakes is very difficult to make good. When the rhythm of the revolution starts its process of decline, the bureaucracy of the International poses the question of the reorganization of the party. The International bureaucracy gave its assent, its support to everything that deprived the Spanish proletariat of its revolutionary party in the culminating period of the revolution. More than that, the International covered with the cloak of its authority the split in the ranks of Spanish Communism maintained by the official leadership of the party. Practically, the C. I. and the Spanish leadership, the Bullejos-Trilla-Pumarega combine, were the liquidators of the immediate perspectives opened up for the Spanish proletariat by the Fourteenth of April.

In the "Open Letter" of the Communist International are reproduced the same criticisms that, since the beginning

of the Spanish revolution, were formulated by the Opposition, and for which it was insulted with the worst sort of epithets. The following accusations are made against the leadership: inability to adapt itself to the masses; sectarian narrowness; anarchistic tendencies; false analysis of the political situation; issuance of slogans incomprehensible to the masses and failure of realizing a serious will to put them into practice; a false conception of the role of the Soviets; failure to understand the meaning of the shop committees; clique control; strangulation of the expression of the rank and file; the split policy in the National Confederation of Labor. The Spanish Left Opposition believes and declares a new change of policy, imposed upon the party in a bureaucratic manner, would not have been brought about without the frank exposure of the mistakes that we have practiced. In this respect, the Opposition sees in these facts a new victory of its defense of revolutionary Marxism, applied to the Spanish revolution and the role of the party.

The Communist Left Opposition, in registering this brilliant victory of its point of view, is obliged to show to all proletarian Communists that the "Open Letter" is a direct result, although a belated one, of our criticisms. This shows clearly that even though we have been expelled from the party, our collaboration with it was undeniably a fruitful one. It would be still greater if the Opposition were allowed to occupy the place that belongs to it within the ranks of the party. It goes to show once more, that if the internal regime were one of free and democratic discussion, which is indispensable to every revolutionary proletarian organization, the criticism would be far less acute than under the present state of division, and the correction of the mistakes would take place more rapidly and more effectively, and would be immeasurably less painful. But the International bureaucracy fears the revolutionary truth and therefore persists in keeping the Bolshevik-Leninists within the ranks of the Opposition, estranged from the party.

The "Open Letter" takes special pains to cover up those mistakes committed by the Spanish party, that derive not from the lack of political understanding on the part of the national leadership, but from the theory that dominates the present course of the International—Stalinism. The root of the evil lies in the whole series of eclectic conceptions that the Stalinist school has introduced into Communism since the death of Lenin. The defeats of the Chinese, the German, the Bulgarian and now, the Spanish revolution are the consequences of the wrong tactics that derives from the disastrous article known as Stalinism.

What solutions are proposed in this "Open Letter"? The whole document is remarkable for its absolute lack of concrete solutions. It does not even propose as a definite condition, the demonstrative elimination of the direct authors of these political crimes which are denounced within it. These leaders served the International bureaucracy too faithfully and are altogether too disposed to continue serving it, for the latter to get rid of them. The solution of the problems is left to the congress of the Party, which is to meet in March, so as to give a certain democratic appearance to the bureaucratic maneuvers that are now being prepared.

The leadership of the Spanish party with the consent of the International expelled all its political opponents, the most capable militants of the party, within the last few months and accused them of the horrible crime of not withholding their criticism of the adventurist policies pursued by this leadership. The leadership was, in this manner, able to maintain the condition of monolithic tranquility. A pogrom atmosphere was created within the party, an atmosphere of terrorism against all independently thinking militants and of a systematic persecution against all sincere militants that disagreed with these methods of the leadership. In the face of the impossibility of any sort of criticism and in the face of the reign of persecution, many old militants left the party. The bureaucratization of the units killed off all their internal political life. The leaders were more interested in upholding the personal prestige of the secretary of the unit than in upholding the political line of the worker-Communists active in the units. The active militants, fearing expulsion from the party, curtailed their own opinions and did not follow the dictates of their conscience. The militants were robotized; what was asked of them was not discipline, but blind obedience.

It is in such a situation that the party convention is being prepared, which can be denounced in advance as a bureaucratic maneuver, with the aim of placating the fermentation within the ranks, resulting especially from the latest political mistakes of the leadership. Yet, this very International leadership is forced to admit that the party is disorganized and that it is absolutely necessary to reorganize it immediately. The development of events has clearly shown that the Left Opposition was correct and that it was the only one to foresee the policy corresponding to the needs of the party at every step in the revolution. All our activities and all our writings are the proof for this. Once more, the historic necessity of the existence of the Opposition has been justified, on a national as well as on an international scale. Nevertheless, instead of readmitting all the Oppositionists expelled for their opinions into the party, the "Open Letter" demands that the party carry on an "energetic" struggle against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". For the purpose of struggling against "Trotskyism", a whole factory of slanders and calumnies against the Opposition and its most outstanding militants will start to function within a short time, with full steam and in extra shifts. It will take recourse to verbal and journalistic violence at first and later on, even to physical violence. In this manner, the party bureaucracy will expiate for the mistakes it has committed, mistakes fatal for the destiny of the Spanish proletariat.

The Communist party will not be able to take the road it must take, if it does not begin its reorganization by completely eliminating the whole leading clique of adventurers which have led it to the present situation. These inept and incapable leaders, veritable illiterates in so far as revolutionary Marxism is concerned, are those who are morally responsible for the defeat of the Spanish revolution. All the worker-Communists who love their party must demand the political condemnation of Bullejos and Co. The latter, with a stroke of remarkable political cynicism, are trying to evade responsibility for the debacle by resorting to accusations against the rank and file of the party, who are guilty merely of the crime of being too patient. The Communist workers will not consent any longer to have all the blame for the mistakes which are exclusively due to the party "leaders", cast upon their heads. The national bureaucrats have learned from their International allies the consistent method of submitting the rank and file to a most abominable dictatorship and of casting responsibility for the failures on their shoulders. There is one more thing that the Left Opposition cannot conceal. The present leadership of any other leading body arising from the party itself will not be able to restore its political welfare if it is going to apply to the Spanish movements the internationally disastrous methods of Stalinism. The Spanish revolution is another proof for the world proletariat of how Stalinism leads directly to defeat. This is precisely what the hired Stalinites in Spain are attempting to dissimulate before the working masses.

(To be Continued)

(Continued on page 4)

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Rakovsky on the Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue)

Just as quality of production sets a limit to the increase in the intensity of labor so the limit to increased intensity in the utilization of equipment is bound up with the problem of the working personnel. Great reserves can be made available for the further use of the old basic capital by making use of more shifts—by transfer to the 24 hour shift. The clarification of the question of the working personnel is not here our problem, everyone who follows this question, cannot but know that this problem cannot be solved in the near future and that, therefore, the reserves available by the increase of shifts can be utilized only to a very small degree. The question of the working personnel arises also, of course in connection with new enterprises but we will not take up this matter in this connection. Here it is important for us to show that the shortage of working personnel bound up with the impossibility of a further "loading" of the existing personnel creates a barrier for the further increase in the quantitative indices by this means.

The third factor lies beyond industry itself although it is closely bound up with it. It is the shortage of agricultural raw materials for light industry. Due to shortage of raw materials the volume of production in light industry fell in two months (May and June) by nearly 30%. During these two months the plan was only slightly over 50% fulfilled. The volume of production in the Fats Industry decreased in April by 15.5%, in May by 15.7%, in June by 38.6% of the figures for May, which means that it practically nearly ceased production. Production in the Food Industry decreased in April by 15.5%, in May by 12.9%, in June by 23.7%. The situation in the Sugar Industry, which was practically at a halt in June, is absolutely catastrophic. For the last year only 42.8% of the production capacity of the sugar industry was realized. From these figures alone we see that we deal not only with individual breaks in certain branches but with a sharp decline of production nearly in the whole light

The Raids on Nazis in Prussia

(Continued from page 1)

munist not only from defeating both the social democrats and the Fascists, but even from preparing the defense of the working class from ruthless extermination at the hands of Hitler's bands. Therein lies the great danger in Germany.

The only way the Fascists can be defeated is by uniting the forces of the proletariat for action. The only way the social democratic influence can be wiped out from the working class movement is by recognizing their actual role by forcing them into a united front on the basis of a struggle against Fascism, by showing to the workers in the course of united action that the impotent and servile policies of the social democracy can only pave the way for Fascism.

The Severing incident is a striking lesson in proof of this. Severing and the social democrats say they want to fight Fascism. Here they had a chance. Did Severing, who had ground enough from the material confiscated in the raids, proceed to outlaw and disrupt the Nazi organizations? He did not. Servile creature that he is, he feared to come into conflict with the federal government, with the Hindenburg-Bruening-Groener regime, which is consciously aiding the Fascists. In a united front movement with the organizations which Severing and his ilk are leading, the Communists could press the social democratic traitors and cowards to the wall. They would be forced to show their color. A Severing could be forced to break with the bourgeoisie — which is unthinkably—or be driven out of the movement, in an instance like the present. In any case, the social democracy would lose its identity rapidly and be wiped out. The working class would be solidified and readied for revolutionary action.

The Fascists are concentrating all their efforts on the situation in Prussia. They are waiting for the Landtag (Diet) elections next month before they strike. That is their strategy. They mean to start out with a seizure of power in this central German province first. It is in Prussia that the social democracy has its stronghold. There is not much time to lose. If the Fascists are to be repulsed, if the working class is to avoid defeat, if the Communist movement is to avoid disaster, a complete reorientation of the policy of the German Communist Party must take place. The confusion of "social Fascism" must be cleared up. The Marxist appraisal of the situation given by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition must be transferred into the flesh and blood of the German Communists.

industry with a complete suspension in certain branches. Even if the industry itself were in no degree at fault in this matter, the fact of the matter would remain and would have to be reckoned with. In truth, industry is not at fault. We see here the effects which we have warned against several times previously: the delay in the development of industry became the cause for the delay in the development of agriculture.

The above article rightly ascribes the basic causes for the shortage in agricultural raw materials to the following: (1) incorrect price policy; (2) incorrect regulating of the distribution of manufactured goods to producers of agricultural raw materials; (3) the lagging behind of the fertilizer industries. During the current year only 25% of the demand for fertilizers was satisfied. (4) Acute shortage of machines for the cultivation of technical cultures and a nearly complete absence of harvesting machines, due to which the sowing and first plowing of the majority of technical cultures is done by primitive hand method.

All these are direct results of the lagging behind of industry.

The study of the question of quantitative indices in connection with the above mentioned factors permits us to make the following fundamental conclusions: (1) the official figures of quantitative growth represent just a statistical fiction due to the ignoring of the quality of production. Only by taking quality into account can we obtain comparable quantity indices. (2) In so far as a quantitative growth actually took place it was based to a decisive degree of the use of a greater number of workers and on the increase of the intensity of labor. (3) In using this method of increase in quantity which contains in itself the conditions leading to its failure and does not at all guarantee the further growth of quantity indices, thus we reach a limit beyond which the further use of this method can give only negative results for the national economy. And this method has now been used to the utmost. (4) The question of the further growth of quantity indices and even of maintaining the level already acquired is directly bound up with the problem of giving industry a new material-technical base.

This question is decided by the amount of accumulation and capital building of which we will treat further on.

—CHRISTIAN G. RAKOVSKY.

Barnoul, July-August 1930

*The above constitutes the last instalment of one chapter of a larger work by comrade Rakovsky. The condition of exile and ruthless physical persecution imposed upon our comrade by the Stalin clique make for the belated publication of his work by the Left Opposition press. At the present time, the whereabouts of comrade Rakovsky are not even known. The repression of the Stalinist against this valiant revolutionary leader have been particularly vicious. The last that has been heard of him is that he was in a frightful and alarming state of health and that no consideration was to be expected of the regime. No revolutionist will forget this crime of Stalinism.—Ed.

Hail the Red Army

(Continued from page 1)

The recruitment campaign had very good but inadequate results. On April 1, Petrograd offered 25,000 volunteers, Moscow—more than 15,000, 106,000 volunteers reported in six weeks.

—From "L'An I. de la Revolution Russe"

A DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

Petrograd, January 15, 1918

The old army was a class instrument of the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the working class. The seizure of power by the laboring class and the class of those who possess nothing has made the creation of a new army necessary. This new army will have the task of protecting the Soviet power and of constituting the base on which the regular army will be transformed into a power founded on the arming of the whole people; furthermore, the new army will serve to support the Socialist revolution that is approaching in Europe.

I.

In the execution of the preceding, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to organize the new army on the following basis and under the name "Red Workers' and Peasants' Army".

1. The red workers' and peasants' army is composed of the most conscious and best organized elements of the working class.

2. Every citizen of the Russian republic over 18 years of age can enter its ranks. All those may enter the Red Army, who are prepared to put their forces and their life at the service of the defense of the conquests of October,

Rebel Miners in Action!

(Continued from page 1)

consciousness among the coal miners to the treacherous role of these officials and their growing readiness to combat them. In other words it offers the increasing opportunities for the Left wing to find the common base for these movements and through them to unite for the common immediate objectives.

Of such steps there is no sign whatever. The official Communist Party which is the potential force to give this direction is, when considering this as the essential task, failing just as miserably as the other confused and opportunist groups. The National Miners Union, which it leads, has not yet at any time pursued a policy genuinely aiming at uniting the rebellious movements. It has thereby, in the same manner as the other groupings, been hemmed in within the localizing barriers of each separate struggle, confining itself purely to the spontaneous movement of the workers themselves, lacking perspective, failing actually to organize and losing ground so that it still commands only a few scattered, small and ill-functioning locals. Under such conditions the militancy it displays, the working class and revolutionary propaganda it spreads, becomes entirely too much negated.

A National Perspective for a United Front

While the series of localized spontaneous miners struggles from the past to the present have certainly served to advance the miners to higher levels of experience and consciousness they have most often in their direct implication resulted in defeats and weakening of their organization. The John L. Lewis administration pursued that method as a deliberate policy to serve the operators. But it should have taught us all that when local strikes are so often defeated the object must be the national extension. With the present trend of the struggle, directed, and of necessity so, equally against the U. M. W. official treachery, the national objective must, of course, stand out so much more clearly.

But this is only one side of the question. The other is the need of the actual unification of the rebel movements. Here lies the real task for the revolutionary forces, for the official Communist Party. To talk about establishing "independent leadership" in these struggles, as it does, or to talk about taking into account this burning question of the necessity of a speedy united front of the rebel movements becomes pure nonsense. To proceed to build committees of independent leadership within them endeavoring to struggle independently and in opposition to them is wrong. It is particularly erroneous to endeavor to build the National Miners Union within these rebel movements of the U. M. W. What is needed there is a Left wing of these movements, firmly established, working as part of, and with the movements, criticizing and fighting against opportunist leaders, and working in the closest possible co-operation with the Left wing forces in the National Miners Union. Proceeding from such a basis it should not become an all too difficult task to build a united front in reality of these various movements struggling in common for the common immediate objectives; to dislodge the influence and control of the Lewis machine and for better working conditions. In such a united front movement the Communists would certainly play the main role of leadership provided they pursue Communist policies. They could thus become a much more important factor in uniting the working class against the common enemy.

—A. S.

of the Soviet power and of socialism. For entrance into the Red Army, the following recommendations are necessary: those of the military committee or those of the civil organizations who depend upon the Soviet power, those of the party or the trade unions—more strictly speaking, the recommendations of two members of one of these organizations. In case an entire division enters the Red Army, collective recommendations and a nominal vote are necessary.

II.

1. The families of members of the Red workers' and peasants' army are supported by the state and receive a monthly subsidy of 50 rubles.

2. The invalid members of the families of soldiers, who have previously been supported by the soldiers, will continue to receive aid according to the local statutes and according to the regulations of the local Soviet.

III.

The Council of People's Commissars is the supreme directing organism of the Red workers' and peasants' army. The immediate conduct of the army and its administration are concentrated in the Military Commissariat and particularly in the all-Russian collegium.

WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

(Continued from page 1)

signify only the resurrection of all the contradictions on the very next successive stage, only in still more acute and concentrated form.

In terms of world economy, Europe is on the downward trend. Already the forehead of Europe is plastered beyond removal with American labels: the Dawes plan, the Young Plan, Hoover's moratorium. Europe is placed thoroughly on American rations.

The decay of capitalism results in social and cultural decomposition. The road is barred for further methodical differentiation within the nation, for the further growth of the proletariat at the expense of the diminution of intermediate classes. Further prolongation of the crisis can bring in its trail only the pauperization of the petty bourgeoisie and the transformation of ever increasing groups of workers into the lumpenproletariat. In its most acute form, it is this threat that grips advanced capitalist Germany by the throat.

The rottenest portion of putrefying capitalist Europe is the social democratic bureaucracy. It entered upon its historical journey under the banner of Marx and Engels. For its goal it placed the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The powerful upsurge of capitalism caught it up and dragged it in its wake. In the name of reform, the social democracy betrayed the revolution, at first by its actions and later by its very words. Kautsky, forsooth, for a long time still defended the phraseology of revolution, making it serve as a handmaiden to the requirements of reformism. Bernstein, on the contrary, demanded the renunciation of revolution: for capitalism was entering the period of peaceful development without crises, and without wars. A paragon of prophets! Apparently, between Kautsky and Bernstein there was an irreconcilable divergence. Actually, however, they symmetrically complemented one another as the right and left boots on the feet of reformism.

The war came. The social democracy supported the war in the name of future prosperity. Instead of prosperity decay set in. Then the problem resolved itself no longer in concluding from the inadequacy of capitalism the inevitability of revolution; nor was it one of reconciling the workers with capitalism by means of reforms. The new policies of the social democracy now consisted in making society safe for the bourgeoisie at the cost of sacrificing reforms.

But even this was not the last stage of degeneracy. The present crisis that is convulsing capitalism obliged the social democracy to sacrifice the fruits achieved after protracted economic and political struggles and thus to reduce the German workers to the plane of existence of their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers. There is no historical spectacle more tragic and at the same time more repulsive than the fetid disintegration of reformism amid the wreckage of all its conquests and hopes. The theater is raving in its straining for modernism. Let it stage more often Hauptmann's "The Weavers": this most modern of modern dramas. But the director of the theater must not forget to reserve the dress circle for the leaders of the social democracy.

Incidentally, however, these leaders are in no mood for the theater: they have reached the utmost limits of their adaptability. There is a level beneath which the working class of Germany cannot drop willingly or for any length of time. Moreover, the bourgeois régime, fighting for its existence, is in no mood to recognize this level. The emergency decrees of Bruening are only the beginning, only feelers to get the lay of the land. Bruening's régime rests upon the cowardly and perfidious support of the social democratic bureaucracy which in its turn depends upon the sullen, half-hearted support of a section of the proletariat. The system based on bureaucratic decrees is unstable, unreliable, temporary. Capitalism requires another, more decisive policy. The support of the social democracy with its one eye ever cocked on its own workers, is not only insufficient for its purposes, but has already become irksome. The period of half-way measures has passed. In order to try to find a way out, the bourgeoisie must absolutely rid itself of the pressure exerted by the workers' organizations, these must needs be eliminated, destroyed, utterly crushed.

At this juncture, the historic role of Fascism begins. It sets on its feet those classes that are immediately above the proletariat and who are ever in dread of being forced down into its ranks; it organizes and militarizes them at the expense of finance capital, under the cover of the official government, and it directs them to the extirpation of proletarian organizations, from the most revolutionary to the most conservative.

Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror. Fascism is a particular governmental system based on the uprooting of all elements of proletarian democracy within bourgeois society. The task of Fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist advance guard but in holding the entire class in a state of forced disunity. To this end the physical annihilation of the most revolutionary section of the workers does not suffice. It is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat, and to uproot whatever has been achieved during three quarters of a century by the social democracy and the trade unions. For, in the last analysis, the Communist party also bases itself on these achievements.

The social democracy has prepared all the conditions necessary for the triumph of Fascism. But by this fact it has also prepared the stage for its own political liquidation. It is absolutely correct to place on the social democrats the responsibility for the emergency legislation of Bruening as well as for the impending danger of Fascist savagery. It is absolute balderdash to identify social democracy with Fascism.

By its policies during the revolution of 1848, the liberal bourgeoisie prepared the stage for the triumph of counter revolution, which in turn emasculated liberalism. Marx and Engels lashed the German liberal bourgeoisie no less sharply than Lassalle did, and their criticism was more profound than his. But when the Lassalleans dumped the feudal counter-revolution together with the liberal bourgeoisie into "one reactionary mass", Marx and Engels were justly outraged by this false ultra-radicalism. The erroneous position of the Lassalleans turned them on several occasions into involuntary aids of the monarchy, despite the general progressive nature of their work, which was infinitely more important and consequential than the achievements of liberalism.

The theory of "social Fascism" reproduces the basic error of the Lassalleans on a new historical background. After dumping National Socialists and social democrats into one Fascist pile, the Stalinist bureaucracy flies headlong into such activities as backing the Hitler referendum; which in its own fashion is in no wise superior to Lassalle's alliances with Bismarck.

In the present phase, German Communism in its struggle against the social democracy must lean on two inseparable facts: (a) the political responsibility of the social democracy for the strength of Fascism; (b) absolute irreconcilability between Fascism and those workers' organizations on which the social democracy itself depends.

The contradictions within German capitalism have at present reached such a state of tension that an explosion is inevitable. The adaptability of the social democracy has reached that limit beyond which lies self-annihilation. The mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucracy have reached that limit beyond which lies catastrophe. Such is the three-fold formula that characterizes the situation in Germany. Everything is now poised on the razor edge of a knife.

When of necessity one must follow conditions in Germany through newspapers that arrive almost a week late; when one must allow another week before manuscripts may bridge the gap between Constantinople and Berlin; after which additional weeks must pass before the pamphlet reaches its public, involuntarily the question arises, "Won't it be altogether too late? And each time one answers oneself: No! The armies that are drawn up for battle are too colossal that one need fear a simultaneous settlement of the issue at the speed of greased lightning. The strength of logic of facts will make itself heard more imperiously of the German proletariat has not been drained. Its powers have not as yet been brought into play. The logic of facts will make itself heard more imperiously with every passing day. And this justifies the author's attempt to add what he has to say even if it is delayed a few weeks, i. e., an entire historical period.

The Stalinist bureaucracy came to the conclusion that it would be able to complete its labors more peacefully were the author of these pages confined in Prinkipo. It obtained from the government of Herman Mueller, the social democrat, a refusal or a visa for . . . "a menshevik": in this instance the united front was established without any wavering or delay. Today, in official Soviet publications, the Stalinists are broadcasting the news that I am "defending" Bruening's government in accordance with an agreement made with the social democracy, which in return is pulling strings to allow me the right of entry into Germany. Instead of becoming indignant over such viciousness, I permit myself to laugh at its stupidity. But I must cut short my laughter, for time is pressing.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the course of events will demonstrate the correctness of our position. But in what manner will history demonstrate its proof: Through the catastrophe of the Stalinist faction, or through the victory of Marxist policies?

Therein lies at present the crux of the entire question. This question is the question of the fate of the German nation, and not of its fate alone.

* * *

The problems that are analyzed in this pamphlet did not originate yesterday. It is nine years now since the leadership of the Comintern has busied itself with the revaluation of values and with disorganizing the advance guard of the international proletariat by means of tactical convulsions which in their totality fall under the label of "the general line". The Russian Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) was formed not only because of Russian problems but also because of international ones. Among these, the problems of the revolutionary development in Germany occupied by no means the last place. Sharp divergences on this subject date back from 1923. During the succeeding years the author of these pages spoke more than once on these debatable questions. A considerable portion of my critical works has been published in German. The present pamphlet is in its turn a contribution to the theoretical and political work of the Left Opposition. Much that is mentioned hereafter only in passing was in its time submitted to detailed analysis. Therefore I must needs refer my readers for particulars to my books, THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN—A Criticism of Fundamentals, THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION, THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION, etc. Now, at the time when these divergences appear before everybody in the light of a great historical task, it is possible to estimate their origins much better and more profoundly. For the serious revolutionary, for the true Marxist such a study is absolutely essential. Eclectics live by means of episodic thoughts and improvisations that originate under the impact of events. Marxist cadres capable of leading the proletarian revolution are trained only by the continual and successive working out of problems and disputes.

PRINKIPO, January 27, 1932

—L. TROTSKY.

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