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THE MILITANT



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Workers of the World, Unite!

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1933

PRICE 1 CENT

Leon Trotsky Analyzes German Situation

The Camp of Counter-Revolution

The shifts in government since Bruening's time show how rapid and hollow is the universal philosophy of the People's...

among the assets—an octogenarian Field Marshall. What more remained? Nothing, except for Hugenberg. Whereas Schleicher personified the unadulterated idea of Bonapartism...

First Article After Hitler's Appointment as Chancellor By Leon Trotsky



through the monarchy for the property owners, there remains the sanction of the reactionary and unbridled rabble.

The investiture of Hitler with power served a two-fold purpose: first, to decorate the camarilla of property owners with the leaders of a national movement...

ists must achieve not otherwise than within the limits set by the representatives of the agrarians and the industrialists. Such is the plan. But how will its execution turn out?

the Nazis, will attempt once again to take to the road of presidential Bonapartism. However, the probability of such a variation, which, theretofore, could have only an episodic character, is extremely slight.

not united within a single hand. The Reichswehr, to say nothing of the Steel Helmets, is not in Hitler's hands. His own armed forces represent a problematic quantity which is still to be verified.

The Camp of the Proletariat

When the official Communist party states that the social democracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination, it repeats only that idea which served as the point of departure for the organization of the Third International.

German Class Struggle and Collaboration with U.S.S.R.

What is to be Germany's road out of the crisis? To this fundamental question every party representing the leadership of a distinct class must be prepared with its own answer.

On this basis there can form a working agreement with French, British and American imperialism, and provide an alternative to the restoration of the colonies which is the logical consequence of a successful drive by the German bourgeoisie against the Treaty of Versailles.

When this happened, the upper crust of the possessing class took its governmental balance: on the debit side—a split in their own

Youth Debate This Sunday

A debate in which the Left Opposition youth will defend the principles of Communism against a representative of the Anarcho-Communist youth group of New York, is scheduled to take place this Sunday, February 26, at 8:30 P. M. sharp.

OUR GERMAN MEETINGS German meetings organized in various cities, including those of comrade Oehler during his tour, will be found on page two of the Militant.

Militant Correspondent On the Spot in German Crisis

The Militant prints here the first article from comrade Arne Swobbeck, who is now in Germany and who will continue writing directly about the events there.

Japan Defies Other Imperialist Powers in China

If the world had any illusions that Japanese imperialism had actually relinquished its twenty-one demands forced on China in 1915 those illusions are by now completely dispelled.

But a campaign South of the great wall will inevitably involve international "incidents". Just as the murder of Captain Nakamura gave the Japs a pretext in 1931, so some similar occurrence may precipitate the world war that is brewing.

OPEN FORUM

CRISIS IN MANCHURIA DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR

Speaker: JACK WEBER Friday, February 24, 8 P. M. 126 East 16th Street, ADMISSION: 15c

Preparing for War

This means war—of this there can be no doubt. Therefore the German big bourgeoisie is preparing to break up all organizations and forces within Germany which would be capable of resisting a war of imperialist aggression.

OUR GERMAN MEETINGS

German meetings organized in various cities, including those of comrade Oehler during his tour, will be found on page two of the Militant.

Help the Militant

USE THIS BLANK The Militant 126 East 16th Street Enclosed herewith is \$..... as a special contribution to help publish the Militant three times a week during the German crisis.

BRONX MASS MEETING What the Left Opposition Stands For SPEAKERS: James P. Cannon Max Shachtman HOLLYWOOD GARDENS 896 Prospect Ave. Sunday, February 26, at 2:30 P. M. ADMISSION: 15 CENTS

Leon Trotsky Analyzes the Hitler Regime

(Continued from Page 1)

ing political facts and compose at present a part of the objective background. The situation must be taken as it has been composed. It never need have been as bad as it is. But it is not hopeless. A political turn about face—but a real one, a bold one, an open one, one that is thought out from all sides—can completely save the situation and open up the road to victory.

Hitler needs time. A revival of trade and industry, should such become a fact, would not let all signify the strengthening of Fascism against the proletariat. Under the least betterment of the conjuncture, capital, which has been famished for profits, will feel the acute need for peace in the factories, and this will at once shift the correlation of forces in favor of the workers. In order that the economic struggle should from the very first steps merge with the political struggle, it is urgent that the Communists be at their posts, i. e., in the factories and within the trade unions. The social democratic leadership have announced that they desire an accord with Communist workers. Very well. Let the 300,000 workers who belong to the Red Trade Union Organization catch up the reformists on their own words and turn to the General German Trade Union Federation into the free trade unions, as fractions. One such step will bring a change into the self-esteem of the workers, and therefore into the entire political background.

Is It Too Late to Act?

We have in effect given an answer to the first already in what was said above. Even under the most favorable conditions for Hitler, he requires a long number of months—and what critical months!—in order to establish the hegemony of Fascism. If one takes into consideration the sharpness of the economic and political situation, the ominous character of the danger the proletariat is right up against, the frightful alarm of the workers, their numerousness, their exasperation, the presence of experienced fighting elements in their ranks, and the incomparable capacity of the German workers for organization and discipline, then the answer is clear: during those months which are needed by the Fascists in order to break down internal and external barriers and to entrench their dictatorship, the proletariat under correct leadership can come to power two and three times over again.

Two and a half years ago the Left Opposition insidiously proposed that all the institutions and organizations of the Communist party from the Central Executive Committee to the smallest provincial nucleus should immediately turn to the parallel social democratic organizations with the concrete proposal for mutual action against the impending suppression of proletarian democracy. Had a struggle against the Nazis been built on this basis Hitler would not be Chancellor today and the Communist party would be occupying the leading place within the working class. But there is no return to the past. The consequences of the mistakes that have been perpetrated have succeeded in becoming

political atmospheres? But maybe the masses will go into action of themselves, overturning the barriers of the apparatus after the manner in which the transport strike broke out in Berlin in November 1932? There is no ground, of course, for considering the spontaneous movement of the masses as being excluded. In order to become effective it must on this occasion surpass the Berlin strike a hundred or two hundred-fold in scope. The German proletariat is sufficiently powerful in order to sweep into such a movement even if hindered from above. But spontaneous movements are precisely so called because they originate without leadership. Whereas our question touches the problem of what the party should do in order to give impetus to the mass movement, in order to help it attain its sweep, in order to take its place at the head and guarantee it victory....

Today's telegrams have brought news of a general strike in Luebeck in answer to the arrest of a social democratic official. This fact, if true, does not in the least rehabilitate the social democratic bureaucracy. But it inevitably condemns the Stalinists along with their theory of social Fascism. Only the development and the sharpening of the antagonism between the National Socialists and the social democrats can bring the Communist party, after all the mistakes that were made, from out of isolation and open the road to revolution. But one must not hinder but assist this process which is ingrained in the logic of the relations themselves. The road to this lies through the bold policy of a united front.

Turn Depends On Party

However, is the turn itself possible? That is what the task reduces itself to at the present moment. The vulgarizers of Marx, gravitating towards fatalism, observe as a rule nothing on the political arena save objective causes. But, in effect, the more acute the class struggle becomes, the closer it draws to a catastrophe, the more often the key to the entire situation is entrusted to given parties and its leadership. At this moment the question is posed in this manner: If in its time the Stalinist bureaucracy has kept hard fast on the road of dullwitted ultimatism, despite the pressure of, say, ten political atmospheres, will it be capable of withstanding a pressure ten times greater, of one hun-

of Communism; to coordinate the blows organizationally, but not to mix the banners; to maintain absolute loyalty in our relations with our ally but to keep an eye on him, as our enemy of tomorrow.*

Should the Stalinist faction really put in effect the turn that is dictated by every phase of the situation, the Left Opposition, of course, will take its place in the common ranks of battle. But the confidence of the masses in this turn will be all the greater the more democratically it is achieved. Thaelmann's speeches or manifestos of the Central Executive Committee are much too little for the present sweep of events. What is needed is the voice of the party. There is no other way of returning the confidence of the party in itself, and of deepening the confidence of the workers in the party! The Congress must take place within two or three weeks, not later than the opening of the Reichstag (if the Reichstag will be convened at all).

The program of action is clear and simple: Immediate proposal to all social democratic organizations from top to bottom of a united defensive front.

Immediate proposal to the General German Trade Union Federation to admit the Red Trade Union Organization into the trade unions. Immediate preparation for an emergency party congress. What is at stake is the head of the working class, the head of the Communist International and—let us not forget it—the head of the Soviet Republic!

Party Democracy and the Turn

It goes without saying that the Left Opposition will take its stand with both feet on the ground of this belated acknowledgment and will try to squeeze from it everything that is possible for the victory of the proletariat. But while so doing, the Left Opposition will not for a moment forget that the turn of the Comintern is a purely tactical device, performed in the present course of panic. The individuals who equated social democracy with Fascism are capable, in the process of struggle with Fascism, of going over into idealization of the social democracy. We must vigilantly keep watch to preserve the complete political independence

of the system as a whole, has decided to settle the issue by civil war in the hope of thereby accomplishing the destruction of the working class movement in order to maintain itself in power. For that aim Fascism is the instrument.

quick in its actions—one has followed the other in rapid succession in the attempt it is making to consolidate its position. The Reichstag was dissolved without even being permitted the opportunity to convene. The new elections will take place, not after the usual sixty days, but within one month, on March 5. The important positions under the ministry of the interior, particularly those of chiefs of police, are being filled by Fascists. Several issues of the *Rote Fahne* have been seized. A press censorship decree is issued giving the chief of police the authority to prohibit any paper which advocates a general strike, or strikes of any kind, or prints what is called "deliberate misinformation." All city councils (aldermanic bodies) throughout Prussia are dissolved and new elections set for March 12. The Prussian state government, the Braun cabinet, which had only a shadow existence, is unceremoniously and completely dissolved, prepare the road for dissolution of the Landtag despite its majority opposition. Even bourgeois democracy due to its flexibility, still has a certain usefulness—Dissolve by decrees, get new elections with all the machinery of suppression in readiness so as to obtain a voting strength which can furnish a mask of authority. That is to be preparatory to the final coup d'Etat. These are parts of the immediate strategy of the Fascist government. (To be continued)

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Militant Correspondent Reports On Events After Hitler Took Power

(Continued from Page 1)

ocrats, Reichsbanner people and trade unionists instinctively unite and fight shoulder to shoulder. Numerous are the accounts brought by our comrades of workers everywhere asking: "Why do we not build the united front?" Liberal bourgeois papers reprint letters from workers posing this question. But—and that is the crucial question—the leaders, Stalinists, Socialists and trade union bureaucrats refuse to realize the united front from organization to organization.

The workers are still sadly bewildered. But it is not so in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. The present situation found them quite well prepared. The forces on that side of the barricade were not taken by surprise. They decided quickly for the Fascists precisely out of fear of the growing misery and discontent of the working masses. Economic developments within the Reich continued to present their protracted black picture. Unemployment was on the increase. The official figures of January 15, 1933 gives the numbers of 5,965,000. This accounts only for those officially registered who receive unemployment insurance, but not of those not registered or the part-time workers. In reality the total figure is much higher. The emergency decrees had already helped to reduce further the working class level and increase its discontent. The Communists had gained in the last elections. The Schleicher government, evidently despite its good intentions, could not consolidate the Bonapartist regime. Its prospects of maintaining capitalist rule and avoid civil war diminished. The bourgeoisie called upon its last reserve—the Fascists hordes.

Against the dangers of a growing working class threat the capitalist solidarity extends beyond the national boundaries, not even taking cognizance of such distinctions as former "mortal enemies". And so also in this case, the change in Germany produced its echo in France. The "Paris Solr" of Jan. 31 commented: "Hitler in power! This news would a few months ago have produced the effects of a bombshell. Today it reverberates but there is not much detonation." This bourgeois paper is fully conscious that the imperialist road now leads through the Fascist re-

gime toward a united front against the growing threat of the German revolutionary workers. True, there is the Versailles Treaty standing a little in the way. But such matters can be adjusted to enable the German and the French bourgeoisie to work hand in hand. In this manner the first steps toward forging the spearhead of the army of intervention against the U. S. S. R. are being taken. That is the very heart of the question of a possible final conquest of power in Germany by the Fascist bandits. Finally that much at least seems to have dawned upon *l'Humanite* (the French party daily). It did mention that danger in one of its recent issues. But in face of that recognition it demonstrates its utter helplessness, its paralysis. Choked by the false concepts of Stalinism it cannot show the way. It can only repeat what in view of the concrete needs of the situation becomes a mere abstract commonplace. It repeats the slogans of downing Fascism and of the united front below.

The Issue is Now to be Settled by the Means of Civil War

The Fascist government does not at all hide its objectives. Hitler's very first ministerial address to the public declared: "The greatest actual danger is the danger of Communism... Bolshevism would spell disaster not only to Germany but to the entire world. The national government is determined to defend Germany against Bolshevism, against anarchy and against the scourge of the class struggle." That the C. P. is the vanguard of the working class the Fascist leaders fully understand. But the full scope of their objectives became further clarified by Hitler's election campaign address of February 8. He declared in his usual bravado style, but now with a more sinister sureness: "I shall not resign my function until I am fully convinced that my mission is accomplished. That within less than ten years Marxism shall no longer exist in Germany." Such are the threats of extermination of every section, of every vestige of the working class movement, for in their usage of the term Marxism the Fascists include the Social Democrats and even the reformist trade unions. Yes, precisely that is the mission of Fascism. German capitalism, the weakest link in the imperialist chain, in the throes of the decay of

Elections Can Decide Nothing

The March elections, at which the social democracy will clutch in order to paralyze the energy of the workers will in themselves resolve nothing, of course. If no major events occur up to the elections, which will transfer the question to another plane, then the Communist party should automatically receive an increase in votes. It will be incomprehensibly greater if the Communist party will this very day take upon itself the initiative for a defensive united front. Yes, today the matters deal with defense! But the Communist party can ruin it-

self, if, in the wake of the social democracy, even though in different terms, it turns its electioneering agitation into a purely parliamentary hullabaloo, into a means of distracting the attention of the masses from their present impotence and from their preparing for the defense. The bold policy of the united front is at this moment the only correct basis for the election campaign as well.

Again, are there enough forces in the Communist party for the turn? Will the Communist workers have enough energy and resolution to help the pressure of one hundred atmospheres beat its way into bureaucratic skulls? No matter how offensive such an acknowledgment may be, that is precisely how the question is posed at present....

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Pose Problem of Germany-U.S.S.R

(Continued from Page 1)

United States. The foreign trade interests of the agrarian-capitalist bloc are, in a limited way, being subordinated to its interest in protecting the productivity of domestic capitalist agriculture.

Line of Big Bourgeoisie

But this policy can be carried through only in a limited way; the broad policy runs in the exactly opposite direction. The whole line of the big bourgeoisie since the crisis has been to stimulate foreign trade at the expense of the internal market. The methods of high prices and low wages, of dumping in export market, of liberal credits backed up by the Reichsbank and in the last analysis by the taxing power of the government—these have resulted in a surplus of exports over imports since the crisis, while during the period of stabilization German imports were higher than its exports. In other words, German capitalism has looked for the way out of the crisis abroad, while decaying the petty bourgeois masses with the Fascist slogan of self-sufficiency. Foreign markets are being closed tighter by tariff walls and other restrictions. The last unspoken plank in its platform is the imperialist subjugation and exploitation of Russia.

The social democracy attempts to hold on the bourgeois "internationalism" of the manufacturer and banker-liberals. The removal of restrictions on foreign trade, development of markets abroad without political interference, unhampered movement of capital over national boundaries—the typical

Program of a Keynes, a McKenna, a Morgan—these are the answer of social democracy to the question of the way out of the crisis. Under the existing high tension of international economic relations, when every country is competing with all the others in putting up walls against the entry of foreign goods, in a world of import quotas, exchange restrictions, prohibitions on the export of capital—such a program is not only a betrayal of the interests of the working class, but a ridiculous blindness to the facts. The question of Russia as a distinct factor in the situation is ignored.

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Oppositionist Beaten In Cleveland

Cleveland.—The readers of the Militant will recall the activity of the Left Opposition in Cleveland on the German situation and the speech comrade Sam Gordon made at the party demonstration in that city on the danger of German Fascism to the American workers. This has struck fear into the hearts of the local bureaucrats who have replied in their well known educational manner—by slugging Gordon.

Since the Left Opposition German campaign began Gordon has been active in spreading his ideas, making contacts with party members and distributing leaflets and recently leads an advertising campaign. The bureaucrats began to take alarm. Gordon was spotted by the bureaucrats at the City Central Council of the Unemployed on Saturday. All regular procedure was broken off and a sudden attack was launched against the Left Opposition organizer. Misquotations from the Militant, personal attacks and all the rest of the Stalinist rignarole were bandied about in order to expel comrade Gordon from the meeting. He was not given the chance to defend himself on the pretext that he would be given the opportunity to do so, at the block committee, where he is a member. The motion for excluding Gordon from the meeting passed. About five comrades the only ones who knew Gordon, abstained from voting. Anna Onda, local bureaucrat, and Leonard Patterson, a Negro organizer from N. Y. led this railroadng action.

On Monday, February 20, the block committee met. The meeting was crowded with strange faces obviously called down by the Stalinists. A functionary, Berndt, started the meeting by attacking Gordon without any delay. First the usual hokum about the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" then, Gordon is not "just a rank and file Trotskyist". Finally the real reason for the bureaucrats' venom—Gordon had raised the German issue and had spoiled (how?) their pure and simple chaotic demonstration, raised the workers out of the rut of Stalinist opportunism and awakened them to international consciousness.

Gordon was given no chance to defend himself. Upon a signal from the party bureaucrat (Berndt), a young careerist by the name of Fred Dell pounced upon him, unleashing a premeditated attack from all sides. Comrade Gordon was absolutely alone in the affray. His nose was battered and his eye blackened. In this manner are the Cleveland bureaucrats educating the proletariat.

This great apprehension on the part of the party bureaucrats indicates the great interest of the party members in Germany and the platform of the Left Opposition on this question. A good crowd is expected for comrade Oehler's meeting.

Youngstown Proposes United Front

Youngstown.—The following self-explanatory letter has been sent by the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) to the Communist party organization:

The party press has recently come out with news of a turn toward a broader united front in the unemployed movement. The *Daily Worker* of January 17 writes: "The need for united action of all workers of all shades of opinion and of whatever organization is desperate." Everyone of us will agree with this. The especially poor showing that we all made when the hospitalization question on the budget came up before the City Council shows that this turn is even more desperately needed in Youngstown. We welcome this turn as a great step forward for the party and the whole working class movement and hope to see it carried through successfully here as well.

Since the Unemployed Councils in this city are in particularly poor shape, it becomes first of all necessary to rebuild these. We know that the party forces are small and as yet inadequate for the great amount of work at hand. We know that every available force is needed for the work. To this end we offer every one of our small group, us in this desperately needed united action of the unemployed, in a disciplined manner. Of course, we reserve for ourselves the right of criticism, but we declare ourselves always ready to come to an agreement with you as to the time and place of criticism.

Every hand is needed. That is clear to all. We of the Left Opposition are only a small group in this town, to be sure. But we want to be and can be of aid to the party in this important turn. It is up to you to decide. Hoping that you will give this letter the serious attention it requires.

With Communist greetings,
Youngstown Branch, Communist League of America
(Opposition)
Secretary.

WHY IS THE COMINTERN STILL SILENT ABOUT THE ACUTE CRISIS IN GERMANY?

Musteites Exclude Oppositionists

Youngstown.—Recent Youngstown papers reported that efforts were being made to unite the Austintown and Smith Township Unemployment Leagues with the local Independent Club as the first step in a movement to create a large city-county unemployed organization. A meeting to consider these plans was to be held at the Independent Club on Sunday afternoon. But newspaper publicity had apparently frightened some of the I. C. members, for whoever possessed the keys to the club headquarters did not appear.

The few members of the I. C. present were invited to attend a discussion meeting at the home of one of the League officers, Perkins. The latter had failed to answer an inquiry of mine dated November 21, so I knew that if possible he and other followers of Muste would endeavor to exclude me from this meeting as Musteites have done with other Communists in St. Louis and other cities. But I managed to go to Perkins' home with a militant worker from the I. C. Before entering, Perkins asked my name. I gave it to him and he immediately seemed perplexed and said, "A Communist?" Before I had more than answered him the militant worker asked good-naturally, "What's wrong? Are you afraid of Communists?" They are just like other workers." "No," Perkins replied, "BUT I don't like the dirty lies they tell in the *Daily Worker*!" So we followed him into his home.

While we were finding places Perkins must have put the leading League members wise to my identity. For the meeting had no more than started with a roll call of those present than the chairman asked me pointedly, "And whom do you represent?" "The Communist League of America and a group of sympathetic unemployed workers," I replied. He grunted, cleared his throat and announced, "You men know our attitude in regard to Communists. What shall we do?" I then followed one of the emptiest discussions I have ever heard of as to why I should be excluded from the meeting. I was a Communist, a disrupter. The *Daily Worker* told lies; Communists vilified Muste; they couldn't work with Communists, and besides this was a "secret" meeting and they didn't want a word of it to get in the Communist press.

I tried to point out the general difference between a Stalinist, C. P. member and a Left Oppositionist, and refused to be held responsible for the mistakes of the Party. As a worker interested in the building of a united unemployed council I asked to be permitted to remain. Some fool grabbed on to the word "council" and exclaimed, "You want to build a Council and we want to build a League! We can't agree!" The discussion proceeded fruitlessly; they were determined to get me out at all costs. So I proposed that a vote be taken as to whether or not I could remain without voice or vote. I was told that I couldn't make a motion and some one moved that I be invited to attend an open meeting of the Austintown League on Wednesday night. This was passed and a motion to evict me was made and voted upon. The members of the I. C. were bewildered, but two sturdy workers both voted and spoke in favor of my remaining even though I was a Communist. The League functionaries all voted against it and succeeded in getting a few rank-and-file inexperienced members of the I. C. to vote with them. Perkins and his clique wouldn't permit me to leave the house until I had given up a list of names which I had copied down during the roll call.

But we will get in contact with the workers in the Leagues and the I. C. in spite of such nonsensical intrigues and obstructions! We will help to build a united local unemployed organization that will function with workers' democracy and not according to the whims of bureaucrats. FOR A UNITED FRONT OF ALL UNEMPLOYED WORKERS!

ABERN SPEAKS AT WILKES-BARRE MEETING

Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will speak under the auspices of the League at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, on Sunday, February 26, 1933, 2 P. M. on the crisis in Germany and the standpoint of the Left Opposition. Admission to the meeting is free and all miners and other workers are cordially invited to attend. The meeting will be held at the Workers' Circle Hall, 69 S. Hancock Street.

Oehler Tour:

Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27
Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 27
Kansas City, Mo.—March 1, 2, 3
St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5
Illinois Coal Fields—March 6, etc.

ABERN AT BOSTON MEET

A mass meeting at which the German situation today will be analyzed and the reasons given for the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to be held in Boston on Sunday night, March 5, 1933, 8 P. M. at Belmont Hall, 150 Humbolt Ave., Roxbury, Mass. The meeting, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the League, will be addressed by Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the organization, and by comrade Antoinette F. Konkow. All workers are urgently invited to attend the meeting and hear the standpoint of the Opposition.

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