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The Tragedy of the German Proletariat

By Leon Trotsky

The most powerful proletariat of Europe, by its place in production, its social weight, the strength of its organizations, has manifested no resistance since the arrival of Hitler to power and the first violent attacks against the workers' organizations. This is the fact on which one must base all future strategic calculations.

It would be patently stupid to believe that the subsequent evolution of Germany will go the Italian road; that Hitler will strengthen his domination step by step without serious resistance; that German Fascism will enjoy long years of domination. No, the further fate of National Socialism will have to be drawn from the analysis of the German and international conditions, and not from purely historical analogies. But this much is already evident: If, from September 1930 onwards, we demanded of the Communist International a short range policy in Germany, it is now necessary to work out a long range policy. Before the decisive battle is possible, the proletarian vanguard will have to reorient itself, that is to say, it will have to understand what has happened, distribute the responsibilities for the great historical defeat, trace out the new road, and in this manner regain confidence in itself.

The criminal role of the social democracy requires no commentary: the Communist International was created fourteen years ago

precisely in order to snatch the proletariat from the demoralizing influence of the social democracy. If it has not succeeded up to the present time, if the German proletariat found itself impotent, disarmed and paralyzed at the moment of the greatest historical test, the direct and immediate blame falls upon the leadership of the post-Leninist Comintern. There is the first conclusion that must immediately be drawn.

Under the perfidious blows of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Left Opposition maintained to the very end its fidelity to the official party. The Bolshevik-Leninists now share the fate of all the other Communist organizations: the militants of our cadres are arrested, our publications forbidden, our literature confiscated. Hitler even hurried to suspend the *Bulletin of the Opposition* appearing in the Russian language. But if, together with the whole proletarian vanguard, the Bolshevik-Leninists bear the consequences of the first serious victory of Fascism, they cannot and will not bear even a shadow of the responsibility for the official policy of the Comintern.

Since 1923, that is, since the beginning of the struggle against the Left Opposition, the Stalinist leadership, even if indirectly, assisted the social democracy with all its strength to derail, to befuddle, to enfeeble the German proletariat: it halted, it curbed the

workers when the conditions dictated a courageous revolutionary offensive; it proclaimed the approach of the revolutionary situation when it had already passed it by; it worked up agreements with petty bourgeois phrasemongers and windbags; it limped impotently at the tail of the social democracy under cover of the policy of the united front; it proclaimed the "third period" and the struggle for the conquest of the streets under conditions of a political ebb and of weakness of the Communist party; it replaced the serious struggle by leaps, adventures or parades; it isolated the Communists from the mass trade unions; it identified the social democracy with Fascism and rejected the united front with the mass workers' organizations in face of the aggressive bands of the National Socialists; it sabotaged the slightest initiative for the united front for local defense, at the same time it systematically deceived the workers as to the real relationship of forces, distorted the facts, passed off friends as enemies and enemies as friends—and drew the noose tighter and tighter around the neck of the party, not permitting it to breathe freely any longer, nor to speak, nor to think.

Out of the vast literature devoted

to the question of Fascism it is enough to refer to the speech of Thaelmann, official leader of the German Communist Party, who, at the Plenum of the Executive of the Comintern in April 1931, denounced the "pessimists", that is, those who knew how to foresee, in the following terms: "We have not allowed the moods of panic to rout us.... We have soberly and firmly established the fact that September 14, 1930 was in a certain sense Hitler's best day, and that afterwards will come not better days but worse. This evaluation which we have given to the development of this party is confirmed by the events.... Today, the Fascists have no more grounds for laughing." Referring to the creation by the social democracy of defense groups, Thaelmann demonstrated in the same speech that these groups differ in no respect from the shock troops of the National Socialists and that both of them are preparing in parallel formation to annihilate Communism.

Today, Thaelmann is arrested. Faced by the triumphant reaction, the Bolshevik-Leninists are in the same ranks as Thaelmann. But the policy of Thaelmann is the policy of Stalin, that is, the official policy of the Comintern. It is precisely this policy which is

the cause of the complete demoralization of the party at the moment of danger, when the leaders lose their heads, when the party members, disaccustomed from thinking, fall prostrate, when the principal historic positions are surrendered without a fight. A false political theory bears within itself its own punishment. The strength and the obstinacy of the apparatus only augment the dimensions of the catastrophe.

Having surrendered to the enemy everything that could be rendered in such a short space of time, the Stalinists are trying to rectify the past by means of convulsive acts which only increasingly clarify the whole chain of crimes committed by them. Now that the press of the Communist party is stifled, that the apparatus is destroyed, that the bloody pennant of Fascism waves with impunity over the Karl Liebknecht House, the Executive Committee of the Comintern is starting out on the road of the united front not only from below but also from above. The new zigzag, sharper than all that preceded it, has not, however, been effected under the impulsion of the Executive itself; the Stalinist bureaucracy has abandoned the initiative to the Second International. The latter has succeeded

in taking hold of the weapon of the united front, of which it has been in mortal dread up to now. To the extent that it is possible to speak of political advantages under the conditions of a panicky retreat, they are to be found exclusively on the side of reformism. Forced to reply to a direct question, the Stalinist bureaucracy chose the worst way: it does not reject an entente of the two Internationals, but neither does it accept it; it plays hide and seek. It has come to such a lack of self-confidence, to such degradation, that it no longer dares to show itself to the world proletariat face to face with the leaders of the Second International, the branded agents of the bourgeoisie, the electors of Hindenburg who blazed the trail of Fascism.

In a special appeal of the Executive on March 5: "To the Workers of All Countries", the Stalinists do not say a word about social-Fascism as the main enemy. They no longer speak about the great discovery of their leader: "The social democracy and Fascism are not antipodes but twins." They no longer insist on saying that the struggle against Fascism demands as a preliminary the defeat of the social democracy. They do not breathe a word about the inadmissibility of the united front from above. On the contrary, they carefully enumerate those cases in the past where the Stalinist bureaucracy, unexpectedly for the work-

ers and for itself, found itself forced to improvise proposals for the united front to the reformist summits. Thus do artificial, false and chimerical theories founder in the fury of the historical tempest.

"Taking into account the peculiarities of each country" and of the impossibility, which allegedly flows from them, of organizing the united front on an international scale (the struggle against "exceptionalism", that is, the theory of the right wingers on national peculiarities, is suddenly forgotten), the Stalinist bureaucracy recommends to the national Communist parties to address proposals for a united front to the "Central Committees of the social democratic parties". Only yesterday this was proclaimed a capitulation to social-Fascism! Thus do all the great lessons of Stalinism for the last four years fly under the table into the wastebasket. This is a whole political system reduced to dust.

Matters do not rest there: having declared for the moment the impossibility of the conditions for a united front on the international arena, the Executive immediately forgets it and no more than twenty lines further on it formulates the conditions under which the united front is admissible and acceptable in all countries, in spite of the difference in national conditions. The retreat before Fascism is followed by a panic-stricken re-

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What of Rakovsky?

Stalin is still silent. No news from Christian Rakovsky. The embassies keep still. In spite of the numerous news items that have appeared in the press, the workers of the German revolution refuse to let go of their secret. IF THEY HAVE ASSASSINATED RAKOVSKY, THEY DO NOT DARE TO SAY SO. IF HE IS STILL ALIVE, THEY ARE AFRAID TO ADMIT IT. This fact alone gives the measure of their panic, their fear of the action of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Let us speak frankly—By what right do the Stalinists complain that the Hitler embassy refuses to give out news of the fate of Thaelmann, WHEN THEY REFUSE TO SAY WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY? YES, in the name of what revolutionary conception?

Let us develop our campaign. THE CENTRISTS WILL HAVE TO ANSWER FOR THEIR PAST. RAISE THE QUESTION OF RAKOVSKY AT EVERY MEETING!

VICTOR SERGE ARRESTED

Victor-Serge has just been arrested in Leningrad. Once again, the Stalinist police is acting in the dark. It has been impossible for us up to now to obtain definite information as to his fate, nor the reasons for his arrest. Back in 1928 Victor-Serge was arrested, shortly after his expulsion from the party as an Oppositionist. After two months he was released, under the pressure of the campaign which was carried on at the time. Again we must rise up, demand an accounting, help our comrades who struggle in the vanguard against those who are preparing the ruin of the October Revolution.

RIAZANOV AND SMIRNOV ARE DEAD

N. Riazanov has just died in deportation, at Saratov, to which the vengeance of Stalin has exiled him. This Bolshevik, this Marxian scientist, underwent the fate of all the intransigent Communists who struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. He died at his post, as a faithful disciple of Marx and of Engels, in the service of whose ideas he had spent his life. Stalin did everything to shorten his life, for his purpose remains the same: TO DESTROY THE BOLSHEVIKS PHYSICALLY. After trying to defile Riazanov by implicating him in the "Menshevik trial", Stalin banished him under police constraint, chased him out of the Marx-Engels Institute which he had entirely organized and created. And Riazanov died in deportation, while Messrs. Kuzmin and Co. have again become free engineers at Magnitogorsk.

V. Smirnov, former leader of the old group of "Decists" (democrats), who was close to the Opposition in the years 1926-1927, has also just died in exile.

And how many other revolutionary workers, how many of ours, are falling today, when more than ever their firmness, their experience are indispensable to the revolution.

A tenacious and persevering activity in support of our imprisoned and deported comrades is needed. We are at present considering the formation of a Relief Committee, about which we shall say more later.

Defend the Class War Fighters

SNEEVLIET UNDER ARREST

Comrade Sneeveliet, president of the NAS of Holland (revolutionary trade union organization), remains in prison, accused of conspiracy for the manifesto signed by him, appealing to the Dutch sailors to show their solidarity with the mutineers of The Seven Provinces. The Centrists have not mentioned this arrest in any one of their publications! The workers of Amsterdam have held enthusiastic demonstrations for his release. We declare our complete solidarity with the revolutionary action of comrade Sneeveliet and all those Communists hit by the terror for their support of the rebellious Indonesians.

SPAIN

Not a word from the IRA on Nin and Lacroix

The International Red Aid continues to maintain a shameful silence on the fate of our Spanish comrades, among whom are Nin and Lacroix, persecuted for inciting the military to disobedience. The readers of the Militant will remember the vicious way in which these comrades were arrested by the "socialist" police and how they were,

for weeks, held incommunicado with no reason given for their incarceration. We must also ask our comrades to recall that the Stalinists did not hesitate to call these and other of our comrades—counter-revolutionists. Speak up in your ILD branch and demand their immediate release. The ILD must be a genuine class defense organization and not a sectarian body for the defense of supporters of the official regime of Stalinism.

INDO-CHINA

For the Sending of a Workers Delegation!

The International Red Aid has slowly awakened to the case of the thousands of Indo-Chinese victims of French imperialism. But of course, they slander the imprisoned Left Opposition militants. That does not prevent the bureaucrats from being forced to accept in its entirety our slogan, send a workers delegation to Indo-China.

Hitler and the Red Army

America has reproduced European capitalism on a grandiose scale, but it has reproduced European socialism only on an insignificant scale. American social democracy has never been anything but a caricature of European social democracy. This "law of uneven development" has also retained all its force so far as Stalinism is concerned. The CPUSA is weaker than any of the European parties yet the Stalinist bureaucracy in America carries out all the zigzags and all the mistakes with a fabulous exaggeration.

A year and a half ago, the Stalinists thought that an attack on the USSR by Japan was a matter of days, and on this "prognosis", dictated by the bourgeois press they tried to base their whole policy. We on the contrary declared that, as long as it had not assimilated Manchuria, the danger of an attack by Japan was absolutely unlikely. The American Stalinists accused us in this connection of being in the service of the Japanese general staff. In general, these gentlemen draw their arguments from sewers and drain-pipes.

We declared furthermore that the danger of a Fascist victory in Germany—a danger for the world revolution and above all for the Soviet Union—was more real and more imminent than the danger of Japanese intervention. The European Stalinists shouted that we were "panic-stricken". The American Stalinists, more impudently, declared that we were consciously aiming to distract the attention of the world proletariat from the imminent danger in the East to the Soviet Union. The events brought their verification. For a year and a half, the "imminent" Japanese aggression has failed to take place (obviously this does not mean that the danger of Japanese intervention does not exist in general). During this time, Hitler has come to power and, with a few blows, has defeated the principal ally of the USSR, the German Communist Party, weakened in advance by the lies and the falsity of Stalinism.

A year and a half ago, we wrote that the Red Army, in its principal mass, ought to turn its face to the West to have the possibility of smashing Fascism before it can destroy the German proletariat and unite with European and world imperialism. In answer to this, the American Stalinists, the most stupid and impudent of all, declared that we wanted to drag the USSR into a war, interrupt its economic upbuilding and assure the victory of imperialism. The old fable says that nothing is so dangerous as an ignorant friend. To appeal for military actions against Japan while there was not and could not be an immediate danger in that direction, meant to distract attention from the real danger of Fascism. Obviously the Stalinists carried out this task,

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Stalinists Beat Up Oppositionists

On Sunday, April 2, a group of members of the Spartacus Youth Club went to distribute *Young Spartacus* and the *Militant* to the New York District membership meeting of the YCL held at Stuyvesant Casino. Our comrades waited until the intermission period, and as the YCLers came out, we started to give out copies of our papers. We had distributed some two dozen copies when a couple of the "leaders" came down and began to tell us that we were not to be allowed to distribute here. We tried to discuss in a comradely manner, asking them what valid reason there could be for attempting to prohibit this.

The best way to understand the viewpoint of any organization is to read and study what they propose. This was and is the only way in which any young Communist can hope to combat the ideologies which are alien to the interests of the working class—by analyzing them.

Several of them, however, whom we have met before, of the fanatical type refused to discuss with us at all. "We have instructions to prevent any distribution," one of them stated, "and if you continue you will suffer the consequences!" Meanwhile a "strong arm" squad had been organized upstairs by the bureaucrats in the membership meeting and they now came hurrying down the stairs, warning they began to rip the papers from our arms. Working themselves into a fury, the young specimens of Stalinist argumentation launched into an attack upon our comrades. Outnumbered many times and with papers under our

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New Organ of German Left

The first issue of the new paper of the German section of the International Left Opposition has just been received here. It is called *Unser Wort*, and is published in Prague. Hitler has apparently not been told that this is a counter-revolutionary organization, and has therefore banned the former publication of the German Left Opposition, *Die Permanente Revolution* until May 31, without any prospect that it will be permitted to resume.

It will be recalled that according to the Stalinist press, the German section of the Left Opposition capitulated to the official party and was liquidated shortly before Hitler took power. The new paper is the best proof of the vitality of the Opposition in Germany. It contains an analysis of the perspectives of Communism under the present regime in Germany, letters from German workers, and comrade Trotsky's "Talk with a Social Democratic Worker".

In accordance with the decisions of the International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition, all members have been asked to contribute a day's pay for the specific purpose of helping the German section. This money should be raised as quickly as possible so that it can be transmitted at once, in view of the vital and urgent needs of the German Opposition and the enormous tasks which now face it. The American League has set itself the quota of two hundred dollars to be raised for our comrades in Germany and their work, and we appeal to all friends of the Opposition to help us reach the quota as soon as possible.

Kincaid Miners Trial Starts

Taylorville, Ill.—The trial of the 22 Kincaid miners, charged with murder, is under way in the Christian County Circuit Court. Its sessions occur with a packed hall of miners from all parts of the Illinois coal fields. The first two up for trial, whom the Peabody coal company intends to burn in the electric chair are Emil Dupire, coal miner and Mattozzo, chief of police in Kincaid and supporter of the P. M. A.

The trial so far clearly reveals the frame-up evidence given by the Peabody Coal Company and the danger of conviction due to the legalistic position taken by the officials of the P. M. A. conducting the case. All statistical vantage points are in the hands of the Peabody Coal Company. The P. M. A. officials do not seem to realize the significance of this.

John Hogan, Peabody attorney, has been drafted by the state attorney and is leading the prosecution. The jury consists of eleven farmers and one clerk—an ideal reactionary jury that can easily ignore all contradictory evidence and frame-up material. A far

greater danger than this is the position of the PMA officials that has put the damper on mass pressure. They are leaving the case in the hands of their attorneys. The bulletin of the Progressive Miner (March 31) speaks of the opening of the case as follows: "The flimsiness of the state's case has been well shattered in the first stage of the trial." Yes, to the workers, but we are not deciding the case. Eleven farmers and one clerk and the Peabody Coal Company are deciding the case. The bulletin, in referring to the clear-out frame-up evidence, says the defendants are "virtually cleared of all charges by the testimony of the prosecution." These are dangerous statements because the cards are stacked against us. We cannot talk as though miners are trying the case and not farmers and the Peabody Coal Company, and their law and order. Wherever there are Peabody miners the militia or the sheriff's forces are holding down the miners and imported gunmen carry on a reign

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2nd Gillespie Meeting Conference Again Rejects New Federation Plan

Gillespie, Ill.—The April 2 conference called by the Gillespie Trades and Labor Assembly adjourned, adopting a policy of coordinating the work of the Left wing inside the A. F. L. with the work of building new industrial unions from the unorganized workers. The conference adopted the name of "Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee". It was attended by 164 delegates, representing 26 organizations, with the Progressive Miners of America having 61 delegates, and the Unemployed Councils 30 delegates. The rest of the delegates were from AFL locals and some independent unions and several TUUL groups. The workers' political organizations represented with fraternal delegates were the Communist League of America (Opposition), the Young Spartacus League and the Young Peoples Socialist League.

The highlights of the conference were the struggle between the delegates who wanted a new federation of labor and those who wanted an educational committee; by the fact that the Progressive Miners of America were the solid backbone of the conference, the heavy work on the floor for a correct policy carried out by a group of delegates around delegates Fraser and Stene of the Progressive Miners and the policies of the Left Opposition were vindicated 100 percent; and the action of the TUUL delegates and the Stalinists who had the largest caucus present, but had to trail behind the policies of the Left Opposition and the militant miners. One thing can be said for the Stalinists. With their new turn, they are doing far better than before, they are learning to work with other forces, they are learning how to retreat as well as advance but are still very clumsy and antagonized a considerable number of delegates and left a bad taste in the mouths of many delegates when the conference adjourned.

The report of the policy committee brought out the different tendencies at the conference and the main struggle of the day's proceedings. After reaffirming the policy of the previous conference Weber, for the policy committee, read three proposals introduced by delegate Fraser as follows:

Policy Committee Proposals

1. The response to the initiative of the Gillespie Trade and Labor Council, as indicated by this conference representation, shows that a sufficient basis for the creation

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The tremendous importance of the material contained in the present issue has compelled us to omit a number of items which we planned to include. We were anxious to include the very urgent and timely articles by comrade Trotsky on Germany, particularly the leading article which arrived just in time to be printed in this issue. Consequently, we must hold over for the next issue such articles as an exami-

of a new federation of labor is lacking and therefore this conference definitely rejects this project.

2. Due to the limited and sectional character of this conference we cannot at the present time form a permanent organization. Such an organization of the Left and progressive forces on a national scale is a perspective to be aimed at. The three conferences at Gillespie have taken the initiative and prepared the ground for one that will eventually develop upon a broader national scale through cooperation of all Left wing and progressive forces.

3. The conference goes on record as recommending the program of January 29 session to the consideration of the workers who are struggling for the regeneration of the labor movement and its liberation from reactionary policies and leadership. This conference decides upon the continuation as a committee to keep in touch with sympathetic trade union bodies and will be ready to act jointly with them in the preparation of a broader conference on a national scale.

Around point one of these proposals the conference almost split. The "new federationists" were insistent, but finally the motion passed with an amendment by delegate Lore. The amendment said we continue as an organization to carry on work in the trade unions and independent unions. These delegates aimed their amendment to the tail of that organization,

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OPEN FORUM

The Tragedy of the German Proletariat

SHOULD A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY BE ORGANIZED IN GERMANY?

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

International Workers School Hall
126 East 16th Street

Sunday, April 9, 1933, 8 P. M.

ADMISSION: 15 Cents

Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

ation of the tendencies within the Progressive Miners of America, the second article on the German situation by Sam Gordon, a reply to the second winding of the Lovestone group in attacking the stand of the Left Opposition on the German question, etc., etc. We have been forced also to omit from this number the continuation of comrade Trotsky's article which began in the last issue (A Talk with a Socialist Worker). The next issue will publish it in all likelihood, together with a new article by Trotsky on the threatening situation in Austria, which is gaining in significance every day.

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

The Stalinist Shift To the Right

The second session of the Congress Organization Committee of the New York United Front Free Tom Mooney Conference revealed that the turn of the party on the united front is showing a dangerous drift to the right. Palmer of the Federated Press, chairman of the committee, reported the following: Some time between the first and second sessions a little informal meeting took place in Palmer's office. There were present two members of the Communist Party, Muste, of the CPLA, and Palmer. They called Norman Thomas on the phone to discuss with him the question of drawing the S. P. into the Mooney movement.

Dicker with Thomas

Politically this meant that they were asking Thomas to lay down the conditions on which the S. P. would participate. Thomas, according to the report, pledged himself personally to work for the participation of the S. P. on the basis of a management committee for the National Congress to be held in Chicago, consisting of representatives of the C. P., S. P., ILD, LLD, five trade unionists, and three liberals. This unofficial arrangement was submitted to Mooney for his approval. He wired back adding two representatives of the Mooney Molders' Defense Committee.

The Left Opposition immediately demanded that the entire proceedings be made public and that all future negotiations be conducted openly before the entire working class. This demand provoked a discussion. The discussion revealed much confusion on the part of the Stalinists who are in control of the Committee. Politically the discussion revolved around the united front. The feeble attempts of the Molders' Defense representatives to settle the matter on a legal-technical basis were simply brushed aside. It was obvious that the question could not be discussed aside from its political essence. The Stalinists gave their political interpretation a Rightist content. They refused to put the conference on record against the slanderous attack on the Chicago Congress by the Labor Committee of the Socialist party. This statement, issued on March 24, says that the Communists use the Congress as a tool to wreck other working class organizations. **LABOR ACTION**, Muste's organ quotes the statement without comment, though it is an active participant in the conference and probably will be in the Chicago Congress.

Winter, Nessin, Moore, Ballam united to hamstring the attempt to make the negotiations public. They so qualified the conference pronouncements that what will be issued will omit the essential facts given above and give a highly distorted picture of the proceedings.

It has come to this. Yesterday our Stalinist masters of revolutionary strategy and tactics shouted down the wind that we could make no united front with the "social Fascist leaders". Today they are beginning to crawl on all fours before these treacherous fakery. They are trying to prove to the Thomases that they are good Communists! They are in full flight from the ultra-Leftism of yesterday. And they bow down before the old idol of Right opportunism!

Bureaucrats Fall Out

In the discussion Winter and Nessin once more took different stands. Nessin again advocated a Rightist position. Winter's role is becoming clearer. He is carried along in the Right drift. His job is to put a plausible face on the thing. His proposals are designed to make it possible to point to efforts made for a genuine united front. This may fool some for a time but as the party swings further to the right this false face artist will be assigned other chores.

Ballam poured oil on the troubled waters and evoked the anger of Moore. It is a pitiable sight to see these bureaucrats fall out among themselves. How sharp must be the fight in the party if it is carried out into the open at every meeting! Why is it confined to the top? Why isn't the party membership allowed to participate in the discussions? Why is there no discussion in the party press?

The Stalinist bureaucracy cannot allow the party membership to intervene in its disputes. That would be disastrous for its position and prestige. So it maneuvers desperately to retain its weakening grip on the party. But its base is narrowing and the day of reckoning is approaching. Then as now the Left Opposition will know how to act to build the party shoulder to shoulder with the party membership.

—T. STAMM.

Communism and Syndicalism

by LEON TROTSKY

Some fundamental considerations on the relation of the party to the trade union movement with particular reference to the experiences of the French labor movement. . . . 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
84 East 10th Street, New York.

Chicago Meet Adopts Joint Protest

Chicago.—The mass meeting on the German situation held by the Chicago branch of the Communist League, proved to be a great success. Over two hundred workers gathered at Redifer Hall on March 26, to hear the position of the Left Opposition on the united front and the turn of the Communist International, presented by comrade Albert Glotzer.

The main feature of the meeting was the discussion that followed Glotzer's speech. An invitation was extended to any party representative in the hall to take the floor and present the position of the party. One active party member, Hans Pfeifer was given twenty minutes in which to present the position of the party and to defend its line. His remarks only further strengthened the position of the L. O. But he made a plea for the unity of the Communist forces, and declared that he would investigate the charges of violence against members of the Left Opposition and protest such methods of solving disputes between Communists. As an active member of the Unemployed Councils he extended a public invitation to the Opposition to participate in the State Hunger March; an invitation that was at once accepted by the Chicago organization.

In the course of the discussion a resolution on the German situation was presented by a member of the Chicago Left Opposition, who proposed its adoption and suggested further that the resolution be sent to the German consulate and the **Daily Worker** and **Militant** for publication. This proposal was carried unanimously with an amendment that a committee elected by the mass meeting go over the resolution before sending it out. As a reflection of the sentiment of the meeting a committee was elected representing the Communist party, the Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club. The party was represented by comrades Hans Pfeifer (an alderman candidate who drew 1100 votes in his ward) and Norval Allen, a Negro comrade. They met together with Joe Giganti and Al Glotzer of the Left Opposition, and Nathan Gould of the Spartacus Youth Club.

The resolution signed by the committee elected by the mass meeting represents further evidence of breaking down the walls between the party members and the Left Opposition. It signifies that the campaign on German has not been in vain; that it has really penetrated the ranks of the class-conscious workers. The bankruptcy of the line of Stalinism becomes more and more evident in the course of the active life of the movement.

Resolution Adopted

Approximately 200 workers, representing various revolutionary tendencies, gathered in mass meeting to discuss the German situation at Redifer Hall, 30 North Wells Street, in Chicago, on Sunday, March 26th, 1933, under the auspices of the Communist League of America (Opposition), record their strenuous protest against the Fascist terror reigning in Germany today against the proletariat of that country and its revolutionary leadership, the Communist party and the Young Communist League, also against the terror inaugurated against the class conscious working masses in the social democratic party and the trade unions that are struggling against Fascism.

The German bourgeoisie through its henchmen, Hitler and the National Socialists have been persistently attacking the German proletariat.

Today, aside from the hundreds and thousands whose "heads have rolled in the sand" following the attacks of the Fascist forces, thousands of leaders and members of the Communist party are rotting in the Fascist dungeons and undergoing tortures paralleled only by that of the medieval period.

Comrades Thaelmann, Torgler, Pleck and Remmele, the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany are in prison. Direct information as to their condition is not available. But that they are victims of the "mustard-rub" and the "castor-oil" has already leaked out.

In this regard, we, assembled in mass meeting today, protest and demand the immediate cessation of the murder and torture of the German working class and its leaders, by the Fascists.

We demand the immediate release of comrade Thaelmann and other leaders of the German Communist movement.

We demand the release of all victims of Fascism notwithstanding their political tendencies.

Forward the revolutionary united front of the working class organizations against Fascism!

For the defense of the German working class against Fascist attacks!

For the proletarian revolution in Germany.

Submitted by the Communist League of America (Opposition) Signed The Committee elected by the meeting.

HANS PFEIFER, member of the Communist Party of America. NATHAN GOULD, member of the Spartacus Youth Club of Chicago.

JOE GIGANTI, member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition).

NORVAL ALLEN, member of the Communist Party of America.

ALBERT GLOTZER, member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition).

A «UnitedFront» At Any Price

Davenport, Iowa.—A united front conference was called for March 27, 1933 by the official party. The conference was called a united front action against hunger. Again the party has shown how it zigzags from one extreme to another. I am going to give a review of this conference as it is of great importance to the workers, not only in the Tri-Cities but throughout the entire country. According to the number of delegates that voted there must have been 72 delegates. There were many local unions represented with the Tri-City Federation of Labor also officially represented.

While the Resolutions Committee was meeting Tony Minerich, representing the state anti-hunger march committee, was seated as a delegate and spoke for one hour. The pitiful part of Minerich's speech was that he actually said nothing of interest outside of stressing the united front at all costs and making a bid for unity with the leaders of the Federation of Labor in the Tri-Cities at all costs.

After that a general discussion took place with several workers participating. Much confusion existed. The representative of the Left Opposition spoke presenting the policy of the Left Opposition the name of the branch.

During the morning session the Credentials Committee tried to side-track the seating of the Left Opposition delegate by hemming and by announcing that it has only ten members so it is a question of whether it should have a right to a seat or not. But upon a slight insistence when it came to voting the delegate was recognized and had the full right of the floor to the discomfort of the party leaders. The party itself was officially not represented, but its leaders were delegates from the Unemployed Council, and other party auxiliaries, some of them not even existing.

Rank Stalinist Opportunism

After the discussion, the Resolutions Committee reported Wilson was the worst, bringing in a resolution against intimidation of workers and against forced labor which was adopted unanimously.

A resolution to endorse the state hunger march in Illinois on April 7 was also adopted by the conference. Then a resolution on investigation of the conditions of the unemployed and to bring in suggestions as to remedies and to deal with unemployment generally was brought in, with clauses in the resolution that one Catholic, one Hebrew, one Protestant, one Chamber of Commerce, one Retail Merchant Association, one Unemployed Council, one Federation of Labor be represented on this committee to investigate these conditions. A healthy reaction on the part of the delegates was immediately had, and on a motion of one of the trade unionists the resolution was voted on paragraph by paragraph. The paragraph which dealt with the Chamber of Commerce and the Retail Merchants Association came in for quite a discussion. On the motion of the delegate from the Left Opposition, seconded by several in the hall, it was moved to strike-out the Chamber of Commerce and the Retail Merchants Association. A discussion took place. The Left wing after Left wing, party members and sympathizers and some trade unionists opposed the adoption of the paragraph, with the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. fighting for its adoption, with the delegate of the Left Opposition taking the lead against its adoption. It looked as if the paragraph would be rejected by the conference when Jack Wilson, the party organizer, made the closing speech which lined up the party and its followers who spoke against its adoption but who voted for it after the speech of Jack Wilson, with only the vote of the Left Opposition against it.

Then the next resolution on Germany, against Hitlerism and Fascism was recommended not to be adopted as it didn't concern the workers of Rock Island County and was turned down by the conference with only the vote of the Left Opposition against turning it down. This was the statement of party representatives.

The Tom Mooney resolution was also brought up without recommendation by the resolutions committee and here again the Left Opposition, through its delegate, made a motion to adopt the resolution. The reactionaries made a fight against the adoption through making an amendment. The gathering fairly rocked as the struggle for the resolution was put up, and in a very sharp talk the representative of the Left Opposition made his position clear, not only on the German resolution which dealt with the German situation, but pointing out that it would be an actual betrayal if this resolution was voted down. This forced the party through Jack Wilson to come out in favor of the resolution. Then a compromise was made not to elect delegate from the conference but to endorse the resolution and recommend it for favorable action to the local unions and the organizations represented at the conference.

The Party has gone from one extreme of no united front to united front at all costs. It may be asked "What price united front?"

The Right wing of the party can be seen by the actions taken at the conference. The party tried to hide its face even to the point of not sending official delegates. Nobody spoke officially in the name of the party. Not one criticism

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Four sessions have already been held on the following topics: **The Fight for Party Democracy**; "The New Course" by Leon Trotsky. **The Defeat of the German Revolution, 1933**—"The Lessons of October" by Leon Trotsky. **The Opposition Program for Industrialization**. **The Left Opposition Program for Collectivization**. **The Anglo-Russian Committee**. **The Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927**.

The sessions are held on WEDNESDAYS, at 8 P. M.

The Second Gillespie Conference

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but behind this motion the "new federalists" rallied against the combined forces of the other delegates.

After these motions passed the policy committee recommended that the conference endorse the TUUL conference in Detroit. In September and send fraternal delegations. The read off the entire agitational call. The Stalinists saw no inconsistency in opposing a new federation along with the Left Opposition and other Left wing delegates, but at the same time asking the conference to endorse the TUUL conference. This gave ammunition to the Right wing elements and those who had just advocated a new federation, and they used it effectively. The spirit of the conference went down a few notches. When delegate Fraser obtained the floor he moved that we cooperate and send fraternal delegates, and pointed out why we should not endorse the TUUL conference. The Stalinists agreed to this and it carried by 107 for and 15 opposed, but only after much harm had already been done.

Next the policy committee asked for 15 fraternal delegates and again the opposition forces made hay. But again, when delegate Fraser could obtain the floor, he moved that we send three delegates. Again the TUUL supporters compromised and this motion also carried by an overwhelming majority.

Later they elected the fraternal delegates to the TUUL conference. Five were nominated and all unanimously elected. The delegates are: Hugo Oehler, Sol Larks, Hank Merv, J. Crokin and Hines. The conference unanimously passed resolutions in favor of the Franklin County strikers; Taylorville frame-up victims; and for mass pressure; Mooney; and also elected delegates to attend the Chicago conference; for the Springfield Hunger March and for the release of Minerich and others who were arrested; for the Scottsboro boys and against the danger of Fascism in Germany.

Another motion was passed to get up a joint committee of action with the TUUL to carry on work in different areas. This is putting the cart before the horse and making a mechanical caricature out of the motion quoted above. United front action of such bodies must spring out of concrete struggles and not mechanical paper organizations to be established here and there. All through the conference a struggle had to be put up against the new "federalists" on the one hand, and the Stalinists who desired to hurry the process of development; and with their wrong tactics shifted the conference toward a new federation under the arm of TUUL. Between these two forces flirting dangerously with a new Federation, the young committee received some hard knocks.

The Stalinist Proposal

Another struggle developed over the motion presented by the Right wing socialists who asked for the endorsement and sending of delegates to the "Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers for Economic Reconstruction" to be held in Washington, which is not a united front and has excluded all Left wing and Communist forces. The Congress is a political rallying center for reformism against the revolutionists and class conscious workers and is to be used as an anti-Communist rally. Our delegates opposed this and pointed out what is meant, recommending that first a communication be sent asking if all working class organizations are invited, and if not, we do not send delegates. The Left wing socialists and other class conscious workers supported this proposal. The TUUL delegates, the Stalinists and Gerry Allard, supported the motion to send two delegates against the above recommendations. The motion to send two delegates was carried and Weber and Allard were elected.

At the beginning of the conference a delegate from Georgia farmers had a proposal to tax the capitalists out of existence. The resolution was read and motion to endorse carried without the Stalinists saying a word.

A New Executive Committee was elected giving the miners the largest delegation. The Left Opposition and Young Spartacus League were given the right to put representation on the Executive. The

was made of the reactionaries. All compromises were made in favor of the leaders of the A. F. of L.

—GEO. J. PAPCUN.

delegates from the Left Opposition declined, stating that we welcome the attitude of the conference and that there is no political discrimination here and hope this will continue to enable working class political organizations to send fraternal delegates, but if we go on the executive, our members will be elected through the different unions they represent.

The new committee received some hard blows from the "new federalists" and the blunders of Stalinism at the conference and although it crippled the work there are still sufficient signs of strong militant life, that it can grow to be a force if a correct policy is applied.

—HUGO OEHLER.

The Kincaid Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

of terror against the PMA miners, killing, raping, kidnapping, smashing the union's relief stations, bombing workers' homes, beating up progressive miners.

Evidence Proves Frame-Up
The three main witnesses of the state are Peabody men and the evidence consists of contradictory and frame-up material. But this does not mean we have "practical" won the case. Two doctors testifying for the state contradict each other on the shooting of the mine boss who was killed. One says the bullet came from the rear and the other said the shot was fired from the front. Another Peabody witness says he saw Mattozzo with a sub-machine gun, while another says the defendant had a rifle. Further contradictions in the testimony of the Peabody witnesses were brought to the surface. One says that Smith was in the car with the mine boss, fired at the relief station over his left shoulder while Smith says he fired ahead. The mine boss who was killed, was seated in the back seat of the same car. It is a clear case of frame-up but this does not prove that Peabody is losing. They had a flimsy case against Mooney and countless other class war prisoners and yet these men were sentenced. The workers must not leave the case in the hands of the courts controlled by the Peabody Coal Company.

We must use all legal means at our disposal but under and around these necessary defense measures a powerful mass movement of the American workers must be organized to fight for the release of the frame-up Kincaid miners on trial at Taylorville.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Stalinists and the Upholsterers

The attention of the entire New York movement should be called to the latest example of how not to make the united front and the consequences. The scene is the Furniture Workers Industrial Union of the TUUL. On February 16, this union took the initiative and called a shop ("united front") conference consisting of workers from a number of shops, union and non union, for the purpose of devising ways and means of effecting the unity of the entire trade into a single militant union. At the conference a Unity Committee of 32 was elected to carry out the ideas of the conference, namely: (1) the organization of united shop committees to fight against wage cuts and layoffs and (2) the organization of one strong union in the upholstery trade.

A sub-committee of 12 was also elected to visit the membership meeting of Local 76 of the UIU of the A. F. of L. They were to ask for the endorsement of a printed leaflet calling for the unity of the trade. The leaflet called on all upholsterers in the shops to unite regardless of union affiliations, to organize shop committees and to fight wage cuts and lay-offs.

It passes human understanding, or just plain common sense why a committee from the A. F. of L. union was not invited to participate in the preparations. How can a union man or sympathizer understand that we are really fighting for unity when we fly in the face of this simple organization procedure? So intimidated are the Stalinist union functionaries by "social-Fascism" that it was with the greatest difficulty that they could be induced even to SEND the leaflet to the union itself, that is to say, to the secretary of the

(Continued on Page 3)

Huan Ping and Chen Du-Siu

Fresh in the memory of all readers is the despicable role played by the official Stalinist press in connection with the arrest and imprisonment of our comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, leader of the Chinese Left Opposition. This founder of the Chinese Communist movement, and the leader of the party during the whole of the revolutionary period, was the special object of Stalinist hatred because he honestly acknowledged the role he had played in the Chinese revolution and revealed at the same time that this was to be attributed to the fundamentally false and Menshevik policy of the Comintern. At the time of his arrest, the Stalinist journals all over the world could scarcely contain themselves with joy. Instead of helping arouse the spirit of solidarity of the workers to save comrade Chen from the imprisonment and execution at the hands of the Kuo Min Tang butchers with which he was threatened, the Stalinists hastened to assure all and sundry that Chen was an agent of the Kuo Min Tang!

Comrade Chen is still imprisoned, and no news about him can be obtained.

But only a short while after his arrest, took place the arrest of one of the official party leaders, Huan Ping, "Commissar of Foreign Affairs" of the short-lived Canton Soviet of 1927. In this instance, the case was made the subject for an international agitation. In this protest movement, of course, the party was only doing its elementary duty, in which they were criminally remiss with regard to the arrest of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu, and are so to this day.

Now we receive the news from a Left Oppositionist in Shanghai that while comrade Chen's fate continues to remain unknown, Huan Ping, like so many Stalinists before him, has turned renegade and joined the Kuo Min Tang—thus escaping from the fate which the counter-revolution held in store for him!

The organ of the Left Kuo Min Tangist, Wang Chin Wei, the **People's Tribune** of February 16, 1933, prints a sensational article by Huan Ping—"Why I Left the Communist Party". In this article, the renegade repudiates his whole Communist past, "exposes" the Communist International and the Chinese party and announces that "as a result of my conversion to the Kuo Min Tang, I was thus released, together with comrades Xu Fels and Hsu Shih-Keng, who have also come to the same conclusions". Yu Fei was nothing less than Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Hsu a member of the presidium of the Communist International and head of the red trade unions of Shanghai. "It is essential," concludes the turncoat, "before anything constructive can be undertaken, which in many respects is hardly distinguishable from common banditry, be completely suppressed. It was in order to assist the National Government in this campaign, and also to rectify my past errors, that I, together with comrades Yu Fei and Hsu Shih-Keng, have left the Communist party, and will strive, under the banner of the Kuo Min Tang, for the attainment of the goal which I have always had in view—the betterment of the conditions of the Chinese workers and peasants."

Like Bessedovsky and other creatures of Stalinism, Huan Ping was a mighty Trotsky-Killer before he jumped over the fence into the camp of the reaction. The bureaucratic regime in the Comintern trains up such types, whose only qualifications for leadership are their servility to the apparatus, a willingness to be made the scapegoat for the blunders of their superiors in the machine, a cynical ever-readiness to sign statements "to rectify my past errors" unquestioning obedience to which all careerists, adventurers and spineless place-hunters are able to adjust themselves. The genuine revolutionists, who think for themselves and have the courage to express unpopular opinions and defend them—are expelled from the party and consigned to the category of counter-revolutionists.

Therein lies the essence of explanation of how the Chen Du-Hsiu could be expelled from the party, baited by the bureaucracy and left in the lurch when attacked by the class enemy, while the Huan Pings could rise to leadership, be defended by the bureaucracy and, having been trained in the school of irresponsibility, betray the revolution at a crucial moment.

The communication from our Shanghai correspondent, which contains some very interesting information, will be found below.

Shanghai.—The Japanese drive into Jehol is now in full swing. The Chinese defenders have recoiled before the first onslaughts, although there has been some fierce fighting. A combination of circumstances has acted to compel the Nanking Government and its cohorts in the North to make at least a show of resistance to this latest Japanese advance. There is no official sincerity. Nanking has no desire to fight and is putting up nothing more than a show, wantonly sacrificing the lives of countless Chinese soldiers in a struggle it does not take seriously.

This lack of seriousness is sufficiently indicated by the fact that not a single airplane has been sent into Jehol to aid the Chinese defenders, while the Japanese are reported to be using over 100 bombers. The Nanking Government reserves its airplanes for bombing re-

calcitrant peasants in Kiangsi, Hupeh and other provinces. Nanking's lack of seriousness in the present campaign was even more clearly indicated by T. V. Soong, minister of finance and acting chairman of the government. He said to a local newspaperman: "We simply have to put up some resistance this time. The public opinion of the world has turned against Japan. The League has given China a favorable verdict. How would it look, in such circumstances, if we failed to resist Japan's invasion of Jehol?"

It is simply a matter of "face", to use a Chinese expression. But another important factor which has determined the government's attitude is the popular clamor for resistance to Japanese imperialism which in recent weeks has grown more and more insistent. The government could no longer, with safety, ignore it. This clamor has come from bourgeois and petty bourgeois circles who see their interests menaced by the further unchecked advance of Japanese imperialism. They have been joined by the liberal intelligentsia. But the workers' organizations, the trade unions (little as they really exist today), have been silent. The mood of lethargic despair which set in after the heavy proletarian defeat of 1927 has still not lifted. The workers are sunk in apathy and the Communist party has, as far as one can see, proved singularly incapable of penetrating their ranks and arousing them from their slumber.

Jehol will be taken by the Japanese. Of that there can be no doubt. Only a revolutionary awakening and a determined counter-attack by the masses of the workers and peasants could prevent it. The first step would have to be the overthrow of the Nanking Government and its militarist allies in other parts of the country. For this a Communist party is required, and there is no Communist party, but only its caricature—a comparatively small group in the cities, torn by internal dissension and shot through with traitors and spies. The party, such as it is, has obviously no clear understanding of the tasks of the Chinese revolution even at this late date, and spends much of its time spreading made-to-order slanders of the Left Opposition. Leaders are arbitrarily changed on orders from Moscow and even more frequent changes in the leadership result from the constant arrests brought about by the betrayals of spies and traitors within the ranks. Under such conditions, the party cannot possibly grow.

The arrest not long ago of Chen Du-Hsiu, a leading member of the Left Opposition, was used by the C. P. as an occasion for the spreading of vicious reports. It was rumored that Chen had sold out to the Kuo Min Tang and was proceeding to Hankow for a personal interview with Chiang Kai-Shek, who was then directing a military campaign against the peasant armies in the interior. This calumny was published in the bourgeois press and sedulously spread by the C. P., which made no effort to conceal its satisfaction at Chen's fate. The Kuo Min Tang prison in Nanking to which he was sent has literally swallowed him up. Whether he is dead or alive is not known. No one but his jailers, presumably, has seen him. No "interviews" attributed to him have been published.

Now a contrast! On December 14 Huan Ping, a prominent Stalinist "Yes-man" who was Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Canton in 1927 during the December Communist putsch, and lately was president of the All-China Trade Union Federation and a member of the presidium of the China branch of the League Against Imperialism, was arrested in Tientsin.

The arrest of Huan Ping, a prominent member of CEC, aroused a storm of protest in Europe. Einstein, Russell, and others poured in protests to the Nanking Government, where they maintained silence over the arrest of Chen Du-Hsiu (Madame Sun Yat Sen alone made one feeble public protest at Chen's arrest).

Meanwhile Huan Ping was taken to Nanking and there are reasons for believing that he has ratted to the Kuo Min Tang. It is reliably reported that he is living in a private residence in Nanking under surveillance, since the government is not satisfied as to the genuineness of his conversion to Kuo Min Tang principles. But that he is alive and not in jail is definitely known.

Whether reports of Huan Ping having become converted to Kuo Min Tang principles as a result of his arrest are reliable or not, the fact is there have been so many such "conversions" of late that one sounds quite credible. However, a statement entitled "Why I Left the Communist Party", which seems to bear the stamp of authenticity, and purportedly written by Huan Ping, appears in the February 16 issue of the **People's Tribune**, organ of the Kuo Min Tang "Leftist". Wang Chin Wei. I enclose this article for your information and use. It speaks for itself. February 28, 1933. —ROBERT.

All comrades and readers of the **Militant** are requested to help us build up as large as possible a section of the paper devoted to the life and work of the Left Opposition branches throughout the country and events in the class struggle. Report your activities! But bear in mind the limitations of space. Reports should be brief and to the point and as sparing as possible. Every comrade should feel himself a part of the paper and its contents, so that the **Militant** may accurately reflect the work and progress.

★ WITH THE SPARTACUS YOUTH MOVEMENT ★

Hathaway Before Y.C.L. Membership

The speech of C. A. Hathaway, party district organizer at the New York Y. G. L. membership meeting Sunday, April 2, was in outline much the same as the one he delivered at the recent party membership meeting. However, Hathaway has had two weeks in which to dig up new quotations and arguments. Therefore it took four and a half instead of two hours to clarify the YCLers on the united front.

After an hour and a half on the banking crisis which he does not yet understand, Hathaway came to Germany. First, by a flock of quotations from the 11th and 12th Plenums of the ECCI he proved that the question of Hitler's coming to power was not a major one for the ECCI. As the forces of revolution rise, the forces of counter-revolution come to a head. Hathaway, therefore, concluded that the coming of Fascism into power is a necessary prelude to the proletarian revolution, and not a vital danger to the working class. He remarked that in Italy and in Poland, Communist parties still exist and carry on activities. He regarded the fact that the German party is putting out an illegal paper as a proof that the party could adapt itself successfully to Hitler's tactics.

But already the Nazis admit that there are 8,000 held in their concentration camps, and Dutch Communists put the number at 80,000. Daily the German party loses its best members by arrest and murder; its weaker members drop out, discouraged or terrorized. If Fascism can consolidate its power, the German party will be only a tiny nucleus, all hopes of immediate revolution lost. And Hathaway maintained that the party can function under Hitler without serious losses!

Hathaway, as a good Stalinist, could not admit that there is a revolutionary crisis in Germany, and that if the party does not or cannot act it will suffer practical annihilation. Instead Hathaway took refuge in false sentimentalities and still false hopes. His "The party is still fighting," sounds very much like a Communist equivalent for the New Leader's jubilation after the German elections. "The Iron Front stands like a rock".

Finally Hathaway got to the united front, and here the finest results of his two week's research were revealed. The first was his argument to prove that there has been no change in the basic position of the Comintern on the united front. There are three forms of the united front, the united front from below, the united front with the reformist leadership, and the intermediate form of united front with the leadership and rank and file. The united front with the reformist leadership was practiced until 1927 when the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee was dissolved—what this led to Hathaway omitted to say! Then at the 6th Congress of the Comintern it was discovered that the social democrats had become the ruling parties, that they were social-Fascists, and hence any united front with their leadership was impossible, a betrayal of the proletarian revolution. But now the social democratic parties are again in opposition, and so a united front with the leadership is again possible.

He forgot to mention that in 1917 the Bolsheviks entered into a united front with the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists, who constituted the provisional government against Kornilov. He forgot to say that the Anglo-Russian Committee united front led to the betrayal of the general strike. He forgot all the blunders the Stalinists made in the united front from above. No—in 1928 the C. I. discovered the social democratic party was in a bourgeois government. That's the whole explanation of the turn!

Hathaway's next argument was equally ingenious. The Trotskyists, he stated, believe that there are only minor differences between social democrats and the Communists. Therefore they feel that criticism in a united front is useful, because they hope that thereby the social democracy will be reformed. But we real Communists (i. e. Stalinists) know that there can never be a real united front with

the social Fascists. Therefore the better to expose them, and the better to show our sincerity in making the united front call, we offer to refrain from criticism of the social democrats during the united front action!

This miserable rationalization is either a denial of the possibility of the united front, or else it is a sacrifice for such united fronts as that in China where the C. P. entered and merged in the Kuo Min Tang. Without Communist criticism betrayals such as that by the Kuo Min Tang and by the British trade union leaders are inevitable. By criticism we can loosen the hold of the reformists upon the masses, and by our acts we can make these masses accept Communist policy and leadership, just as the masses of Russia came to accept the Bolsheviks.

This four and a half hour speech, filled with confusion, contradictions and outright mis-statements was supposed to clarify YCLers, many of whom are so new in the movement that they do not even know the previous united front from below policies, and have almost no idea of Communist history. Is it to be wondered that they were still confused when they left the hall? Is it to be wondered that even the Stalinist bureaucrats themselves bewail the low political level of the Y. C. L.?

A YCLer.

N. Y. YOUTH CLUB SOCIAL

The New York Spartacus Youth Club will hold an affair for the Young Spartacus, Saturday evening, April 8th, at 126 East 16th Street. There will be dancing, entertainment and refreshments. All comrades are urged to attend.

YCL OFFERS UNITED FRONT

In line with the turn of the Communist party and Young Communist League, comrade Helen North, in the name of downtown section of the YCL, appeared before the Spartacus Youth Club meeting of March 30th and asked the Club to elect delegates to a preliminary conference for youth unemployment relief to be held April 9th. She stated that all youth groups, clubs and Yipsels circles in the neighborhood were being approached for this Conference.

Comrade Bill Dansker, chairman of the meeting, greeted the offer of the YCL and pledged the wholehearted cooperation of the Spartacus Youth Club.

This is the first time that the YCL has officially appealed to any section of the Left Opposition for a united front. It is not merely a result of the new policy of the official party but also a sign of the growing influence of the Left Opposition in the Young Communist League.

The Morale of the Russian Proletarian Youth

It is difficult to speak about the morale of the youth. Among the young people, there is a process of differentiation going on all the time. One section is evolving to the side of the opposition but it remains dissatisfied with critical discussions only, and demands action and organizational formulations. However, many are frightened by the experiences of oppositions in the past, and therefore, although fully aware of the seriousness of the entire situation, they seek for some other new way out. For the last period, there has begun an increasing influx to the Left Opposition of new people who were never before sympathetic to us. Thus, for instance, recently I had the occasion to meet some youngsters from the N— Printing plant; in the past, they answered all objections with the reply, "Hold your horses!—The Five Year Plan will show you." but now one of them took the floor at a party meeting and announced that "the Opposition was correct on many points, and it was time to take stock of the past". Another comrade (from the same place) left the party and to all objections to the effect that his attitude was wrong and no method of political struggle, he replied, "I refuse to bear responsibility for the strangling of the party and of the working class." Both were

expelled from the party and fired from their jobs.

Another section of the youth seeks its way out of all that is occurring by switching over to another track, chiefly, to study—in science is the only genuine salvation from all political intrigues.

Thus, for instance, one of the workers in the Control Commission of the Ukrainian Regional Commissariat of Agriculture, apropos of the expulsion of a number of youngsters said, "I agreed with them in a great deal, but if I don't do the expelling, I'll be expelled myself." And, continuing the conversation, he added, "If I thought I would be permitted to finish the university course, I'd leave party. I'm tired of all these intrigues and turns. What is white today was black yesterday and so on to infinity....but who'll guarantee that another leadership will be any better? No, as I see it, the only way out for me personally lies in the sphere of science." The comrade who told me this had spent ten years in the YCL, working throughout all this time in industry and conjointly with his work studying first in the Workers' Faculty and later in the university. There is left only to add that many others find their way out in drunkenness and debauchery. But, fundamentally the youth tends to become militant, assuming a critical attitude to what is transpiring, and seeking to formulate themselves theoretically as well as organizationally.

As among the youth so also among the party members the same processes are to be observed, only in much "milder" forms. The dissatisfaction with conditions in the party and in the country surges over the barriers of party discipline. And on the other hand, there is also to be observed apathy; people have grown tired of waiting for the promised boons of the first five year plan, all the more so as the scissors in the meantime have spread unbelievably, which is to be gathered both from press reports and the conditions as they actually obtain.

The authority of the "chief" is now no longer equal to zero but to some infinitely great negative quantity. There was a period when he was spoken of without malice, and without much consideration—that is to say, as something inevitable, but now all that has changed. Now the "chief" is at times spoken of as the greatest wrecker of the revolution. I have had the occasion to hear from many—even from workers in the apparatus—that his removal would be all for the best, lead to the rehabilitation of the party regime, etc., etc., December 1932.—Rov.

From Exile

Throughout the last period there is to be observed, with an ever

1,000 N.Y. Youth Protest Fascism

Over one thousand young workers and students massed before the German consulate last Saturday noon and marched to Rutgers Square, in a protest demonstration against Fascism. A delegation of thirteen which included a representative of the Left Opposition youth, was elected to present a resolution protesting the terror campaign of the Hitler regime, demanding an immediate step to the terrorism, and the release of all political prisoners. Mr. Swartz, the German consul, refused to listen to the resolution.

The demonstration was organized by the Youth Committee Against German Fascism elected at the United Youth Conference Against Fascism held in New York, March 24th and 25th, as a united front of all youth organizations. For the first time in the history of the Left Opposition, it signed a joint call for the Conference with the official Young Communist League. The demonstration was the first genuine united front action yet organized against German Fascism. The various organizations participating marched under their own organization banners and the leading groups, including the Left Opposition had speakers at the various meeting places. Comrade George Clarke spoke for the Left Opposition.

As yet the Youth Committee Against German Fascism represents predominantly Left wing and Communist groups. The Rand School Students Ass'n, which to the shame of the Young Communist League had initiated the united front, withdrew at the eleventh hour, the Friday before the demonstration, under the pressure of the leaders of the Socialist party, by a vote of 32 to 23. This pressure is shown by the false report in the April 1st issue of the *New Leader* that the Rand School students had decided to withdraw from the united front on the previous Tuesday. The students of Brookwood Labor College who had participated in the Conference, walked alongside the Saturday parade in order not to break Socialist party discipline. The New York Yipsels were definitely instructed to boycott the demonstration under threats of disciplinary action. One Yipsei who had voted at the Rand School students meeting for a continuation of participation in the united front was officially criticized by the City Central Committee of the Y. P. S. L. At the same meeting of the Central Committee, where a delegation of the Youth Committee Against German Fascism appeared to offer the Yipsels a place on the Committee and in its work, a sub-committee of the Y. P. S. L. was elected to take up the question with the Socialist party. Although the sentiment was strongly in favor of

participation, four of the five elected were among those who were strongly against affiliation to the Youth Committee Against German Fascism.

The Yipsels, the Young Circle League—youth of the Workmen's Circle—and the League for Industrial Democracy have arranged for a mass demonstration against German Fascism for Saturday, April 8 in Union Square. The Youth Committee Against German Fascism has offered to elect a joint arrangements committee to conduct this demonstration, and in any case, has pledged the cooperation of its affiliated organizations.

Members and sympathizers of the New York Spartacus Youth Club will meet at 126 East 16th Street at 11:30 A. M. to go in a body to the Union Square demonstration.

New Expulsions in Brownsville

The advice of comrade Hathaway to "arouse a lively attitude in all Communists" against the Left Opposition has been taken up by the aspiring bureaucrats of mass organizations affiliated to the Communist party. So fearful have the "leaders" of the American Youth Club become of "Trotskyist" influence that they have actually whipped up a veritable lynch campaign against those members who question their policies, and refuse to kow-to to a party controlled executive machine. The member's cry for more discussion on the differences between the official party and the Left Opposition is met with slander and expulsion. The member asking for debate has the finger of expulsion pointed at him. A few of the more energetic bureaucrats have discovered a remarkable method of serving the interests of the club—saying on their fellow members. This spy system is working havoc with club activities. Members fear to confide in each other. Suspicion rides high.

The club executive committee meets behind closed doors. Its snobbish members have divorced themselves from the rank and file, half of whom consist of raw workers with no political background. All this is furthering the discontent of the membership, which is realizing that the present policies of the American Youth Club are leading to its speedy corruption and demoralization.

The result of the attempts "to protect the members from Trotskyist influence" has been an exceedingly low level of political education which is superficial because of its one-sidedness.

Two expulsions have occurred in the past month, comrades Layton and I. We were excluded, under the all-embracing danger of disruption. Both were known to have sympathies for the Left Opposition. A campaign of discrimination and slander was conducted against both of us prior to our expulsion.

It was decided at an executive meeting during my absence, to recommend to the membership my removal from the post of assistant organizer and to place me on a three months probation in the Unemployed Section of the club. My case was postponed three or four times, until I was expelled from the YCL. I was expelled from the YCL for refusing to fight against the Left Opposition. When my sympathies for the Left Opposition were firmly established the Executive Committee changed its recommendation to that of removal from office; three months' activity in the Unemployed Section; and no voice in any of the other activities during the duration of these three months. One Executive Committee member, who was opposed to the last proposal, was rebuked by the organizer for his willingness to allow such elements who are against the interests of the club "full freedom to break up our organization." It was a clear case not of punishment for a crime but of punishment "to prevent a crime"—of hanging first and determining the guilt afterward.

During the trial the organizer accused me of believing that there should be reports of minority opinion on the Executive. When questioned by a member as to when the membership had passed a resolution forbidding minority reports the organizer explained that the constitution contained nothing concerning that point but that he was acting according to his knowledge of working class organizations. This reveals the high handed, arbitrary, bureaucratic rulings of the Stalinist clique.

Members now assure me that I would have remained in the club had I not attempted to organize a Marxist class outside the club. Discovery of this fact caused the Executive to make an amendment asking for expulsion. Their "explanation" is that such a step is an attempt to create factions in the club. To these epigones the formation of a Marxist class removed from Stalinist influence constitutes a counter-revolutionary act.

The expulsion of comrade Layton and I are but precedents and warnings to a membership that is being driven to a point where they will soon be too cowed to raise their voice in protest. But that there are still militants left in the club is evident by the discontent of the rank and file and their contempt for the "aristocracy of labor" as they term the snobbish leaders.

—J. ELLIOTT.

Joint Meet of League and Weisbord Lays Ground for Close Collaboration

A meeting held on Saturday, April 1, 1933 between representatives of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and the Communist League of Struggle (the Weisbord group), adopted a joint declaration on the relationships between the two groups which we print below, as the first step towards a further consolidation of the Left Opposition in this country.

As is known, our League has been engaged for some time in a dispute on fundamental questions of the Weisbord group, concerning which our readers have been informed in the columns of the *Militant*. In the course of this dispute, a considerable degree of clarity has been attained which now makes possible another step forward in the collaboration of the organizations and their eventual fusion.

The joint meeting was made possible by a declaration from the C. L. S. to the National Committee of

our League which marked a new advance on its part towards our fundamental position, especially on the question of Centrism. The former position of the C. L. S. and of Weisbord on this question, is rejected and the declaration says that "the group as a whole fully accepts comrade Trotsky's views on this question as obtained through reports of his discussion with comrade Weisbord last summer through his letters to us and his discussion of the question in print, particularly in his pamphlet 'What Next?'."

In reply our National Committee proposed a joint meeting with the C. L. S. asking its cooperation with the League in the next period on the following basis:

(a) Acceptance by the Weisbord group of the theses adopted by the Preliminary International Conference of the I. L. O. (b) that it adopt an attitude toward the League as the American section of the International Left Opposition and cease differentiating between and contrasting the one to the other; (c) that the Weisbord group discontinue its claims to be a section of or to represent the I. L. O.; that after a transition period of cooperation between the two organizations on this basis, during which the possibility of joint work is tested, the question of a fusion between the two organizations be referred to the National Conference of the League of Struggle.

The joint meeting which followed resulted from an acceptance of the proposal of the C. L. S. by the Weisbord group. Following a discussion, the nature of which is indicated by the declaration printed below. A declaration was finally adopted unanimously, which indicates the nature of the discussion and the further steps that are to be taken. We print the full declaration below:

RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION) AND THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE

1. Previous discussions and correspondence between the Communist League of America (Opposition) and the Communist League of Struggle have established the principle ground for common work and a possible eventual fusion of the two organizations.

2. With this fact as the point of departure the joint conference of representatives of the two organizations agrees upon a program of collaboration.

3. In this collaboration the Communist League of Struggle adopts the following standpoint: (a) It accepts the theses of the International Preliminary Conference of the International Left Opposition.

(b) It regards the Communist League of America (Opposition) as the American section of the International Left Opposition and supports it as such.

(c) It will enter into collaboration with the Communist League of America (Opposition) in various activities with the objective of a fusion with it and will conduct itself accordingly in this collaboration.

(d) Criticism of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on the secondary points of difference, which may appear in the "Class Struggle", will be regulated in content and tone by the above standpoint.

4. The Communist League of America (Opposition), on its part, will welcome the cooperation of the Communist League of Struggle in concrete activities and will facilitate the fusion of the two organizations after the actual possibilities of common work have been sufficiently tested in the period of collaboration between the organizations.

5. It is agreed that the Communist League of Struggle shall be given the opportunity to bring its special point of view on the remaining differences before the membership of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in the forthcoming pre-conference discussion and at the national conference.

6. The decision on the question of the integration of the Communist League of Struggle into the Communist League of America (Opposition) is to be made by the forthcoming national conference of the latter after opportunity has been given, by the intervening period of collaboration and discussion, to judge the maturity of the conditions for this action and the necessity for it. The undersigned representatives of the two organizations at the joint conference will work for this consummation.

FOR THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

(Signed) Max Shachtman
J. P. Cannon

FOR THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE

(Signed) Albert Weisbord
Sam Fisher
Vera Buch

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Oppositionists Slugged at YCL Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

arms, we defended ourselves as best we could. We were glad to note that even during the fracas, some of the YCLers there tried to stop the fight and said we should be allowed to distribute the paper.

Someone had put in a call for the riot squad, and we heard the sirens of the approaching automobiles. We had time to distribute a number of papers to workers who came up to us and asked for them, adding their protest against the shameful conduct of the attackers. We left almost immediately for we had no desire to give the cops any excuse for interfering in our dispute with the YCLers and possibly cause the membership meeting to be disturbed.

An hour or so after, when the meeting adjourned, three of us went back and walked down Second Avenue and met the YCLers leaving the meeting. A number of the comrades stopped to speak to us and tell us that they in no way supported the physical attack upon us; and did not think that the YCL leadership would condone the action or had done so.

These comrades were mistaken in the latter opinion. We have it from several of the members of the YCL present, that the group went

over to Hathaway and asked him if they should stop us from distributing. Hathaway shrugged his shoulders and by not attempting to explain to these hotheads that this was no way for workers, let alone Communists, to settle their disputes, thereby lent tacit support to the action. Hathaway may evade or deny this but his words at the Party membership meeting two weeks ago are on record; "We should have a lynching attitude toward the 'Trotskyist'." That is clear and indisputable. With such direction and leadership one can hardly blame only the young comrades who took the words at their face value and proceeded to carry out the shameful and anti-Communist action at the Stuyvesant Casino. How much they harmed the YCL and the ideas of Communism in the eyes of the workers who witnessed the attack, they cannot understand. Such hoodlum and gangster methods can only repel any honest worker. He knows too well the club and the fist of the police to be convinced simply because it is a so-called Communist who uses the same method.

We warn these young people: If they have the interests of the YCL at heart, they will stop these hoodlum tactics and meet us on political grounds

to be observed, with an ever

November, 1932. ONE OF US.

—UPHOLSTERER.

Leon Trotsky: The Tragedy of the German Proletariat

(Continued from Page 1)

treat from the theoretical commandments of Stalinism. Chips and fragments of ideas and principles are thrown out along the road like so much ballast.

The conditions for the united front put by the Comintern for all the countries (committees of action against Fascism, demonstrations and strikes against wage reductions) present nothing new, on the contrary, they are the schematized and bureaucratized reproduction of the slogans that the Left Opposition formulated much more clearly and concretely two and a half years ago and for which it was registered in the camp of social-Fascism. The united front on such bases could yield decisive results in Germany; but for that end it should have been carried out in time. Time is an important factor in politics.

What is therefore the practical value now of the proposals of the Executive? For Germany, it is at a minimum. The policy of the united front assumes a "front" that is stable positions and a centralized leadership. The Left Opposition put forth the conditions for the united front as conditions for an active defense with the perspective of passing over to the offensive. Now, the German proletariat has reached the state of a disorderly retreat, without even rearward battles. In this situation, voluntary unions of Communist and social democratic workers may and will be realized for various episodic tasks, but the systematic realization of the united front is inexorably thrust back for an indeterminate future. There must be no illusions on this score.

About fifteen months ago, we wrote that the key to the situation is in the hands of the German Communist Party. The Stalinist bureaucracy has now lost this key out of its hands. Great events outside of the will of the party will be necessary to give the workers the possibility of drawing up short, of fortifying themselves, of rebuilding their ranks and of passing over to an active defensive. When this will occur, we have no way of knowing with precision. Perhaps much quicker than the triumphant counter-revolution hopes. But in any case, it is not those who issued the manifesto of the Executive who will direct the policy of the united front in Germany.

If the central position has surrendered, one must fortify oneself in the approaches, one must prepare points of support for the future offensive. This preparation signifies, inside of Germany, the critical clarification of the past, support to the vigorous spirit of the vanguard of the militants, their reassembly, the organization of rearward combats wherever it is possible waiting meanwhile for the moment when the various fighting groups will draw together into a great army. This preparation signifies at the same time the defense of the proletarian positions in Germany, or located right near it: in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in the Baltic countries, in Scandinavia, in Belgium, in Holland, in France and in Switzerland. Fascist Germany must be surrounded by a powerful circle of proletarian fortifications. Without for an instant ceasing the attempts to halt the disorderly retreat of the German workers, it is necessary forthwith to create fortified proletarian positions around the frontiers of Germany for the struggle against Fascism.

In the first rank comes Austria, which is immediately threatened by the Fascist cataclysm. One can say with certitude that if the Austrian proletariat were to seize power now and transform its country into a revolutionary battleground, Austria would become for the revolution of the German proletariat what Piedmont was for the revolution of the Italian bourgeoisie. It cannot be predicted how far the Austrian proletariat, pushed forward by the events but paralyzed by the reformist bureaucracy, will advance along this road. The task of Communism is to help the events against Austro-Marxism. The policy of the united front is one of the means. The conditions which the manifesto of the Executive takes over so tardily from the Left Opposition thus retain all their force.

However, the policy of the united front embraces within itself not only advantages but also dangers. It easily gives birth to combinations between leaders behind the back of the masses, to a passive adaptation to the ally, to opportunist vacillations. This danger cannot be warded off save under the condition of two express guarantees: the maintenance of full freedom of criticism of the ally and the re-establishment of the full freedom of criticism within the ranks of one's own party. To refuse to criticize one's ally leads directly and immediately to capitulation to reformism. The policy of the united front without party democracy, that is, without the control of the apparatus by the party, leaves the leaders a free hand for the opportunist experience which supplement the adventurist experiences.

How has the Executive acted in this case? Dozens of times the Left Opposition predicted that under the blows of events, the Stalinists will be compelled to recoil from their ultra-Leftism and that, placing themselves on the road of the united front, they will com-

mence to commit all the opportunist treason which they attributed to us only yesterday. This time too the prediction has been realized literally.

In making a dizzying swing towards the positions of the united front, the Executive tramples upon the fundamental guarantees which alone can assure a revolutionary content to the policy of the united front. The Stalinists take into consideration and accept the hypocritical and diplomatic claims of the reformists to a so-called "mutual non-aggression". Breaking with all the traditions of Marxism and of Bolshevism, they recommend to the Communist parties, in case the united front is realized, to "abandon all attacks against the social democratic organizations during the joint action." That's just what it says: To abandon all attacks (!) upon the social democracy (what a shameful formula!) means to abandon the freedom of political criticism, that is, the principal function of the revolutionary party.

The capitulation is engendered not by practical necessity but by the panicky state of the reformists who will come to an agreement to the extent that the pressure of events and the pressure of the masses force them to. The demand for "non-aggression" is blackmail, that is, an attempt of the reformist leaders to extort an auxiliary advantage. To submit to blackmail means to build

up the united front upon rotten foundations and to give the reformist business men the possibility of blowing it up under some arbitrary pretext or another.

Criticism in general, all the more so under the conditions of the united front, should obviously correspond to the real relationships and preserve the necessary proportions. The absurdities about "social-Fascism" must be refuted. It is a concession not to the social democracy but to Marxism. It is not for the treachery of 1918 but for its evil work in 1933 that the ally must be criticized. But criticism, like political life itself, of which criticism is the voice, cannot be halted for an hour. If what the Communists disclose corresponds to the reality, they serve the purposes of the united front, pushing forward the provisional ally and, what is more important, giving a revolutionary education to the whole proletariat. To abandon this fundamental duty is the first stage in that criminal and shameful policy which Stalin foisted upon the Chinese Communists with regard to the Kuo Min Tang.

Matters stand no better with regard to the second guarantee. Having denounced criticism of the social democracy, the Stalinist apparatus does not even think of giving the right of criticism to the members of its own party. The turn itself is effected, as is the custom, after the manner of a bureaucratic revelation. Not a sin-

gle national congress, no international congress, nor even a plenum of the Executive, no preparation in the press of the party, no analysis of the policy of the past. And there is nothing astounding in this: at the very first steps in a discussion in the party, each thinking worker would ask the functionaries: why have the Bolshevik-Leninists been expelled from all the sections and why are they subjected in the USSR to arrests, to deportation and to firing squads? Is it only because they dig deeper and see further? The Stalinist bureaucracy cannot permit such a conclusion. It is capable of no matter what flop or turn, but to present itself honestly before the workers, to face the Bolshevik-Leninists—that's something it cannot and does not dare to do. Thus, in the struggle for its own preservation, the apparatus depreciates its new turn by undermining in advance the confidence in it not only of the social democratic workers but also of the Communists.

The publication of the manifesto of the Executive is accompanied by yet another circumstance, extraneous to the question we are examining, but which throws an exceedingly glaring light on the present position of the C. I. and on the attitude of the leading Stalinist group towards it. In Pravda of March 6, the manifesto is published not as a direct and open appeal of the Executive of the Comintern situated in Moscow—as was

always the case—but as the translation of a document from the "HUMANITARIAN" transmitted from Paris by the telegraphic agency Tass. What a stupid and humiliating ruse! After all the successes, after the realization of the first Five Year Plan, after the "disappearance of the classes", after "the entry into socialism", the Stalinist bureaucracy no longer dares to publish in its own name the manifesto of the Executive of the Communist International—that's how it feels itself on the international arena.

The manifesto is not the sole reply to the initiative of the Second International. Through the intermediary of paper organizations—the revolutionary trade union oppositions (R. G. O.) of Germany and Poland, the Anti-Fascist Alliance and the so-called Italian General Confederation of Labor, the Communist International is convening for the month of April a "Pan-European Workers' Anti-Fascist Congress". The list of those invited, as is proper, is confused and vast: factories (they say "factories"), although by the efforts of Stalin-Losovsky the Communists have been ousted from practically all the factories in the world, local labor organizations, revolutionary, reformist, Catholic, belonging to a party or not, sports, anti-Fascist and peasant organizations. And more: "We wish also to invite all those individuals who are really fighting for the cause of the workers." Having comprom-

ised for a long time the cause of the masses, the strategists appeal to the "individuals", to those hermits who have found no place in the ranks of the masses but who, just the same, "are really fighting for the cause of the workers." Barbusse and General Schoenich will once more be mobilized to save Europe from Hitler.

Here we have a ready-made libretto for one of those charlatan-like presentations with which the Stalinists are in the habit of masking their impotence. What has the Amsterdam bloc of the Centrists and the pacifists accomplished in the struggle against the aggression of the Japanese bandits? China? Nothing. Out of respect for Stalinist "neutrality", the pacifists have not even issued a manifesto of protest. Now a new edition of the Amsterdam Congress is being prepared, not against war but against Fascism. What will the anti-Fascist bloc of vacated "factories" and impotent "individuals" do? Nothing. It will issue a hollow manifesto, if, as a matter of fact, things go this time as far as the holding of a Congress. The tendency towards individuals has two faces: opportunistic and adventurist. The Russian Social Revolutionists in the old days extended the Right hand to the liberals and held a bomb in the Left hand. The experience of the last ten years attests that after every great tragic defeat provoked or at least aggravated by the pol-

icy of the Comintern, the Stalinist bureaucracy sought implacably to refurbish its reputation with the aid of some grandiose adventure or another (Esthonia, Bulgaria, Canton). Doesn't this danger exist now too? In any case, we deem it necessary to raise a voice of warning. Adventures which aim to replace the action of the paralyzed masses, disorganize the masses still more and aggravate the catastrophe.

The conditions of the present world situation, as well as the conditions of each country in particular, are just as deadly for the social democracy as they are favorable to the revolutionary party. But the Stalinist bureaucracy has succeeded in converting the crisis of capitalism and of reformism into a crisis of Communism. Such is the balance sheet of the uncontrolled command of the epigones for the last ten years.

Hypocrites will be found to say: The Opposition is criticizing the party which has fallen into the hands of the executioner. Blackguards will add: The Opposition is helping the executioner. By combining a specious sentimentalism with venomous falsehood, the Stalinists will endeavor to hide the Central Committee behind the apparatus, the apparatus behind the party, to eliminate the question of responsibility for the catastrophe, for the false strategy, for the disastrous regime, for the criminal leadership: that means helping the executioners of yesterday and today.

The policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in China was no less disastrous than it is at the present time in Germany. But there, the affair took place behind the back of the world proletariat, under conditions which were incomprehensible to it. The critical voice of the Opposition hardly reached beyond the USSR to the workers of the other countries. The Chinese experience went practically unpunished for the Stalinist apparatus. In Germany, it is entirely different. All the stages of the drama, developed before the eyes of the world proletariat. At each stage, the Opposition raised its voice. The whole course of development was announced in advance. The Stalinist bureaucracy calumniated the Opposition, imputed to it ideas and plans alien to it, expelled all those who dared to speak of the united front, helped the social democratic bureaucracy demolish the united local defense committees, cut the workers off from the slightest possibility of emerging upon the road of the mass struggle, disorganized the vanguard, paralyzed the proletariat. In this way, opposing the united front of defense with the social democracy, the Stalinists found themselves with the latter in a united front of panic and of capitulation.

And now, finding itself right in front of ruin, the leadership of the Comintern fears light and criticism more than anything else. Let the world revolution go lost, provided that vain prestige may live: the bankrupts sow confusion and smear up the traces. The fact that the Communist Party of Germany lost "only" 1,200,000 votes at the first blow, with a general rise in the number of voters of from three to four millions, is proclaimed by Pravda as an "enormous political victory". In the same way, in 1924, Stalin proclaimed an "enormous victory" the fact that the workers in Germany, who were withdrawing without battle, had still given the Communist party 3,000,000 votes. If the proletariat, deceived and disarmed by all apparatuses, has this time given the Communist party almost five million votes, this signifies only that it would have given it twice or three times that number if it had been able to show that it is capable of taking and holding the power. But it gave the proletariat nothing save confusion, zigzags, defeats and distress.

Yes, five million Communists still succeeded in reaching the ballot box, one by one. But in the factories and on the streets, there aren't any. They are disoriented, dispersed, demoralized. Under the yoke of the apparatus, they have lost the habit of independence. The bureaucratic terror of Stalinism has paralyzed their will-power before the turn came for the terror of the Fascist bands.

It must be said clearly, plainly, openly: Stalinism in Germany has had its August 4th. From today on, the advanced workers of this country will speak of the period of the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy only with a burning sense of shame, only with words of hatred and curses. The official German Communist Party is doomed. From now on it will only decompose, crumble and melt into the void. German Communism can be reborn only on a new basis and with a new leadership.

The law of unequal development acts also upon the fate of Stalinism. In the various countries, it finds itself in different stages of decomposition. To what degree will serve as an impulsion to the rebirth of the other sections of the Comintern—the future will show. In Germany in any case the swan song of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been sung. The German proletariat will rise again, Stalinism never. Under the terrible blows of the enemy, the advanced German workers will have to build up a new party. The Bolshevik-Leninists will give all their forces to this work.

—LEON TROTSKY.

The Crisis in German Communism

Continued from last issue

Within these general workers' organizations the Communists have played their role; but the "third period" policy shows its disastrous results. The Stalinist party leaders, with the inauguration of this "period", began to interpret its aim of winning the workers to Communist leadership not by maintaining its activities within these mass organizations and in this manner winning them over, but by splitting away the Left wing and the Communist opposition to form their own small organizations in every field. It resulted, even though not always in new organizations at least in every case in an exodus of all Communist elements. Rival trade unions were formed. Rival football clubs, anglers' clubs, etc. But the overwhelming majority of the workers remained in the social democratic organizations and by and large also under their ideology and leadership. The new opposition organization vegetated in an isolated and sectarian existence.

Stalinist Leaders Prevented Trend Toward Communism

The Stalinist leaders, caught in the vice of their own policy, could not tolerate criticism; they made a bureaucratic caricature of the correct principles of centralization and discipline. The membership within these rival organizations were deprived of all rights of serious discussion and participation in decisions. They could not find themselves at home in these organizations which were stripped of their function and stagnated. The party bureaucracy became most strongly expressed in the struggle against criticism and opposition to its false policies. For example, Schulz would become an Oppositionist. He would be expelled from the party. Next the demand would be made for his condemnation and expulsion from all other organizations under party direction, from the RGO, from its freethinker society, from its chess players' clubs, anglers' clubs, etc. Such a method could only help to alienate the workers from Communism and benefit the treacherous social democratic chiefs.

These are only some of the examples of the Stalinist methodology considered apart from the general strategy, by which the party leaders sought in their way to prepare the proletariat for its present fateful situation. In no wise could it correspond to the rhythm of working class developments. While the German workers went through a period of radicalization culminating in the great strike wave extending throughout Germany during the latter part of last year, in many instances forcing the trade union bureaucrats into the fight, the disastrous and criminal Stalinist party leadership policy and the independent trade union sects could only serve as a brake upon the general movement. The social democratic leaders, despite all their sell-outs were not dislodged from their positions but had their authority re-inforced. For the workers there was no other choice than to remain within their fold.

In this sense the Stalinist Centralism circumvented the constantly growing working class trend toward Communism. That sympathy for Communism increased, is proved by the various parliamentary elections where the party, with certain temporary retreats, continued to record gains, not at all commensurate with the Nazi gains, but gains nevertheless. One can say that election after election strengthened the party victories in the field. But not so in actual struggle or in trade union and working class contact within the industries. Despite the parliamentary election victories the party could not lead in struggle against the constantly growing Fascist reaction. It remained paralyzed and powerless. By its policy and methods the Stalinist leaders delayed the social democratic bureaucracy, enormously strengthened

The Alternatives in the Decisive Class Battles

Fascism and seriously weakened the Communist vanguard.

Again and again the solid hold which the social democracy has upon the workers in the industries has been proved. Most recently in the Betriedsraete (factory council) elections in the Berlin municipal electric and gas works held March first. One may say that workers employed by a municipal tend to conservatism but nevertheless the results are illuminating.

In the gas works 3,838 votes were counted, of which the socialists received 2,352, Communists 1,298, and Nazis 161. The Communists lost the absolute majority which they had formerly held here. In the electrical works 3,320 votes were cast, of which the socialists obtained no less than 3,034, the Communists 156, and the Nazis 89.

Within the clerical staff of the municipal gas and the electric works the council elections gave the following results. In the gas section out of a total of 2,064 votes cast, the socialists obtained 1,151, the Nazi 413, and a neutral moderate ticket 459. There was no Communist ticket. Among the clerical staff of the electrical section out of a total of 2,547 votes the socialists polled 1,916, the Nazis 443, and the Communists 135. In all four elections there was a 90 percent participation.

Here is again telling proof of workers following the social democratic leaders and not at all considering themselves partners in the same camp with the hated Nazi. On the contrary. It proves that the workers are holding fast to the socialist party just at the period of its severe persecution by the Fascists and their campaign for the Hitler parliamentary ticket. But it also gives telling proof of the weakness of the Communist party among the workers in the industries. All in all, however, it is one more excellent reason for a genuine united front between the C. P. and the S. P. That is yet the key question. No other way exists to defend the German working class, its rights and its organizations against the murderous onrush of the brown battalions than through a united working class.

Socialist Bureaucrats and Stalinists Partners in Betrayal

The social democratic leaders complacently accept the Hitler Reichstag election victory. They seek solace in their own statement that, "Germany is not Italy", meaning thereby that Hitler cannot accomplish the destruction of working class wrought by Mussolini. True this is true in the sense that Hitler faces a far more powerful working class, a potentially far stronger antagonist than did Mussolini, yet the Weis, Braun and Severing gentry repeat the treason of their Italian fraternity. They have succeeded in maintaining their party intact but they continue to sabotage all struggle. They thereby keep the road open for Hitler.

But we have sought in vain also for any sign of struggle initiated by the Stalinist party leadership. By their own course they have arrived at a situation where the party is unable to fight, where it is being shattered and wiped out by the first heavy blow of Fascism in power. The party leaders say that election after election strengthened the party victories in the field. But not so in actual struggle or in trade union and working class contact within the industries. Despite the parliamentary election victories the party could not lead in struggle against the constantly growing Fascist reaction. It remained paralyzed and powerless. By its policy and methods the Stalinist leaders delayed the social democratic bureaucracy, enormously strengthened

leadership failed completely to even take the initial steps for working class defense. Thereby it also laid the road open for Hitler to smash the workers' organizations beginning with the party itself. The extent of its destruction is illustrated by the one example among many others of an important functionaries' conference called in the Ruhr region by special courier from the Central Committee. It was called shortly before the elections and sixty functionaries were to participate. Of this number only five showed up.

The sad truth is that today, at the time of this writing, the party which should function as the proletarian vanguard exists no longer. Its press, its meetings and all its public activities are completely prohibited. But it issues no leaflets, it gives no leadership whatever, its own leaders are either under arrest or fugitives, its headquarters are taken over by the police, its nuclei are disorganized and a frightful demoralization has seized its membership. The party is betrayed by its Stalinist leadership, it is sacrificed by an incompetent bureaucracy, the strength of its numbers faded to the vanishing point because it meant nothing when associated with an utterly false ideology, false perspectives and policies. Today is being recorded in Germany and with fateful consequence to the working class throughout the world the greatest crime of Stalinism.

What is becoming of the Comintern? Undermined and almost reduced to impotence by its controlling Stalinist clique it has likewise failed to function and to show the way. When feeble attempts in regard to the German situation were made by it they were made upon a false road. What will be its future if the Fascists finally conquer in Germany? This question embodies such serious consequences that it is difficult to fully contemplate today. One thing is certain. We see now the eclipse of Stalinism in Germany and perhaps in the whole Comintern. But a far more serious aspect of the present situation is the question of the eclipse of the Comintern itself, if not of the Soviet Union. The Stalinist regime has long ago reduced the Comintern to an appendix purely of the interests of its own bureaucratic clique in the Soviet Union. What will the destruction of strongest Comintern party outside of the Soviet Union, the only mass party outside of the Soviet Union, mean? The practical aspect of this question rolls up enormous difficulties. Through the German party were maintained the solid contacts with the proletariat of the western world despite the white terror rule of Poland and the Baltic states in between. Germany being added to that iron ring of Fascist and semi-Fascist dictatorships practically destroys this contact. The Stalinist regime will concentrate yet more purely within the Soviet Union in an attempt to give life to its reactionary utopian theory of socialism in one country. It will pay even less attention to the Comintern than before. Hence its utterly criminal complacency in face of the mortal danger threatening the world proletariat. And what of the political consequence of the destruction of the strongest party existing within a capitalist country? Will that not mean almost a death blow to the Comintern additionally weakened by the effects of a defeat of such gigantic consequences as a defeat in Germany today?

Fall of Stalinism Signals Rise of Left Opposition

These, of course, are considerations arrived at on the basis of the furious onrush of German Fascism capturing one strong position after another and already having eliminated its main opponent—the Communist party. They must yet take into account the possibilities which despite all still exists of the German working class

yet being able to rally in time the powerful resources lying dormant within its ranks. But it is necessary to be prepared for the worst variant. For such possibilities, however, the party of Stalinism will no longer give the initiative or leadership. Now there remains as the revolutionary hope only the International Left Opposition. It is true that compared to the giant task our ranks are still extremely feeble. But the Left Opposition possesses the first and most important prerequisites. We possess the weapon of a Marxian approach, of Marxian analysis and of a Marxian program. Of truly monumental importance is such a weapon today.

It was by virtue of this that the Left Opposition in the past, facing the failures of Stalinism, could show the correct road. When the Comintern, hamstrung by the Stalin regime, failed in this decisive situation to give leadership or even to speak to the world proletariat, the International Left Opposition began seriously to solidify its ranks in the international conference held recently. Delegates from eleven different countries participated and began in a small measure to prepare our organization for its great tasks. When viewed in contradistinction to the silence and failure of the Stalinist Comintern one must say that in that fact alone lies an enormous importance. That was a signal for the new epoch which is now entering. A signal for the falling of Stalinism and the rise of the Left Opposition.

—AIGNE SWABECK.

Three Expulsions

Davenport, Iowa.—On March 18, 1933 the Left Opposition Branch of the Tri-Cities was forced to expel S. R. Clausen for cowardice, moral and physical degeneracy, for breaking the discipline of the branch and attacking the Left Opposition publicly. The expulsion also took place of H. and J. Behr for connection with the Police Department and agents of the Chamber of Commerce. This was done after a trial where these people practically admitted the charges. Clausen is 21 years of age, a fellow who thinks he is a little bit better than the ordinary worker. He is about 5 ft. 4 in. in height. Mr. and Mrs. Behr are husband and wife who have had and are having contact with the police and carried information to agents of the Chamber of Commerce.

These three individuals attacked Communism openly in the press when they were confronted with facts. The party, through the unemployed Council and through Tony Minerich who is at the present time the organizer of the TUUL in the mining region, have made open attacks against the Left Opposition, and have used every method possible to take away all halls from the branch of the Left Opposition in the city of Davenport. They have further attacked through personal slander the comrades of the Left Opposition, with the assistance of the local newspapers and the local Chamber of Commerce plus the American Legion. This was done through the fact that the three above mentioned people were officers of the Union of Unemployed, and had a special meeting where they were barred by the police of this city.

The Union of Unemployed Rank and File held a meeting where 100 workers were present and condemned their action. The branch of this city warns all workers against those degenerates and calls on all party members to demand of the party the reason for the united front between these individuals and the organizers of the Party. We call upon all workers to repudiate this leadership which is undermining Communism in its desperate attempt to stop the influence of the ideas of the Left Opposition in the Tri-Cities.

Communist League of America (Opposition) Tri-City Branch

Hitler and the Red Army

(Continued from Page 1)

not because they desired the victory of Hitler, but out of political blindness. At the same time, we must be just to them: if they had desired the victory of Hitler, they could not have acted otherwise than they did. Now that Hitler is in power, and his whole policy compels him to prepare a coup toward the East (the revelations of the Polish-Ukrainian program of Goering are sufficiently eloquent) the Stalinists say, "He who prepares to call on the Red Army inures socialist construction."

But even leaving aside the question of help to the German proletariat, there remains the question of the defense of socialist construction against German Fascism, the shock troops of world imperialism. Do the Stalinists deny this danger? The most that they can say is that Hitler is not yet, today, capable of carrying on a war. That is true, and we said so some time ago. But if Hitler, today incapable of carrying on a war, will be capable of it tomorrow, and he will not be able to avoid carrying on war—does not a correct strategy demand that Hitler be prevented from preparing his blow, that is, that the German workers get rid of Hitler before he gets rid of the German workers? Marxists have often made fun of "parliamentary cretinism", but kolkhoz cretinism is not worth a bit more. One cannot sow grain and plant cabbages with his back turned to the West, from which, for the first time since 1918, comes the greatest threat, which can become a mortal danger if it is not paralyzed in time.

Or have the Stalinists perhaps assimilated the pacifist wisdom of the "purely defensive" war being the only permissible one? "Let Hitler attack us first, then we will defend ourselves." This was always the reasoning of the German social-democracy: let the National Socialists first openly attack the constitution, then, well...etc. Still, when Hitler openly attacked the constitution, it was already too late to think of its defense.

He who does not outstrip the enemy while he is still weak; who passively lets him strengthen and reinforce himself, protect his rearward, create an army for himself, receive support from abroad, assure himself of allies; who leaves to the enemy the complete liberty of initiative; such a man is a traitor, even if the motives for his treason are not to render service to imperialism, but consist of petty bourgeois weakness and political blindness.

The "justification" of a policy of waiting and evasion under these conditions can only be weakness. This is a very serious argument, but we have to give a clear account to ourselves of it. We must say: the Stalinist policies in the USSR have so thoroughly disorganized economy and the relations between proletariat and peasantry, have so badly weakened the party, that the necessary premises for an active foreign policy do not exist today.

We take into consideration the force of this argument. We know that the consequences of a lying policy become transformed into objective obstacles along the road. But we draw the conclusion: a fundamental change in the policy, the methods, the leadership of the party is necessary, in order to assure the Soviet State, in addition to everything else, of a real capacity for defense and freedom of initiative internationally.

Prinkipo, March 21, 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

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