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UNITE

# THE MILITANT



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## LEON TROTSKY

### Problems of the Soviet Regime

(The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration)

Socialism developed to completion (communism) means a society without a state. But the transition period from capitalism to socialism demands an extreme strengthening of the functions of the state (dictatorship of the proletariat). This historic dialectic of the state has been sufficiently illuminated by the theory of Marxism.

The economic basis for the withering away of the workers' state is the high development of economic power, when productive labor no longer needs to be driven and the distribution of human goods no longer needs any juridical control.

The transition from revolutionary dictatorship to classless society cannot be accomplished by decree. A state cannot be dissolved by special order, but gradually disappears from the scene, "withering away" to the extent to which the powerful and culturally higher socialist society conquers all the living functions with the aid of its manifold and flexible organs which no longer stand in need of coercion.

#### 1. The Withering of the State

The process of the liquidation of the state takes place along two different roads. To the extent that the classes are being liquidated, that is, dissolved in a homogeneous society, coercion withers away in the direct sense of the word, dropping out forever from social circulation. The organizational functions of the state, on the contrary, become more complex, more detailed. They penetrate into ever new fields which until then remained as it beyond the threshold of society (the household, children's education, etc.) and for the first time subject them to the control of the collective mind.

The general manner of posing the question does not change whether it concerns a single country or the whole planet. If we should assume that a socialist society is realizable within national boundaries, then the withering away of the state could also occur within the framework of a single country. The necessity of defense against capitalist enemies threatening from without is in itself entirely compatible with the weakening of state coercion from within: the solidarity and conscious discipline of the socialist society should yield the greatest results on the field of battle as well as on the field of production.

The Stalinist faction declared as far back as two years ago that the classes in the U.S.S.R. are liquidated "in the main"; that the question who will prevail is decided "completely and irrevocably"; more than that: "we entered into socialism." From this, according to the laws of Marxian logic, it should have followed that the necessity of class coercion is "in the main" liquidated and that the period of the withering away of the state had begun. But such a conclusion, insofar as it has been attempted by some indiscreet doctrinaires, was immediately declared as "counter-revolutionary."

However, let us leave aside the perspective of socialism in one country. Let us proceed not from bureaucratic conception already brought to an absurdity by the march of development, but from the actual state of affairs: the USSR is of course not a socialist society but only a socialist state, that is, a weapon for the building of a socialist society; the classes are as yet far from abolished; the question who will prevail is not decided; the possibility of capitalist restoration is not excluded; the necessity of a proletarian dictatorship therefore retains its full force. But there still remains the question of the character of the Soviet state, which does not at all remain unchangeable throughout the whole transitional epoch. The more successful the economic construction, the healthier the relation between town and country, the broader therefore should be the development of Soviet democracy. This does not constitute as yet the withering away of the state since Soviet democracy is also a form of state coercion. The capacity and flexibility of this form, however, best reflects the relation of the masses to the Soviet regime. The more the proletariat is satisfied with the results of its labor and the more beneficial its influence on the village, the more the Soviet government attempts to be—not on paper, not in a program, but in reality, in everyday existence—the weapon of the growing majority against the diminishing minority. The rise of Soviet democracy, while as yet not signifying the withering away of the state, is equivalent nevertheless to the preparation for such a process.

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## National Youth Day: Fight Against War!

YOUTH MUST BREAK THROUGH SABOTAGE OF SOCIALISTS AND SECTARIANISM OF STALINISTS—IN UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR. ALL OUT ON MAY 30th!

On May 30th, the jingoes, munition makers, war mongers and all the "patriots" will gather in the festive places of the nation to shed crocodile tears for the proletarian whose body rests beneath a little cross on the other side of the ocean.

They will talk of his bravery and his heroism in laying down his life to "make the world safe for democracy." But their eulogies are all lies and deceptions. The truth is now breaking through the fog of war propaganda. It was for Morgan's millions that the American workers had their bodies riddled with bullets. And it is for essentially the same purpose that a new war is being prepared.

The "war to end all wars" was but a gigantic rehearsal for a new imperialist conflict, more bloody, more wanton and more destructive than anything ever seen in the history of mankind. The jockeying for position, secret alliances, the race for armaments, brings Europe and the whole world closer to the brink of a world slaughter.

The fake pacifism of Roosevelt, the ill-concealed hypocrisy of butchering Hitler poets ominously to a "holy" crusade against the first Workers Republic. Having destroyed the greatest bulwark of the October Revolution, the revolutionary German working class organizations, with the aid of the treachery and capitulation of the socialist

and Stalinist bureaucrats, Hitler grooms himself for the role of the super-Wrangel of the world bourgeoisie. The hour draws close.

**Young Workers, to the Fore!** Most concerned and vitally affected by the danger of war are the young workers who will be used as cannon fodder to coin the blood money for the imperialist bandits. It is they who must raise the strongest and most determined protest against the coming slaughter.

It is they who must say to the war mongers that they are ready to put an end to the system that starves them in "peace" time and must have recourse to war to settle their conflict for profits and markets. The young workers must show the exploiters that the guns that are placed in their hands will never be used against their fellow workers of some other nationality or race. That they will direct their weapons instead against the self-same exploiters, their real enemies.

Down with imperialist war! Turn the imperialist war into a civil war! These slogans will ring out on the streets of New York and over the rest of the nation on National Youth Day, May 30th. On this day the young workers and students must gather their forces for mighty demonstrations in defense of the Soviet Union and against the war plans of the imperialists.

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## Protest Admission of Hitler Agent on American Soil

HUNDREDS OF WORKERS JEER NAZI ENVOY IN SOLIDARITY WITH GERMAN WORKERS

On Thursday morning a thousand workers demonstrated against the Fascist envoy Hans Weidemann, at the foot of 58th Street, Brooklyn, the Army Base. A few minutes before 9 a. m., after the meeting minutes, an attempt was made by the police to end the demonstration, but this failed.

When the representative of the Y.P.S.L. got through speaking and the Chairman was about to announce the next speaker, the police, this time reinforced by plenty of dicks, began to maul the workers. The workers put up a good fight, using stones and sticks against the clubs of the cops; many workers were caught by the horsecoats, dragged through the streets and beaten with blackjacks.

The Army Base, housing a regiment of the Reformation Army were the onlookers all through the welcome of American Imperialism to this third assistant butcher, Hans Weidemann, who though without the Brownshirts to defend him, was ably defended by the Bluecoats.

Despite this, he managed to sneak off the boat in the Harbor or to leave the pier by another exit. 10 workers were arrested.

The demonstration, though militant, was too small to have any real effect. The fight against Fascism must be broadened; as one of the speakers stated, "to include

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## Mooney Acquitted; Evidence Muzzled

CALIFORNIA BOSS CLASS EXPOSES ITS OWN FRAME-UP BY ACTION AT TRIAL. FINAL MASS EFFORT NEEDED TO FREE TOM MOONEY. NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON JUNE 18th

On Wednesday afternoon, May 24, Tom Mooney was acquitted by a jury called to hear an indictment against him which concerned the preparedness day parade bombings for which he was originally framed up. While the acquittal does not clear him legally of the original charge, it proves the entire untenability of it.

It makes him both guilty and not guilty of one and the same thing—fatalities all caused by the bombing in 1916. The case of the ruling class of California against the veteran labor leader is thereby considerably weakened. It is shown to be on its last legs.

But the procedure of Judge Ward who conducted the trial, speaks even more for the bankruptcy of the capitalists' case against Mooney than the acquittal itself. The judge, in recommending a verdict of not guilty, barred all evidence and refused the class war prisoner's insistent plea that all the original evidence of the case be presented before a judgment is arrived at.

The frame-up has, it appears, become so flimsy that the Coastal barons are in utter dread of complete exposure. The prosecution itself refused to present any arguments against the verdict, and Mooney was ordered back to San Quentin prison.

The 17-year struggle to free Tom Mooney is bearing fruit. Only one last powerful push on the part of the laboring masses is needed to

tear its martyr from the blood-stained hands of the bosses. The united movement set on foot at Chicago at the beginning of the month is a tremendous factor in achieving this end.

No worker in the United States, or in the world, can now doubt Mooney's innocence. No worker can fail to see the crass swindle of the boss class in this frame-up. The fake trial only serves to open up the eyes of still larger masses.

The indignation of all strata of labor against California class justice is pitched to a high key. The work of the National Tom Mooney Committee of Action cannot fail to swing labor behind them in solid ranks, if they pursue the Leninist united front tactic outlined at Chicago, conscientiously; if they challenge the leaders of the S. P. and the A. F. of L. before their mass following, to join in the fight.

Now is the time to bring the mass movement in the defense of Mooney to a successful culmination. Closed ranks in a successful struggle to free Mooney will open up a new period of working class ascendancy in the United States and serve as the starting point of a smashing resistance to the capitalist offensive on all fields of class struggle—the economic, on the political front—and in the defense of all the other victims of boss class oppression.

## L. O. Addresses Party on Elections in Minneapolis

Minneapolis, May 19, 1933—The local branch of the Communist League (Left Opposition) has addressed the following Open Letter to the official Communist party:

Every election should be a lesson in politics for every honest worker. In the free-for-all primary election the working class of Minneapolis suffered a political setback. Of the mayoralty candidates nominated, Bainbridge represents old line, boss controlled politics while Anderson represents small and independent business interests. Anderson's break with the Farmer-Labor party shows that he can afford to drop even the pretensions of being a 'Labor Party' man. His administration would as it does now, serve everybody, including Big Capital, just as a small shopkeeper serves 'everybody' from behind a counter. Outside the beer issue, the Farmer-Labor party program is so much like Anderson's that they have virtually withdrawn from the field after Latimers' defeat in the primaries. Thus the small business leadership of Farmer-Labor reformism leaves in the lurch the masses of organized labor that make up this party. This should show to the workers in the Farmer-Labor party that its leadership and program is not for their interests.

The Communist party, the only party of the working class, is responsible for the development and advancement of the workers' interests in the class struggle, the source of all politics (political economy as Karl Marx called it.)

The second decision on the dress makers' strike.

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## Revolt Gathers Against Machado Regime in Cuba

Another revolt accompanied by a wave of terrorism has broken loose in Cuba. The guerrilla outbreaks in the central and eastern provinces of the island are only one, and perhaps not the greatest of the dangers threatening the dictatorship. In the cities and especially in Havana, virtual civil war exists between the "A.B.C." student terrorist organization and the famous "porra" at the service of the murderous pseudo-bonapartist Machado regime.

"Butcher" Machado is now singing his swan song and the vultures are already darkening the sky in preparation for the feast. A change of government means new concessions, new contracts, new loans, and a shake-up in those quarters where political jobs are given out.

With the increasing intensification of the crisis in the sugar industry, due to high tariff walls in the U.S. and Europe, the competition with their rowing beet sugar industry and the ever-increasing warehouse surpluses, the Cuban government's financial income has been reduced to a minimum. For many months, school teachers and other government employees have been unpaid, but until very recently, enough funds have been available to keep the army and police "loyal." At last however it appears, even these, the almost sole remaining supporters of the regime, are wavering. Recent dispatches from Oriente Province report serious defections.

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## Wave of Militant Struggles Sweeps Needle Trades

The present degraded standards of the Needle Trades workers are leading them to revolt. The ranks of the workers of various crafts show very definitely that an underlying current of militancy is coming to the surface.

The gains that have been won by the sacrifices of the needle workers over an extended period of ups and downs have completely vanished. The crisis has given the bosses the right of way to slash wages and increase hours without any resistance on the part of the workers.

But the tide has been turned. The intolerable conditions have pointed out to the worker the one way—the way of struggle. They saw one alternative: either to perish starving or wage a battle for some improvement.

These moods of the needle workers have been expressed in two recent strikes of the dressmakers in Boston and Philadelphia. Both strikes had been called practically in spite of the "good judgment" of the Vice-Presidents of the ILGWU in charge of those centers. The strikes have also been foisted upon the leadership of the NTWU, because of the lack of a positive and correct policy toward a united front.

The deep roots of unity imbedded now in the ranks of the needle workers, makes it absolutely impossible for the Stalinist leadership in the NTWU to pursue a straight path of wrong policy, without interruptions and breaks.

In spite of the comparatively good response of the dressmakers to the call of the strike both in Philadelphia and Boston, the right wing reformist press has hardly given cognizance to the struggles. Prior to the strike there was no prepara-

tion in either union to assure a successful outcome of the two strikes. The right wing negotiating with the bosses. The left wing will criticize itself, post factum, for lack of preparation.

The left wing press has not even as much as mentioned it, because of the obviously favorable situation of the international which indicated once more that the Stalinists have forgotten the role of Communists in trade unions.

From the statement made by Reiberg, ILG representative in Philadelphia, it is obvious that the dressmakers forced the international into a struggle. He said:

"We're willing to meet the employers more than half way, but since even the arbitration, the traditional American method of settling disputes was rejected, we were left with no alternative but to call a strike."

In face of the impending strike of the New York cloakmakers, the international leaders could not but concede to the militancy of the workers.

#### Needle Workers are Asserting Themselves

The positive trend of the needle workers towards action has also taken shape within the unions. In the NTWU, the demand to deal with the problem of the united front and the building of one union is pressed hard upon the leadership. The rank and file members are demanding a perspective. They want to know more about the future of their union than the leadership is willing and capable of telling them.

In the ILGWU the rank and file expressed its positive trend in the recent elections in the three important locals—9, 1, 22—where they elected either a complete or partial slate of the Left wing administration. Both unions had been forced to an appreciable degree to deal with the question of unity.

**NTWU Vacillating and Stalling** The leadership of the NTWU is vacillating more and more. Its last plenum was held in New York on May 13th and 14th. The two main decisions which were given prominence in the Freiheit of May 16th, are worthy of consideration. They are examples of utter and criminal confusion.

One: The NTWU declares its readiness to help in the coming cloakmakers strike under the auspices of the International, provided the ILG leadership will promise to enforce the provisions of the impending agreement in the shops. It further declares its readiness to bind itself against any criticism of the past betrayals of the International leadership in the preparation of and during the strike.

The Freiheit of the same date heralds this declaration as one that clarifies the attitude of the NTWU towards the strike.

Wherein lies this "clarity"? Does the decision tell the workers whether the NTWU give up the building of a cloakmakers department, whether the Left wing participants will remain in the ranks of the International to fight in the interests of the cloakmakers. It does not. Instead, it spreads illusions about the possibility of the Right wing bureaucrats acting as champions of the workers and their interests, as though a promise

or guarantee from Hochman and Dubinsky will mean anything. It is not their good or bad intentions that dictate their action of class collaboration, it is their very position as reformists that brings forth betrayals. Their historic position is that of collaboration with the ruling class—that is where their betrayals flow from and not good or bad wishes or promises to carry out decisions. Does this declaration also bind the official organs of the C.P., the Freiheit and the Daily Worker not to criticize or remind the international clique of their past misdeeds and warn the workers to be on guard? That it left unanswered.

The very purpose of the Left wing in the reformist unions is annihilated by the above proposals of the ruling class—that is where their betrayals flow from and not good or bad wishes or promises to carry out decisions. Does this declaration also bind the official organs of the C.P., the Freiheit and the Daily Worker not to criticize or remind the international clique of their past misdeeds and warn the workers to be on guard? That it left unanswered.

With such promises the Communists become a rear-guard instead of the vanguard of the workers. Worse than that, they become, in the eyes of the workers, accomplices to all the betrayals and schemes of the reformists.

The second decision on the dress makers' strike.

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## Attack on Furriers' Union Police, Bosses & A.F.L. in Onslaught on Left Wing

The drive of the fur manufacturers against the workers has culminated this week by an agreement of some 50 bosses of the Associated Fur Coat and Trimming Manufacturers with the A. F. of L.

The spearhead of the attack has been directed against the Left wing in the attempt to force the workers out of their union and into the discredited International Fur Workers Union.

The drive was inaugurated a few weeks ago by the murder of Morris Langer, the militant worker and organizer of the Industrial Union. Murderous attacks upon the N. T. W. I. U. followed in the attempt to terrorize the furriers into submitting to the demands of the bosses.

Early this week notices were posted in the shops ordering the workers to affiliate with the A. F. of L. union, setting May 25 as the deadline. The workers in most of the shops immediately went out on strike, militantly demonstrating against the united front of the bosses, the Right wing misleaders and the police. Supported by the police, who have honeycombed the market, the fakers are distributing leaflets calling upon

the workers to break their ranks and submit to the bosses. Ostensibly this drive is directed "only against the Communists," but this is only a screen to split and demoralize the workers.

The solid ranks of the bosses, the police and the treacherous right wing bureaucrats can and must be smashed by preserving the unbroken front of the workers. This struggle is not a struggle of the furriers alone.

In the Wednesday and Thursday demonstrations, in the face of police terror, the workers showed their determination to fight resolutely in defense of their union. Workers of other branches of the needle trades have joined the furriers in their struggle. The fight must be extended and all workers called upon to support the furriers against the attack. The defeat of the furriers would mean the extension of the drive against all progressive unions that are resisting the wage cut and speed up drives by which the capitalists are striving to get out of the crisis.

Workers, unite! Your interests and living standards are threatened. Smash the terror of the boss class and their henchmen against the furriers union!

## Workers Must Unite in Fight on Roosevelt Program

ADMINISTRATION MEASURES MEAN TO FORESTALL MILITANT LABOR STRUGGLE

Roosevelt has thrown two more ingredients into the mixture of liberal medicines from which he is brewing the cure for what ails business. He appeals to capitalists to raise wages voluntarily, and he proposes to them that they form trade associations for the regulation of the industry; for good measure, he throws in a bill for public works expenditure in the amount of over three billions. These medicines go to join the minimum wage bill, the shorter hours bill, reforestation, centralization of banking control, lowering of tariff walls, policies of international cooperation, "good will" and disarmament, and the rest of the reformist hocus-magics with which Roosevelt is trying to stall for time, with a great appearance of activity while waiting for some improvement in the economic cycle.

The basic outlook from which these measures proceed is that capitalism is benevolent, since he expects it to raise wages without a struggle; that capitalism is intelligent and foresighted, since he expects it to regulate itself on the basis of voluntary trade associations; and that capitalism is capable of cooperation on the national and on the international scale.

This is the basic approach of the most sullen and discredited liberalism, that is, of the most primitive form of capitalist self-justification as typified by Adam Smith, which may be summarized as, "Let every capitalist act for his own best interests with the minimum of state intervention, and the results will be the best for the nation as a whole." This is the formula of the big bourgeoisie in the early stages of capitalism. Even in the classic home of liberalism, in England, the party that formerly stood for this philosophy is reduced to insignificance, nor has it any power in a single major country today. It is a symptom of the political backwardness of America today that this political system is fished up out of the ashen of history and served up in this country as the "New Deal."

The distinctive feature of the Roosevelt program is the combination of this reactionary-utopian theory with a practice which contradicts it absolutely—the increasing direct union of the State with monopolistic capitalism, which characterizes the decaying phase of world capitalism. Even in the United States, the system of capitalism is being propped up by all kinds of governmental supports—subsidies, tariffs, loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, government loans to the larger farm operators, more intensive government intervention, banking, security issues, industry, and railroads.

Roosevelt is all for a free hand to the Mitchells, the Insulls, the American Kreegers—but at the same time he keeps the interests of the capitalists as a class, expressed through the apparatus of the bourgeois state, superior to the interests of the individual capitalists.

But while there is apparent contradiction between words and acts, the facts themselves speak an unmistakable language. While the employers listen to his appeal to raise wages, they know that the railroads are preparing to cut wages 20 to 25 percent in the middle of June; the appeal for minimum wages is made by the same government which has established \$1 a day as a fair wage for exacting labor under military discipline; the Black Bill for the 30 hour week by making no mention of wages clearly implies that wages will be cut in proportion to hours and that the "stagger system" and the lower standard of living for the American worker are to be stabilized.

The efforts of capitalism to find a way out of the crisis on the backs of the workers, by cutting wages and speeding up work, are reinforced by the Roosevelt program. The fight for higher wages to meet the threat of inflation is directly counterposed to the appeal to the benevolence of the capitalists to which Roosevelt appeals. The fight for better working conditions, for the right to organize, is counterposed to the appeal to the capitalists to provide uniform conditions and union rights to the workers in their industries by means of trade association rules.

The working class will only sink deeper into its misery unless it sees clearly the hypocritical nature of the Roosevelt program, the attempt to shove aside the independent class action of the proletariat in defense of its vital interests by the government's invitation to the capitalists to decide wage levels, working conditions, union rights, "for the benefit of the working class" presumably.

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## LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

## Unemployed Struggle in Youngstown

Youngstown, O.—Responding to the appeal of Youngstown Unemployed League No. 1, delegates from four unemployed organizations met for the purpose of issuing a united front call. Besides the Unemployed Leagues from Youngstown and Austintown, two Youngstown Unemployed Councils sent delegates to this preliminary conference. Thus two national unemployed movements were represented.

This preliminary conference decided to issue an appeal for a broad united front conference of all labor organizations in the Mahoning Valley on or about June 25 for the purpose of agreeing on a minimum program for united action in this district.

It was generally agreed that the basis for this minimum program would be the general points of immediate relief, unemployment insurance and the shorter work week without reduction in weekly pay. A committee of four, consisting of a delegate from each organization, was selected to draft the appeal, issue it and place it before the various organizations to which it is made. This committee includes a Left Oppositionist.

The attitude and actions of the local Left Oppositionists will be generally determined by the spirit of Engel's letter to Mrs. Wischniewsky on January 27, 1937. He wrote: "I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class AT EVERY ONE OF ITS STAGES WITHOUT GIVING UP OR HIDING OUR OWN DISTINCT POSITION AND EVEN ORGANIZATION, and I am afraid that if the . . . Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake." Stalinists, take heed! — H. N.

## Nat'l Youth Day

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On this day, above all, we must not forget the criminal treachery of the socialist misleaders who drove their followers to the last world slaughter for the defense of capitalist fatherlands. For years the social democrats and their youth adjuncts have been mouthing fine phrases against the danger of war. On the foremost occasion to demonstrate the sincerity of their agitation against war, on National Youth Day, the YPSL leaders have sabotaged the united front and are preventing their members from joining the New York parade. This is the real face of Yipsel misleaders. Their struggle against war is nothing but lip-service.

Through its senseless, criminal tactics, the remains of the "united front from below" and "social fascism" on the one hand and now their willingness to renounce all criticism of the Yipsel leaders on the other, the YCL is unable to profit from the discontent of the young socialist rank and file on this and other issues. Away with the false, un-Leninist policies. They prevent a real struggle against war by sowing confusion and prevent the break of the socialist rank and file with their false leaders!

Clear the road for the mass united front of the youth in the fight against imperialist war.

**Young workers and students: All out on National Youth Day!**

## SECOND SHOWING OF RUSSIAN MOVIE

By popular request we are showing the picture of the Russian Revolution again at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, this Saturday evening, May 27, at 8 p. m. sharp.

No tickets will be obtainable at the door. Subscription tickets at 35 cents must be obtained in advance.

Auspices: Film Club, New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

## Stalinists and L.O. in Canada

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gether with its extent and violence, showed that the plans to disrupt the meeting had been carefully laid. The racket culminated in the slinging of the Internationale by the disturbers, and a large section of the audience began streaming for the exits. A fight commenced, and for a moment it looked as if a riot were inevitable, but the combatants were quickly separated. Then one of the Stalinite functionaries appeared on a balcony at the back of the hall and began to address his henchmen.

But our comrades, taking a leaf from his own book, howled him down and forced him to stop. Soon comrade MacDonald's stentorian voice was booming from the platform, and the audience began to quiet down. Shortly after midnight had resumed, a squad of police appeared, but as there was fortunately nothing for them to do, they soon took their departure. In time, his audience swelled to its former size, and there was no further attempt at organized disruption.

In his speech, comrade MacDonald drove home the significance of the disturbance as a confession of official panic and ideological destitution. Comrade Spector then spoke again and stirred his hearers as he reminded them that hoodlums and gangster methods had always been an integral part of the tactics against the L. O.

The last speaker was comrade Morrow, a member of the Y.C.L., who dealt briefly and forcefully with the issue at hand. (At the close of the meeting Morrow was informed that he had just been expelled from the Y.C.L., but was left in ignorance of the official excuse for this action.)

Finally questions were asked for and the usual array of puerile monthlings were hurled at Jack MacDonald—why aren't you in jail, why don't you talk about Canada instead of Germany, etc., etc. Not a single question bore upon the question under discussion—the situation in Germany.

When comrade MacDonald had disposed of questions in good-humored fashion, comrade Spector offered 10 minutes to any spokesman the Stalinists might choose. The result was a diatribe from one of the party stalwarts—but without a word about Germany.

Such a display, coming after the clear and forceful exposition given by our comrades, had the audience divided between pity and amusement. The meeting closed with a thunderous acclaim for Lenin and the German Revolution.

The consequences of the evening's events, which set the strength and clarity of the L. O. in such sharp contrast with the stupidity of official Stalinism, have already struck deep. The hurocrats have done their cause in the factional struggle incalculable harm. Several of their supporters have signified their intention of resigning, while others are determined to at least secure from their leaders an accounting for this piece of disloyalty.

Our comrades of course will demand an explanation at the next meeting of the anti-Fascist conference of the united front. Honest elements among the "Left Wing Organizations" who disclaim association with the Stalinists are up in arms never the forging of their approval of this cowardly slander of the L.O. Altogether, the Stalin functionaries are in a very uncomfortable mess. Their behavior on this occasion constitutes another heavy blow, struck with their own hands, against the waning prestige of their organization.

— C. N. K.

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## Needle Trades Struggles

Why the Stalinists Have Been Caught Unawares

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situation is entirely contradictory to the first. I quote verbatim from the *Freiheit* report on the Plenum, May 16, 1933: "The coming strike must be organized on the basis of a united front between the members of the Industrial union and the International and the unorganized."

First—"between the members of the Industrial union and the International" again sounds like the united front from below. How does this tally with the first decision—not to criticize the International leadership.

Secondly—"united front with the unorganized." What kind of a body is that to conclude a united front with?

If we were assured, in any way, of a following from the unorganized to the extent of relying upon them as an active support of the Left wing in the dress trade, there would be no need of appealing for unity to the International. The greatest majority of the dressmakers are still the unorganized mass of workers, having no class instinct. It is our task to organize them first and teach them the A.B.C. of trade unionism as well as the intricacies of the class struggle.

The boasted "clarity" falls to pieces when we confront the real facts. The two strikes, in Boston and Philadelphia, were called before the delegates to the New York Plenum had a chance to get out of the daze of the long ambiguous speeches. The strikes found the Left wing entirely unprepared.

The weakness and instability of the decisions is further evidenced by the later declaration of the New York trade board of the N.Y.W.U., printed in the *Freiheit* of May 22, just one week after the publication of the "clear" decisions, likewise in the *Freiheit*. In point of fact the trade board voids the decisions of a week ago by declaring its readiness to confer about unity on the basis of one union! Reading between the lines this means, consent to the demands of the International—as a condition for negotiations to give up the N.Y.W.U.

The propaganda of the "third period" about the united fronts from below, about "social fascism," about company unions, no pacts with "scab" agencies (reformist unions) had to be countered with a proposal that would assure the workers of the Industrial Union in its plea for unity. Were the Left Opposition proposals of "inclusion as a body into the International without any discrimination" heeded by the Stalinists in their time the Right wing would have had a much harder task in rejecting the unity proposals.

Our correctness was borne out by reality, not only because of the exact formulation. We were correct because we foresaw the trend of events, the great need for unity not as a maneuver, but as a necessity to strike together at the onslaught

## Statement of Jobless Leaders

Statement of the National Comm. of the National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues

The effects of unemployment upon the American working class are the most immediate tasks confronting us today. Within the last four years of the crisis unemployed organizations of different types and different political shades, have sprung up in all parts of the United States. These organizations all have the same aim of organizing the unemployed of our class to successfully resist the lowering of our standards of living, to prevent hunger and starvation, to obtain adequate cash relief, unemployment insurance, the shorter work week, etc.

By the end of 1932, a number of these unemployed organizations realized the inadequacy of local and sectional unemployed organizations in dealing with the major

of the bosses, to be prepared for the inevitable wave of struggle. We proposed an extensive and far-reaching campaign for unity rather than sending a committee on the q. t. to the International—a step about which the members of the Industrial Union were not even consulted. (The committee, consisting of Hyman, Boruchovitch and Gold appeared there on April 6.)

The hand-to-mouth which the Party leadership is handing out to the trade unions worked havoc. The attempt of the leadership to save its face and establish its infallibility pushed hundreds of disappointed needle workers into the clutches of the Right wing clique.

Now the union will suffer more and more under the blows of reality. Capitulation to the right wing is not improbable. And here it is not the leadership that must be saved but the banner of the Left wing.

The party fraction in the Industrial Union must demand from the leadership a bold and clear statement as to its readiness for unity; as to our proposal of reentering "en bloc" into the International, without discrimination, for the sake of fighting in the interests of all the needle workers.

The militant workers in the ranks of the International, anxious to accomplish unity and devoted to the cause of the needle workers, will welcome and understand such a statement. On the basis of such a statement, they will rally to the banner of the Left wing once more and carry it ahead in the struggle against reformism and the system that oppresses them.

— S. BLEEKER

## OIL THE MACHINERY!!

The response to our appeal for help for the Militant has made it possible to look forward to the financial future of the paper with more confidence. In this big push forward the entire movement acted promptly and well.

But the records of two branches is outstanding. The Kansas City Branch has sent in \$70 to date. But all honors in this drive go to the New York Branch which has turned over \$300. And it is not through yet.

But let no one have the idea that from now on it is all smooth sailing. This is a revolutionary movement, a young one struggling upward against tremendous odds.

Let us take an example from our own press. When it is oiled it works fairly well. That is how it is with the movement. It needs lubricants constantly. Money lubricates. Oil the machinery! Help the Militant! Take all the financial squeaks and groans out of its machinery!

Send all funds without delay to the Militant at 126 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

issue of the crisis and unemployment and met at the Midwest Conference of Unemployed Organizations on November 19th and 20th, and formed the Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America, with temporary offices of 9 and temporary offices in Chicago.

The temporary committee under the direction of Karl Borders, the Chairman, carried on the work and laid the foundation for the first conference of the Federation which was held at Lincoln Center, in Chicago, May 13, 14, 15. This conference, built upon the work of the Midwest conference was a national conference, much broader in scope and therefore, went deeper into the problems of our class.

No unemployed organizations of the workers who sent delegates, regardless of their race, color, creed or political beliefs were excluded from participation in the conference

(Continued on Page 4)

## Revolt in Cuba!

(Continued from Page 1)

in the garrisons of several small towns.

The armed outbreaks appear to be inspired by the sector of anti-Machado forces which is favorable to American intervention. The principal leaders of the Opposition Junta wherein are represented most of the different bourgeois and petty bourgeois cliques are opposed to intervention at this time as they would interfere with their own hopeful plans for the distribution of political posts and economic advantages among themselves.

Machado's main support rests today on the governmental bureaucracy and the armed forces of the state power. The several national bourgeois groups and the foreign companies (with exceptions) as well as the proletariat and peasantry, are all desirous of his elimination. The very survival of the dictatorship for such a long period has been due largely to the conflicts existing in the camp of its enemies. It would be naive to expect any decisive action of the proletariat at the present juncture, but it is certain that Machado's overthrow would be immediately followed by sharp struggles among the various sections of the national bourgeoisie and the conflicting imperialist interests.

The Roosevelt administration has not yet determined on a definite course. The conflicting interests of the rival sugar companies are engaged in back-stage arrangements, and in dickering with the State Department and with Cuban politicians both in and out of office. Senator Borah and Hamilton Fish have declared themselves in favor of American intervention under the terms of the Platt Amendment. The recent appointment of Sumner Welles, assistant secretary of state, as the new American ambassador to Cuba, indicates a change in policy on the part of Washington although it gives no clear indication of the course that policy may take in the next few months.

The experiences of Nicaragua and Haiti are too recent to be easily forgotten. They demonstrate the inadvisability—for the imperialists—of intervention, excepting as a very last resort. In Nicaragua, after combatting Sandino unsuccessfully for six years, the U.S. Marines gave way to the more effective policy of diplomacy and dollars. The scandal growing out of the Haiti intervention is no less an argument against the same tactics in Cuba. Although full legal justification for such action can be found under the Platt Amendment, the responsibility accruing to the U.S. Government therefrom, would in all likelihood be so onerous as to offset any advantages obtained.

General Menocal and the other bourgeois opposition leaders are all anxious to serve Wall Street and themselves by replacing by Machado's crude dictatorial methods (products of a decadent pseudo-bourgeoisism), some form of constitutional bourgeois rule, in which the different and foreign and native capitalist interests can collaborate "democratically." Life however is destined to demonstrate the impracticability of any such arrangement, and in anticipation of its failure, preparations are already being made, strategic positions already being bargained for, whereby the various participants expect to derive advantages for the conflict that will follow Machado's overthrow.

The new reciprocal tariff agreement between the U.S. and Cuba is an attempt to reconcile these contradictions. Any such stabilization however can only be of a passing nature. Cuba being essentially a one crop country, presents an extreme example of economic contradictions which can find no permanent solution under capitalism.

— ROSALIO NEGRETTE

## Muste and Brookwood

A Review of A Type of 'American' Centrist

The first conference of the Muste movement took place on May 25-26, 1929, in New York. It was a call to all progressives and radicals of all shades in the labor movement. This was stated in the *Labor Age* of Feb. 1929, in an editorial called the "Challenge to Progressives." The aim of the conference was to bring together all militants into an organization to fight the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

In point five of this editorial the Mustelites stated: "Fight for the recognition of the principle that a minority opposition in disagreement with what happens to be the official position of the movement, has the right to exist in the movement." It further stated that unless "those who are temporarily in the minority have a chance to function, the unions must inevitably stagnate and die. (*Labor Age*, Feb. 1929).

Nice phrases. But who were the leading "progressives" at the conference? James Oneal (editor of the *New Leader*), Algernon Lee, J. B. S. Hardman (Salutsky), and others of the same stripe, people who have always fought and helped to destroy every Left wing organization. How could they fight the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. when they themselves were discredited in their own organizations by their reactionary policies? Only a progressive like Muste knew! However there were a few progressives, who could be counted on the fingers of one hand, who were not organized and had no influence. Some of them left in disgust before the conference had ended.

It is worth mentioning to the readers of the *Militant* that a worker introduced a certain resolution at this conference. I think he was the only progressive worker at the conference. The resolution was that progressives should fight against expulsions in their organizations and for the reinstatement of those militants who were expelled by the reactionary trade union officials.

When this resolution came up for discussion J. B. S. Hardman, Algernon Lee, James Oneal, the leading spirits of the conference, attacked it. Oneal quoted from the Third International and finished his speech by saying that this resolution would bring scabs back into the unions. With this Muste agreed.

In reality, this resolution centered around the statement made in the editorials in the *Labor Age* cited above. To suit the reactionaries, the resolution was amended and crippled. The fake progressives refused to carry out what they themselves had written.

The conference adjourned. The Mustelites named their organization "The Conference for Progressive Labor Action." They began to prove their name immediately. The first act of the chairman of the CPLA, was the ousting of Arthur Calhoun, one of the Left wing teachers, from Brookwood, because he refused to sign what amounted to a yellow dog contract, which committed teachers, in the classroom and outside, to CPLA policies, and thus in effect made Brookwood a part of the fake CPLA organization. It was not enough that Muste had thrown Calhoun out of Brookwood. He conducted a violent campaign against him in the capitalist N. Y. Times and blacklisted him as a Communist. (See N. Y. Times, June 4-10, 1929). Who can say this was not militant progressive action in a Muste? . . .

In the first year or two the CPLA made no headway. It had no appreciable workers in its ranks and hasn't had any to this day. The organization consists of intellectuals, pacifists, S.P. members and leaders who themselves need leadership. Realizing that the CPLA was a skeleton organization, Muste began to criticize mildly the A.F. of L. and the S.P. bureaucracy, in order to attract the more militant workers. Muste began to cover him-

self with revolutionary phrases. The result was that his friends of yesterday opened fire upon him and his colleagues. James Oneal, a member of Muste's National Executive Committee, bitterly attacked the CPLA because of an article written by Saposs, who posed as a "Left" at that time, in the *Labor Age* on racketeering in the A. F. of L. Unions where the S. P. fakers constitute part of the racket machine. Have the Mustelites disciplined Oneal? Oh no! They are not Communists. They believe in democracy.

Miller and Muste

Here is an example which shows how democratic is the CPLA. In 1931, Bert Miller, once the watch dog of the Stalinist bureaucracy who led the blackjacking of the Trotskyites in 1928, left the Lovestone group with a few others and joined Muste's outfit. Lovestone was too revolutionary for them. The Mustelites refused to admit them until they had signed a statement that they had no connection with the Lovestone or any other political group. These cowards signed the statement despite the fact that one of the Mustelites took up the fight for them and advised them against it. The statement was demanded by the revolutionist Muste and the theoretician of the CPLA, J. B. S. Hardman. The ex-Lovestones were so eager to join the Musteite "mass" organization that they did not even demand the publication of this statement in the *Labor Age*. Just another illustration of democracy in the Muste organization. . . .

After a few months sojourn in the CPLA Bert Miller, together with Hardman and Lore, persuaded Muste to form a reformist "revolutionary" third political party. In July 1931, the National Committee of the Mustelites decided to transform the CPLA into a political party "suitable to the American scene." To secure a majority at the political discussion on the formation of the new party, Muste brought down a squad from Brookwood to vote for him. Lore said at this meeting that "the German workers would flock by the thousands" into the Muste party. The S. P. members resigned from the CPLA and most of the Lovestone group under the leadership of Benjamin went back to the Lovestone camp. The Muste third revolutionary party died a-borning. Since then Miller and his pal Leitch have also left the Mustelites. The reason given is that the CPLA was too revolutionary for them. Who has remained with Muste? Only those . . . Americanizing "revolutionists" like Hardman, Lore, Budenz and a few scattered assistants.

— S. M. DAVIS

## NOTE

The above article was sent in to us by a Left wing militant formerly connected with the CPLA. A second article is to follow next week.

— Ed.

## Anti-Nazi Riot

(Continued from Page 1)

workers of all political tendencies—who are against fascism!" The member of the YPSL who spoke, said, "that sentiment for the United Front was gathering, if not on all issues, at least against Fascism."

The next demonstration—when Goebbels arrives—must include the masses! Communist party members, YCL members and a handful of socialists, mean nothing if they do not draw in the Trade Unions, etc., in the fight against fascism. Only such a broad demonstration can bring home to the German workers the solidarity of America's toilers with them.

## MAIN RESOLUTION OUTLINES BROAD PROGRAM OF ACTION IN FIGHT TO FREE TOM MOONEY

Adopted at the "Free Tom Mooney Congress"  
Held in Chicago, April 30-May 2

(Continued from last issue)

The Free Tom Mooney Congress calls upon all organizations of workers to join in setting up the National Tom Mooney Council of Action, composed of representatives of all workers' organizations which now or after the Congress may be drawn into a united struggle for the freedom of Tom Mooney and, as inseparable activities, for a united front for workers' rights and the rights of the Negro people.

**Conditions of Affiliations**

The conditions for affiliation to this Council of Action shall be:

1. The acceptance of the proposals here outlined;
2. The readiness of each organization to enter actively into mass struggle as a necessary supplement to legal defense and parliamentary activity for workers' rights;
3. The mobilization of local organizations for active participation in local councils of action to be set up throughout the country.

This Congress calls for a nationwide campaign to mobilize the working class in the fight for workers' rights and against all forms of discrimination against Negroes. Particularly this Congress determines to concentrate efforts on

winning the support of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Union affiliated with it, and of the Socialist Party. It instructs the Council of Action to address itself to and to confer with the leading committees of these organizations in a continuous effort to break down their opposition.

All negotiations with the A.F. of L., the International Union and Socialist Party should be openly and frankly carried on with the knowledge of the masses. These organizations should be held strictly accountable to the masses for a continued failure to enter into energetic mass struggle for the release of Tom Mooney and for workers' and Negroes' rights.

In view of the urgency of the situation, the Congress calls upon all local unions, all organizations of the unemployed and local branches of the Socialist Party and of other workers' organizations, to affiliate themselves at once with the local Tom Mooney Councils of Action. The need for united action cannot be postponed. The independent action of local unions, Socialist Party branches, etc., can become a powerful force driving

toward our goal of united action.

## Mooney Petition

The National Council of Action is also authorized to proceed in co-operation with all organizations which can be brought to co-operate, whether endorsing this Congress or not, with a nationwide petition for the purpose of obtaining millions of signatures to the demand for the immediate and unconditional pardon of Tom Mooney. Such a petition campaign, accompanying an active mass protest movement, can become a powerful instrument for arousing larger masses of workers in the struggle for Mooney's release and the struggle for workers' and Negro rights.

## Local Councils of Action

This Congress calls upon all organizations here represented and upon the individual delegates to

take the lead at once and upon their return home in preparing and carrying on local united front conferences with the broadest possible representation, particularly striving to draw in these organizations like the A.F. of L. and Socialist Party heretofore insufficiently represented. Mass meetings should be held where reports are made on accomplishments of the Free Tom Mooney Congress as a preparation for forming the local conferences. These conferences should have as their task the setting up of local Tom Mooney Councils of Action and the inauguration of the local united front activity.

The National Tom Mooney Council of Action in co-operation with the various organizations should take the lead in the development of the nation-wide campaign for

the workers' and Negroes' rights—concentrating now on the drive for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings.

## Mooney Day and Another Congress

The National Council of Action upon the basis of the development of a broad mass movement, through reports of returning delegates, local conferences, mass meetings, demonstrations and the petition campaign, will be able at an appropriate time to set a national and international Mooney Day of struggle for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. This will also become a rallying point in the whole struggle for Mooney's release. It should resist energetically any tendency to diminish the growing mass movement by merely formally setting a "Mooney Day."

The Congress authorizes the

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## Letters from Germany Reveal Truth on Conditions in Labor Ranks

The letters published below and hailing directly from different parts of terror-stricken, Fascist Germany, paint, in many instances, a black picture of the conditions of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard. This is a bitter pill for revolutionists to swallow, particularly those who have been fed on Stalinist pollyanna illusions. But it is our policy to speak out what is, to tell the truth to the working class and especially the Communists. It is precisely these illusions and these falsely painted pictures, at which the Stalinist apparatus has been so adept, that led the German proletariat to catastrophe.

We quote a short report from No. 10 of the *Imprecor*, ("Rundschau") to indicate how even after the catastrophe the bureaucrats continue their work of deception and falsehood. "Many small section groups in practically all of agrarian Pomerania have been arrested down to the last man; despite that, the work will be carried on."

Who will carry on the work? The Storm Troopers? "... The entire local group was arrested in Treblin ... but the Communist local group will continue the work." (?) No, our letters don't read that way. Much that is in them sounds harsh, but only upon the truth will we build our future strength.

—Ed.

### Letters from the Rhine and Ruhr Letter from comrade W. in S.

The party is smashed here. Most of the units—at least 95 percent—do not meet any more. Many of the units no longer pay dues. There is no connection with "above." Since January 30, the Central and Western parts of the city have issued one leaflet (on the

elections) and one handbill. Almost the entire district and section leadership has been arrested. (The entire leadership of the Central part of the city has been arrested.) On the 29th of March a transport of 60 to 65 and on March 30, one of 15-20 men. In the last two days, new arrests of some 40 men, mostly members of sport organizations, took place.

The desertion to the Nazi camp is very great here. I personally know more than twelve men today in the Nazi party who were former functionaries in the Party, the ("Red Front Fighters") Organization, etc. Among these is the former sub-director of the Young Red Fighters League. Resignations from the party are on the order of the day. Not only simple members but functionaries also are turning their backs to the party.

The arrested men are often used to scrape off the (illegal) placards. Those who refuse are tortured and deported. According to the information of a prisoner, their number has grown to 15 Communists and 6 social democrats. The police have also ordered certain known Communists and social democrats, still at large, to present themselves from time to time to scrape off the placards. Failure to do so this means arrest. The number of those who have refused is very small.

We are trying to make contacts with party comrades, so as to meet and discuss with them. The party comrades are quite amenable to our criticism. If we had the literature we could reach very many of them, particularly because the party neither informs them nor maintains any connections with its members any longer. Now is the best time to encounter the party with our "ideological offensive" (a la Stalin and Co., only not in the Stalinist manner.)

So much for today. With the best greetings.

—W.

### Letter from R. About Our Work

All the party comrades are very sympathetic to our cause. They come to us for advice as the party offers them absolutely nothing. We are issuing an information bulletin for party members, in which we analyze the present situation, give the reasons for the defections in the working class, show the mistakes of the party and trace the correct line for further work. Up till now we have not met with any resistance. All the functionaries are in jail.

At the present time the workers will not follow putschist slogans. They are all beginning to have an international outlook. They comment on the failure of the Comintern.

Here is a description of the situation after the burning of the Reichstag: While no one thought of resistance in Berlin, the workers here formed self-defense corps were arrested in the last few days, night and awaited the slogan: "Insurrection! Everything or nothing!" (The party education had led to that.) On the Sunday of the elections a long street battle took place between the Communists and the Storm Troops plus the police—with machine guns, armored cars, etc. (No paper reported this.) Many comrades were arrested, many fled.

With best greetings, P. K.

Letter of Comrade Heria from S. The worst are the deserters. They betray everyone. A crowd of us were arrested in the last few days through the denunciations of former Communists. There are 400 auxiliary police, who are schooled

## Hail Red Flag!

The first number of the monthly organ of the British Left Opposition—*Red Flag*—has just appeared. We extend to our brother organ across the seas our warmest fraternal greetings and hope that it will succeed in becoming a powerful factor in clearing the road, uprooting Labour Party treachery, I.L.P. vacillations and Stalinist sectarianism—toward the revolutionary victory of the proletariat in the homeland of the oldest of the imperialist powers.

in the use of machine guns, etc., in our city (140,000 inhabitants.)

The prisoners are now taken not only to concentration and "forced labor" camps but also to convict prison. Preventive arrests in the convict prison! We even know of a disabled war veteran who was dragged into a convict prison.

The S. D. P. has a miserable attitude. They allow themselves to be beaten and lick the butcher's hand. In many cities the S. D. municipal councillors vote to have Hitler and Goebbels named honorary citizens. That, however, does not hinder the Storm Troops from throwing these self-same municipal councillors into "protective" arrest.

In a near-by town the fraction leader of the N. S. D. A. P. (Nazis) declared that the municipal council-

lors were only a yo-yo Society with limited assets who had merely to raise their hand for all the decisions of the N. S. D. A. P.

There was a provocateur in the R. F. B. (Red Front League.) I am giving you his name and you must warn against him in your bulletins. He is a certain D. who has already served 5 years in prison for theft and forgery. Up till now more than 50 comrades have been arrested and frightfully tortured because of his denunciations.

The agit-prop functionary from the central part of the city has been exposed as a spy and will now openly go over to the Nazis.

Now, on the state of mind of the petty bourgeoisie. The small shopkeepers complain about the cancelled orders following the anti-Jewish policy. The people say that they should not have acted thus against the Jews, they should not have closed their establishments. "The Jews are really not so terrible; the Jewish enterprises do not deceive the small shopkeepers as much as some Gentiles." This is the language of a section of small merchants who name a batch of German firms that have deceived them, up till now, they were never deceived by a Jew. They also say that healthy criticism of the deeds of the government should be allowed under all circumstances because the absence of healthy criticism is a sign of weakness! Besides this they all wish the pensions to be increased, the hunger decrees abolished and work given to the unemployed. If the working class constituted a strong subjective factor, everything would not yet be lost.

But some excellent elements of the party have joined us or are in the major part agreeing with our view. Some have struggled with the party on questions of the utility and even harmfulness of the establishment of "Anti-Imperialist League" running parallel with the party or YCL on the one hand, and the Anti-Japanese Mass Conventions on the other, the putchism of establishing "Soviets" in Kuo-Yan and Y-Chow (districts in northern China), etc. Some have already recognized the correctness of the third Chinese Revolution.

Some of the elements still remain in the party apparatus for our purposes, and take responsible work. We think that if they, as is generally the case, openly declare themselves to be Left Oppositionists, they are sure to be expelled and to lose their functions within the party. This is the reason why we do it in that way at present (for some comrades only.)

—JOSEPH CARTER

## Left Opposition Overcomes Obstacle Strengthens Organization in China

Peiping, China. Since our last letter, although there was not any broad mass movement in China, yet important things have been going on within the party and the Left Opposition. There has been a continuous capitulation of party members—especially responsible officers—to the enemy, the Kuointang, of late.

Many central committee members of the C. P. and Y. C. L., i.e., renegades—publicly issue their "manifestoes" telling "countrymen to wake up before the ruinous Communist Party of China."

Really, the party has no political program for the present and no action expressed for the present! The fantasy of establishing revolutionary power first within one or several provinces thru the peasants has been crushed openly, by and by, simply due to the continuous failures of the "plan of encircling and taking control by peasants" strength of Wuhan, Nanchang, etc."

But some excellent elements of the party have joined us or are in the major part agreeing with our view. Some have struggled with the party on questions of the utility and even harmfulness of the establishment of "Anti-Imperialist League" running parallel with the party or YCL on the one hand, and the Anti-Japanese Mass Conventions on the other, the putchism of establishing "Soviets" in Kuo-Yan and Y-Chow (districts in northern China), etc. Some have already recognized the correctness of the third Chinese Revolution.

As to the Left Opposition, both in the South and in the North, the situation is just contrary to what the Chinese "Fascist Group" (Blue Shirts) called "complete collapse of the C. P. Opposition at China." We are growing, though slowly. The arrest of comrade Chen-Du-Shin, though a great loss, on the other hand, objectively gives us chances to make propaganda in the court and among the masses!

Comrade Chen and several active members of the L. O. had made a "fast protest" (hunger strike) against the mistreatment in the prison and the postponement of the "public court judgement." Now, the judgment time will come soon. Comrade Chen has written a "legal thesis" defending himself from the K. M. T. accusation that he "endangers the republic of China."

The Shanghai comrades are working under a "temporary committee." This committee, together with some comrades from North China, is preparing for a National Congress of the L. O. of China.

In our branch, the Shantung Convention of the representatives coming from the various districts of Shantung, was convened in January 1933. The L. O. Convention of North China met on March 6 to 9. Important decisions were made, members felt more armed with new inspiration. Nearly everybody among us is turning his activities toward the workers.

We are concentrating our work in three important movements: The German Revolution, the Anti-Japanese Imperialism movement, and the national assembly question which was "hotly" brought out by the bourgeoisie recently. A special number devoted to the German Revolution and anti-Fascist movement was published by the "The Vanguard" (organ of the Chinese Opposition).

—P. Secretary

## Heckert 'Explains' the Debacle

(continued from the last issue) The "Hitler-Trotskyist" United Front and the C. I. March 5th Proclamation

But Heckert is attacking a platform invented by himself and only attributed to Trotsky underhand, when he says that not even (!) a Wells proposed such a treacherous platform to the C. P. G.! No, but the Socialist and Labor International proposed to the C. I. on February 14 a "non-aggression pact" and the same E. C. C. I. which unanimously endorsed Heckert's report, in its reply of March 5 considered it "possible to recommend to the Communist parties, to refrain during the time of the common struggle against capitalism, from attacks against the social democratic organizations." The C. I. is therefore prepared to renounce criticism of the policy of the S. P. which in its own words, has led to Fascism. This readiness goes even far beyond the platform invented by Heckert and ascribed to Trotsky and then again attacked by Heckert as "Hitler-Trotskyist." The spineless bureaucracy winces under the blow of a period which it does not understand. At that, it has an inexorable opponent in revolutionary Marxism which makes it foam at the mouth.

Fascism has triumphed, the policy of the C. P. G. was correct. Trotsky has criticized this correct policy (which led to the victory of Fascism) and showed how the victory of Fascism could have been prevented, the workers' organizations maintained, how this struggle could have been led directly up to the proletarian dictatorship. This is what the "social-Hitlerite" Trotsky did with his "Hitler-Trotskyist" platform, in execution of a "social assignment from Hitler" as the latter's "auxiliary."

The Marxist revolutionary Heckert, on the other hand, maintains that the defense of the mass trade unions on the basis of a united front with the social democrats would have been a deviation from Marx and Lenin and would have meant going over to Hindenburg. Marx and Engels recommended—according to Heckert—that the trade unions be delivered to Fascism, while Hindenburg demanded the united front of the Communists with the social democracy for their defense! The Stalinists are proud that they have stuck to "Marx and Lenin ..."

One sentence in Heckert's article forces us to beat the alarm. Heckert says:

"The present Fascisation of the German social democracy is no accidental interlude, but the road which all social democratic parties will go under similar conditions to those in Germany."

This is frightful! The Stalinists already today consider Austria, France, England as lost to Fascism. They have learned nothing from the German events! They have no desire, despite their manifesto of March 5, to take the path of the consistent Leninist united front tactic! They do not want to put the social democratic leaders under the pressure of the proletariat with this tactic and so to force them at least to enter into the struggle against Fascism! They do not want to prove to the backward masses in daily practice that it is necessary to break with the reformists if a determined struggle is to be con-

### The Stalinist Hypocrites Answer the Roll Call

dicted against Fascism. No, they consider the "Fascisation of the social democracy" as inevitable. That means that they consider Fascism as inevitable. That means standing by passively while Europe falls into social decay!

In order to prove that the policy of the C.P.G. was correct, that it did not, in contradiction to 1923, rob the proletariat more and more of all ability to act, Heckert is forced to resort to an arsenal of conscience-lies and to the incense of self-deception. The political system of the Stalinists, built upon lies, has collapsed in Germany. From this they draw the conclusion that it is necessary to lie still more profusely and shamelessly in order to conceal their bankruptcy.

Today the situation is such in Germany, that the workers do not dare to speak aloud in the streets. They do not dare to gather in groups of more than three in their domiciles. Heckert, however, lies to the international working class, saying that the workers at the A.E.G. (General Electric) have driven the Nazis from the factory and that the same thing is happening in ever so many other cities.

It is furthermore an indisputable fact that up to the last moment the party was blind to the danger of Fascism. So, for instance, a certain Schwab wrote in the *Communist International* (German edition) of January 10, 1933 (p. 19):

"The 11th plenum of the ECCI put an end to the artificially constructed principal contradiction between the bourgeois democracy and Fascist dictatorship, and by that means gave the Communist parties important assistance in the struggle against social Fascism. The 12th plenum showed that so-called 'classical' Fascism did not and could not exist and that all the theories deduced from the history of Italian Fascism concerning the necessity of first smashing the working class were bloodless abstractions."

Was the Party Prepared?

And Heckert lies when he says that the German Communist Party forewarned against the coming Fascist danger! According to Heckert, the C.P.G. was not surprised by Hitler's seizure of power. The party, whose innumerable functionaries were stuck into jail in short order, whose apparatus was annihilated in the course of several days, was not surprised!

No, according to Heckert, it had just begun, freely, "with its own forces," to organize some 300 strikes. Fortunately, he becomes somewhat more concrete in this instance and permits us to probe into these 300 strikes, of which 297 belong to the realm of imagination. Heckert cites the strikes in Stassfurt, Harburg and Lubeck. What happened in Stassfurt? A one-hour protest strike against the shooting of the social democratic mayor, Kasten. The workers were aroused and decided to resist, but the reformists succeeded in stifling the militant sentiment in a pale demonstrative strike. According to Heckert, it was the C.P.G.'s "own forces" that organized the strike. In reality it was the impotence of the C.P.G. which prevented the transformation of this strike into

a manifestation of power. In Lubeck, the social democratic Reichstag deputy Dr. Leber was arrested. It resulted in a general strike lasting several hours. Here too, the Communists, thanks to the conscienceless, bureaucratic policy of the Stalinists in the last 10 years, were unable to exert any influence.

What happened on occasions when Communists were attacked? What happened at the massacre in Elisenhofen? There, where the real forces of the Stalinists were showed up in full size? Not a spark of organized resistance! What happened at the provocative parade of the Brown Shirts before the Karl Liebknecht House, and at the street battle in Altona? Where did the party succeed in organizing a sizable strike of political significance? Lies, nothing but lies. ...

According to Heckert, the party did not restrict itself to organizing the united front "from below." We will restrict ourselves to once more quote from the literature of Stalinists.

"It is clear that no united front can be made with these people (social Fascists). It is clear that our dispute with social Fascism ... will not be settled at some negotiation table, but on the battlefields of the final struggle and before the revolutionary tribunals of the German Soviet republic. And that holds, of course, for the little social Fascist factory councillor ... just as well as for his bigger brothers Zoergel, Severing, etc." (Communist provincial press, quoted in Hermann Remmele's article "Mark Time!" (Schrifttathlen), *Communist International* (German edition), March 1-15, 1930.)

"Herr Trotsky and similar 'councillors' of the proletariat want to propose to the working class such a policy as would separate the struggle of the revolutionary party against Fascism from that against social Fascism and oppose them to each other. According to this recipe, the C.P.G. should give up the struggle against social democracy today and make a bloc with the party of Hindenburg-socialism, with 'Noske and Grezesinski,' and 'fight' Hitler on this basis." (Thaelmann, *Communist International* (German edition), June 1932, page 283.)

"Whoever demands today a bloc of the C.P. with the social democratic party helps the social Fascist leaders in the preparation and execution of their betrayal. Their role, like that of the social Fascist leaders, is an immediate Fascist role." (Muensenberg, *Roter Aufbau*, Feb. 15, 1932.)

A Few Things to Explain

Heckert appears to be unacquainted with his own literature. He only knows that the party several times flew into a frenzy and then quickly, on such a "theoretical basis," proceeded to make united front proposals. As on July 20, 1932. After that, when the party looked itself over and noticed that not all of its bones had been broken it once again fell into the old rut. It carried on like this until its bones were actually crushed.

If the party clearly pointed out the danger of Fascism and pursued a consistent united front policy from the top and below, then Heckert ought to explain how the social democracy succeeded in maintaining control over the decisive masses of workers in the factories and in preventing Communist influence over

ated by none other than Henri Barbusse. Socialists from France, Britain and Belgium and Italy were present as well as Communists from these countries (except Italy) as well as from Germany, Czechoslovakia and the United States.

The Left Socialists at the Conference proposed that efforts should be made for a meeting of the Executive Committees of the Labour and Socialist International and the Comintern to consider ways and means of combatting Fascism. The Stalinists rejected. The latter agreed to collaboration between the Left Socialists and the Communists and urged the support of the European Anti-Fascist Conference and the Youth Conference against War and Fascism to be held in Paris on August 5th. (No notice has appeared in the American or International press of the Comintern on the latter Conference!) The Left Socialists agreed to support these conferences on the condition that they were officially invited and permitted to participate in their organization. This was agreed upon.

The Comintern which had rejected a united front against Fascism with the Labour and Socialist International, even refused to openly initiate a conference with the International Committee of the Left Socialist Parties. It again resorted to the back-handed policy of having Henri Barbusse "personally" arrange for such a meeting. Another sign of the much acclaimed independence of the Communist International!

Only a few days after this Conference which, we repeat, was conducted behind the backs and without the knowledge of the Communist and revolutionary workers, the Comintern issued its May Day Manifesto. Therein we read:

"Now we need the united front from below, not negotiations with the top leaders, with Wells and Renaudel. For the leaders of the Second International, negotiations of the officials on top are merely a method of delaying, hindering and disrupting the united front of the working class."

United front with the Vander-

them.

In reality the quiescence of united front policy looked like this: "Hey, social democrats, will you go with us? If you don't, we will go with the Fascists." In this way, the "Red Referendum" was rigged up.

Heckert's memory has become somewhat feeble. We'll refresh it. This type of united front tactic, these continual zig-zags, these "negotiations" brought their effect: Fascism rules! This platform has been exposed in the meantime by the facts as direct service to Hitler. Proof that the platform of the Left Opposition led to the victory of Fascism cannot be conjured up by ever so many sleight-of-hand tricks on the part of Heckert.

For Heckert and the ECCI, the perspective is a particularly rosy one. Just as after the October defeat of 1923, as China in 1927, as in Bulgaria in 1924, so now the Stalinists deny the defeat in the same way as they denied the revolutionary situation previous to it. The workers are going over from the social democracy to Communism, the organization of the C.P.G. has remained intact, the struggles are as yet directly ahead of us. ...

If the working class really wants an intact organization, one that is able to organize and lead to the struggles, then it must penetrate through the influence of the criminal Stalinist, lying politicians, form its cadres anew and draw the lessons from ten years of national and international Stalinism. Not to cling to fatal illusions, but also not to fall into passivity; not to capitulate before Fascism; but to organize the retreat and to bring the party to a halt; to recapture the positions lost; to utilize the differences between the nationalists and the Nazis—that is the command of the hour!

—H. E.

## Labor Writhes Under Nazi Whip

(Continued from the last issue) The factory councils are now compelled to beat a hasty retreat, in many places already passing into oblivion set aside by the Fascists; nothing else could be expected when the Reformists are left in practically undisputed control. Here again they admonished the workers to remain neutral politically and not to fight. "Do not let yourselves be irritated, your rights and your duties and guarded by the constitution and by the factory council law," so said the Hamburg trade union leaders. And this at the very moment when the councils are brutally dissolved or reorganized, by the method of the worker elected representatives being jailed and tortured and replaced by Fascists. No, those who sat safely so far behind were not irritated, only frightened and paralysed. But even the reorganizations are only temporary measures. Not even Nazi councils, so close to the rank and file workers, where class ideology may again penetrate, can be tolerated. That the Fascist dictatorship is in deadly earnest about their attempt to destroy all working class organizations one need not doubt for a moment.

The Fascists and the Trade Unions

The Fascist and the workers' organizations are the two opposite poles, mutually exclusive. Within the latter the trade unions form the great reserve. Even these the Fascists cannot tolerate as they will always offer a basis for struggle against capitalism, including the mere struggle for reform demands. Capitalist society has reached its decay stage and is under ever greater difficulties in granting any reform concessions. At this moment this is the most marked in Germany. Hence, Fascism is called upon to perform its mission.

In its approach to the trade unions it is also completing the counter-revolution by stages, encountering no obstacles whatever from the miserable functionaries who are now the lackeys of Hitler as they once upon a time were to the Hohenzollerns. In this respect, the lead was given by the president of the German trade union federation, Lelpart. The day after Hitler had arrived in power he said:

"The present government may carry through a period of no agreements perhaps even further reduction of wages; they may even bring out reactionary plans from the storage room of antiquated ideas and make arrangements which oppose the rights and liberties of the German working class. But the German workers know that after a long period of social ascent can also sometimes follow reverses, yes even temporary conscious retreats."

In other words, the German workers have had their good times, now they should submit and accept the bad times.

But even such lackey service is not sufficient. Today the Fascists exact a much heavier tribute than did once the Hohenzollerns. The methods of suppression, first applied to the Communists, the social democrats and then the auxiliary organizations, each in their turn, has also commenced against the trade unions. The rank and file membership, also in this instance showing their alarm at the Nazi advance, and showing their readiness to fight, respond and gather in masses at their headquarters at each attack. That does not at all suit these frightened

The Fascists and the Trade Unions

lackeys who are much more alarmed about the rank and file action than by the Nazi attacks and prefer to sell-out to the latter.

Their answer is leaflets, in which they plead with the workers to stay at home and not to resist. "Congregating at the headquarters," said the Berlin leadership, "will be taken advantage by the Communists. What do they seek at our headquarters?" And the sad truth is that to the bulk of the membership the Communists have appeared as the disorganizers of the movement.

Thus the road is cleared for the Nazis. They pursue their destruction so far unhampered. Perhaps the clearest indication of how they proceed by stages to destroy the present union basis and to transfer the unions into pure organs of the Fascist state is given by the Bavarian government appointed by police commissioner von Epp. Its first act was the trade union decree in which the unions are ordered to "resume their functions," but on the following conditions:

They are to make no direct or indirect attempts toward contact with the prohibited political organizations, their late leaders or their members.

Their headquarters will remain occupied by the police whenever the authorities find such necessary. All political activities are prohibited, the unions are not to hold any public meetings and regular membership meetings to be held only upon notification given to the police.

At any time the actions or decisions of the unions, including their finances, are subject to inspection by the Nazi established shop nuclei.

The Fatal Policy of the R.G.O.

In this work of destruction, the Nazis are proceeding quite unhampered as far as the militant minority is concerned. It is practically entirely outside of the trade unions, not merely by persecution or default but by deliberate and—particularly now proven—false policy. That is the Stalinist policy of independent "revolutionary" unions. As in the United States the T.U.U.L., so in Germany the R.G.O., only in the latter case it proved much more fatally and much more criminally wrong, due to the more advanced political conditions and due to the larger scale of the splits and of the isolation of the party from the masses. Otherwise the characteristics are common to both of these products of the "third period" era.

Trade unions to be effective must embrace all workers of the industries or at least a sufficiently decisive section. That will include workers of varying political opinions. The R.G.O., a rival union, based upon withdrawal of the revolutionary minority and based upon acceptance in advance of party policies and leadership, remained a paper organization playing no serious role at all in the class struggle. Its membership was composed only of Communists and only a very small section of the Communists at that. The R.G.O., could, therefore, not at all serve to connect the party with the masses, but on the contrary detached it and created a wall of separation.

The basic aim of the revolution-

ary party is to gain influence upon the working masses and particularly those organized in the trade unions. The R.G.O. became precisely the most formidable obstacle to this basic aim. Numerically feeble, it could of course not at all substitute for the mass unions. It was unable to even influence them because it was distinctly a rival organization.

The R.G.O. could naturally not remain immune from the typical Stalinist bureaucratic attitude. One party member relates how in the early part of this year the whole Berlin R.G.O. leadership was removed and a new one appointed in its place without the slightest explanation made to the membership.

A fatal injury to the movement is the record of this R.G.O. policy. Its consequence contributed heavily to the party's impotence in face of the Nazi advance, to its being wiped out without a struggle and to the defeat of the working class as a whole. Long ago the Left Opposition demanded a change in this course and as, the only correct one, for the R.G.O., to immediately return to the trade unions in order to take up the Left wing activities within them.

That is still, despite all the positions lost, an imperative necessity. It does not diminish with the transformation of the trade unions into organs of the Fascist state. On the contrary. It increases in importance. So long as they represent a form of organization gathering workers within their ranks, they constitute a field for revolutionists to work in and to learn how to be able to do the work, skillfully, carefully—well planned and courageously executed. To fight every inch for the existence and functioning of the trade unions, to fight for existence and functioning of the factory councils, helping to give expression within them to the working class needs and connecting up therewith the democratic demands which inevitably must arise—that is the job at present. Now that Fascism is in power, it is an especial necessity to utilize every means available for flank attacks until the proletariat can again gather its forces. That the workers will respond heroically, has already been shown even in these difficult days by local strikes and demonstrations against arrests and against attacks upon the factory councils.

But the Stalinist party and Comintern leaders have not changed their course in regard to the R.G.O. It was commissioned to initiate the anti-Fascist congress scheduled to be held in Prague but prohibited by the Czechoslovakian government. Naturally, it is to be assumed that efforts will be made to hold the congress in some other country. But no matter where it will be, when initiated by the R.G.O. it cannot even mark a serious attempt to really rally a mass response to this gathering, not to speak of initiating subsequent actions. As far as a genuinely united working class action against Fascism is concerned, this congress called by the R.G.O. is condemned in advance to sterility and impotence.

Since the writing of this article, the lackies have as is only natural, and was to be expected from the past developments, been given the boot.—Ed.

—ARNE SWABECK

(Continued in Next Issue)



# Problems of the Soviet Regime

(Continued from page 1)

The problem will become more concrete when we take into consideration the basic changes in the class structure for the period of the revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat as an organization for the suppression of exploiters was necessary against landlords, capitalists, generals and kulaks insofar as they gave support to the higher possessing strata. Exploiters cannot be drawn to the side of socialism. Their resistance had to be broken, no matter at what cost. The years of civil war marked the greatest exercise of the power of the dictatorship by the proletariat.

With regard to the peasantry as a whole the task was and is an entirely different one. The peasantry must be drawn to the side of the socialist regime. We must prove to the peasant in practice that the government industry is capable of supplying him with goods on much more advantageous conditions than under capitalism and that collective farming is more advantageous than individual farming. Until this economic and cultural task is solved and we are very far from it, especially as it is solvable only on an international scale—class friction are inevitable and consequently also state coercion. But if in the struggle against landlords and capitalists revolutionary violence served as the basic method, in relation to the kulaks the problem was a different one; while crushing unmercifully the outright counter-revolutionary resistance of the kulaks, the state was ready to compromise with them on the economic field. It did not "dekulakize" the kulak but merely limited his exploiting tendencies. With regard to the peasantry as a whole revolutionary violence should have played only an auxiliary and what is more an ever diminishing role. The practical success of industrialization and collectivization should have expressed themselves in the moderation of the forms and methods of state coercion, in the growing democratization of the Soviet regime.

**2. Political Regime of the Dictatorship and Its Social Foundations**  
On January 30, 1933, Pravda wrote: "The second five-year plan will liquidate the last remains of capitalist elements in our economic life." It is clearly evident that from the standpoint of this official perspective the state should have withered away completely during the second five-year plan, since where the "last remnants" (!) of class inequality are liquidated, there is no room for the state.

In reality however we witness processes of a diametrically opposite character. The Stalinists do not dare to assert that the dictatorship of the proletariat has assumed more democratic forms in recent years, but on the contrary, try tirelessly to prove the inevitability of a further sharpening of state coercion. Reality itself, however, is more important than all the perspectives and prognoses.

If we should estimate Soviet reality through the lens of the political regime—such an estimate, although insufficient, is absolutely justifiable and extremely important—we should get not only a gloomy picture but an outright ominous one. The Soviets have lost the last remnants of independent significance and ceased being Soviets. The party does not exist. Under the cover of the struggle with the Right deviation, the trade-unions are completely crushed. The problem of the degeneration and stifling of the party and the Soviets has been discussed many times. Here we find it necessary to take up in a few lines the fate of the trade-union organizations during the period of the Soviet dictatorship.

The relative independence of the trade-unions is a necessary and important corrective in the system of the Soviet state which finds itself under the pressure of the peasantry and bureaucracy. Until the classes are liquidated, the workers must defend themselves, even in a workers' state, through their trade-union organizations. In other words: the trade unions remain trade unions while the state remains a state, that is, an instrument of coercion. The "stification" of the trade-unions can only go parallel with the "destatization" of the state itself. This means: to the extent that the liquidation of classes deprives the state of its function of coercion, dissolving it in society, the trade-unions lose their special class tasks and dissolve themselves in the "withering away" state.

This dialectic of the dictatorship, imprinted in the program of the Bolshevik party, is recognized in words also by the Stalinists. But the actual relations between the trade-unions and the state develop in a diametrically opposite direction. The state not only does not wither away (despite the heralded liquidation of classes), not only does not moderate its methods (despite the economic successes), but on the contrary becomes ever more openly the instrument of bureaucratic coercion. At the same time, the trade-unions transformed into offices of functionaries, have completely lost the possibility of fulfilling the role of buffers between the state apparatus and the proletarian masses. Worse than that: the apparatus of the trade-unions themselves has become the weapon of an ever-growing pressure on the workers.

The preliminary conclusion from the above is that the evolution of the Soviets, the party and trade-unions does not follow an ascending

## (Degeneration of Theory; Theory of Degeneration)

but a descending curve. If we were to accept on faith the official estimate of industrialization and collectivization, we would have to admit that the political superstructure of the proletarian regime is developing in a diametrically opposite direction to the development of its economic basis. Does it mean that the laws of Marxism are false? No, but the official estimate of the social foundations of the dictatorship is false and false to the core.

The problem can be formulated more concretely in this fashion: why was it possible during the years of 1917-1921, when the old possessing classes still fought with weapons in hand, when they were actively supported by the interventionists of the whole world, when the armed kulaks sabotaged the country—why was it possible then to discuss openly in the party the

sharp questions of the Brest-Litovsk peace, the methods of the organization of the Red Army, the composition of the Central Committee, the trade-unions, the transition to the NEP, national policy and the policy of the Comintern? Why is it impossible now, after the ceasing of intervention, after the rout of the exploiting classes, after the successes of industrialization, after the collectivization of the peasantry—to allow discussion of the overwhelming majority of the peasants of industrialization and collectivization, of the co-relation between heavy and light industry, or of the policy of a united front in Germany? Why would any member of the party who demanded the calling of the next congress of the party in accordance with its constitution, be immediately expelled and subjected to persecutions? Why would any Communist who openly expressed doubt as to the infallibility of Stalin be immediately arrested? Where does such a terrible, monstrous, unbearable exercise of the political regime come from?

## Statement of N.C. of National Federation of the Unemployed

(Continued from Page 2)

which went on record favoring this principle for the Federation. Three national organizations, two others in the process of forming national organizations, state organizations, sectional organizations and city organizations were present, representing 45 organizations, with 826 branches from 16 states and 28 cities from all parts of the United States.

After three long days of discussion on the problems of the unemployed, the conference adopted the following outstanding proposals:

1. The establishment of a National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues with city, county, sectional and state federations to coordinate them into one national organization. These organizations to retain their organizational independence, but to coordinate their organizations, through the Federation, in struggle against unemployment upon the basis of the immediate demands confronting our class.

2. The conference went on record favoring the establishment of the closest relationship with the EMPLOYED through their trade unions, industrial unions, and all other working class organizations.

3. The conference went on record favoring the perspective of the establishment of one national unemployed organization, in which there would be no discrimination against race, color, creed or political beliefs.

4. The conference adopted its position on united action of the unemployed workers and defined it as: the united action of organizations around immediate demands, in struggle, where each organization retains its organizational independence, refrains from slander and personal attacks against each other, with the right of minority expression and political criticism; where no organization of the unemployed will be excluded and where continued effort will be made to draw in any organization that does not unite in action for our immediate demands.

The conference ended by electing a national committee of 15, with headquarters in Chicago, that is instructed to carry out the program, policy, resolutions and constitution adopted by an overwhelming ma-

majority of the delegates. After the amendments were adopted or defeated the reports of the different committees were adopted with the exception of the report of the constitution committee which was adopted by a vote of 75 to 15.

The following are the officers elected, with the vacancies for additional representatives from organizations:

Chairman, Tom Dixon—Workers Leagues.  
Vice-Chairman, Guss—Unemployed Councils.  
Treasurer, Statman—Industrial Workers Unemployed Unions.  
Secretary, Leach—Workers Comm. D. Harrington—United Producers of Washington.  
V. Didwell—Peoples Council of Bellingham.  
Lamson—Unemployed Councils.  
Zimmerman—Workers Leagues.  
Hugo Oehler—Unemployed Union of Gillespie.  
Truax—East Ohio Unemployed Unions.  
Lore—S.E. Mo. Unemployed Leagues.  
Welsh—Association of Unemployed, N. Y.  
Matlock—Workers Leagues.  
Connors—Allen County Indiana Unemployed Association.

The national committee is compiling and is sending out the convention proceedings and decisions to all organizations that had delegates at the Chicago conference and to all other unemployed organizations in the United States. The return delegates will make their reports and will proceed to unite the unemployed organizations into city, county, sectional and state federations, especially endeavoring to bring into this united action those organizations that were not able to send delegates to the conference. The conference received letters of support from unemployed organizations from all parts of the United States that were unable to send delegates but gave the conference their full support and wished it success. We have these organizations will be among the first to help in the formation, and support its program in action, which in no way infringes upon the identity or the autonomy of the subscribing organizations.

(Signed)  
Tom Dixon, Chairman  
Leach, Secretary

Reference to outside danger from capitalist governments does not in itself explain everything. We do not wish of course to underrate the significance of capitalist encirclement for the inner regime of the Soviet Republic: the very necessity of keeping up a powerful army is a great source of bureaucratism. However, hostile encirclement is not a new factor, it accompanies the Soviet Republic from the first days of its existence. Under healthy conditions within the country, the pressure of imperialism would have only strengthened the solidarity of the masses, especially the welding together of the proletarian vanguard. The penetration of foreign agents, such as saboteurs, engineers, etc. in no case justifies or explains the general intensification of the methods of coercion. A social committee of common interests should be able to eject the hostile elements with greater ease, as a healthy body ejects poisons.

An attempt might be made to show that the external pressure has grown and the co-relation of forces on the world scale has changed to the advantage of imperialism. Leaving aside the question of policy of the Comintern as one of the causes for the weakening of the world proletariat, the incontrovertible fact remains that the intensification of pressure from outside can lead to the bureaucratization of the Soviet system only to the extent that it is coupled with the growth of inner contradictions. Under conditions in which the workers must be squeezed between the vise of the passport system and the peasantry between the vise of political departments, the pressure from without must inevitably weaken the inner ties ever more. And vice-versa, the growth of contradictions between town and country must inevitably sharpen the danger from the outside capitalist governments. The combination of these two factors pushes the bureaucracy along the road of ever greater concessions to the external pressure and ever greater repressions against the working masses of their own country.

— L. TROTSKY  
(To be continued)

## SUB DRIVE

Since our last report 41 more subs have come in. As we approach the deadline of June 1 when the drive closes the volume of subs and the tempo are increasing. It is a hot race. Last week comrade Caplan of Kansas City for the three volumes of "The History of the Russian Revolution," by Comrade Trotsky, which goes to the winner. This week comrade Caplan is so far ahead as to make it almost a sure thing for him. And comrade Dunne has shot up to second place. Not so far behind is comrade Kotz from our Newark branch.

This is how they did it. Comrade Caplan rang up a mere 16 to add to his former score; comrade Dunne added in 8 and comrade Kotz 5. It shows what can be done this drive does. It's the best one we've ever had. And don't overlook the single subs. We don't list them here this week for lack of space, but there are no less than twenty of them.

Here is the list:  
A. Caplan, Kansas City. 22  
V. Dunne, Minneapolis. 12  
G. Kotz, Newark. 7  
H. Caplan, N. Y. C. 7  
J. Ruby, Chicago. 5  
H. Oehler, Chicago. 5  
W. Konikow, Boston. 3  
K. Czupko, Bethlehem. 3  
D. Marcus, N. Y. C. 2  
A. Friend, Lynn, Mass. 2  
M. Morris, N. Y. C. 2  
G. Latinen, Chicago. 2  
A. G. Chicago. 2

## Fight Roosevelt Program

(Continued from Page 1)

Communists must expose these maneuvers, place in the foreground the independent demands of the working class, and build the organizational machinery for enforcing these demands which is possible only on the basis of the Leninist united front of all working-class organizations.

The demand for higher wages and higher unemployment relief to meet the rising prices and the threat of inflation must be backed up by concrete proposals for a national movement in which representatives of the workers will determine on the basis of national and local considerations the minimum wage and relief increases which are acceptable.

Even such slight signs of economic recovery as are now visible (steel production up to 38 percent of capacity, the highest in two years; employment in New York State in April up 1.6 percent in March, and payrolls because of longer hours, up 4.5 percent) amply warrant a nation-wide effort for genuine unemployment insurance to be administered by the workers, as an immediate demand. The increased profits which would follow any kind of improvement, even if limited and temporary, must be immediately claimed by the workers on whose backs the burdens of the crisis have been piled.

The recognition of the Soviet Union and long-term credits to the Soviet Union must not be left to be decided on the basis of their opportunity for profits but must be posed as an immediate working-class demand which ties up immediate interests of the American workers with economic collaboration in socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

— B. J. FIELD

# Discussion on Tasks in Germany

A broad discussion is in process on the tasks posed by the seizure of power by Fascism in Germany and the new situation created thereby. The central point of the discussion revolves around the question: Are conditions ripe for the establishment of a new German Communist party? Comrade Trotsky posed this question forcefully in his article: "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat" and in his polemic "The Collapse of the C.P.G. and the Tasks of the Left Opposition" both of which have already appeared in the Militant. In the present issue we are publishing a draft resolution adopted by the Reichsleitung (National Committee) of the German section on this question. Other documents and discussion articles which have already appeared in *Unser Wort* and other organs of the International Left Opposition are soon to follow.

## Resolution

Our old perspective on the reform

## Resolution of the N. C. of the German Opposition

of the C.P.G. has lost its validity in view of the failure and the debacle of the C.P.G. Reform is rendered impossible politically due to the depth and consequences of the mistakes committed and due to the defeat—and organizationally, because of illegality. Those elements which will cut loose decisively from reformism (social democracy) at present will not go to the old C.P.G. The organizational passivity which permitted the C.P.G. to survive for years its organizational decline cannot have its repercussion in an illegal party. Only a new political content could have forestalled its disintegration.

Two circumstances are at present working against rapid disintegration of the C.P.G. First, the material and ideological support furnished by the existence of the U.S.S.R. Secondly, the fact that while the results of the policy of

the C.P., contrary to the social democracy of 1914, has gone into bankruptcy (objective treachery) but has not landed on the other side of the barricades; whereas the S.P.G. openly betrayed after 1914 and went over to the enemy. This is a fact which has its repercussions in the minds of the masses. In this sense, the designation of a new "August 4" is inexact.

11. Although developments point to the line towards a new party, this slogan would be premature and false, as the National Conference has already affirmed. The principle obstacle today lies in the mentality of the masses which is as yet insufficiently awakened. Before the slogan of a new party is put forward it is necessary that the mentality of the masses must go through a longer process. Between the bankruptcy of the 11. International and the proclamation of the 11. International there was also an extended period, although in that case the question was not complicated by factors such as those enumerated in point 11. When it is a matter of putting forward a slogan, we should take into consideration what we have often said to the ultra-left leadership of the party in the last few years. It is not a matter of putting forward slogans which are generally correct, for the history books so to speak. This is what the C.P.G. did with the general strike in a classic fashion during the last few years, depriving this slogan, which is correct in itself, of all effectiveness. The can be done only when the corresponding subjective and objective conditions are given and when, on the basis of these slogans, men can be rallied around our objectives.

2. There should be an open admission of the fallacy of the United Front Workers Ticket and the maneuver with W. Frank, and a stop put to all campaign speeches that give the immediate impression that immediate demands of the election platform can be won merely by voting for "Workers Candidates."

3. In the 6th Ward alderman contest, make a broad, intelligent, principled battle against Farmer-Labor reformism. Act like Communists in elections.

The undersigned pledges its full support to the party in this campaign. Yours for Communism.  
Communist League of America  
(Left Opposition)

## IMPORTANT CORRECTION

In the last issue of the Militant, in the article "Heckert 'Explains' the Debacle," a mistake was made in the text. In translating from comrade Trotsky's "Against National Communism" the text was made to read: "—we, the Communists, consider the present government (Bruening) as an enemy of the proletariat, but this government supports itself upon your confidence and your votes; we want to tell this government in all alliance with the Fascists (Referendum) against you."

The text should have read: "We Communists consider the present government the enemy of the proletariat but this government supports itself upon your confidence and your votes; we wish to overthrow this government by means of an alliance with you and not by means of an alliance with the Fascists against you."

12. The principal task of the Left Opposition consists today in pronouncing itself for the collection of material that will make possible the construction of a new party on the ruins of the two old parties; for the formation of cadres on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the present situation. The principal source for these cadres remains the C.P., as comrade Gourov\* has himself affirmed. The second: the social democratic party.

To issue the slogan for a Second Party today, when these cadres have not as yet become crystallized, neither in the C.P.G. nor in the S.P.G., means (perhaps by some "new Zimmerwald") to serve not the essential elements, but all the obstacles to development (the Brandlerites, the Leninbund, the leadership of the S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party), and all those who have already demonstrated their inability to lead the German Proletariat). The criticism of the cadres will and should develop in the direction of our analysis. The cadres should, moreover, learn to link up the illegal work with the legal work from the beginning and work in the existing mass organizations which as yet remain outside of the Party.

The slogan for a new party will mean that we will have to pose the demand for the destruction of the old party. This demand would be rejected with indignation even by the more critical elements. They must be convinced in the course of struggle with the bureaucracy and the clarification around the formation of cadres. They must see the necessity for this step. The question is posed in the same manner in the S.A.P. and the S.A.P., although for the former of the two the demand for destruction is already posed today. The struggle for cadres brings us closer to the critical elements within the party. The demand for a Second Party separates us from them.

Only among the old ultra-leftists and in the letters of Gourov\* can we observe elements of indignation to the point of parting with us, if we do not issue the slogan for a new party.

VI. While the slogan for a Second Party does not advance our cause by an iota among the semi-critical elements in the party, it will not even embrace the completely critical and disillusioned elements. For them the idea of the party is so compromised that they think of nothing less than of a new party at present. Whereas the idea of forming cadres will appear self-evident to them. Only experience will again reconcile them with the idea of the party.

\* One of the editors of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition. Ed.

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