

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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New Stage in Needle Trade Fight

A Campaign for Unity is now the Order of the Day

The convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union stands in the center of a series of developments and events which signalize a new stage in the needle trades struggle. This occasion can be the starting point for the revival of a genuine labor struggle against the bosses and a new advance of the militant section of the movement. The conditions now are present for the rapid transformation of the existing state of affairs in favor of the workers and their revolutionary vanguard. In order to make this possible the Left wing is obliged to make an objective examination of the whole situation as it exists in reality, and to elaborate a new line of tactics which proceed from it. The leading idea in this departure is a new and correct formulation of the slogan of unity. Bound up with it, and indispensable to its effective application, is a reconsideration of the present attitude with regard to the problem of work within the reactionary union.

The appearance at the I. L. G. W. U. convention of seven delegates—five from Local 9—one from Local 1, and one from Local 38—even though their election was accomplished under shady circumstances—denotes a recognition in fact of the necessity for a systematic struggle within the Right wing union. It is also a proof of the fruitful possibilities of this struggle. This was clearly indicated long ago, from a practical as well as from a theoretical standpoint, despite all the fulminating agitation to the contrary by the people who deduce tactics out of their own heads and not from the facts of life.

What the Election of the Left Wing Delegates Signifies

The election of the Left wing delegates is an expression of the fact that workers, who are sympathetic to the aims of the Left wing, are compelled by the force of circumstance to belong to the Right wing union. The organized Left wing, under the direct influence of the Communist Party, had to seek an approach to these workers and provide a focal point for their protest. This is the meaning of the Left wing campaign for the election of delegates to the convention. The Party was dragged at the tail of a movement which came into existence in spite of the asinine "theories" which prohibited it. The problem now is to recognize the vital progressive character of the unauthorized movement and provide it with a bold and realistic leadership.

The program on which the Left wing delegates campaigned for election ("for a program of class struggle", "against clique control in the International", etc.) refutes in life the worthless contention, imposed upon the Left wing by the Stalinist muddlers, about the International being a "company union" and therefore not a proper field for systematic work and not subject to reformation in its practices by an organized struggle of the militants within it. The circumstances which compelled the workers to re-enter the Right wing union imperiously command the revolutionary militants to adjust themselves to the situation and organize a struggle there, in coordination with that of the Industrial Union. The old policy which has artificially divided and thereby demoralized this struggle must be replaced by a policy which unites and revitalizes it.

These developments, among others, are signs of a relationship of forces between the Right and Left unions in the field which cannot be ignored in the elaboration of the Left wing tactics of the day. On the contrary, they must be taken as the basis from which the tactics ensue. Aided by the bosses and the police on the one side, and the consistently false policies of the Party leadership on the other, the Schlesinger union, which was badly shattered in the split, has been able to re-constitute itself to a very large extent. At the same time, and by dint of the same factors, the organization of the Industrial Union has been reduced and relegated to a small sector of the trade and has been unable to lead the struggles of the needle trades workers on a sufficiently broad scale to beat back the encroachment of the bosses.

What the Past Developments Teach

The justified aspiration and the heroic struggle of the workers to replace the reactionary unions with a militant industrial union did not meet with success. The best militants were isolated into a small organization which, lacking, a mass membership, lacked the power to enforce its demands. On the other hand, the masses of workers, driven by the pressure of circumstance into the faked-controlled union and lacking the directing nucleus of conscious militants, could not organize an effective struggle within the union.

As a result of all this the fighting capacities of the workers in the trade have been weakened and they have had to suffer a steady deterioration of their conditions. The strikes of the Industrial Union yielded no concrete results, and each failure had the effect of still further undermining the confidence of

the workers in the prospect of any progress along that line. The traitors at the head of the International, freed from the pressure of a genuine fighting opposition, were able to transform the official strikes into decorative affairs which left the conditions of the workers no better than before, and in some cases worse. The morals of the masses in the needle trades has suffered heavily under these repeated blows. Pessimistic moods, induced by the apparent hopelessness of victory while the union organizations are split apart, spread a paralyzing influence over the "market" and undermined the struggles in advance.

The slogan necessary to revive the fighting spirit and fighting capacities of the needle trades workers, and to restore the decisive influence of the Left wing, which is a condition for victorious advances, is the slogan of trade union unity.

This slogan can move the workers more than any other precisely because it corresponds to their most burning needs and expresses their deepest impulses. But in spite of that, or rather just because of that, there can be no trifling, no phrase-mongering bluster, no demagogic pretense with this great slogan. Whoever really wants to get the attention of the needle trades masses and to influence them seriously must remember one thing: they have been fooled enough, they are on guard for tricks in the name of "unity", they have to be convinced that the slogan is both sincere and realistic.

"Unity from Below" or Genuine Unity?

The Party bureaucrats overlooked this point, and this is one of the main reasons that their bombastic agitation around the question of "unity", and their gross perversions of the Lenin teaching on the subject yielded such miserable results and gave the game to the bosses and their labor agents every time. The demand for "unity" under the leadership of the Communists predetermined in advance—as the demoralized functionaries of Stalinism have been presenting the question—cannot unite anybody except those who are already convinced of the necessity of this leadership. The "unity from below" ballyhoo is part of the same futility. But the problem of the day is to unite the great masses of the needle trades workers, including those who are indifferent and even hostile to Communism, for a common trade union struggle for concrete demands. This is what the workers want, and this is what they need. The slogan of unity must be formulated in such a way that it conforms to this situation and appears to the workers as both realistic and realizable.

At the time when the Industrial Union still contested the field seriously with the International—when the struggle for supremacy remained undecided—the slogan of unity, as formulated by the Left Opposition, was applicable to the situation (the amalgamation of the unions into a single organization by means of a joint convention). The present conditions and relationship of forces between the unions dictate a reformulation of the slogan of unity which, without yielding anything in principle, will correspond more closely to the realities of

OPEN FORUM

THE MENACE OF
FASCISM IN
GERMANY

Lecture by
ARNE SWABECK

on
FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1932

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue
at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ADMISSION: 25 Cents

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

the situation. From this standpoint the latest meeting of the National Committee of the Communist League, in agreement with the needle trades group, decided to recommend to the Party and the Left wing that the slogan of unity, with respect to the International, be formulated now as follows: "Readmission of the Left wing into the International in a body, without discriminations and with full membership rights". Together with this a general campaign should be carried on for the amalgamation of all the unions in the various trades into a single organization embracing the entire industry.

This slogan, which flows out of the actual state of affairs, will also impress the workers as both reasonable and realizable; it will reawaken their confidence and their aspiration for an effective union. At the same time it will open the way for the Left wing to the masses of workers now separated from it in the Schlesinger union.

The Industrial Union, which holds its Plenum on May 1st, the day before the opening of the convention of the International, should put forward the slogan in this way and elect a delegation to present the question before the International convention. Simultaneously, the Left wing delegates to the International convention, acting in concert with the Industrial Union at every step, should begin a fight in the convention in favor of the slogan. Such an action on their part, following the action of the Industrial Union's Plenum, will immediately change the character of the convention, and change it most radically.

The Slogan as a Challenge to the Progressives

The more-or-less sham battle between the Schlesinger machine and the "Progressive Bloc", with the Left wing gestulating on the sidelines—for which the stage is now set—will give place to a realignment of forces and a real fight. Let the "Progressive Bloc" dare to oppose this slogan! Their rank and file supporters, who want unity and a militant policy and mean it earnestly, will at once begin to shift over to the Left wing. If the "Progressives" accept the slogan it will be the means of developing a struggle on a broad front that will soon go beyond the bounds of the pseudo-progressive program. In a few decisive steps the Left wing can regain its position as the dynamic force in the whole

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The Intensified Wage Cut Drive

Many credulous workers have suffered from the illusion, and possibly still do, that wage reductions will bring an increase of jobs. To those there have been a number of decisive and hard hitting answers given in the rounds of wage cutting which have followed one another in rapid succession during this

crisis and with the unemployment figures still mounting.

The most recent wage reductions actual or contemplated, are symptomatic of the fact that the formerly more privileged strata of the working class are now ever more becoming the victims, the same as the lower paid, unskilled ones.

Failure of the Danube Union Conference

The Conference which was held last week in London of delegations from Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy to consider plans for rescuing the Danubian States, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia from economic and financial bankruptcy, ended in a complete failure. Germany and Italy did not agree to the plan elaborated by France and supported by England on the ground that the French Plan deprives them of their rights of "the most favored nation" guaranteed them under their commercial agreements with the Danubian States.

The plan in brief is the following: the five small states are to lower their tariffs with reference to each other by 10 percent or more maintaining at the same time the existing tariffs in regard to outside countries. The outside countries are to agree to a lowering of tariffs on the agricultural products of the Danubian States.

Germany also had a specific ground for her objection to the plan because under it, Czechoslovakia, an industrial country, is granted the privilege of the agricultural countries, those of a preferential tariff on her products which will afford her a possibility of eventually driving Germany out of the Danubian market.

Italy refused to support the French Plan because it would strengthen the French Little Entente in Central Europe. Thus the plan of Great Britain and France to "rescue" the Danubian states from disaster failed because of their own imperialist designs and that of other European powers.

The plight of the Danubian States, which grew out of the former Hapsburg Empire after the last World War is a result of the Versailles "Peace" Treaty, which divided up the old Austro-Hungarian Empire in small parcels, forced them into narrow national boundaries, as beasts in the cages of a Zoo, and compelled them to conduct their own economies independently on the basis of their meagre economic resources. The competition, tariffs and other national restrictions augmented by the various national historical controversies and mutual distrust, continually hindered the economic development of these countries and rendered them a toy in the hands of the imperialist powers. During the period of capitalist stabilization they managed with great difficulty and with the aid of loan from British, French and American banks to maintain their precarious existence. The crisis and the high interests on the loans, however, have finally led them to economic and financial bankruptcy.

The victims of the deplorable situation thus brought about are, of course, the broad masses of workers and peas-

ants. Millions of unemployed and ruined peasants are doomed to starvation and suffering. The bourgeoisie of these countries are receiving the systematic aid of the big imperialist powers in all their plans of saving themselves at the expense of the broad masses and also to crush every resistance against the terrible exploitation. The price that the bourgeoisie is requested to pay for that service is their consent to be utilized by the imperialists in their fight against the proletarian revolutions and the U. S. S. R.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania are virtual vassals of France and figure in all the schemes of French imperialism to provoke a war with the Soviet Union. The present scheme of France is to draw in the rest of the European countries into the Little Entente and augment her hegemony over the whole of Europe. Should she succeed in this scheme there will be created a monstrous power that will present the greatest danger to the existence of the Soviet Union.

About a year ago Germany attempted to establish a customs union with Austria which could eventually also include other European states. The late Aristide Briand employed his diplomatic talent and France's financial power to frustrate Germany's plan, and he succeeded. The French bourgeoisie envisaged in Germany's plan the danger to her hegemony and did not permit it to be carried out.

However, the interests of finance capital urgently require the adoption of a method by which to save the capitalist system in Europe. The narrow nationalist boundaries in which the small Danubian states are cramped in are a hindrance to their economic development which endangers the investments of the financiers and drives the peoples to revolt. They are consequently compelled to bring about some sort of a union among the small states in order to stimulate industry and commerce and save their investments. Their plans, however, are constantly clashing with their own contradictions, with the mutual rivalries and the strife for hegemony among the European powers. In each plan brought forward there brazenly protrudes the sinister aim of this or the other imperialist power to strengthen her hegemony over the other.

In the rivalry of the imperialists for "aiding" the impoverished small European countries there are revealed its true character of a conflict for hegemony, a conflict that recalls to memory the period preceding the last world war and which carries the germs of a similar outcome in a much more horrible shape, the danger of a world war of monstrous dimensions.

The Solution Lies in the Proletarian Revolution

The real solution to the plight of the peoples in the small European countries, lies in the hands of the European proletariat, in the direction of a proletarian revolution. Capitalism is unable to solve all the contradictions that have accumulated in the course of its development. Imperialism has brought ruin and bankruptcy to the broad masses and the small oppressed peoples. All its financial and diplomatic plans can only stave off the moment of its catastrophic collapse, but by no means, avoid it. The hour of the proletarian revolution has struck. Its beginning is on the order of the day in Europe, in Germany in the first line. The Communist Party of Germany is advancing the slogan of a Soviet Germany. What a Soviet Germany means for the whole of the European continent and particularly for the small European

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Left Oppositionist Speaks from the Tribune of the Prussian Diet

The following speech was delivered several weeks ago in the Prussian parliament by comrade Oskar Seipold, speaking in the name of our German brother section the Left Opposition of the C. P. G. From the parliamentary tribune the spokesman of the Left Opposition hurls the challenge of united proletarian action against the hordes of Hitler, mercilessly exposing the bourgeois "democratic" politicians and the social democratic lackeys for the role they are playing in paving the road for Fascism.

Making concrete proposals of mobilizing the workers for a genuine struggle against the Nazi danger, he forces the reformists to show their true colors, thus pointing the way to an effective Communist policy and permitting the masses to judge between the Leninist tactic of the Left Opposition and the impotent fusionism of the Stalinists. In these tense days, when the whole world looks anxiously to the outcome of the historic struggle now going on in Germany, the speech of comrade Seipold deserves especial attention on the part of all class conscious workers.

Rep. Seipold (Left Opposition of the C. P. G.): The nations of the entire world and especially we in Germany, are at present living under such conditions, that every serious conversation turns directly to the questions of high politics and the questions of high politics—to that of the revolution. In the history

of Parliamentarism, when it was still developing progressively and did not as yet fall into living decay, the question of the budget was always a question of high politics: Whoever has the key to the cash box, is the master of the household. When we pose the question of sovereignty in Prussia and Germany today, then we get as an answer that everything, budget and government, has at present only a temporary, unstable, provisional and hardly serious character. Budget and government are already waiting for an actual master of the household. But at present there are still administrators of the second rank in power. To be sure, administrators of capital! Least of all, is the Prussian government enduring, stable, serious in character. Prussia was at one time at the head of the Hohenzollern reaction; today it has become the tailend of the November revolution. Hitler is zealously sharpening his knife to cut off his tail. But he promises to do this with strict legality, to move within the framework of the Weimar constitution. You do not believe this? Then, you have not read the biography of the Corsican bandit who maintained in court, that he cut off the heads of his victims with such a diligent exactitude that he did not even disturb the circulation of the blood or their respiration. Hitler has undoubtedly learned his state surgery from this gentleman. Thirteen years ago, after the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns, the working class was factually master in the German household. The state based itself on the workers' and soldiers' councils. The bourgeoisie was forced to recognize the workers' and

soldiers' councils for better or worse, as the fundament of the state. But the working class was lulled to sleep by the leaders of the S. P. G. and the key to the house was stolen away from underneath its rest cushion. In this manner, the proletariat was again sold out to the bourgeois and betrayed. The social democracy promised to bring about prosperity and socialism democratically, to open the road to the golden mean, Germany and the world were to flourish under the protection of the League of Nations. Today, in the Far East, we already hear the thunder of cannon, despite this "protection", despite this "League of Nations." How many other illusions this party has spread, this party which believes in Wilson and Briand, which can have confidence in Brüning and hope in a Wilson, but cannot trust to the power of the proletariat and remains hostile to the only revolutionary workers' state in the world, the Soviet Union! In 1918, the social democrats renounced the path of revolutionary force in the name of "pure democracy". And after that? They have in the name of all this prepared and abetted the path of Fascist reaction, of counterrevolutionary force. They rejected Lenin and sowed the soil for that hiring of capital, for Hitler. While the Fascist bandit is sharpening his knife to cut off the head of the German working class, the social democratic leaders insist emphatically, that everything will be in order. For they have raised all in the spirit of democracy, including Hitler. The Heidelberg Program expresses itself in a similar vein: that

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In New York City the printers and the building trades are having their scales "adjusted". Intimations are made in no uncertain terms by the United States Steel Corporation directors that their several hundred thousand workers are due for another cut.

A few months ago the New York printing employers associations made a demand upon the allied trades for a 20 per cent reduction. Their contracts had not yet expired but this did not in the least deter the employers from calling upon their old friend Major Berry, President of the Pressman's Union. Major Berry came to their assistance, once again playing the role he has so often before played, namely to break the workers' ranks. In the name of the union he accepted a 7 per cent reduction for the pressmen. After that treacherous break the other unions began to follow suit: The mailers, the paper handlers, the cutters and the bookbinders similarly accepted cuts. Only the typographical union, the Big Six, is still holding out. It is holding out by virtue of the fact that the membership almost unanimously set themselves against the demand. But the officials, who, for the time being at least, had to pay heed to this decision, are trying to turn the tables in a different way. They are merely emphasizing the fact that the union contract does not expire until Sept. 31 this year, thus intimating that after that date the prospects of their following in the footsteps of Major Berry are likely to improve. That however, in the first instance depends upon how well the membership are able to prepare to frustrate it and to resist the attack.

Another Privileged Trade Hit

After the consistent barrage of the newspaper campaign, always holding up the building trades workers as a horrible example of "high pay and little work", the official wage reductions are beginning to keep step in city after city. Unofficially, of course, the level of actual wages paid has long ago been reduced. The employers undoubtedly know well enough that an official sanction for a reduction now will also make a further downward step in the actual level possible. In most of the larger cities the official reduction has already taken place; but there are no particular indications that even the season, which should now be at hand, will anywhere approach an absorption of the jobless builders.

Last week the New York Building Trades Employers Association broke off all parleys and sent the unions an ultimatum to accept a 20 to 35 per cent reduction. It was done by the simple process of posting notices. The reduction will involve some 115,000 workers. It is to take effect May 1, and is scheduled to run until December 31, 1933. In this manner the employers aim to also gain a more propitious time for expiration just prior to the beginning of the winter months. But it should not be forgotten that they do not at all propose to sign any kind of agreement, thus leaving themselves the option of decreeing further reductions whenever they see fit. Yet in this respect also, the calculations would still depend upon what the organized workers may have to say about it.

It is reported that the New York Building Trades Council, through President Halkett, has announced that it will resist. How much confidence can be placed in this announcement one may gather from the offer already previously made by the council to accept a 15 per cent reduction. And it becomes a good deal clearer by the observation that at this time no steps whatever have been taken for organizational preparation to resist.

Obviously, as far as the wage cutting campaign is concerned, there is today little distinction made between the organized and the unorganized workers. That this could become possible is, in the first instance, an expression of the advantage taken by the employers of the severe unemployment crisis. But it can also largely be ascribed to the complete failure of the present union leadership.

In view of what is happening to the

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Greek Opposition Holds Convention

ATHENS, GREECE—

Our National Congress took place in Athens on March 25-26. Forty-eight delegates were present from all Greece, representing 2,000 members. The Congress was preceded by 3 Regional Conferences (1) Macedonia & Thessaly district, (2) East Macedonia and West Thrace, (3) Athens, Peloponessus & Islands). The national and international problems were discussed in the organization nuclei before the Congress and the conclusions arrived at will be published in Davlos, No. 3. (Theoretical Organ of the Greek Left Opposition).

The Congress took the opportunity of reviewing the long and hard history of our organization, the roots of which are found in the First Congress of the So-

cialist Labour Party (now C. P.) in 1918, through this long period up to now. The experiences accumulated will encourage us to continue on the path laid down by the forerunner of our organization, the "Communist Union" which formed the Left wing of the Congress of the S. L. P. in 1918, and whose ideas (the necessity of a homogeneous nucleus, the formation of cadres, the assimilation of Bolshevik experience, etc.) are forming the foundation upon which our organization rests. We feel certain that our Congress will be a landmark in the history of the revolutionary movement in Greece.

We are preparing a report on the Congress for the International Secretariat and for the national sections.

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Among the Unemployed

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The 826,000 persons, consisting almost entirely of workers and their families, who are completely dependent upon the various city relief organizations for their food and shelter, are about to learn once more the blessings of living in a capitalist society. This vast number does not include the thousands, who have been refused aid on one shabby pretext or another, nor does it include the tens of thousands of others, who have been patiently starving while their cases are being "investigated."

In the N. Y. Times of April 5th, Frank J. Taylor, Commissioner of Public Welfare, stated that the Home Relief Bureau, taking care of 125,000 families, would due to lack of funds immediately close fifty of its seventy-five precinct relief stations and that food allowances, averaging about four dollars a week per family, would be cut ten per cent. He admitted that this cut would compel those receiving this small amount to live on a very monotonous diet and that malnutrition, that is, starvation, and illness would be the result of it, affecting especially children.

In the same article it is stated that the daily outlay of \$78,000 is to be cut to \$30,000, which means that over half of those workers and their families now receiving aid will be refused further assistance. But this is by no means the complete story. The Times carried an article on Monday, April 11th, stating that the \$32,500,000 which the city has been doling out since last fall, is practically exhausted and that unless further funds are raised all relief will come to a standstill on June 1st. \$32,500,000 may seem to many an enormous sum of money, but it is less than the wages the millions of unemployed workers in this city would ordinarily earn in two weeks!

Touched by the misery of these "poor unfortunates" the Commissioner calls for an additional \$20,000,000 to continue the "good work". But that the city has definitely decided to pass the buck is proven by the inauguration, some three weeks ago, of the "Block-Aiders". The plan of this organization is to collect money on each block in the city to support the unemployed living on that block, and by these means placing the burden directly upon those workers who still have jobs. While these workers whose wages have been cut in half are saddled with this huge task, the civic association, composed of bosses and property owners, are clamoring for a reduction in taxes and are demanding that the city reduce its expenses by cutting large numbers of its employees. They are well aware that these measures will swell the ranks of the unemployed, but they are concerned only with their own profits.

That the workers, all of whom are faced with these prospects, have not in any considerable number begun to fight against them is evident. This is due primarily to the fact that the only party capable of leading them, the Communist Party of America by its false policies and inadequate slogans, has succeeded under Stalinist leadership only in cutting itself off almost entirely from the masses. That the working class of America as a whole is backward is well known, but the pressure of conditions, that is, unemployment, wage cuts and starvation cannot help but move them to action within the coming period.

—W. K.

CLEVELAND WORKERS ATTENTION!
OPEN FORUM
Every Friday Night
Carpenters Hall, 13508 Kinsman Road
Left Opposition speakers

From a Ford Worker

THE MASSACRE MODEL

The agencies and shops of the Ford Motor Co., on account of the low prices and low running expenses of the Ford cars, kept comparatively busy through the deepening depression. But it reached them, too. The shops became empty. Men were laid off. Dealers went bankrupt. The Ford Motor Co. kept silent. Dealers suffered nervous tensions. While the public was told at regular intervals that thousands of men were going back to work and prosperity, the dealers heard nothing. The Ford Motor Co. had a new car ready for the public. But in the low market it would have been merely another car. It was scrapped. The Ford Co. pursued a policy of watchful waiting. Now it is ready to spring, the real thing. The curtain is lifting and with the V8, the Massacre Model, we behold a new phase of development of the capitalist system. The great advertising machine works better than ever before. While the big press is humming with the heroic attempt of Henry Ford to crank up the stalled machinery of production once more, the Ford dealers and their employers are rounded up and submitted to truly high pressure sales oratory. The high official of the Ford Motor Co. speaking at the roundup in Ohio treated his audience as so many children. He never once even touched the fundamental function of the capitalist system of production; the increasing number of all kinds of commodities produced by labor displacing machines, which less and less people are able to buy. No, the blame was put on the dealers and their employers. It is the failure to meet the customer with the right service smile sticking out of a brand new theater usher uniform. It is the failure to paint a white border around the floor 6 inch high and 6 inch wide, that caused the prospective customer not to rush in. There is nothing wrong with the country physically, it is all mental. "Worry kills, work thrills—now go to work and Spring is not far off." "To be sure there are hardships and suffering. There are employers who toss sleeplessly on their pillows trying to make things meet on payday. But there are heroes among you who decline to lay off men, who look optimistically into the future. Be glad that you are still hanging on. We ought to have enough decency not to bite the hands that feed us (the speaker was hitting at the grumblings of the dealers). What would you do without the Ford Motor Co. providing jobs for you?" Here the writer broke the spell and made the mental note that the workers of America and the whole world will give the only reply to that question in the not too distant future. A reply that will startle the Fords and the Schwabs, the Rockefellers and the Morgans. The workers will give them a tremendous kick in the pants and take away from them the means of production and organize it on a different basis—production for use and not for private profits—will provide a job for every one wanting one.

All this while no hands are working on the V 8. The Massacre Model in small numbers is rushed from one showroom to another. The "thousands" of men are still waiting at this writing for the final word to start in (middle of March). It is a life and death question for the American workers to learn to understand the functions of this vicious capitalist system of ours and prepare for its destruction in order to make room for the new system of production. And don't let them kid you, if they yell "Communists", "Bolsheviks", "Reds".

—FORD WORKER.

Economic Crisis Continues to Deepen

The crisis is still deepening. It is enough to look at the latest Annalist (April 15) to find abundant evidence to that effect. The graphs show that pig iron and steel ingot production have fallen to new lows for the entire period since 1919. All the other indices of the country's production are likewise moving downward.

The expected spring upturn has proved to be another disappointment to the Baboons and the people who still swallow their stuff. The economic messianism of Ford took the form of a machine gun fusillade.

The purveyors of bourgeois optimism now restrict their hope to more qualified formulations than they used formerly. Thus the New York Times of April 18: "During the last week some officials expressed, with what has been described as 'cautious optimism', the view that the worst features of liquidation may be over and that a turn in the tide has come or soon will come, with a slow recovery from economic depression in this country." Expression heard now are

largely restricted to the belief that indicators point to a check in liquidation and that unless further adverse factors appear, a more hopeful outlook is justified." So speak the capitalist hessians of the pen. It is to throw dust in the eyes.

The authentic spokesmen of capitalism speaks in a more pessimistic vein. J. P. Jordan writing in the April 15 Annalist says, in Face the Facts: "For two full years we all have hoped that the depression in business had spent its force. 1930 was bad; 1931 was worse, and now 1932 seems generally worse than 1931. But the most alarming feature right now is that there seem to be few signs that 1933 will be much better. If this is so, and there are many signs to point that way, it becomes most obvious—that further and deeper adjustments must be made. . . ." This is a truer picture of the perspective capitalism holds before itself.

And the remedy it proposes to apply—wage cuts! That is the meaning of Jordan's "further and deeper adjustments". He urges capitalists everywhere to "right at the start let us dispose of the element of sentiment". No doubt the capitalist class intends to launch a new wave of wage cuts. The forthcoming ten percent cut in the wages of the steel workers, announced recently, will be the first point of attack.

The workers must resist. That is the only way to prevent not only this attack on their living standards but the "further and deeper" onslaughts which will follow inevitably if this one is peacefully accepted by them. To the Communist party falls the duty of organizing this resistance and giving it leadership.

—T. S.

Opposition Press Drive: May 1 - June 1

The final month of the Militant subscription drive has been incorporated in a campaign to secure the Left Opposition press. This campaign will open on the first of May and close on the first of June. Its objective is to build a solid foundation for our papers. Its central slogan is **BUILD THE OPPOSITION PRESS**. Its goal is \$1,000. This is to be distributed as follows: 50% to **The Militant**; 30% to **Unser Kampf**; 10% to **Communists**; 10% to **Young Spartacus**. This division is exclusive of remittances made during this month for subs and bundle orders. These proceeds will be turned over to the proper organs without division but will be included in their totals.

Quotas have been assigned to the branches. They are: New York—\$400; Minneapolis—\$180; Chicago—\$100; Toronto—\$70; Boston—\$40; Philadelphia—\$40; Cleveland—\$40; Newark—\$35; Kansas City—\$30; St. Louis—\$25; Youngstown—\$10; Los Angeles—\$10; New Haven—\$10; Montreal—\$10.

If any branch is of the opinion that its financial ability has been underestimated in these quotas we will gladly raise its figure with appropriate self criticism. On the other hand nothing can persuade us that any quota should be lowered. Each week we will publish the quota and results attained by each branch for all to see.

These quotas can be realized by working along the lines already worked out and described below.

CAMPAIGN SCHEDULE

The first week of the campaign, May 1 to May 6 inclusive, is to be devoted to an organized distribution of recent back issues of our papers, and simultaneous and subsequent follow-up sales of current issues together with sales of our literature. The back numbers will be sent out simultaneously with this announcement. The branches should immediately inventory their stocks of literature, and if short, should order at once.

The second week of the campaign, May 8 to 14 inclusive, is to be devoted to collections. This should be a concentrated, organized drive. Everyone who has an iota of sympathy for the ideas and struggle of the Left Opposition should be ferreted out and asked to help with donations and pledges. All donations and pledges should be solicited for payment during the month. We are counting upon all our members and supporters to take collection boxes and work actively in this collection.

The third week, May 15 to May 22 inclusive, is to be devoted to a canvass for new subs, renewals, and bundle orders for news stands and bookstores. The organization in the second week of the campaign should be swung into line for this work. In this work the literature premiums, combined sub rates, the timeliness of comrade Trotsky's writings, especially on the German question, news stand posters, return privileges on bundle orders should be utilized to the utmost.

The fourth week, May 23 to May 30 inclusive, is to be devoted to the organization of affairs for the benefit of our press. These affairs can be either indoor entertainments in rented halls or private houses, or outdoor picnics, hikes; whatever conditions make easiest and most productive. If possible the affairs should be held during the week-end on May 28, 29, or 30 so that the entire League can wind up the campaign at the same time on a national scale.

Each branch should elect a committee to organize its share of the campaign work. The committee must report all results by air mail. The reports must be in the mail not later than noon on Monday following the close of the preceding week. This is necessary to make **The Militant** on time. All reports will be published in all our organs. All material necessary for the campaign will be supplied by the national office.

APPEAL TO SYMPATHIZERS

In cities where we have no branches we appeal to our readers and sympathizers to give us a concrete manifestation of their support by actively joining in the campaign. If they will write us immediately we will outline for them a plan we have already worked out.

All comrades should understand that with our extremely slender resources we are issuing four organs in three languages. The revolutionary movement has rarely witnessed a similar achievement. We are determined to continue, to go ahead as soon as possible. What we need at the present time is a sounder financial basis, an increase in our technical equipment, a wider circle of readers.

All three are, of course, inseparable. They can be achieved only simultaneously: That is why our campaign is organized along the lines described above. We are confident that whoever sees the problem this way will contribute his

MILITANT AFFAIR

On Saturday, April 30 at 8 P. M. the New York branch of the League will hold an affair at its headquarters, 84 East 10th Street, for the benefit of **The Militant**. This affair is being organized by the captains of **The Militant** subscription drive teams, comrades Craine and Bord. The entire proceeds of the affair will be turned over to **The Militant**. Admission is by ticket and is only 25c. Tickets can be purchased at the door by those comrades whom we fail to reach through the mail or otherwise. The unique feature of the affair is that **everyone who pays for a ticket is entitled to an eight issue sub to The Militant for himself and a friend**. Out-of-town branches please note.

time and energy to—**BUILD THE OPPOSITION PRESS**.

Early this week comrade Coover reported nine subs to **The Militant** and three to **Unser Kampf**. This short Minneapolis to the head of the list in the standing of the branches. And we were going to report it this way. But just as we were going to press New York crossed the tape with one sub, its lone contribution for the week, and they were tied. At this rate Minneapolis will realize its intention of giving the New York branch drubbing. The standing of the branches is as follows:

Minneapolis	33
New York	33
Chicago	8
Boston	4
St. Louis	1
Newark	1
Philadelphia	1
Montreal	1
Miscellaneous	18

This makes a total of 100 subs against 87 last week, an increase of 13. No new bundle orders are reported.

The situation in Minneapolis can be seen from comrade Coover's words: "The No. 1 Team (Myles Dunne, Capt.) totaled 3 1-2 points for the second week in April making that No. 1 Team's standing 28 1-4 points; while the No. 2 Team (Wm. Curran, Capt.) again increased their weekly total by getting 9 1-2 points, making their total 27 points. Not quite enough, however, to catch up with the No. 1 Team."

"Total points for the Minneapolis branch for April 13 stood at 55 1-4. The next two weeks are going to bring forth some keen competition between the rival teams as the team having the highest total on Wednesday, April 27 are to be the guests at an affair to be put on by the other team. League members and sympathizers should get their subs into the hands of one or the other of the team captains before April 27th."

What is there to say about this except—other branches please copy.

The New York branch is holding an affair for **The Militant** on April 30. It has a unique idea which can be copied profitably by the other branches. The admission price of 25 cents entitles the ticket holder or a friend to an 8 issue sub to **The Militant**. The affair is described elsewhere in this issue.

The staff of **Militant Builders** is growing. It now includes 25 comrades, an increase of four over last week. Minneapolis is more than ever its mainstay. The staff and its record follow: C. Cowl—5; A. Konikov—4; V. R. Dunne—4; F. Barach—4; L. Busky—3; C. Skoglund—3; M. Dunne—3; C. R. Hedlund—3; O. Coover—2; J. Carter—1; R. Ruskin—1; C. Forsten—1; H. Capellis—1; L. Roseland—1; R. Sacharow—1; S. Zelmanoff—1; W. Herman—1; A. Swacke—1; A. Glotzer—1; L. Logan—1; Kaldis—1; G. Ray—1; M. Sterling—1; W. Curran—1.

We expect that the press campaign will see this staff grow to many times its present size. The question now is—will Minneapolis have a pushover, or are the other branches going to wake up and give it a fight?

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition -- 1923

(Continued from last issue)

In addition to Trotsky's initial letter of October 8, the Central Committee received, on October 15, a letter signed by 46 of the most prominent Russian Bolsheviks, including Piatakov, Preobrazhensky, Sosnovsky, Bieloborodov, Sapronov, Muralov, Antonov, Kossior, Serebriakov, Rafael, Rosengoltz and others, which presented virtually the criticisms and plan of action as contained in Trotsky's letter. A time later, Radek also added his voice to the others, even if more cautiously.

The Bureaucrats "Yield"

Under such a bombardment, the majority of the Political Bureau was compelled to act for fear that the wave of discontent would become so mighty as to sweep them away with it. A faint-hearted resolution on workers' democracy was drawn up which met with an instant rejection from Trotsky. Knowing that he represented to the full the hopes and aspirations of the great bulk of the party membership, and especially the masses of the youth who were chafing under the yoke of an arrogant apparatus, the Political Bureau majority was compelled to scrap its own resolution and appoint a commission resulted in his resolution being written essentially by his pen. Its final publication as a unanimous document on December 7 constituted a tremendous victory for the fight initiated by Trotsky.

Unfortunately, the victory was a short-lived one. It had been agreed in the Political Bureau, on Trotsky's proposal, that he would popularize the program of workers' democracy in the ranks, while the rest of the Political Bureau members would "restrain it from excess from above". So overjoyed at the resolution were the party members, that the discussion in the ranks broke loose with a turbulence that indicated many months, and perhaps years, of pent-up sentiments. Even non-party workers followed the discussions with a keen interest. Pravda alone had to publish from 20 to 30 columns of discussions and motions each day. All questions were put and discussed freely and frankly. The popularity of Trotsky and those who had associated themselves with him, grew by leaps and bounds. Stalin, Zinoviev and Co., who had stood in the way as long as they could, came in for heavy criticism which boded them no great good.

Canadian miners

In the lignite coal mining industry of Saskatchewan another wedge has been dug into black layers of coal.

The developments are at present taking place in the southern portion of that Province, at Beinfalt and Estevan, the centre of the soft coal mining camps, controlled by British, American and Canadian capital. The town of Beinfalt is a typical company town of about 2,800 people, containing all the primitive conditions of civilization, wooden shacks, earthen streets, company stores, etc., and none of its amenities, as far as the miners are concerned. The bosses of this district are virulently against the workers organizing into unions of any kind and when, under the pressure of their conditions, the miners came out on strike under the banner of the Left wing Mine Workers' Union of Canada against their low wages and intensified rationalization, for an equitable distribution of work and the right to appoint their own checkweighman, the operators had their tools on the municipal council of the nearby town of Estevan, where the miners usually meet. Resolutions were railroaded through prohibiting the miners meeting in halls or parading through the streets, using this as a means to hinder the miners in their organization. It is also believed the U. M. W. A. gave the bosses their best advice on how to break a strike.

From the sparse reports received here, the union was successful in calling out a large proportion of the miners, who decided to hold a parade and demonstration in Estevan. It took place on September 29th, 1931. With the sympathy and support of the poor farmers of the district, the parade started off in 80 cars and truck filled with miners and their families. Upon reaching the town they were met by a cordon of Royal Canadian Mounted Police armed with all the instruments of warfare; three of the trucks turned off the highway into the town, the occupants dismounted and their leader, a miner. Their comrades in other trucks came down and proceeded to see what was the matter; the police, without warning, immediately opened fire on the defenseless men, women and children, who tried to defend themselves by throwing stones at the mounties. Three miners killed and a number injured. Peace, order and good government prevailed!

Six hours later, after the local authorities had been in telephone conversation with the provincial Attorney-General, warrants were issued for the arrest of all Left wing leaders in the district, no doubt at the instigation of the Section 98 Premier, Bennett. 25 miners were arrested, including three of their leaders and charged with unlawful assembly, rioting, et. al. The "trials", which have been termed by defense counsel as "the great frame-up in the Province of Saskatchewan and the Dominion of Canada" have just concluded. Naturally, all were found guilty by the judge and jury; most of them were placed

on bond or given short terms of imprisonment. A. Buller, in charge of women's work, who was not even in the demonstration and to whom the jury recommended leniency, was sentenced to one year at hard labor plus a \$500 fine; Sam Scarlett received one year plus \$100 and I. Minister, two years at hard labor. The judge was especially vicious with those comrades who expressed their working-class sentiments openly in court. For instance, one J. McLean, a checkweighman, who incurred the hatred of the bosses, and whose crime consisted in refusing to cheat the miners, was about to be placed on suspended sentence, and the judge was expressing hypocritical solicitude for his sick wife. McLean informed the judge that his wife needed bread and not judicial sentiment—and McLean was given eight months at hard labor. These cases are being appealed.

The suffering of the miners in the West has made them militant, and sporadic strikes are still taking place. A call has been issued for a general strike, and under proper Left wing leadership this strike activity may be developed into homogeneous action. The miners in Canada and the U. S. A. are beginning to move, and may become the harbinger of the upward swing in the workers' struggles.

Information as to the exact economic influences in the coal industry in the West, the status of the miners, striking and non-striking, employed and unemployed, what role the reformists are playing there, and in general, the correlation of forces, is sadly lacking in the Party press here. Reports issued are merely of an informative and news character. The Estevan case has aroused intense feeling in the West. It should be made a national issue among the workers of the whole Dominion, and linked up with the general terrorism prevailing in Canada which was given the lead in Toronto with the outlawing of the Party and sentencing of eight of its leaders.

—S. GREEN.

Wage Cut Drive

(Continued from page 1)

organized sections it is no surprise at all to learn of the announcement made by the President of the Board of Directors of the U. S. Steel Corporation that new wage reductions are under consideration. To be under consideration by this board usually means to become an unfailing reality, only the question of time being involved.

From the A. F. of L. Executive Council there have been many grandiloquent declarations for maintenance of the workers' purchasing power. Wage reductions mean the opposite. It should therefore be about time that the rank and file ask these gentlemen just how serious they mean their declaration. But it is yet more important for the rank and file to realize that nothing will stop this constant reduction of their standard of living except an effective fighting resistance.

the Comintern membership had never seen the documents in question, had never read Trotsky's articles. This poisonous system of political discussion continued in later years until it ate into the very heart of the International. Voting by command, voting by faith, voting in ignorance and under bureaucratic compulsion—this was the despicable and self-destructive method used to get the "unanimous" denunciations of the Opposition.

Zinoviev's Revealing Admission

Two and a half years later, the whole tragic burlesque of the first "anti-Trotskyist" campaign was exposed by Zinoviev and Kameney when they broke with Stalin. They revealed how the whole thing had been manufactured in secret, how "Trotskyism" had been invented for factional purposes. These two were the leaders, the main "teachers" in the struggle against "Trotskyism". The declaration signed by them in 1926 is therefore of fundamental and decisive importance for every revolutionist in estimating the 1923 struggle at its real value:

"At present, there can no longer be any doubt that the kernel of the 1923 Opposition was right in warning against the danger of abandoning the proletarian line and of the growth of the apparatus regime. Dozens and hundreds of leaders of the 1923 Opposition are, to this day, kept away from work in the party and there are among them old worker-Bolsheviks, tempered in the struggle, strangers to careerism and arrivism, in spite of the discipline and endurance which they have manifested."

This statement might well serve as the epitaph for the struggle conducted against "Trotskyism" in 1923, were it not for the fact that the issues raised by the Opposition at that time, particularly the question of the party regime and workers' democracy, have since become problems of such life-and-death importance as to put the fate of the Russian revolution in the balance. The fight started against bureaucratism by the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists in 1923 has never been so vitally urgent as it is today.

—M. SHACHTMAN.

The next article will deal with the "Lessons of October" and the beginning of the period of reaction in the Russian party and the Comintern after the defeat of the 1923 revolutionary movement in Germany.—ED.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Appeal to the S. A. P.

The Left Opposition Addresses the Centrist Party Congress

Due to the exceptional importance and interest of the events now taking place there, we are devoting the International Page of the present issue to the situation in Germany. Directly below, we are publishing the Appeal of the German Left Opposition to the Congress of the Socialist Labor Party (S. A. P.—Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei), the new Centrist party under the leadership of Left wing social democrats who were recently expelled from the reformist S. P. G.—Ed.

To the members of the S. P. G. (Socialist Labor Party of Germany) and of the S. J. V. (Youth Section).

To the delegates of the Party Conference.

Only a few months after the formation of your organization there takes place the congress of your party. We turn to you on this occasion to direct your attention in comradely fashion to those problems set on the order of the day by the present situation.

The formation of the S. A. P. reflects the deep crisis of the capitalist economic system on the one hand, on the other, the class betrayal of the social democracy and also the grave political errors of the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany. These three factors determine also the basis of existence of your party. The deep economic crisis and the enormous sharpening of the class struggle bound therewith do not permit for any length of time the existence of a party vacillating between reformism and Communism. The complete bankruptcy of reformism, the now open betrayal of the S. P. G. has heightened the dissatisfaction in the ranks of the social democratic workers to the point of breaking with reformism.

As a result of your incorrect appraisal of the Communist party you have not succeeded in introducing clarity as to the revolutionary way out but, on the contrary, have only arrived at a stage of considerable ideological confusion in the ranks of your own party concerning the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement.

Only when you achieve full clarity concerning these fundamental questions will you be capable of leading your members and sympathizers along the right road—along the road of the proletarian revolution.

On this ground we consider it our duty to present to you our view on these questions in dispute and to call your attention to the dangerous consequences of your incorrect understanding of these important fundamental questions.

Struggle against Pacifism!

Please tell us, comrades of the S. A. P. if you want to make a revolutionary Communist party out of the S. A. P., how can you then permit in the pages of your newspaper the rottenest kind of pacifism? For example, the S. A. P. organ of the 7th of February contains profound speculations as to whether the plan of the French imperialists is a "work of peace" and concludes by calling it "the only constructive plan". On the 8th of March, Kleineibst not only dedicates a most respectful notice to the memory of the renegade Briand, under whose administration (in France) the largest number of striking workers were shot down, but even declares concerning his Pan-European idea that "it reveals indeed that far-reaching socialistic tendency which bears in itself to a large extent the idea of organized economy."

This is the same "socialistic tendency" which the social democratic leader and later editor of the D. A. Z., Paul Lensch, had already discovered in war economy. If the whole of pacifism is nothing but a bourgeois fraud perpetrated on the working class, then this special sort of pacifism, irrespective of the motives which give rise to it, is clearly the work of agents of French imperialism. Comrades of the S. A. P., how can you tolerate such ideas?

To the nationalist idea of defeated German imperialism the revolutionary proletariat opposes not a nationalist "liberation program" and certainly not the idea of a "united" Europe under the hegemony of the French bourgeoisie, but the idea of the Soviet United States of Europe.

The pacifistic conception is in no way the monopoly of Kleineibst. You all know that Kuester's group is not better by a hair, yes, you must make clear to yourself that the centrist leadership of Seydewitz-Rosenfeld represents the same point of view in spite of all radical phrases. That is clear from their behaviour in the Reichstag when they voted against the proposal of the C. P. G. (in their opinion national-Communist) to withdraw from the League of Nations.

* Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—reactionary newspaper.

Besides, pacifism in the S. A. P. has its special meaning. Since reformism does not dare openly to enter the field of internal politics in the present situation, it betakes itself to the field of external politics where it intends to hide its face better from the workers.

The revolutionary workers have nothing in common with the renegade Briand and with the imperialist Tardieu. It is a violation of revolutionary thought to swear in the same newspaper by Briand, Leon Blum, Paul Faure, Paul Levi and by Liebknecht and Lenin.

If you want to make a revolutionary

party out of the S. A. P. you will draw the conclusion that membership in it is incompatible with Brandism and pacifism. There can be compromise between bourgeois pacifism and revolutionary internationalism.

Does the "Declaration of Principles" Create Clarity?

In so far as the S. A. P. separates itself from the S. P. G. and the Second International in its "Declaration of Principles" and recognizes the dictatorship of the proletariat it takes a step forward. But in so far as it wishes to establish its position toward the C. P. G. and the C. I. it does not go beyond general, unconvincing formulas. In this respect it undoubtedly reflects the centrist conceptions which are hidden behind general formulas and even openly avoids the revolutionary terminology used in the entire Marxist-Leninist literature. Just one example of this. After it is stated correctly in paragraph 3, part 2, why the proletariat must destroy the bourgeois state and build its own, it is stated in paragraph 4 that this is the expression of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Why not "the state form of the victorious proletariat" is the dictatorship of the proletariat", etc.? Do not somehow the conceptions Kautsky-Bauer hide behind these formulations? It must be said clearly that the dictatorship is irreconcilable with every form of bourgeois democracy. The core of the entire declaration doubtless is contained in the following paragraphs 9, 10 and 11. They present the necessity for and the role of the S. A. P., neither more nor less, in relation to the S. P. G. and the C. P. G. In paragraph 9 their unbridgeable difference from the S. P. G. and the Second International is set down and the winning of social democratic workers to a revolutionary policy is given as the important task. In paragraph 10 it is set forth that the Communist party and the C. I. showed themselves unable to give leadership to the proletarian masses in the revolutionary crisis and that the organizational system of the C. I., as it has developed itself, makes the regeneration of the revolutionary workers movement difficult.

We must affirm that both in freeing of the S. P. G. workers from reformism and in winning of C. P. G. workers, the S. A. P. has proved unsuccessful until now. Why? Have you given thought to this?

You could not win S. P. G. workers because you yourselves are not fully clear as to the way out of this frightful situation for the working class. On the one hand you have contempt for the League of Nations, on the other hand you vote against the C. P. G. proposal for withdrawal from the League; on the one hand a clear front against French imperialism, on the other, words of praise for one of its most subtle representatives, Briand; on the one hand recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the other visible currents for the "overcoming" of capitalism by democratic means. With such ideological confusion a S. P. G. worker cannot be won for the revolution. And how does it look with the winning over of the C. P. G. worker? "Inability of the C. P. G. and the C. I.?" "Organizational system of the C. I.?" It is impossible to win over the Communist workers with such general and hazy slogans. The Communist workers have fought reformism for some time, even when Seydewitz-Rosenfeld, "for the sake of discipline", were covering up all the betrayals of reformism. It is not sufficient therefore to be correct on a few separate tactical questions as against the C. P. G. but it is incumbent on the S. A. P. to explain fundamentally what separates it from the C. I., if the differences are mainly merely of a tactical and organizational nature, why then a new party? Why not concentrate all forces for the reform of the C. I.? Why not support the Left wing of the Comintern and the C. P. G. in its struggle to reform the C. I.? These questions must be answered clearly and unequivocally.

It is not accidental that the weightiest part of your "Declaration of Principles" is also the weakest and the most general in form. Here you must show clearly what you want!

Socialism in One Country? or Revolutionary Internationalism?

Opposed to the centrists in control of the S. A. P. stands a Left wing. Unfortunately clarity could not develop there, indeed at times the will for it was lacking.

The clearest document of the Left wing S. A. P.—comrades is the declaration of Rueck-Duby-Schaber. This document repeats the worst mistakes of Stalinist centrism in the international, especially Russian, questions. It separates itself from Stalin, exactly like Brandler-Thalheimer do only on German questions of second rate importance.

The shameful end of the Brandler group has made clear that without clarity in international questions neither a revolutionary organization nor a revolutionary line can endure.

In contradiction to this we consider it our duty to present several fundamental considerations. Although the limits of this document do not allow us a complete presentation of all the important questions of Comintern policies, we find it necessary to take up the decisive experiences of the last 9 years.

The leading role of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in the Comintern arose because of the victory of the proletarian revolution in the S. U. through which the Communist Party of the S. U. became the only party in the C. I. which assembled the tremendous experiences of a great revolution. From these experiences the young Communist parties should have learned and made their own the strategy and tactics of the struggle for the conquest of power of the proletariat. As long as the Communist Party of the S. U. pursued a policy based on the experiences of the proletarian revolution, the leading role of this party exerted a positive influence on all sections of the C. I. That was the period in which Lenin and Trotsky stood at the head of the C. I.

Through the introduction of the N. E. P. in 1921 in the S. U. which was made necessary by the failure of the European revolution to materialize, there began a strengthening of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Simultaneously with this process went on the process of gathering the revolutionary proletariat of Europe for the decisive battles facing them. In the middle of 1923 the C. I. had to undergo tests of momentous historic significance.

In Bulgaria the Communist party was confronted with the task of leading the Bulgarian proletariat and the village poor to victory by utilizing the differences between the Stambuliski regime, the representative of the rich farmers, and the Fascist party under the leadership of Zankov, the representative of finance capital. The leadership of the C. I. and of the Bulgarian party refused to take advantage of the differences between the Stambuliski regime and Zankov, they maintained neutrality as they were of the opinion that democracy and dictatorship were one and the same. This political stand led to the victory of the Fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria. The result was the destruction of over twenty thousand revolutionary workers and peasants.

In Germany in 1923 the situation was extremely tense. It demanded imperatively a revolutionary solution. The Communist party at that time became a mass party not only by its numerical strength but by its extra-parliamentary influence. The masses looked toward the C. P. G. awaited from it the solution. At that time not only Brandler and Thalheimer but the entire Comintern leadership failed it. Characteristic for that situation is the fact that Stalin demanded from the German Communist Party the restraining of the armed uprising, while Trotsky demanded the immediate organization of the uprising. The German defeat of 1923 signaled the danger which can be characterized as the crisis of revolutionary leadership on the eve of the transition to armed uprising.

The new defeats on the international arena, after the proletarian revolution in Europe previously had failed to appear, led to a further strengthening of capitalist elements and the bureaucracy in the S. U. From this moment on begins that process in the C. P. G. of S. U. which finds its expression in the negation of the international character of the Russian revolution and in the development of the theory of "socialism in one country".

These theories led first in the years 1923-1928 to the policy of building socialism in one country with the help of the kulak, the rich peasant, in the course of which the Left Opposition under the leadership of Trotsky were condemned and persecuted on account of their demand for industrialization and collectivization. This theory was relinquished in 1928, when under pressure of objective difficulties and the criticism of the Left Opposition, Stalin turned to the ultra-left course of bureaucratic tempos for the reconstruction of economy without any consideration of the objective and subjective possibilities.

The theory of socialism in one country is a reactionary theory which contradicts the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. The present weakness of the C. I. can be explained only by this theory. The following quotation shows how far this theory is removed from Lenin's conceptions. Stalin says (Pravda, No. 26 of Nov. 12, 1928):

"The difference of opinion consists in this, that the party considers it possible to overcome fully and completely the inner contradictions and possible conflicts by the inner power of the revolution itself, while comrade Trotsky and the opposition believe that these contradictions and conflicts can be solved only on the arena of the international proletarian revolution."

Lenin says on this subject:

"Poor Russia will become rich when it throws aside every misgiving, every phrase, when it grinds its teeth, gathers its strength, strains all its nerves and muscles and grasps that the salvation is possible only on the road of the international socialist revolution along which we are already marching" (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 165). "We have always declared and repeated that old Marxian truth that for the victory of socialism the combined efforts of the working class of several advanced countries are needed" (The Infantile Disease of Leftism).

How far removed are these conceptions of Lenin from the hymns of victory of Stalin and Molotov at the 17th party conference over the beginnings of a classless society in the S. U. This is the sharp difference between national Communism and revolutionary internationalism.

(To be continued)

Speech of Com. Seipold in the Landtag

The Voice of the International Left Opposition in the Prussian Parliament

(Continued from page 1)

democracy is humanizing the enemies of the working class. Now, you can rest assured: when Hitler lets your head roll, then you can assume with certainty, your political integrity will have very little left to lose by this operation. Hitler's announcements are calculated for blockheads and have the interests of scoundrels and fakers at heart. The growth of the Hitler party unfortunately proves that stupidity in the German nation is not yet rare. But Hitler is miscalculating when he believes that he will be able to deceive the German working class as Wells, Hilferding and company have. In 1918 Herr Hilferding attempted to coordinate the Weimar constitution with the workers' councils. In 1932 he is no doubt racking his brain over how it is possible to conciliate the tailend of the Weimar constitution with the Fascist armories. But Herr Hilferding may have to conclude this theme in the emigration, if the outcome of events is to depend upon the leadership of the social democracy. His fate would be that of the Italian social democrats, who also fought against the methods of Bolshevism so long until they played the Italian proletariat and the Italian people into the hands of the hangman Mussolini.

A Communist deputy said in the Reichstag: "We do not fear the Nazis. For when they come to power, they will very soon exhaust themselves". Comrades, Communists, that is a fundamentally wrong point of view. For, we must not wait. We must not consider the seizure of power by the Nazis as a simple test for Hitler. That may be the point of view of the bourgeois democrats. But it is in no case a Communist point of view. Power in the hands of the Nazis would mean jail for the working class, the gallows for its vanguard, Golgotha for the producing people, (Rep. Kasper—C. P. G.: But who said that?)—Remembered did, on October 15, I believe, but we can look that up.—We must gather the working class for struggle before Hitler's dream of a Third Empire has become a reality. We must unite the working class in a single united front.

(Intervention from the Communist benches: And that is why you swiped the mandate from us!)

I am utilizing my mandate in the interests of the proletarian revolution.—But this united front cannot be decreed in advance, by saying to the non-Communist workers: Come to us, recognize us as your leaders, then we will create the united front with you! You can only get the leadership by gaining the confidence of the German proletariat in the dynamics of the struggle. Lenin said: Without confidence, there can be no hegemony and the Communist party should and must become the hegemon (leader) of the working class. But whoever says: We do not fear the Nazis, let them come to power—is already today frightened to death by them, is scared to the marrow of his bones; his heart is in his boots; he draws the conclusion that it is no longer possible to prevent the Nazis from seizing power and is consequently ready for a capitulation before Hitler without a struggle.

(Shouts from the Communist benches) —We shall discuss elsewhere as to how far you have got with your policy of the Red Trade Union Opposition, the "Red" United Front, the "national and social liberation". Just to what extent you have already proved sufficiently and will prove even more clearly in the future.

But this capitulation, this belief that the victory of Fascism can no longer be avoided, is concealed under false optimism, on the grounds of an inevitable and self-understood bankruptcy of the Nazis. Naturally, everything on earth ends at some time. Even the domination of the hangman Mussolini will have to come to an end and the end of the Czarist power could be foreseen many years ahead of the time. But that does not change the fact that two revolutions were necessary to defeat Czarism and that in the meantime Czarism succeeded in plunging the entire Russian people into an imperialist war. We say to the false optimists who console us with the coming bankruptcy of the "Third Reich": Do not dare lull the German proletariat to sleep! Do not chloroform it with sweet prophecies, do not dare undermine its will power—now, when the will to struggle is the first and foremost condition of victory!

(Laughter among the Communists)

We are not for "national and social liberation" as you are. We revolutionary Marxists know that as long as the people is divided into classes, every conception has a class content. When social democratic workers often say: Yes, we are for democracy, but for a pure democracy, then they also forget that in a class society, democracy can only be a class concept. We Bolshevik-Leninists have no illusions and will not allow anyone to put any illusions over on us. What a horrible historical catastrophe it would be for the world proletariat, if the Nazis were to come into power in Germany! Once come into power, Hitler could only become the executioner of the German proletariat and the agent of French, British and American capitalism. And the war for "social and national liberation" which Hitler would conduct, could only be turned against the East and not against the West. That does not

mean at all, against Poland. For Hitler and Pilsudski can very easily find common ground against the Soviet Union. To allow Hitler to get into power would mean betrayal against the first workers' state in the world, against the Soviet Union. And that means, to betray ourselves doubly.

No, the working class of Germany does not want Hitler to study his state surgery on its neck, nor on its body. We must not wait until Hitler's power falls into bankruptcy. We must throw Hitler overboard, before his dream has become a reality.

(Very true! from the benches of the social democratic party—Intervention from among the Communists: Who is "we"?—We, the Left Opposition of the C. P. G., even though we are not for the "national and social liberation of the German people" as you are, but for the proletarian revolution,

(Hear, Hear!—from the Communists) because we know in the capitalist world the "people" is divided into classes. Friedrich Engels said: After the working class has conquered power, it will dictate the laws itself and in such a manner, that the capitalist class will disappear and become alike to the others. To that extent, to which the capitalist class will disappear, the proletariat also will dissolve itself because it will have no more classes against itself and the intervention of the proletarian state will become ever more superfluous, first in one sphere and then in another, until the state will wither away of itself.

Now, the Vorwaerts of March 15 writes in an editorial that hails from Paul Loebe:

"The first blow: 'Onward, Iron Front!' The Iron Front has stood its first political test splendidly. It has done its share to spoil the 'day of certain victory' for the knights of the swastika."

It is ridiculous to believe that the fate of the German people can be decided by parliamentary elections, or that the decision will be arrived at according to the parliamentary calendar. The fate of the German people will be decided by steel and lead. Only blind men or people who purposely close their eyes can believe that the problem of the fate of the German people can be decided by some sort of parliamentary elections—be they Presidential, Reichstag or Landtag elections. Hitler's assurances of legality are nothing more than a thin veil of cunning, with which he means to cover his plans. Brüning's speeches against Fascism are not worth a Pfennig more than Hitler's oaths of legality. All are gliding along the ether of neutrality. But statesmen have never lied so much as they have since the time that the radio was put at their disposal. The fate of the German people will not be decided by speeches, but as I have already said, by the open struggle of the classes with steel and lead. For it is toward this road that the Fascists are advancing and the working class must know this. The working class must fight mercilessly against all lies that attempt to soothe, against all illusions that attempt to lull them to sleep, no matter from what source. In order to be able to fight against Fascism effectively, it is necessary to unite the factories, the shops, the working class quarters, the millions of unemployed within a single front, with the aim of throwing back the watch-dog of capitalism, the Fascists. For when the watch-dogs are beaten down, the master is in danger. The workers have no time to lose, they must organize themselves for defense, for struggle, for attack and for victory. Hitler intends to militarize Germany in the interests of capital. The German proletariat will show him that it is only willing to be militarized in the interests of the proletarian revolution. Against Fascism, which we consider the last stake of capitalism, we revolutionary workers, we Leninist-Bolsheviks will fight in the foremost front with our brother workers as the vanguard of the revolution. The Fascist wave will and must smash up on the granite of the proletarian forces. When the capitalist class of Germany, which has become

involved in its own contradictions and crimes, will push Hitler on the road to the overthrow, we shall take up the challenge in full preparedness. We shall say: Capitalism has wanted this; very well, we will raise our hand to its throat, our knee to its breast!

(Intervention by Rep. Paul Hoffman) —Yes, you are good "theoreticians", we have seen that repeatedly from your tactics, from your "United Front" only "under our leadership". You demand leadership a priori, because you are not sure whether you can win it. This is what Platinitsky also said at the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I.: "The German Communists have committed a mistake by issuing the slogan 'No Social Fascists in the Strike Leadership' during the metal workers' strike. That was not quite correct."

(Rep. Paul Hoffman: Quite correct!)

—That was not quite correct, says Platinitsky.

(Rep. Paul Hoffman: That was quite correct!)

—In our opinion it was altogether wrong, in yours it was quite correct. In Platinitsky's opinion it was "not quite" correct. And why was it wrong in our opinion? If there are 50 Communists and 150 or 250 social democrats in a factory, then you can of course, manage to build some sort of "strike leadership" in which the Communists will have a "majority". But this strike leadership has no real basis, it is a fictitious structure and can never reflect the actual desire for struggle in the factory. In this manner, you remain up in the air with your centrist tactics. In this manner you have isolated the party of the proletariat.

(Laughter among the Communists)

And all this at a time in which all the objective premises are favorable for the Communist party.

On the State Budget

Your budget does not in the slightest degree give expression to the actual tasks and requirements of the country. Your budget is constructed in such a way, as if everything were "normal". If the Prussian government were thinking seriously of fighting against Fascism, then that would be expressed in the budget, but there is not even an inkling of that in it. Who can offer resistance to Fascism?

(Shout from the Communists: You!)

—These shouts are worth as much as the shouters. Neither the police nor the Reich's army, but only and solely—the working class. Therefore we must aid in this aim, to organize and to arm it. Only in this manner can the question of a serious struggle against National Socialism be posed. Among the workers there are many who have served as soldiers, but the youth which has not yet learned to handle weapons, is the most numerous section. The opportunity must be created to train the young workers in handling weapons. It must be decreed: In the factories, one hour a day is to be devoted to military training. One day in the week street training and field maneuvers are to be held.

(Rep. Kasper—C. P. G.: Who is to decree this?)

—Patience. I will also speak about that. —The unemployed are to train with the workers in the factories, in which they have formerly been employed; special supplementary training can also be provided for the unemployed. For this purpose, a sufficient amount of weapons must be put at the disposal of the workers. The costs of the weapons and the training must be borne by the state. The government of the social democrat Braun will not by far attempt to do anything of the sort, for it would be a misdemeanor from the point of view of the high art of the state or that of proper parliamentary etiquette, and against the obedient devotion to the bourgeoisie. No that cannot be demanded from the great men of the S. P. G., whose aim in life it is to ape the bourgeois statesmen and to betray the interests of the proletariat.

(Disorder in the House)

But only in this way can it be proved by documents that the speeches of the ministers are a hollow sham.

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Statement on the Situation in the International Left Opposition

The National Committee, having considered and discussed the most important parts of the material bearing on the present situation in the International Left Opposition, and the French section in particular, has come to the following conclusions:

1. The most important feature in the internal life of the International Opposition in the past two years, has been the struggle to free the movement from the influence of alien elements who paralyzied its activities by sterile intrigues, distorted its principles in practical application and hampered its development as the guiding force of the proletarian vanguard. We are and have been fully convinced of the progressive and revolutionary quality of the struggle for these ends which has been led by comrade Trotsky. It has been an unavoidable and necessary stage in the preparation of the International Left Opposition to fulfill its great historic tasks. The National Committee is in full solidarity with the estimate of this struggle and the perspectives of the International Left Opposition outlined in the circular letter of comrade Trotsky under date of December 22, 1931.

2. The correctness and necessity of this struggle to purge the movement of alien elements is demonstrated, among other things, by the positive results in the German section after the liquidation of the worthless intrigues of Landau and the freeing of the section for its actual revolutionary tasks. The leadership of the German section, which has taken shape in the struggle against Landau and his sterile factional regime, must be given all possible international assistance and support in its tremendous responsibilities and opportunities. The necessity of the struggle for internal renovation is shown with no less force—although in a negative manner—by the present state of affairs in France. The demoralization there ensues directly from the fact that the two-year struggle has not been brought to a conclusion.

3. In our opinion the present situation in the French League—which ought to be a matter of grave concern to the entire International Opposition—is not a new one. We regard it rather as the rear-end of the struggle to clear the section of the influence of unassimilable and careerist elements, which has been unduly prolonged. The task there, as we see it, is not to seek a solution of the crisis from the standpoint of the episodic questions and differences. This only blurs the real issue. What is necessary is a decisive course toward the liquidation of these elements.

ST. LOUIS WORKERS ATTENTION!
OPEN FORUM
Friday, April 29th
"Class Justice in America"
Speaker—GEORGE ROBERTS
Crunden Branch Library Auditorium
Fourteenth St., and Cass Avenue

For Unity in Needle Trade

(Continued from page 1)
needle trades situation, beginning with the International.

It goes without saying that this formulation of the slogan of unity has nothing in common with the liquidationist program of the Lovestonites. The Left wing suffered a defeat in its major undertaking to replace the reactionary union with another one. That must be frankly acknowledged. But it still retains its basic nucleus of the most reliable and tested militants. It still remains an organized force. This force must be kept intact and demand reincorporation into the International as a fighting unit. This should be the line of its fight, not a capitulation and the individual re-entry of its members into the International on the terms of Schlesinger. The masses will support this proposition, including those inside the International at present and thousands who are standing aside from both unions, discouraged and waiting for some new turn in the situation.

But, Foster and Browder will answer, Schlesinger and his black-and-yellow gang will not agree to this proposal. The slogan of unity, as the Communists present it, is not designed to meet the approval of the labor fakery but to facilitate the struggle of the workers against them. The new campaign for unity, along the lines we have suggested will start the re-organization of the workers around the banner of the Left wing. The Left wing will rise again as the authentic spokesman of the masses. On this basis the genuine unification of the needle trade workers struggle will take place, with or without the wishes of the socialist betrayers.

—JAMES P. CANNON.

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tion of the crisis by a firm stand against the representatives of the disintegrating tendencies. Among these we count the leaders of the Jewish group, and we particularly condemn their attempt to set up a **nationality group** as a faction within the League and their resignation from the National Committee in the name of such a group. Such methods and practices are incompatible with Communist organization. No less harmful, in the drawn-out internal crisis of the League, have been the ambiguous and diplomatic maneuvers of Naville, against which we have recorded ourselves in our previous resolution. In our opinion it is most necessary for the French League to bring the internal controversy to a conclusion, to draw clear and precise lines and makes a selection on that basis.

4. The proposal of comrade Trotsky for the reorganization of the International Secretariat, by constituting it out of representatives of the most important sections who will be responsible to their sections, is the most feasible plan under the circumstances. As the experience of the past few years has shown, the International Opposition has not yet developed to the point where a secretariat based on the selection of persons—free from accountability to the respective sections—could fulfill the office. The Secretariat must become a responsible body standing above the intrigues and helping to liquidate them. We are of the opinion that comrade Mill misused the office of International Secretary and erred fatally by identifying himself with the factional struggle in the French League against the leadership. Thereby he helped to negate the whole progressive struggle against Landau-Naville-Kosmer and, at the same time, undermined the authority and discredited the International Secretariat. The reorganization of the Secretariat as a responsible body will help to shield it against such a fate by rendering it less susceptible to personal moods and vacillations.

5. The difficulties of distance, etc., make a timely and effective participation of the American League in the internal questions of the European sections extremely difficult, and preclude altogether any pretensions on our part to play a leading role in their solution. We must not undertake that. Nevertheless we consider it desirable to participate more directly in the work of the International Secretariat through an elected representative and the National Committee will propose to select such a representative of the American league as soon as possible. It is necessary to acknowledge a slackness in our international activities and duties, the nature of which and its basic causes have been accurately described in comrade Trotsky's circular letter. In order for our League to be useful in the solution of the internal problems of the European sections, and to educate itself in internationalism in the process, it must firmly organize a collective participation. The National Committee as a whole must familiarize itself with the international questions and bring a collective judgment to bear upon them. The most important material must be translated and supplied to the League membership for information and discussion. The progressive elements in all sections, which are struggling for the liquidation of circle psychology, sterile intellectualism and worthless factional intrigues, and for the consolidation of genuinely revolutionary cadres, must be assured at every step that they have a conscious and resolute ally in the American League.

—NATIONAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF
AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

Execution of Scottsboro Boys Stayed

Two developments in the Scottsboro case within the past week testify to the protest it has aroused in the working class. The execution has been stayed to June 24 upon the appeal of the I. L. D. to the U. S. Supreme Court. No doubt the bourgeois tiger still feels that its prey is secure. It feels that it can afford this small concession and expects that its judicial superior will confirm its finding.

The State Department has applied to the Governor for information about the case for transmission to U. S. consulates abroad. Unquestionably this is a reaction to the working class pressure abroad being brought to bear on the diplomatic representatives of dollar imperialism.

In the consciousness of the international working class the memories of the Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney cases are still green. They do not need legal proofs of the innocence of the Scottsboro boys. The American frame-up system is familiar to them. In this case they see another attack on the international working class.

And they are protesting. They hold meetings and send cables of protest. The mother of one of the boys, Mrs. Wright, will tour Germany under the auspices of the International Red Aid to speak for all nine of the boys.

Will the U. S. Supreme Court confirm the decision of the Alabama Supreme Court? It may. It may reserve it. One thing is sure. Only an aroused working class movement can save these nine members of our class. Between now and June 24 the time is short. The small concessions the capitalist class has yielded must be a stimulus to yet greater activity.

Our protest must be organized. Of

Failure of Danube Union

(Continued from page 1)
countries is needless to state. The situation in all countries is bound to change radically in the event of a victorious proletarian revolution in Germany. It is one of the by no means small tasks of the proletarian revolution to come to the aid of the small nations with a clear program for solving their vital and pressing problems. The Comintern and the German Communist Party, however, completely ignore the international situation and advance no slogan outside of the general slogan of a Soviet Germany and the abstract slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union". The fact that Hitler is successfully exploiting the existing situation in Europe and reacting on it in his propaganda deserves to be mentioned. There can be no doubt that the German delegation to the London Conference on the question of the Danubian countries was compelled to take a position of defiance towards France under the pressure of Hitler's propaganda. Has the German Communist Party made clear the Communist position on this question to the broad masses in Germany and the rest of the European countries?

The Slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe

In the year of 1923, at the time of the occupation of the Ruhr and the resulting revolutionary situation in Germany the Comintern under the pressure of comrade Trotsky adopted the slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe. But the leadership had nevertheless remained hostile to it. Later it entirely abandoned it on the ground that, in Stalin's declaration, it was impossible to foresee whether it would be necessary to apply the slogan of the United States of Europe after the proletarian revolution. Subsequently the slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe had been declared "Trotskyism" and bitterly attacked by the Comintern leadership. But this slogan has been and is today more than ever of vital importance to the European proletariat because it flows from the very character of the present epoch of the economic development.

The main characteristic feature of the present epoch is the international scale of the productive forces which come into conflict with and are breaking through the national boundaries. Hence, the national conflicts and the imperialism which oppresses and strangles the small nations. The last world war was a direct result of the above process of the development of the productive forces. Since the world war this process has greatly increased, and the contradictions of capitalism with it. Socialism which is progressive and must base itself on a higher development of the productive forces, surely cannot be driven into the framework of national boundaries. On the contrary, the international character of the productive forces under socialism will greatly increase. Socialism will spread itself over the face of the whole world. There is where it derives its international character and on which is based the slogan of a Soviet United States of Europe.

"The term: The Soviet United States of Europe expresses the idea that socialism is impossible in a single country. It cannot even attain its full development within the limits of a continent. The Socialist United States of Europe represents a stage of a historical slogan on the road to the Socialist World Federation." Leon Trotsky, *The Militant*, Dec. 7, 1929.

The present leadership of the Comintern, naturally, cannot adopt this slogan because it contradicts Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country. This false theory is the main source of all tactical mistakes and its bankruptcy in problems of the greatest importance to the international proletariat.

—ALBERT ORLAND.

this there is yet little sign. The I. L. D. is not doing it. The C. P. is not doing it. They limit themselves to calls for demonstrations in the Communist press.

This is not sufficient. Only a comparatively small number of workers read the Communist press. Only a small number respond to the party's calls. The overwhelming bulk of the working class is still non-Communist. It must be approached thru the press it reads, thru the organizations it supports.

For this is required the tactic of the united front of working class organizations. This the party and the I. L. D. should take the lead in organizing. There is no other way to build a mass movement to free the Scottsboro boys.

—T. STAMM.

ST. LOUIS MASS PROTEST MEETING

Saturday, April 31st
For the Release of Tom Mooney and All Class War Prisoners
Central Library Auditorium
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Left Opposition speakers included

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BUREAUCRATIC ULTIMATISM

by LEON TROTSKY

When the newspapers of the new Socialist Labor Party (the S. A. P.) criticize "the party egoism" of the social democracy and of the Communist party; when Seydewitz assures us that so far as he is concerned, "the interests of the class come before the interests of the party," they only fall into political sentimentalism, or, what is worse, behind this sentimental phraseology, they screen the interests of their own party. This method is no good. Whenever reaction demands that the interests of "the nation" be placed before class interests, we, Marxists, take pains to explain that under the guise of "the whole", the reaction puts through the interests of the exploiting class. The interests of the nation cannot be formulated otherwise than from the point of view of the ruling class, or of the class pretending to sovereignty. The interests of the class cannot be formulated otherwise than in the shape of a program; the program cannot be defended otherwise than by creating the party.

RELATION OF PARTY TO CLASS

The class, taken by itself, is only material for exploitation. The proletariat assumes an independent role only at that moment when from a social class *in itself* it becomes a political class *for itself*. This cannot take place otherwise than through the medium of a party. The party is that historical organ by means of which the class becomes class conscious. To say that "the class stands higher than the party," is to assert that the class in the raw stands higher than the class which is on the road to class consciousness. Not only is this incorrect but it is reactionary. There isn't the slightest need for this smug and shallow theory in order to establish the necessity for a united front.

The progress of a class toward class consciousness, that is, the building of a revolutionary party which leads the proletariat, is a complex and a contradictory process. The class itself is not homogeneous. Its different sections arrive at class consciousness by different paths and at different times. The bourgeoisie participates actively in this process. Within the working class, it creates its own institutions, or utilizes those already existing, in order to oppose certain strata of workers to others. Within the proletariat several parties are active at the same time. Therefore, for the greater part of its historical journey, it remains split politically. The problem of the United Front—which arises during certain periods most sharply—originates therein.

The historical interests of the proletariat find their expression in the Communist party—when its policies are correct. The task of the Communist party consists in winning over the majority of the proletariat; and only this is the socialist revolution made possible. The Communist party cannot fulfill its mission except by preserving, completely and unconditionally, its political and organizational independence apart from all other parties and organizations within and without the working class. To transgress this basic principle of Marxist policy is to commit the most heinous of crimes against the interests of the proletariat, as a class. The Chinese revolution of 1925-1927 was wrecked precisely because the Comintern, under the leadership of Stalin and Bucharin, forced the Chinese Communist Party to enter into the party of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the Kuo Min Tang, and to obey its discipline. The experience resulting from the application of Stalinist policies as regards the Kuo Min Tang will enter forever into history as an example of how the revolution was ruinously sabotaged by its leaders. The Stalinist theory of "two-class workers' and peasants' parties" for the Orient is the generalization and authorization of the practice employed with the Kuo Min Tang; the application of this theory in Japan, India, Indonesia, and Korea has undermined the authority of the Comintern and has set back their revolutionary development for a number of years. This same policy—perfidious in its essence—was applied, though not quite so cynically, in the United States, in England, and in all countries of Europe up to 1928.

UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF C. P. UNDER ALL HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

The struggle of the Left Opposition for the maintenance of the complete and unconditional independence of the Communist party and of its policies, under each and every historical condition, and on all stages of the development of the proletariat, strained the relations between the Opposition and the Stalinist faction to the breaking point during the period of Stalin's bloc with Chiang Kai-Shek, Wang Chin Wei, Purcell, Radich, La Follette, etc. It is quite unnecessary to recall that both Thaelmann and Remmele as well as Brandler and Thalheimer, during this struggle, were completely on Stalin's side against the Bolshevik-Leninists. It is not we, therefore, who have to go to school and learn from Stalin and Thaelmann about the independent policies of the Communist party!

But the proletariat moves toward revolutionary consciousness not by passing grades in school but by passing through the class struggle, which abhors interruptions. To fight, the proletariat must have unity in its ranks. This holds true for partial economic conflicts, within the walls of a single factory, as well as for such "national" political battles as the one to repel Fascism. Consequently the tactic of the United Front is not something accidental and artificial—a cunning maneuver—not at all; it originates, entirely and wholly, in the objective conditions governing the development of the proletariat. The words in the Communist Manifesto which state that the Communists are not opposed to the proletariat, that they have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole, carry with them the meaning that the struggle of the party to win over the

majority of the class must in no instance come into opposition with the need of the workers to keep unity within their fighting ranks.

Die ROTE FAHNE is completely justified in condemning all discussions concerning the contention that "the class interests must be placed above party interests." In reality, the correctly understood interests of the class are identical with the correctly formulated problems of the party. So long as the discussion is limited to this historico-philosophical assertion, the position of Die ROTE FAHNE is unassailable. But the political conclusions which it deduces therefrom are nothing short of mockery of Marxism.

The identity, in principle, of the interests of the proletariat and of the aims of the Communist party does not mean either that the proletariat as a whole is, even today, conscious of its class interests, or that the party under all conditions formulates them *correctly*. The very need of the party originates in the very fact that the proletariat is not born with the innate understanding of its historical interests. The task of the party consists in *learning*, from experience derived from the struggle, how to demonstrate to the proletariat its right to leadership. While, the Stalinist bureaucracy, on the contrary, holds to the opinion that it can demand point blank obedience from the proletariat, simply on the strength of a party passport, stamped with the seal of the Comintern.

CORRECT CONCEPTION OF THE UNITED FRONT

Every United Front, which doesn't first place itself under the leadership of the Communist party, reiterates Die ROTE FAHNE, is directed against the interests of the proletariat. Whoever doesn't recognize the leadership of the Communist party is none other than the "counter-revolutionary" himself. The worker is obliged to trust the Communist organization in advance, on its word of honor. From the identity, in principle, of the aims of the party and of the class, the functionary deduces his right to lay down the law to the class. The very historical problem which the Communist party is yet to solve—that of uniting the overwhelming majority of the workers under its banner—is turned by the bureaucrat into an ultimatum, into a pistol which he holds against the temple of the working class. Formalistic, administrative and bureaucratic thinking supplants the dialectic.

The historical problem that must be solved is decreed as solved already. The confidence yet to be won, is announced as won already. That, it goes without saying, is the easiest way out. But very little is achieved that way. In politics one must proceed from facts as they are, and not as one would like them to be, or as they will be eventually. The position of the Stalinist bureaucracy drawn to its conclusion leads, in fact, to the negation of the party. For what is the net result of all its historical labor, if the proletariat is obliged beforehand to accept the leadership of Thaelmann and Remmele?

From the worker desirous of joining the ranks of the Communists, the party has a right to demand: You must accept our program and obey our regulations and the authority of our electoral institutions. But it is absurd and criminal to present the same a priori demand, or even a part of it, to the working masses or workers' organizations when the matter is broached of joint action for the sake of definite aims of struggle. Thereby the very foundations of the party are undermined; for the party can fulfill its task only by maintaining correct relations with the class. Instead of issuing such a one sided ultimatum, which irritates and insults the workers, the party should submit a definite program for joint action: that is the surest way of achieving leadership in reality.

BUREAUCRATIC ULTIMATISM LEADS TO NEGATION OF THE PARTY

Ultimatism is an attempt to rape the working class after failing to convince it: Workers, unless you accept the leadership of Thaelmann-Remmele-Neumann, we will not permit you to establish the United Front. The bitterest foe could not devise a more unsound position than the one in which the leaders of the party place themselves. That is the surest way to ruin.

The leadership of the German Communist Party stresses its ultimatism all the more sharply by the casualistic circumlocution in its proclamations, "We make no demands that you accept our Communist view beforehand." This rings like an apology for policies for which there is no apology. When the party proclaims its refusal to enter into any kind of negotiations with other organizations but offers to take in under the party leadership those social democratic workers who want to break with their organizations without their being obliged to call themselves Communists, then the party is using the language of pure ultimatism. The reservation as regards "our Communist views" is absolutely ludicrous: the worker who is at this very moment ready to break with his party and to participate in the struggle under Communist leadership, would not be deterred by the fact that he must call himself a Communist. Jugglery with labels and subtleties of diplomacy are foreign to the workers. He takes politics and organizations as they are. He remains with the social democracy as long as he does not trust Communist leadership. We can say with assurance that the majority of social democratic workers remain in their party to this day not because they trust the reformist leadership but because they do not as yet trust that of the Communists. But they do want to fight against Fascism even now. Were they shown the first step to take in a concurrent struggle, they would insist upon their organizations taking that step. If their organizations balked, they might reach the point of breaking with them.

—L. TROTSKY.

(To be Continued)

(From WHAT NEXT?—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat)